

**IMPACT OF TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE
ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS: CASE STUDY
OF THE EGLINTON CROSSTOWN PROJECT IN
TORONTO**

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

York University

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

March 30, 2017

For Ghaith and my family.

Thank you for believing in me.

One's destination is never a place

but rather a new way of looking at things

-Henry Miller

You drown not by falling into a river,

but by staying submerged in it

-Paulo Coelho

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the individuals who have supported me throughout my academic journey. This research would not have been possible without your continued support and guidance.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my wonderful family, partner, and friends for supporting me through this rewarding process. I would also like to thank my professors at the faculty of Environmental Studies for their teachings, guidance and support in every step of this journey. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Professor Roger Keil for the continuous support, patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. Thanks go to my supervisor Professor Peter Mulvihill for inspiration and suggestions about the possible avenues for this research project, as well as his insightful comments and encouragement. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and supervisor for my Master's study.

I am grateful for the collegiality of my fellow classmates in FES for the stimulating discussions. I especially wish to thank Sara Macdonald who has been a great friend and mentor, as well as other colleagues at the CITY Institute.

I would also like to recognize the individuals who agreed to be interviewed for this study and contributed their knowledge and experience towards helping me understand and study the relationship between transit infrastructure and urban (re)development patterns on the Eglinton Crosstown LRT line.

With love,
Fairoz Retha

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FOREWORD

This paper examines how the development of transit infrastructure impacts development patterns using the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project in Toronto, Canada as a case study. Throughout my master's studies, I have gained the necessary knowledge to understand the relationship between transportation infrastructure and urban development processes in order to carry out this research. The title of my Plan of Study is 'Transportation and Urban-Regional Planning', and the courses and research I have undertaken through my MES program have allowed me to understand these processes more profoundly. One of the most valuable courses I have taken in MES was the IDS in Urban and Regional Infrastructures: A Critical Introduction course, whereby I worked with group members on a project focusing on transportation and gentrification in the Waterloo Region. The course involved academic research as well as a field work component.

This study speaks directly to the areas of concentration of my plan of study, namely, component 1 – Transportation Planning and component 3 – Urban (Re)Development. Furthermore, the three learning objectives I have listed for component 3 of my Plan of Study that are directly related to my research: objective 3.1 - To get a basic understanding of the role played by private capital and political forces in development processes; objective 3.2 - Analyze gentrification patterns in Toronto in relation to transit patterns; and learning objective 3.3 – to gain knowledge on Smart growth strategies and Transit-Oriented Development (TOD). The courses I have taken at the Faculty of Environmental Studies to satisfy these objectives and the research carried out to fulfill this paper have given me a solid platform to understand these issues on a deeper level. My research itself has also allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of transit infrastructure on urban development patterns in global cities, and the City of Toronto in particular.

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the Eglinton Crosstown project in mid-town Toronto as a case study to examine the impacts of Light Rail Transit (LRT) infrastructure on urban (re)development patterns. The Crosstown LRT project is one of the largest transportation projects in Canada today, and is set to be completed in 2021. Connecting the city of Toronto's east- and west-ends, the Crosstown touches 12 of the city's 44 wards.

I address the relationship between the LRT transportation system and development. Ultimately, if proximity to premium transportation infrastructures significantly impacts residential and commercial developments and property values, it has the potential to result in uneven geographies and ultimately gentrification. Dawkins and Moeckel (2016) refer to this phenomenon as 'transit-induced gentrification' (p.801). Through planning policies and tools oriented towards Transit-Oriented Development and Smart Growth, neoliberalism has been realized through geography and infrastructure and has contributed in uneven spatial development and injustice in cities.

The Province of Ontario has committed \$50 billion in 2008 as part of the Big Move plan in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA) within the next 25 years. With renewed interest in light rail, and in order to address adverse gentrification impacts, it becomes pertinent to ask questions about how land values are affected by premium forms of transit and existing land use policies.

After examining these issues on the basis of a series of interviews, field observations, academic literature and media review, I examine how intensification is occurring at the core of Eglinton Avenue, and especially at the intersection of Eglinton and Yonge. This intensification is taking place in the form of modern condominium developments that seek to attract young professionals, and have the potential to drive out current residents and commercial uses. The LRT impacts on urban development will vary depending the local context, and will continue to be realized well after the completion of the project. The gentrification effect requires a proactive policy approach by governments to protect existing affordable housing, and ensuring land redevelopment does not price existing low-income residents out of newly-accessible neighbourhoods.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBD	Central Business District
CMA	Toronto Census Metropolitan Area
DVP	Don Valley Parkway
GTA	Greater Toronto Area
GTHA	Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area
GTSB	Greater Toronto Services Board
GTTA	Greater Toronto Transportation Authority
IO	Infrastructure Ontario
LRT	Light Rail Transit
OMB	Ontario Municipal Board
QEW	Queen Elizabeth Way
RGS	Ridership Growth Strategy
TCHC	Toronto Community Housing Corporation
TOD	Transit-Oriented Development
TTC	Toronto Transit Commission
VRT	Vehicle Registration Tax

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between transportation infrastructure and urban development is inherently complex. It involves multiple actors and forces, and has far reaching consequences on the lived experiences of city inhabitants. Through a case study of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project, this research analyzes the impacts of Light Rail Transit (LRT) transportation infrastructure in relation to surrounding urban (re)development patterns. My primary questions are: what types of transformations in urban development forms (if any) surround LRT development on the Eglinton line? Are the current developments taking place related to general trends, or are they associated with the construction of the transportation project? And are such projects transformative or do they merely reinforce and perpetuate ongoing patterns?

Local processes of urban growth and development cannot be analyzed independently of global flows of capital. Today, the world economy is made up of a complex network linking markets and production centers, and cities are critical manifestations of this system (Friedmann, 2006). As urban regions around the world seek to attract transnational capital to maintain and enhance their economic power, they alter their strategies and policies accordingly (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Impacts of economic globalization are most visible in the central business districts of cities, which are densely packed with modern high-rise office towers containing global financial industries (Brenner and Keil, 2006). However, global capitalism plays a profound role on the city as a whole, and it impacts city residents through physical infrastructures and geographies.

Toronto is the financial capital and the largest city in Canada, spanning a vast geography and containing a large multicultural population (Brenner and Keil, 2006). As a second-tier 'global city', Toronto has been (re)organized to satisfy the needs of global capital accumulation through international trade and attracting investments of transnational corporations, as well as the professional class that these businesses rely on (Brenner and Keil, 2006).

The City of Toronto is being moulded into a 'competitive city' by multiple levels of government through a restructuring of planning and economic policies, which are now oriented

towards neoliberalism¹ (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). This is done through urban and regional planning policies, funding structures, as well as through direct intervention. This paper focuses on regional planning policies in particular, their influence on the Toronto Official Plan, and ultimately on the city's development and spatial organization.

Planning documents in the Province of Ontario are based on the principles of smart-growth and intensification of the Southern Ontario region, including the City of Toronto through Transit-oriented development (TOD) (Bunce, 2004). Smart growth and TOD strategies work to curb automobile use and enhance the vibrancy and livability of communities in the central city through the promotion of mixed land uses (Bunce, 2004; Calthorpe, 1993). Although on a surface level, smart-growth strategies possess many environmental benefits, such as tackling sprawl, they have been enacted within the platform of neoliberalism, and often at the expense of social justice.

Since TOD encourages the intensification of land use around major points of transit access (transit nodes), it has encouraged a profound process known as the 'condo-boom' or 'condo-ism' (see Rosen and Walks, 2014; Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010). Rosen and Walks (2013) argue that the condo has transformed property and tenure relations, and it has also become a form of urban governance facilitating the neoliberalization of urban life and policy. In general, the proliferation of condominiums in global cities such as Toronto has transformed the city's economy, and it has been accompanied by a growing power of condominium developers, increasing dependence on private sector housing development for the public good, and the rise of condominium tenure (Rosen and Walks, 2014).

The construction of newer and more modern condominium buildings has brought about increases in real estate values, thereby gentrifying city areas and potentially driving out long-time city inhabitants. Condominiums have become popular amongst young professionals, immigrants, and empty nesters (Rosen and Walks, 2014; Skaburskis, 2012). However, the young professionals who seek to live in places where they can 'live, work and play' are the most likely to be interested in a transit-oriented developments (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2009).

¹ Neoliberalism is a political-economic ideology that depends on open, competitive, unregulated markets (Harvey, 2005)

Since these new condominiums are often located in close proximity to transit stations, they give a chance for those with a higher income to have a greater selection of transit options, and leave those who cannot afford expensive real estate or private automobiles fewer options to participate in the city and to improve their living conditions. Thus, people who need to access public transit the most are often those who are pushed to the periphery of the cities.

These impacts are not only felt by city residents, but also by small local businesses. Shifts in business type are particularly likely with TOD due to challenges in obtaining financing, therefore, large national chains are often favored over smaller local businesses (Rayle, 2015). As a result, investment decisions on local neighbourhoods are now “driven by super-profits on highly valued locations”, and TOD communities have become those high value locations (Atkinson and Bridge, 2010, p.58).

The manifestations of neoliberalism in cities can be analyzed through transit. Toronto’s transportation system, the underfunded Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) carries 1.3 million passengers every work day, and is a highly efficient system in that most of its operating costs are derived from the fare box (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The system is under-funded in comparison to other public transportation systems in North America and around the world. In order to increase the revenue of the system, it is pertinent for development to take place in close proximity to TTC access through transit-oriented development and smart-growth strategies.

Through a case study of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project in mid-town Toronto, I study the relationship between transportation networks and urban development in the context of neoliberalism. In particular, I examine the impacts of Light Rail Transit (LRT) infrastructure on urban (re)development patterns. The Crosstown LRT project is one of the largest transportation projects in Canada today (Metrolinx, 2016a). Construction began in 2011 and service set to begin in 2021 (Metrolinx, 2016a). Connecting the inner suburban neighbourhoods of the City of Toronto’s east- and west-ends with the busy midtown district of Eglinton and Yonge, the Crosstown passes through 12 of the city’s 44 wards.

The Eglinton Crosstown project is a light rail transit (LRT) line that will run across Eglinton Avenue between Mount Dennis (Weston Road) in the west and Kennedy Station on Kennedy road in the east (Metrolinx, 2016a). This 19-kilometre line will include a 10-kilometre underground portion, between Keele Street and Laird Drive (Metrolinx, 2016a). As one of the

largest transit expansions in the history of Toronto, it is part of an investment of \$5.3 billion from the Ontario government toward better transit in Toronto (Metrolinx, 2016a).

The Province of Ontario has committed \$50 billion in 2008 as part of the Big Move plan in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA) within the next 25 years. With renewed interest in light rail, and in order to address adverse impacts of transit on urban development, it becomes pertinent to investigate how land values are affected by the development of premium forms of transit and current land use policies.

After examining these issues on the basis of extensive research, a series of interviews and field observations, I argue that a profound intensification of development is taking place in the Eglinton and Yonge area where there is pressure to convert commercial spaces to residential and mixed-use condominium developments. Other parts of Eglinton are also undergoing rapid growth, modernization, and intensification (such as Eglinton and Laird, Eglinton and Don Mills, and Eglinton and Avenue), but they are less profound depending on various factors, and one of these is whether the portion of the LRT is underground or at-grade. New condominiums are advertising the soon-to-be feature of Eglinton as a selling point. Thus, it becomes evident that although condominium developments constitute a profound city trend, they have been accelerated due to the construction of the Eglinton Crosstown project.

There are profound linkages between global-city status and realities of social inequality in cities (Fainstein, 2006). It is the contention of this paper that global processes have profound impacts on urban planning processes in the city. Furthermore, through planning policies and tools, neoliberalism has been realized in cities through geography and infrastructure, and has contributed to uneven spatial development and injustice in cities. Through this profound transformation of Eglinton, one wonders about the wider implications on social justice.

Research has shown that rail transit encourages development and increases property values, and also contributes to a process that has been labeled as ‘transit-induced gentrification’ (Rayle, 2015; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016). This may lead to the displacement of residents and businesses, and manifests in uneven geographies (Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016). During the past forty years, the city of Toronto has become spatially divided into three cities: the city of the rich, shrinking middle-income households, and the city of concentrated poverty (Hulchanski, 2010). When we

consider the negative ramifications of current patterns of urban development and transportation, it becomes more pivotal that these divisions do not persist and amplify.

The gentrification effect requires a proactive, policy-based approach by governments to protect existing affordable housing and ensure that land redevelopment does not price existing low-income residents out of newly-accessible neighbourhoods (Hertel, Keil, and Collens, 2015). Therefore, we should study urban processes and analyze them more carefully in order to reduce the negative impacts of gentrification and displacement.

1.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

All researchers face unique challenges pertaining to their research design and methodology. This process of inquiry is by no means linear or straightforward, yet it is critical in producing data that leads to effective research findings. In this section, I explain the research design that I have selected, and the methodological procedures adopted to analyze the relationship between transit infrastructure and urban (re)development patterns.

There are many types of research designs that are appropriate for research projects depending on the issues posed by the research aims and questions (Walliman, 2011). Subsequently, the research design informs the collection and analysis of data and determines appropriate research methods (Walliman, 2011). I have selected a combination of descriptive and evaluative research to analyze the relationship between urban (re)development and transportation infrastructure in the case of the Eglinton Crosstown project.

Descriptive research relies on observation as a data collection method to describe the characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied (Walliman, 2011). Observation can take many forms, such as interviews, questionnaires, and visual observations, which are recorded to be subsequently analyzed (Walliman, 2011). On the other hand, evaluative research is intended to deal with complex social issues by shifting beyond 'just getting the facts', and through an active effort to make sense of the myriad social, political, and contextual elements involved (Walliman, 2011). Outcomes are usually used to prescribe and recommend changes to improve existing conditions (Walliman, 2011). These two research designs work in harmony to explore the relationship between urban (re)development patterns and transportation infrastructure using the

Eglinton Crosstown project as a case study, and in order to arrive at policy recommendations. In the following section, I describe the methodological approaches that were adopted.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The selected methodological approach of descriptive and evaluative research for this paper encompasses multiple qualitative methods. While quantitative data can be measured and quantified, qualitative data cannot be accurately measured, but are generally expressed in words and evaluated according to the depth and analysis of the research (Walliman, 2011). Qualitative methods are useful in addressing the complexity of the issue that I am exploring. Initially, I was interested in analyzing property values on Eglinton using long-term data on property values and carrying out a comparative analysis to observe whether there were quantifiable changes following the decision to build the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. Due to the limitations I faced when carrying out my research, I was unable to obtain sufficient quantitative data to supplement the qualitative methods. therefore, I gathered data solely through qualitative methods.

I selected the Eglinton Crosstown LRT line in Toronto as a case study of in order to analyze the relationship between urban (re)development and transportation infrastructure. As a research strategy, case studies are used in many situations, including urban and regional planning research, such as studies of plans and neighborhoods (Yin, 1994). It is a highly useful strategy because it narrows the focus of a researcher to a relatively limited geographical area or phenomenon due to limited time and resources, as well as for the purpose of simplification. However, one of the limitations of fieldwork studies is that cases are unique due to various socio-political influences, and they cannot be generalized onto other parts of the world and other situations. The following sub-sections will elaborate on the qualitative data methods that I have used to carry out this case study, including a literature analysis, media and document review, in-depth interviews and fieldwork.

1.3.1 LITERATURE ANALYSIS

Conducting a literature analysis is fundamental to identify the broader implications of the phenomena one studies. When I conducted my literature analysis, I relied upon a number of subject areas: the first one is looking at the socio-political and economic processes of neoliberalism; smart-growth and transit-oriented development as planning tools; condo-boom and condofication in

cities as development tools; as well as processes of transportation, accessibility, and gentrification, with a particular focus on Toronto. In doing so, I attempted to synthesize literature from typically separate fields of inquiry.

1.3.2 MEDIA AND DOCUMENT REVIEW

To supplement my literature analysis, I completed an extensive analysis of publicly accessible documents, including publications from the City of Toronto and Metrolinx, as well as major and local newspapers and websites related to the Crosstown project and development on Eglinton Avenue. I also reviewed publicly available planning documents, specific local development plans, and media accounts of planning processes. I reviewed major newspapers in Toronto, including the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star and the Toronto Sun. Major newspaper articles assisted in tracking the timeline of the project and new condominium developments. Meanwhile, local newspapers assisted in studying the impacts of LRT construction on a local level, whereby residents voiced their concerns about construction and development impacts on their communities. Newspaper articles were particularly useful because they featured interviews with individuals that were very vocal about the very processes I was seeking to understand. Lastly, Metrolinx and other websites related to the project helped provide project details.

1.3.3 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

I conducted five in-depth expert interviews for this research. In-depth interviews are particularly useful in allowing people to explain their experiences, attitudes, feelings, and definitions of the situation in their own words and in ways that are meaningful to them (Van den Hoonaard, 2012).

All interviews were completed between October and December of 2016. I selected the initial list of my target group from my literature research, newspaper articles, and online sources. Additionally, I also used the snowball sampling strategy – whereby, after locating initial participants, I asked them if they can recommend anyone who fits the criteria, and who may be interested in participating in the study (Van den Hoonaard, 2012). My aim was to gain information from a variety of backgrounds in order to produce a well-rounded analysis. The interviews involved questions regarding the personal and professional perspectives of participants on the Eglinton Crosstown project. Individuals who were interviewed included the former Toronto mayors David Miller and John Sewell, former TTC Chair Adam Giambrone, community activist

Connor Turnbull, and one of the developers who proposed a condominium development on Eglinton. After signing the consent form, some of the individuals agreed to be named and quoted in this research paper.

The interviews were semi-structured, whereby I asked a series of predetermined open-ended questions. In some cases, the interviewees were able to shape the direction of the interview. Most of my interviews were voice recorded and subsequently transcribed by myself in order to analyze the information. In this regard, direct quotes from some of the respondents are presented in the paper. For the participants who declined to be voice recorded, I recoded notes to the best of my ability, and used them for analysis.

My sample size was very small, and I was only able to conduct five interviews. The sample size limits the conclusions that can be drawn from my research. Ideally, a more comprehensive study involving more participants from various backgrounds such as Urban Planners, business owners, City Councilors, and community groups would have been ideal. However, time and other factors limited this possibility. I contacted prospective interviewees of real estate and development background, from the government sector, urban planners and city councilors, resident associations and organizations that deal with affordable housing issues, business owners, and others. However, due to the nature of research, I did not get a response from some of the individuals I contacted, while others declined to be interviewed. Some of the individuals I contacted claimed that they ‘do not have time for an interview’ with their busy schedules. I attempted to overcome this challenge with follow-up communication and assuring them that I could reduce the duration of the interviews from 1 hour to half an hour or even less, in order to work around their schedules. That was only effective in some cases.

1.3.4 FIELDWORK

During the fieldwork I conducted on Eglinton in August of 2016, I familiarized myself and gained an overview of the study area. I analyzed the types of developments that were in these areas, observed the multiple land uses, including residential buildings, mixed-use, green spaces, offices, restaurants, retail, and so on while taking photographs and recording notes. Some of the photographs that I have included in this paper were taken during my fieldwork. I navigated the areas by foot and walked for 10 kilometers (between Keele Street and Laird Road), and used a bus and drove in the other parts of Eglinton. I recorded detailed field notes about my direct

observations, and analyzed them afterwards. This was a particularly useful exercise because I am not familiar with development on Eglinton. One of the major things that I observed is that Eglinton is not a uniform street, but in contrast, some of the parts were very unique in its people, uses, and urban development patterns.

The findings of these methodological approaches will be presented in Chapter five of this research paper, as they represent the backbone of my research. I have tried to gather the data and analyze it to the best of my ability and display it in a coherent manner in this paper. A mixed-method approach of qualitative and quantitative methods would have been valuable. However, due to the limited duration of this research, these methods will have to suffice.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

This paper is divided into six chapters. **Chapter one** serves as an introductory chapter, and also contains the study design and methodology. **Chapter two** serves as a theoretical framework chapter. In order to establish my argument and to set the framework for this investigation, I have divided this section into three parts: global cities and neoliberalism, smart-growth planning strategies, and gentrification. **Chapter three** focuses on planning in the City of Toronto. I begin with an introduction to the city, then I analyze it through three lenses: Toronto the ‘competitive city’, the ‘booming city’, and Toronto ‘the city of inequality’.

Chapter four deals with transportation in the City of Toronto and provides a contextual background on the Eglinton Crosstown LRT and the political debates that have shaped it. Located in mid-town Toronto, Eglinton is mostly designated as mid-rise and mixed-use development. Nowadays it has come to be a battle ground for conflict between community residents, developers, city councilors, and municipal planners.

Chapter five represents the study findings concerning the impact of transportation on development patterns through my case study on Eglinton Avenue in Toronto. The findings support the hypothesis that transit infrastructure, and in this case, the LRT have a great impact on development, albeit in uneven ways. Meanwhile, **Chapter six** provides a discussion and conclusion of the research findings through my research. I discuss ramifications of these processes and possible solutions to tackle issues of inequality.

I seek to fill a small gap in academic research, and contribute one perspective using the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project on the patterns of transportation and urban development in global cities. I do so in the hopes that it can contribute to the ways in which research and policy debates define issues and solutions to transportation and development planning in global cities. I am conducting this research while the project is under construction, so the impacts on urban development have not been realized to their full extent. That said, through this study, I do not claim to represent the issue comprehensively given that in each region, transportation and development patterns vary due to local and unique contextual differences.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This research draws on multiple theories seeking to define the relationship between the social, economic and political structures shaping transportation infrastructure and urban (re)development patterns in cities. Numerous researchers have formulated links between global political-economic structures of neoliberalism as they impact transportation patterns and differential levels of accessibility, as well as their consequences on social and spatial justice in regions around the world (see Graham and Marvin, 2001; Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009; Fainstein, 2006). In order to establish my argument and to set the framework for this investigation, I have divided this section into three parts: global cities and neoliberalism, smart-growth planning strategies, and gentrification.

2.1 GLOBAL CITIES AND NEOLIBERALISM

The dynamics of urban growth are constantly altering and (re)structuring the character of urban space in cities, however, the (re)organization of space has recently become a systematic component of the rapid globalization of cities and ‘advanced capitalist economies’ (Smith, 1986). The world economy is made up of a complex network linking markets and production centers. This vast network is organized and controlled by transnational capital, and cities are critical manifestations of this system (Friedmann, 2006). Through this process, the city itself becomes a ‘profit maximizing place’ (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010). It can be argued that all cities are involved in the globalizing world economy in one way or another, however, there is a classification which distinguishes financial centers such as London, New York and Tokyo from other cities.

According to Brenner and Keil (2006), global cities have four characteristics, they are “basing points for the global operations of transnational corporations, production sites and markets for producer and financial services, articulating nodes within a broader hierarchy of cities stratified according to their differential modes of integration into the world economy, and dominant locational centers within large-scale economies or urban fields” (p.11). This vast and complex network of global economic links becomes possible through the liberalization and freeing of markets from state and bureaucratic control in a process recognized as neoliberalization² (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

Neoliberalism is a political-economic ideology that seeks to advance human well-being through open, competitive, unregulated markets by “liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p.2). Neoliberalization is manifested in three ways: the first of which is through influence imposed by various levels of governments to attract and retain capital, the second is through a direct influence by multinational corporations in forms of investments and locational patterns, and thirdly through various infrastructures which cater to an urban-based and highly mobile professional workforce – ‘the transnational elite’³. These three factors are embedded within the framework of neoliberalism and have profound impacts on the dynamics of urban planning and the restructuring of space within cities.

Due to global market pressures, the role of governments becomes pivotal as state authorities project their cities into internationalizing circuits of exchange, thereby (re)producing a dynamic spatial reconfiguration of cities through transportation, communication and housing infrastructures to strengthen their position within the world economic system (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Swyngedouw, 1993; Smith, 1986). This aspect will be explored in greater detail in chapter 3 as I discuss planning in Toronto.

Transnational corporations alter cities in two critical ways, the first is through their locational patterns, and the second is by means of investment. Transnational corporations locate in cities with high infrastructural networks, state-of-the-art modern office buildings, top talent and

² It is argued that no pure form of neoliberalism exists, instead, numerous governmental entities at various scales have adopted policies towards neoliberalization (see Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

³ See Friedmann and Wolff (2006)

infrastructure that maximizes connectivity (Sassen, 2006). Furthermore, there is a profound interest for businesses investments in domains such as luxury residential developments in cities with culturally and socially lively city centers (Bunce, 2004). This can be observed in the city of Toronto with the proliferation of high-rise residential condominiums throughout the downtown area and along major transportation arteries and routes (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2014). These developments are sponsored by national urban policies oriented towards creating new forms of ‘urban renaissance’ (Atkinson and Bridge, 2010).

Because global city-regions encompass particularly high-earning individuals, there appears to be a strong spatial correlation between income and residential location (Fainstein, 2006). In most cases, the high cost of living in the core areas of these global-city-regions forces low-income residents (the working class) along with industries not associated with the global economy to the periphery (Smith, 1986; Fainstein, 2006). As I will elaborate in the findings section, this is true in many cases including, to some extent, the case of the city of Toronto⁴. As a result, global city characteristics have been found to contribute to spatial inequality in cities (Fainstein, 2006). As transnational elites become the dominant class in global cities, the city is arranged to cater to their lifestyle preferences and to meet their occupational necessities (Friedmann and Wolff, 2006). This restructuring entails an “urban center dominated by high-level executive-professional, financial, and administrative functions, middle- and upper-middle class residences, and the hotel, restaurant, moving, retail and cultural facilities providing recreational opportunities for this population” (Smith, 1986, p.32). The juxtaposition of two types of spaces within cities create contrasting physical environments and result in uneven living experiences for city inhabitants.

Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009) argue that “urban neoliberalization can be viewed as an intersection of global shifts in the structure of capitalist economies and states with the life of people in cities” (p.22). These dynamic global systems have profound impacts on the everyday lives of individuals as economic competitiveness gains prominent status in government agendas (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Basically, global trends become articulated in cities around the world (Atkinson and Bridge, 2010). These effects are manifested through planning policies

⁴ However, there is also a countering decentralization and suburbanization force in cities (see Smith, 1986).

dictating urban development and transportation patterns, and they play a pivotal role in shaping the ways in which city inhabitants navigate the city.

Graham and Marvin (2001) analyze the contradictions of global economies in contemporary cities by investigating infrastructural networks, which “co-evolve closely in their inter-relationships with urban development and with urban space” (p.8). Infrastructures become key components in the landscapes of cities and serve to advance the city’s role within global economic structures. Through physical infrastructural networks, it is argued that ‘valued’ globally distant places can be connected very intimately at the expense of the fragmentation of local spaces that are physically close, but socially and economically distant (Graham and Marvin, 2001). This fragmentation occurs by efficiently ‘bypassing’ relatively homogeneous infrastructural network grids and city ‘scapes’ (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Bypasses allow favored, affluent and highly mobile travelers to pass seamlessly and efficiently through transport infrastructure, while sanctioning other passengers to various degrees of inaccessibility (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Uneven social interests are often served by infrastructure networks, creating contingencies for experiences of infrastructure and city life in general through ‘splintered’ urban geographies (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

On a fundamental level, I attempted to unearth manifestations of global economic dynamics within cities through the process of neoliberalism in this section. These processes often result in uneven geographical patterning of the built environment and various levels of inequality for city inhabitants. The next part discusses planning strategies oriented towards smart-growth, intensification and transit-oriented development (TOD), which are implemented in the name of tackling urban sprawl, but have neoliberal orientations which seek to secure a city’s position within global market flows (Bunce, 2004).

2.2 SMART-GROWTH PLANNING STRATEGIES

Due to the inherent problems associated with the separation of land uses and automobile-oriented development, alternative theories dominated academic and planning practices during the past two decades advocating for the coordination of transit and land uses. The concept of ‘smart growth’ was presented as an adequate solution to suburbanization and urban sprawl (Rayle, 2015). Drawing on both planning and transportation strands, strategies of ‘smart growth’ include mixed land uses, the densification and intensification of urban form, pedestrian-centered streets, attractive

communities, proximity to nature, as well as access to sustainable transportation alternatives (Environmental Protection Agency, 2015; Bunce, 2004).

One of the most influential practices of smart growth strategies is transit-oriented development (TOD). The concept of transit-oriented development is now the foundation of many national policies and planning practices. It is established through the development of transit networks that are spatially linked to dense, mixed-use neighborhoods whereby residents can conveniently walk to transit stations in order to access services and regional opportunities (Calthorpe, 1993). TOD can be defined as “a mixed-use community within an average 2,000-foot walking distance of a transit stop and core commercial area. TODs mix residential, retail, office, open space, and public uses in a walkable environment, making it convenient for residents and employees to travel by transit, bicycle, foot, or car” (Calthorpe, 1993, p.56). Furthermore, TOD is shaped according to three general principles: “1) The structure of growth should be guided by transit expansion and compact urban form; 2) Single-use zoning should be replaced with standards for mixed-use neighbourhoods; and 3) Urban design policies should create an architecture oriented toward the public domain and human dimension” (Calthorpe, 1993, p.41). Although Calthorpe (1993) proposed guidelines for TOD, specific features vary depending on the local context.

TOD is established through zoning regulations and land use plans in the form of urban revitalization and redevelopment projects (Rayle, 2015; Bunce, 2004). An area with access to rail transit can be re-zoned to accommodate higher density and land uses, or alternatively, transit-oriented development can be established by implementing transit connectivity to an area that encompasses mixed-use and dense development (Singh, Fard, Zuidgeest, *et. al.*, 2014).

Rail transit implementation, including light rail and subway lines have become a useful tool to establish redevelopment (Rayle, 2015). Fixed-route transit provides accessibility that people and businesses value with some certainty compared to bus service where routes are flexible (Rayle, 2015). Furthermore, Rayle (2015) states “fixed-route transit serves a limited number of stations, so effects on accessibility are concentrated in those limited areas” (p.535). On the other hand, bus routes cover a greater area of the city and bus stops are more frequent⁵, therefore

⁵ Express buses are an exception because they feature fewer stops on major intersections and key destinations. At the same time, they are still flexible and can be halted and altered anytime. Therefore, there it does not constitute as a fixed route infrastructure.

conventional bus service provides a more ‘dispersed accessibility’ (Rayle, 2015). Buses also become immobile with gridlock, as they share lanes with competing traffic. As a result, TOD plans channel intensification of the built form as well as population activity and population density to the city core and around transit nodes (Bunce, 2004). This has become a feature of Toronto with the intensification of the built environment and mixed land uses surrounding subway stations (and) in urban areas.

Urban intensification has been taking place in the form of extensive development of condominium towers, with some retail and office space on the lower levels. This dramatic process is leading to the transformation of the physical and social landscapes of communities, thereby altering the political geography of cities and producing new privatized urban landscapes (Rosen and Walks, 2013).

The condominium, or ‘condo’ refers to both a housing unit in a condominium ownership, as well as the building containing the units (Rosen and Walks, 2013). Condominiums are a form of legal ownership known as ‘strata title’, representing a mixed property system where a single parcel of property is divided horizontally and vertically into separate units (Rosen and Walks, 2013). Condominium legislation was created in order to be able to own property that is not attached to the ground, creating a ‘double’ form of ownership where individual units are owned and registered in the names of buyers, while the ownership over residential common property is shared (Rosen and Walks, 2013). The fact that residential common property shared in the condominium assists in disconnecting these spaces from the public realm.

These new privatized spaces help to catalyze processes of gentrification and privatization in the context of intensifying neoliberalism by transforming property ownership that can be ‘invested in, speculated, and traded’ (Rosen and Walks, 2013). Furthermore, it represents the offloading of state responsibilities to private entities such as the condo boards, who become responsible for security, maintenance, recreational services, as well as tenant-landlord relations (Rosen and Walks, 2013). Private developers also play a part in subsidizing infrastructure for communities through development charges, which will be discussed in Chapter three.

This new urban lifestyle facilitated through the built environment is created through a mixed-use and multi-functional urban center geared toward three groups of buyers: empty nesters,

immigrants, and young professionals employed downtown to a greater extent (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2014; Rosen and Walks, 2013). These new residents alter the new neighbourhoods to suit their ‘reproduction and consumption’ patterns (Filion, 1991; Beauregard, 1986). This can be problematic because the privatization and exclusivity of certain spaces may fragment communities and form barriers for other segments of society.

Although smart growth and transit-oriented development strategies have the potential to assist in curbing sprawl and contributing to ‘vibrant’ neighbourhoods, the issue is that social inequalities arise due to the market-driven neoliberal governance policies whose primary goal is to stimulate economic growth (Bunce, 2004; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016). The next section elaborates on the impacts of rising real estate values to the process of gentrification, and its consequences on social justice and transit accessibility.

2.3 GENTRIFICATION

Transit-oriented development and mixed-use designations profoundly impact cities through dramatic increases in real estate values, which engender shifts in population demographics as well transformations in business types and services (Rayle, 2015; Beauregard, 1986). In this section, I examine both residential and commercial gentrification in transit-oriented development within the context of neoliberal governance.

Numerous studies highlighted the impact of transit-oriented development and the construction of light rail transit to rising property values and the onset of gentrification, citing a strong positive correlation (see Dewees, 1976; Hess and Almeida, 2007; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016; Jones and Ley, 2016). This is based on the idea that close proximity to transit stations provides an amenity value to riders, and this value can be realized through local land rents (Billings, 2011; Hess and Almeida, 2007; Du and Mulley, 2007). Billings (2011) also suggests that the introduction of rail infrastructure impacts property values prior to, as well as throughout transportation system operation.

Light rail impacts land use development more than buses, yet less than heavy rail (Black, 1993). Land use policies, investments, as well as favorable social and physical conditions have a profound impact on property values surrounding access points to premium transportation infrastructure (Hess and Almeida, 2007; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016; Du and Mulley, 2007).

Since transit-oriented development encourages proximity to transit infrastructure, property values often increase, and that increase in real estate value may contribute to the onset of gentrification. Dawkins and Moeckel (2016) refer to this phenomenon as ‘transit-induced gentrification’.

Billings (2011) argues that price gradients are significant based on distance, suggesting that LRT investment can be interpreted as a tool for economic development rather than a transportation amenity. Furthermore, Billings (2011) finds that there is a noticeable increase in condominium development after the announcement to build an LRT line within one-mile of planned stations, meanwhile commercial uses were slower to change, and that could be due to a changing consumer market related to patterns of residential development. On the other hand, a study conducted by Debrezion et al. (2007) revealed evidence of residential property price increases of up to 26% for areas around LRT stations. Meanwhile Dewees (1976) found that there is a statistical increase in the land rent surface within a 1/3-mile distance from the Bloor-Danforth subway stations in Toronto.

When it comes to the relationship between rail transit and land use patterns in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Hurst and West (2014) argue that proximity to LRT infrastructure during construction and operation had little effects on land use change relative to preconstruction. They found that proximity to LRT during operation has a small positive effect on land use change relative to the construction period on industrial and single-family parcels, but no effect on land use change on commercial or multi-family properties, and on vacant land (Hurst and West, 2014). The study also found that industrial properties closer to LRT were converted during construction, while developers converted buildings farther away after the line became operational (Hurst and West, 2014). Changes in land use and property values have the potential to offset gentrification.

There are various explanations illustrating the dynamics of the gentrification process (Wu, 2016). Two basic definitions I found to be useful for this paper; the first is by Jason Hackworth (2002), who defined gentrification as “the production of space for progressively more affluent users” (p.815). On a similar note, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) define gentrification as “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use” (p.xv). Both of these definitions emphasize the emergence of a new more ‘affluent population’ demographic which accompanies the process of gentrification, and assists in the production of new ‘affluent spaces’.

Gentrification definitions typically contain all or some of the following characteristics: a transformation in class and racial composition of a neighbourhood; influx of investment to a neighbourhood that may have previously experienced disinvestment; a process of rehabilitating structures and the built environment; conflict over territory; and lastly, it involves the displacement of original residents⁶ (Rayle, 2015).

There are both positive and negative aspects related to gentrification depending on the composition and the power dynamics shaping the city (Kohn, 2013). The positive impacts of gentrification are— that it assists in stabilizing declining areas, reduces vacancy rates, increases local revenues, encourages development, and assists in curbing sprawl (Atkinson and Bridge, 2010). However, there are numerous harms of gentrification, including— residential and commercial displacement through rent and property value increases and the conversion of rental units into condos or single-family dwellings, psychological costs of displacement, loss of affordable housing, alienation and exclusion, unsustainable speculative property market, increased cost and changes to local services, loss of social diversity, transformation of public, social and commercial space; polarization; and homogenization (Atkinson and Bridge, 2010; Kohn, 2013). As a result, gentrification is often depicted in a negative light. Kohn (2013) argues that the core harm of gentrification is inequality and income polarization, which becomes more visible and concrete through this process. Furthermore, gentrification not only impacts current residents of a neighbourhood, but also prevents potential residents, who may seek proximity to jobs, public transit, services, and amenities from relocating to a neighbourhood due to rising real estate costs (Kohn, 2013). Thus, both current residents, as well as populations interested in a gentrifying neighbourhood may be at a disadvantage if they do not have the financial capital to afford residential ownership or rental values.

Displacement and shifts in business types are also highly likely with TOD (Rayle, 2015; Kohn, 2013). Commercial displacement occurs in three ways: businesses may terminate their operations due to lack of affordability in a gentrified neighbourhood, they may lose their traditional consumer base, or they may be zoned out to new residential high-rise uses (Kohn, 2013; Beauregard, 1986). TODs often favor large national chains since small local businesses often face

⁶ Rayle (2015) argues that research on gentrification reveals that there is little evidence that large numbers of residents are displaced.

challenges in obtaining financing (Rayle, 2015). Furthermore, certain types of businesses may not be so flexible as to serve a new group of residents with different preferences and needs. This process also alienates residents, some of whom depend on small ethnic retail grocery stores in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification, or may have a connection with a certain type of business or service provider that has been in the area for a long time (Komakech and Jackson, 2016; Kohn, 2013).

Sharon Zukin (1991) argues that “gentrification – a process that seems to reassert a purely *local* identity – represents downtown’s social transformation in terms of an *international* market culture” (p.187). This definition correlates the process of gentrification in cities to global flows in capital, reiterating the notion that global neoliberal capitalism has profound impacts on life in cities. Furthermore, gentrification is rooted in the commodification of space (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010). At the heart of the gentrification debate is the dilemma of property in the capitalism system, which entails a contention between the ‘use value’ of a home versus the ‘exchange value’ of real estate driving capital accumulation (Newman and Wyly, 2006; Krueckeberg, 1995). Therefore, gentrification is caused by market-led, cultural and political processes, as opposed to solely the individual living preferences of the middle and professional upper class.

Gentrification is a process that transforms not only individual neighbourhoods, but also cities (Kohn, 2013). It results in powerful ‘spatial restructuring’ through a physical and cultural expansion of the downtown outward from the city center, resulting from a deeper ‘social restructuring’ (Zukin, 1991; Williams and Smith, 1986). Williams and Smith (1986) refer to this trend as the ‘social *Manhattanization*’ whereby the clustering of corporate activities, mainly professional administrative and managerial employment at the city center drives an ongoing momentum towards the proliferation of middle- and upper-income residential neighborhoods as well as luxurious recreational and entertainment facilities to cater to this professional class, as well as tourists (Smith, 1986). This trend results in ‘a gentrified inner city’, with pockets of working-class residents, where the city becomes divided along class lines (Williams and Smith, 1986).

The gentrification process is complex, “it entails investments by affluent households, speculators, developers, modernized housing stock, governmental investments in the built environment and transportation infrastructure, transformations in local retail and recreational facilities, as well as an enhanced tax base” (Beauregard, 1986, p.38). Political decisions play a

pivotal role in the process of gentrification (Jones and Ley, 2016). Governments benefit from transit-oriented development because such developments garner popular support and transform cities to become attractive to investments by multinational corporations and the professional class (Rayle, 2015). Furthermore, TODs provide benefits in tax-based revenues and increasing transit ridership to subsidize transit expenditures (Kim, Ulfarsson, and Hennessy, 2007). Property tax revenues can be life lines for cities to maintain a state of operation and repair. Governments orient planning and zoning tools to encourage TOD and smart growth communities to reap the aforementioned benefits (Kohn, 2013). Cervero (1984) concludes that the potential for land use impact is moderately high, where there are pro-development policy environments. This entrepreneurial style of urban governance is associated promoting privatization and brings about state-aided gentrification and displacement (August, 2016; Jones and Ley, 2016).

Transit systems not only connect various neighbourhoods in a city, but they can also empower individuals to participate in society's opportunities to a greater extent and transition populations "from poverty and dependency to self-sufficiency" (Hertel, Keil, and Collens, 2015, p.7). Mobility is essential for each individual to maintain positions of social, economic, political, and cultural power (Swyngedouw, 1993). For reasons such as convenience, choice of travel, proximity to work and the benefit of reduced travel times, those with financial means and social status are able to remain or relocate into neighbourhoods to access amenities such as transit.

In the current neoliberal agenda, transit-oriented development (TOD) achieves environmental and economic objectives, however that is often realized at the expense of social justice (Jones and Ley, 2016). We need to ask serious questions about social justice and emancipation because the political-economic decisions influencing our cities are not neutral or value-free, and if transit is not structured to be accessible for the populations that would receive the greatest benefits from its use, then it is not fulfilling its role of enhancing the equity and accessibility of urban spaces (Swyngedouw, 1993; Grube-Cavers and Patterson, 2015).

In this part, I discussed how transit-oriented development may lead to residential and commercial gentrification, as well as the importance of accessible transit to communities. The next chapter will elaborate on how these different processes are related to the case of the City of Toronto.

3.0 PLANNING IN THE CITY OF TORONTO

In this chapter, I seek to provide a background on the context of planning in the City of Toronto. I begin with an introduction to the city, then I analyze it through three lenses: Toronto the ‘competitive city’, the ‘booming city’, and Toronto ‘the city of inequality’. The ‘competitive city’ rhetoric is closely linked with neoliberal governance ideology discussed in Chapter two; the ‘booming city’ section looks at the ‘condo-boom’ and transit-oriented development; and lastly, I discuss the trends of inequality in the city. In general, this order follows the organization of the theoretical framework chapter.

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CITY OF TORONTO

Located in the southern portion of the Province of Ontario, the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA) is Canada’s largest urban region and one of Canada’s fastest growing areas (Metrolinx, 2008). The population reached over 6 million people in 2008, and is forecast to reach 8.6 million people by 2031 (Metrolinx, 2008). The GTHA contains two single-tier municipalities (Hamilton and Toronto), four regional municipalities (Durham, Halton, Peel and York), and their 24 lower-tier municipalities (see Figure 1) (Metrolinx, 2008).

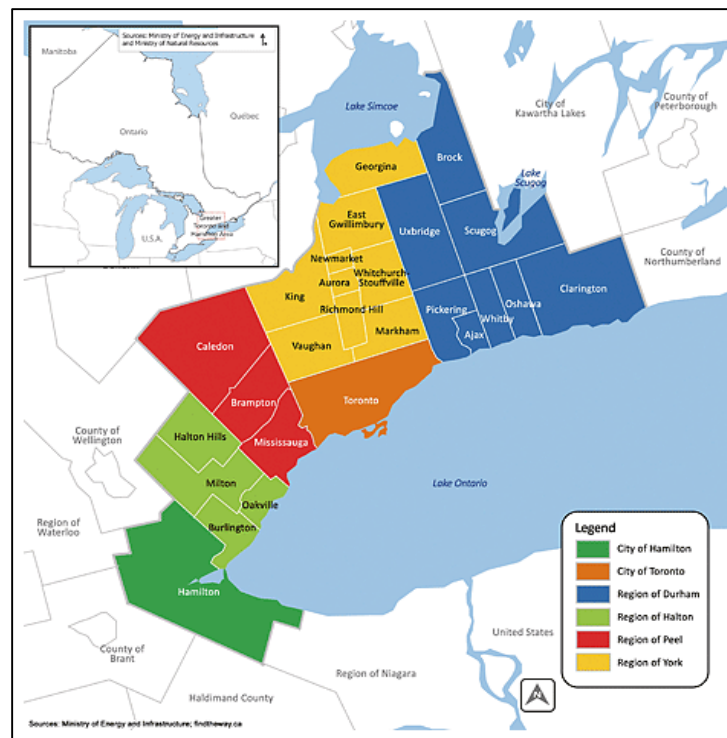


Figure 1. The GTHA region.

The City of Toronto itself (highlighted in orange in figure 2) is massive, with a size of 632 square kilometres (244 square miles) (Hulchanski, 2010). Over the past 30 years, Toronto's population grew from 2 million to 2.5 million, and it is forecast to increase 537,000 additional residents and 544,000 jobs by 2031 (The City of Toronto, 2015, 2-1). It is pertinent to look at the vast GTHA region, as well as the city of Toronto because the two are closely connected by a complex web of political, urban and regional planning, transportation and economic ties.

In 1953, Metro Toronto, which was the umbrella government for six governments (Toronto, Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, East York, and York) was founded (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). The city amalgamated in 1998 by the provincial government of Mike Harris, thereby replacing all former governments. As a result, the city became the most populous municipality in Canada and one of the largest in North America.

Planning in Toronto is guided by the *Toronto Official Plan*⁷, which provides land use, density, built form, as well as design guidelines. Toronto's Official Plan is governed by Provincial statutes and policies, including the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe, 2016* and the *Provincial Policy Statement (PPS)*. In terms of transit, it is served by the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC), (a public transport agency that operates transit service in Toronto) and Metrolinx (operated by the Provincial Government) in the region. These two transportation service providers are collaborating on the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project, and will be discussed in further detail in Chapter four.

The city's housing market is comprised of a variety of housing types connected by diverse local and regional transportation networks. Housing types includes low-density housing, single house dwellings, town houses, medium- and high-rise apartment rental buildings and condominiums. The residential developments are served by a network of highways, such as the controversial Gardiner Expressway, highway 401, toll highway 407, highways 404, the 400, the Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW), and the Don Valley Parkway (DVP). Transit options include the TTC's subway, street cars and buses; as well as regional networks of GO transit's trains and buses.

⁷ Toronto Official Plan was adopted by City Council in November 2002 and approved with modifications by the Ontario Municipal Board June 2006 and subsequently on June 2015.

Depending on the geographic location in the city, population density and urban form can vary from dense urban character and high-rise developments to low-density housing, largely depending on access to subway and road networks. Geographically, the municipality of Toronto contains a dense urban core surrounded by inner suburbs, sprawling suburbs and edge cities (Brenner and Keil, 2006). This section served as a brief introduction to the City of Toronto, whereas the next section deals with the ‘competitive city’ lens, through which Toronto can be analyzed.

3.2 TORONTO THE ‘COMPETITIVE CITY’

Toronto is a ‘second-tier’ global financial, cultural and manufacturing region, exemplifying many features of a global city well connected within the global economy (see Brenner and Keil, 2006; Friedmann, 2006). The sky-scrappers, financial institutions, global corporations, and the financial district in downtown Toronto are just some of the indicators signifying the city’s status within the world’s capital networks. As the economic hub of the Province of Ontario, it holds a significant number of transnational corporations and Canadian financial industries; it contains Canada’s largest and busiest airport (Pearson International Airport); and it encompasses a key hub of highway networks serving the region (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Additionally, Toronto is home to a large segment of Canada’s diverse immigrant population, leading some to suggest that it contains the most multicultural urban population in the world (Brenner and Keil, 2006; Flack, 2016).

Efforts by city officials to ‘mold’ Toronto into a globally-recognized ‘competitive city’, conforming with the neoliberal agenda have been well documented in academic literature (Bunce, 2004; Kipfer and Keil, 2002; Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009; Tufts, 2004; Viswanathan, 2010; Brenner and Keil, 2006; Albo, 2006). Beginning in the late 1970s, the transformation of Toronto by various levels of decision-making entities involved the modification of its governance structure. Kipfer and Keil (2002) state, “in the late 1970s and early 1980s, urban reform in the (inner) City of Toronto represented a form of regulating the transformation of Toronto from the core city of the Canadian political economy into a secondary global city” whereby planning adopted an ‘entrepreneurial stance’ (p.239). Whereas the following decade was marked as a period of downloading of services and austerity measures (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009; Albo, 2006).

One of the ways to understand municipalities is through their financial structures. Municipal revenues in Canada are derived from two sources: own-source and transfer payments from the provincial and federal governments (Sancton, 2011). Own-source revenues, which have surpassed transfers over the past 20+ years, include all money that the municipalities generate from property and related taxes as well as sales of goods and services (Sancton, 2011). Canadian municipalities, including Toronto, generate the largest portion through property and related taxes such as development charges (Sancton, 2011; Albo, 2006).

Toronto's amalgamation in 1998 came with a shift of provincial-municipal financial arrangements, whereby the Ontario provincial government carried out drastic cuts to provincial transfer payments, revamped the property tax system, and downloaded the cost for social housing, public transit, and other social programmes to municipalities (Kipfer and Keil, 2002; Albo, 2006). Since property tax is the city's main source of revenue, the city became strained with hundreds of millions of dollars in budget pressures on its property tax base (Kipfer and Keil, 2002; Sancton, 2011). This increases the reliance on real estate property as a source of income for cities under the umbrella of neoliberalism, but restricts lower-income residents from living in major cities.

Since the amalgamation, Toronto's municipal government focused on maintaining the city's hold as the financial capital of Canada as well as pursuing economic growth tactics such as Olympic bids and private-public partnerships for major redevelopment projects in order to enhance the city's position culturally and economically (Bunce, 2004; Kipfer and Keil, 2002, Tufts, 2004). In an effort to alleviate the strain on its budget, Toronto saw the opening of new revenue sources, such as user fees, under the *City of Toronto Act, 2006*. Under the *City of Toronto Act, 2006* the provincial government increased the scope for municipal governments to raise revenue. However, the City has also not taken advantage of most of these taxes. As a result, the City has been restrained from providing quality services and enhancing its global position.

Despite these financial burdens, city officials remained focused on the redevelopment of downtown into a more vibrant and livable urban space (Bunce, 2004). Driven by city planners, developers, architects, and business lobbies, and with the aid of the provincial and federal governments, it is associated with an emphasis on both enhancing private investment interests and maintaining Toronto's ability to compete with other cities for transnational capital (Bunce, 2004; Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Furthermore, strategies for competitiveness also entail attracting the 'right

type' of residents to Toronto, which have shifted from business-type of residents to "young, cool, educated, high-tech, high-value-added worker of the knowledge economy, as well as bohemian, artsy residents" (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009, p.183). As a successful city, Toronto seeks to gain the foreign skilled work force necessary to maintain the city's image and competitiveness within the world stage.

The Official Plan vision report makes these efforts by government officials more evident (Bunce, 2004). There is a profound emphasis on 'livable' urban spaces to enhance the city's capacity to attract and maintain skilled employment and private investment (Bunce, 2004). Referencing the City of Toronto planning report from 2000, Bunce (2004) argues that it is believed that it is pertinent for the city to be livable and culturally lively to attract capital investment and skilled employment. This approach that is in favor of urban intensification is based on the assumption that many benefits can be drawn from it, including satisfying the "public rationale of environmental protection, livability, competitiveness, and economic growth" (Bunce, 2004, p.181).

This vision, which in theory entails 'progressive' elements of urban reform, is in fact neoliberal and entrepreneurial in orientation, and threatens to merge downtown gentrified lifestyles with neoliberalism in a hegemonizing neoconservative claim to the city and urbanism (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Although a lively and multicultural urban centre is greatly appreciated by economic developers and professionals, this vision excludes many segments of society, who remain "voiceless, powerless, or simply too radical" (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009, p.205).

Thus, there are two processes that have drastically altered the real estate market in the city: the downloading of services and responsibilities from provincial and federal governments, coupled with a city that aims to (re)assert its global city status. The next part will discuss Toronto in the context of the 'booming city'. I argue that the neoliberal objectives reflected in official planning documents advocate for intensified urban development patterns and transit-oriented communities that contribute to the 'condo-boom' and the proliferation of condominium towers.

3.3 TORONTO THE 'BOOMING CITY'

Urban planning has become a primary avenue for 'neoliberal urbanization' to be realized (Bunce, 2004; Albo, 2006). The emergence of smart growth, urban intensification, and transit-

oriented re-urbanization language in official planning documents have become strategies to foster Toronto's growth as a major global economic center as well as to reduce sprawl (Kipfer and Keil, 2002; Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009; Bunce, 2004).

During the late 1990s, smart growth strategies were embraced in the Canadian urban policy, and particularly in Ontario, where the provincial government and the municipality of Toronto stressed urban growth management as an issue that needed to be addressed through the redevelopment and densification of urban development and population (Bunce, 2004). However, the rhetoric of smart growth strategies and urban intensification, which is 'advertised' as a solution to urban sprawl, is related to enhancing Toronto's position as an economically 'successful' city (Bunce, 2004). This is done to support a market-driven economic and physical revitalization plan of Toronto's central area through the Toronto Official Plan (Bunce, 2004).

The primary goal of Toronto's Official Plan is to promote smart growth through urban intensification and transit-oriented re-urbanization, and discretionary, design-focused planning that facilitates real estate investments in strategic locations in Toronto (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). The Official Plan stresses the integration of transportation and land use planning to maximize accessibility throughout the city (The City of Toronto, 2015, 2-4). This is established by creating "dynamic transit oriented mixed use centres and corridors" (The City of Toronto, 2015, 2-1). Mixed-use areas allow for a greater access to jobs and services, and to prime transit networks allows for an expediated commute.

This intensification of development and population is taking place in Toronto in the form of condominium development. The extensive development of condominium towers, a process known as 'condo-ism' or the 'condo-boom', is emerging as an economic and cultural force transforming the face of Toronto, and reinforcing an image of city towers that can be seen throughout the whole city (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2013; Rosen and Walks, 2014). However, this is a relatively recent trend.

In Canada and the US, the vast majority of new owner-occupied housing throughout the post-war period were built as low-rise single-family homes (Rosen and Walks, 2013). However, beginning in the 1970s, a number of factors such as population growth, demographic changes, rental housing policies, and changing consumer preferences contributed to the acceleration of higher-density condo-living in large metropolitan regions (Rosen and Walks, 2013).

Toronto, the largest housing market in Canada and the biggest condominium market in North America, has experienced a surge in condominium development over the last 40 years (Rosen and Walks, 2014; Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010). Two waves of condominium development took place in Toronto: the first wave began in the 1970s, and lasted for about ten years, while the second one which started in the late 1990s and is still ongoing, has been accelerating since the late 2000s (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2013). Currently, up to 25,000 units per year are being built in the city, most of which consist of high-rise towers and can be found in former industrial-zoned areas, along railway corridors, subway lines and major arteries throughout the city, with the highest concentration in the downtown core and along the waterfront (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2013). The first wave has brought about the older stock of apartment buildings in the ‘in-between city’ (the areas between downtown and suburbs), home to an increasing lower-income population who face growing patterns of disconnection by virtue of poor public transit access (Young and Keil, 2014; Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). While in the late 1990s the condominium market focused on low-end and medium markets, nowadays, more and more luxury projects have been proposed (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010).

Desire for condominium ownership is driven predominantly by three groups of buyers: young professionals who leave their parents’ suburban home to start their own lives, empty nesters whose children have moved out and who want to reduce their responsibility for maintaining a large house, and through immigration to Toronto (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010; Rosen and Walks, 2014). Furthermore, condominium developers target professionals employed downtown or in close proximity to transit nodes (Rosen and Walks, 2014). Young professionals are also attracted to relocate to the city core in mixed-use neighborhoods, as a place where they can ‘live, work and play’ (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2009).

The ‘condo-boom’ has not grown solely according to the ‘market logic’ (Rosen and Walks, 2014). Government policies at multiple scales have had a decisive role in promoting the intensification of existing built-up areas, supporting mixed land uses and fostering the rise of the condominium within parts of Toronto (Rosen and Walks, 2013; Rosen and Walks, 2014). Provincial legislation, and municipal planning through the City of Toronto’s official plan, played a role in shaping the rise of condo-ism in the city and have sought to channel development to the

most accessible locations in order to curb future urban sprawl and to address the need for additional housing policies countering population decline through reinvestments into underused urban areas (Rosen and Walks, 2014; Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010).

Condominium development continues to intensify along Yonge street (Toronto's main north-south street, which is also served by an underground subway line), both south of Bloor (the downtown) and along its stretch through North York (Rosen and Walks, 2014). The North York portion of Yonge St. is emerging as a particularly dense 'condo-magnet' (Rosen and Walks, 2014). Growth is spreading from this center along the east-west Sheppard Avenue, and over to Highway 404 (a major freeway connecting commuters between the suburbs downtown). In Toronto, the vast majority of the development is taking place along major transportation arteries, around key transportation nodes, and in various hub neighbourhoods (Flack, 2016; Rosen and Walks, 2014).

The Ontario provincial government has enhanced the influence of landed capital by decontrolling rents in vacant apartments, facilitating the conversion of rental housing, reducing the scope of local development charges, and making it easier for developers to bypass the local planning process and bring cases directly to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). The OMB is a "provincially-appointed, development-friendly agency that hears appeals of local land-use decisions" (Kipfer and Keil, 2002, p.244)⁸.

Furthermore, development charges, density bonusing, and other planning regulations have been enacted by governments to encourage condominium development (Rosen and Walks, 2014). Development charges, known as levies or development impact fees are one-time charges by the property owner (developer in particular) to fund a range of infrastructure costs associated with new developments, including water, sewer, parks, roads, and other amenities, and are imposed to shift the burden of paying for new facilities onto new developments, thereby saving the city from dealing with infrastructural development (Rosen and Walks, 2014; Sancton, 2011).

Another element of the planning system is density bonusing (formally allowed under Section 37 of the Planning Act, RSO 1990), which provides developers of new high-rise buildings with 'bonus' density over and above what is allowed by the zoning by-law, in exchange for the developer providing urban infrastructure, financial contributions or space for services on site or

⁸ The OMB has been highly contentious and controversial for its development-friendly orientation.

community (Rosen and Walks, 2014). This is problematic because the amenities or financial contributions flowing from density bonusing arrangements must remain within the ward by law, thereby encouraging city councillors to advocate in favor of new high-rise development proposals in order to attain infrastructural benefits for their local constituents (Rosen and Walks, 2014).

Condo-ism has become a primary process for the financialization and gentrification of the city to be articulated (Rosen and Walks, 2013; Rosen and Walks, 2014). Condominium development has been beneficial for Toronto's economy as it means greater revenues to its cash-stripped budget, but it has also been accompanied by a growing power of condo developers, an evident reliance on private sector housing development to provide public benefits, and the rise of condominium tenure (Rosen and Walks, 2014). In terms of development charge revenue, the city earned \$90-million in 2010, which was twice the 2009 level (Lorinc, March 9, 2011). The rates climbed 25% in 2011 after a two-year freeze, which was approved by the former council to aid the building industry through the recession (Lorinc, March 9, 2011). Former Toronto mayor John Sewell points out some of the issues arising from condominium developments, he states:

“These condos are out of control. You know that story in the newspaper recently about the emergency departments of hospitals being overwhelmed by all these people living in the condos. A lot of them are older, you know people are having heart attacks and all the things that happen to older people. St. Michael's hospital is just absolutely packed in the emergency department by people living in these condos. We haven't planned for them” (personal communication, 2016a).

The orientation of planning tools and policies by the Province of Ontario and the City of Toronto has been geared toward transit-oriented development and smart growth to advance the city's role as a global city and to provide revenue sources. However, this has been predominantly done at the expense of the poorer segments of society who tend to be pushed out to the periphery and with a lack of or diminished access to public transit. The next section will delve into the issue of inequality in the City of Toronto.

3.4 TORONTO THE 'CITY OF INEQUALITY'

The façade of a glamorous downtown, social diversity and the notion of 'togetherness' in Toronto overshadows the character of a city segregated geographically and socio-economically on the basis of class and race (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The “speculative, displacing, polarizing, and fragmenting contours of global-city restructuring” have become much more vivid

and apparent in recent years (Kipfer and Keil, 2002, p.239). These patterns have granted certain segments of city inhabitants a greater chance to access services, and places them in a much more favorable position to compete for quality jobs.

The vast number of new condominiums that spring up in the city suggest a sharp increase in Toronto's population, however, they seem to have led to gentrification without any major population gain (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2007 in Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). That is because most new households are inhabited by non-family households (Skaburskis, 2012). The speculative nature of the housing market has created dramatic and ongoing inequalities in the city. In fact, Toronto has had the most 'rapid' gentrification of the housing stock in the inner city housing compared to all other metropolitan areas in Canada, which is primarily the outcome of the strength of its financial sector (Walks and Maaranen 2008 in Walks, 2015).

Aside from the expensive real estate, property taxes in Canada are among the highest in the world, thereby adding significantly to the cost of housing and to the cost of businesses (Sancton, 2011). This prompts us to ask social justice questions: Who gets to live in those residences? And whose interests are being served? In a city characterized by its unaffordable housing market and luxury condominium developments, there are signs of social injustice related to housing.

The 10 year-long waitlist for access to subsidized housing in Toronto is one indication of this challenge in providing affordable housing (Kohn, 2013). The City does not have the capital to repair social housing in the city, therefore, they have collaborated with private developers on projects. Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) has entered into partnerships with developers, however, this has resulted in fewer social housing units after the developments, such as the controversial Regent Park development.

Under the political-economic paradigm of neoliberalism, smart growth and transit-oriented development strategies result in high degrees of social inequality and exclusion. For instance, in North York, an area that has experienced a new surge in condo developments along the subway lines, access to the subway has become one of the amenities people seek to access. Furthermore, access to mixed-use developments including employment, recreation, shopping, leisure, and opportunities to access by means of walking have become great selling points for young

professionals. As the population densities gravitate south towards the city core, so do population income levels and housing prices, in most cases. But nowadays, this type of development has expanded beyond the downtown core of the city. Looking at transportation hubs on the Yonge subway, it tends to be very crowded at most stops, therefore TOD has not necessarily been a great benefit.

One of the most important studies demonstrating the levels of spatial inequality in Toronto's neighbourhoods was published by David Hulchanski's Three Cities Report (2010). Hulchanski classifies Toronto's neighbourhoods into three distinct groups based on average income, and analyzes income change⁹ for a 35-year period, from 1970 to 2005. The report concludes that the city is polarizing into two extreme classifications; modestly growing affluent neighbourhoods and substantially growing low-income neighbourhoods, at the expense of the shrinking middle-income areas. The study looks at statistical trends in locational patterns, access to transportation, housing tenure, education, as well as visible-minority and immigration numbers. It also provides recommendations to tackle these alarming findings.

The first classification, labelled as City #1 by Hulchanski, is a primarily high-income area in which neighbourhood incomes have risen dramatically relative to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) average since 1970 (Hulchanski, 2010). Today, these neighbourhoods are generally found in the central city and close to subway lines, as well as in central Etobicoke, which contained higher-income residents since the time of its development (Hulchanski, 2010).

There was a modest increase in the number of higher-income areas during the study period, meaning that there is emerging gentrification in the city, particularly in central areas (Hulchanski, 2010). In these affluent areas, the population is characterized as primarily white (82%), and foreign-born residents declined from 35% to 28% during the study period (Hulchanski, 2010). Furthermore, in terms of education, 61% of residents 25 years old and over in City #1 had some kind of post-secondary education in 2005 (Hulchanski, 2010). As the study concludes, affluent city residents have a greater access to prime residential locations, higher quality transportation, and an advantage to compete for high-paying white-collar jobs (Hulchanski, 2010). Since these

⁹ The study uses average individual income of people 15 years and older to analyze income levels (Hulchanski, 2010).

neighbourhoods contain a small segment of visible-minority groups and immigrants, it is particularly alarming for a city that prides itself with multiculturalism.

By contrast, City #3 represents low-income areas of Toronto, in which incomes have fallen significantly over the study period compared to the CMA average (Hulchanski, 2010). It comprises 39% of the city's neighbourhoods, and geographically located in the northeast and northwest parts of the city, including almost all of Scarborough, the northern fringe of North York, and almost all of Etobicoke north of Eglinton Avenue, as well as large parts of the former municipalities of York and East York (Hulchanski, 2010). The study reveals that poverty, over the 35-year period, has transitioned from the centre to the edges of the city in the inner suburbs (Hulchanski, 2010). The low-income neighbourhoods also contain all of the 'priority neighbourhoods'¹⁰, which are areas with extensive poverty and lacking many social and community services (Hulchanski, 2010). Without access to social and community services, it can be extremely difficult for these populations to alleviate their financial prospects and social status in society.

In terms of housing tenure, renters are found in most areas of the city, but are especially pervasive in low-income areas, where they make up nearly half of all households (Hulchanski, 2010). This may not reflect a preference, but due to a lack of financial ability to purchase a place of residence whether it be a house, town-house or a condo. When it comes to immigration in the low-income neighbourhoods, the number of immigrants doubled over the 35-year period from 31% to 61%, and only 34% are white residents (Hulchanski, 2010).

There is also evidence of inequality in terms of access to transportation in relation to residential patterns, where only 19 of the system's 68 subway stations were located within or near low-income neighbourhoods (Hulchanski, 2010). This is due to the geographical polar-ization of neighbourhoods based on income, and because low-income neighbourhoods are located outside the central corridor along Yonge Street and the Yonge Street Subway in particular (Hulchanski, 2010). In the 1970s, when the city's low-income neighbourhoods made-up the inner city, the low-income households had good levels of accessibility to transit and services, but today they have relatively poor access to transit (Hulchanski, 2010). In terms of education, by the end of the study, only 31% of residents 25 years old and over in lower-income neighbourhoods had university

¹⁰ In 2005, the 13 'Priority neighbourhoods' were identified by the City of Toronto and the United Way of Greater Toronto (Hulchanski, 2010).

certificate, diploma, or degree (Hulchanski, 2010). This is interesting because the educational earnings of the lower-income populations is half of the education of the well-to-do. There is a sharp contrast between the characteristics of these two population segments.

In between these two areas is City #2, a mainly middle-income area, which has shrunk dramatically between 1970 and 2005 (Hulchanski, 2010). City #2 makes up 39% of the city and usually located between the other two neighbourhood classifications (Hulchanski, 2010). Although some may argue that the middle-income class has simply moved to the outer suburbs, the suburbs also have decreased middle income communities and rising low and high income classes (Hulchanski, 2010). In terms of education, in 2005, 35% of residents 25 years old and over in the middle-income areas earned a university certificate, diploma, or degree (Hulchanski, 2010).

The City of Toronto's neighbourhood transition has been alarming and dramatic, and the changes pose serious consequences for the city's residents (Hulchanski, 2010). Perhaps the biggest issue is the future of this city because it seems that these trends are persisting towards the creation of a city with increasing disparities between the rich and poor (Hulchanski, 2010). It also limits the abilities of people to escape poverty and to improve their living conditions.

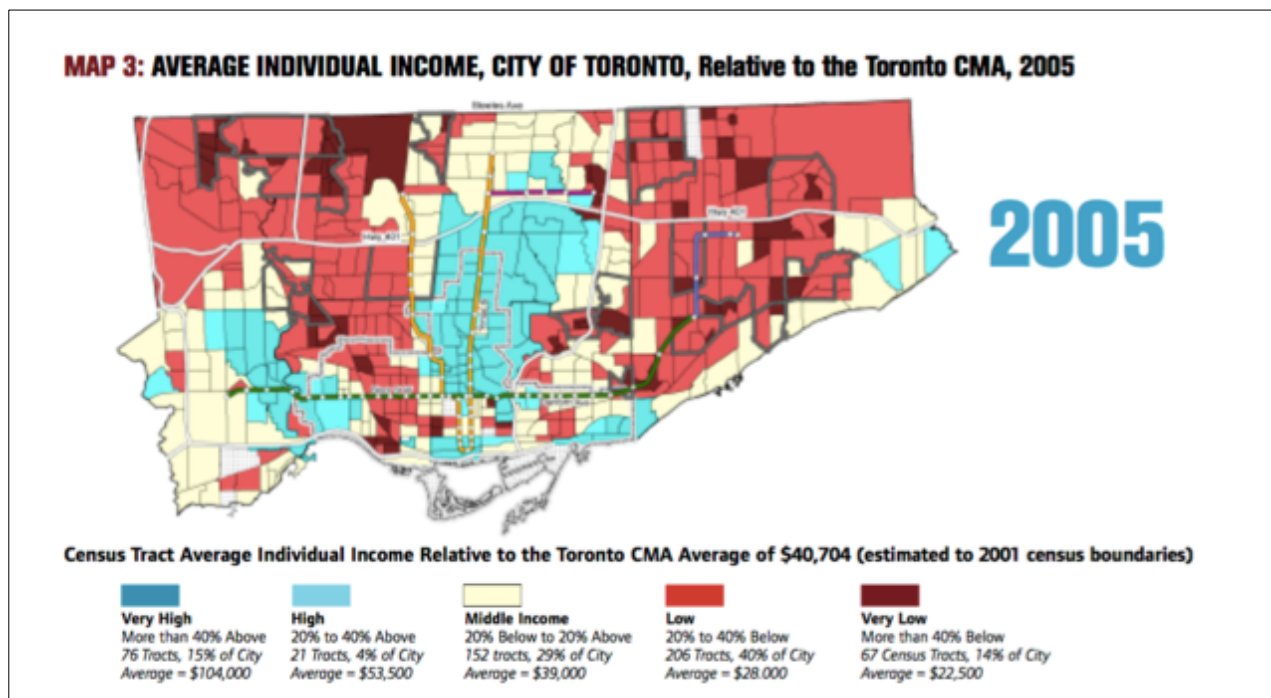


Figure 2. Toronto income statistics by neighbourhood in 2005.

Some of the most recent condominium developments and the highest land values of real estate are located along Yonge Street, along the subway line where access to alternative modes of transit has become a great amenity (see Figure 2). This process has the potential to drive out long-time city inhabitants through increases in land values and spatially segregated communities based on income.

The next chapter deals with transportation trends in the City of Toronto and the case study of the Eglinton Crosstown project. Transportation in the city remains contradictory. On one hand, there are strategies to improve transit, yet that is being attempted in a region that has been built based on an automobile-oriented model since World War II. The Eglinton Crosstown project, which is part of a larger investment in transit by the provincial government is the longest transit line since the Bloor subway development in the 1960s. It has a great potential to provide better transit service for the populations of the former cities of Scarborough and Etobicoke, and the impacts of this transit line on urban development are beginning to appear. However, the full extent will need to be analyzed after the opening of the line in 2020 and operation in 2021.

4.0 CASE-STUDY: THE EGLINTON CROSSTOWN PROJECT

The Eglinton Crosstown project in Toronto is the case study selected to illustrate the dynamics of the processes of neoliberal governance in global cities. It is an interesting case because the line is still under construction, and therefore, the impacts on urban development, to their full extent have not been realized. This section will begin with a discussion on transportation in Toronto and the GTHA region, whereas the following three sections are dedicated to the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project, its history, politics, and current state.

4.1 TRANSPORTATION IN TORONTO

Transportation issues in the city largely stem from government policies that have promoted automobile-oriented road infrastructures at the expense of transit investments for decades, and continue to under-invest in public transit. Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009) argue that the Toronto region is an urban region with many transportation contradictions; although it leads the rest of the country in terms of transport, there are serious deficiencies in the level and quality of its transport infrastructure. The Toronto region is an interesting case to analyze because the movement of people and goods in the region involves a vast network of users and providers with various needs

and interests, amidst a complex web of governing bodies managing transport at multiple scales (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). These processes have serious consequences on urban development patterns and city inhabitants, as well as Toronto's position as a global city.

Automobile-oriented transportation has been at the core of Canadian transportation policy, at least since World War II, which is primarily a North American phenomenon (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The ramifications of these policies are evident in the City of Toronto, where the regional transportation system is predominantly characterized by an extensive road networks of highways and arterial streets that crisscross the region, as well as extensive car ownership and use (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). This has resulted in the sprawling of the region, separation of land uses and a suburban lifestyle that was based on the logic of automobile transportation for everyday use (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

Aside from personal automobile use, much of the global transportation interactions with local flows are accomplished by cars and trucks, despite various issues such as gridlock and environmental consequences of air pollution (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Many knowledgeable people in the region share the opinion that better transit is needed, and that it has many other social, health, and environmental benefits (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Yet, transit expansion decisions have been largely 'piecemeal and political' (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). As the next section will elaborate, the Eglinton Crosstown project also underwent political disagreements, which became highly reflective of the contrasting stances between the automobile- and transit-oriented perspectives by the different actors involved in city planning and governance. In the minds of many, there was uncertainty and distrust pertaining to the dynamics of Canadian politics. This rhetoric took center stage in news platforms throughout the city.

Multiple levels of governments failed to create a coherent and coordinated regional transportation strategy for the 'common good' in southern Ontario (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). For example, when the conservative provincial government of Mike Harris amalgamated Toronto in 1998, it prioritized private automobile transportation, trucking, and road building and stopped all transfer payments to public transportation in the GTA (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). In addition, they created a weak institutional hybrid, called the Greater Toronto Services Board (GTSB), which allocated funding to regional GO Transit, and had authority only to plan, but not to implement transit infrastructure (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

One reason for these inadequacies is due to the political system in place, which may be structurally unable to create a set of policies that would consolidate the region and enhance a regional identity through transit planning (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). While these arguments highlight the necessity of regional solutions, municipal politics caught in the ‘local trap’ impede such solutions (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). As a result, quasi-governmental and non-governmental organizations have entered the discussions with proposals and agendas of their own (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

The TTC continues to be the centre of public attention in the city, and has been a source of concern for its employees, clients, politicians, transit advocacy groups, as well as the public (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The TTC is unique in North America (and perhaps in the world) for its high fare box recovery rate of 80%, compared to an average recovery of 38% by other municipal transit authorities (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The underfunded TTC carries 1.3 million passengers every work day (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

The City of Toronto implemented its Yonge subway line in the 1950s, relatively later than other cities like New York and London, thus it became challenging to build a more comprehensive underground subway network due to financial and built form implications. The backbone of the TTC are the buses in the city, along with a network of street cars downtown, and the two main subway lines of Yonge-University-Spadina and the Bloor-Danforth. John Sewell (2016a) states:

“Toronto took over private transportation in 1921, and so from that point on, it was public transportation run by the government. It operated out of the fare box. There was no public subsidy whatsoever from 1922 until 1972. During the second world war, when it was hard to get an automobile because everything was turned over to war production, so everybody rode transit. That’s the way you got around. And they made a really significant profit, a surplus during the war years, put it aside and that funded the Yonge street subway without any government subsidies” (personal communication).

It should be emphasized that TTC bus networks run along all major roads in the city as well as some local roads; furthermore, the majority of bus routes are connected to subway stations. However, the subway provides a superior service because it is faster and more comfortable, while buses in most cases do not have the right of way. Buses and street cars are impacted by traffic on

the roads, especially during the periods of 'rush hour' which can virtually cripple service during these periods.

Many have argued that the transit infrastructure in Toronto is insufficient to move people in such a large city with a large population. Instead of expanding its network, the TTC has adopted a more defensive strategy of the Ridership Growth Strategy (RGS) (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The short- to medium-range planning of running the TTC switched to maintenance and a policy of maintaining a status of good repair (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Management of the TTC was replaced by in-house practitioners and external transportation experts in order to improve transit (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). Capital spending for the TTC was redirected towards system maintenance and upkeep, a new stock of buses, streetcars, and subways which were manufactured by Bombardier, and extensive changes were put in place to improve communication and training (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

The Sheppard subway line (also known as the stub-way), which runs for five stations in the city's north end was opened in 2002. The latest expansion to the subway, which is currently under construction, will go through York University with its 50,000 students and 5,000 employees and the City of Vaughn (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The cost and timeline overruns are a common part of these major projects. Due to a limited access of most city residents to the subway system, the transit reliance remains on buses and streetcars, which form the backbone of the transportation system in the city.

Other alternatives to the TTC include biking and walking, which are quite challenging in some parts of the city, partly due to the dispersal of land uses. While sidewalks are available on most streets, there are safety issues which may prevent city inhabitants from walking. Furthermore, bicycle lanes are limited in the city and often lead to dead ends. Thus, most parts of the city which are not classified as mixed-use neighbourhoods, alternatives to the private automobile are limited in order to access services. The GO system, which is a provincial transit network connects people through local and regional locations, however, it does come at a higher price than the TTC and with limited points of access.

Since TTC revenue primarily stems from the fare box, higher ridership is necessary for the system to persist. One of the ways to maximize efficiency in transit investment is to ensure that

appropriate density is designated along these transit corridors (Tuckey, 2015). This means pre-designating and pre-zoning these lands for both residential and commercial intensification to contribute to funding the operational costs of transit (Tuckey, 2015). In other words, the TTC needs to ensure that there are enough people using transit to cover the cost of running it (Tuckey, 2015). As a result, TTC policies are driven by the relationship between urban density and the need for cost recovery (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009).

Transportation infrastructure needs to be planned not only to serve the current population, but to accommodate the growing population as well, which will require a massive increase in transit infrastructure (Metrolinx, 2008). The reality is that the GTA is a rapidly intensifying region in development and population, with little expansion in road and transit infrastructure, and it has led to an increasingly frustrating and congested commute (Filion and Kramer, 2011 in Walks, 2015).

Transit in the City of Toronto remains one of the most critical issues. Despite criticisms by many city residents, the TTC is a vital service. However, there is a critical need to make the service more efficient, reliable and accessible. With the changes to the public transportation system in the city through the construction of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project, it is a hopeful step toward a city that is well-served by transit to serve the growing city populations through vast geographies. Otherwise, Toronto cannot persist with its automobile-oriented patterns.

4.2 THE EGLINTON CROSSTOWN PROJECT BACKGROUND

The timeline of the Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) line dates back to March of 2007 as part of ‘Transit City’ – a transit plan consisting of 120 kilometres of proposed all-new light rail network along seven routes in Toronto (Lorinc, 2010; Bow, 2015). Transit City was a joint initiative by the City of Toronto and the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) to build a network of higher-order public transit to connect various parts of the city (Bow, 2015). Running through the city’s inner suburbs and city core, all lines were planned to operate on surface-level, yet protected from competing automobile traffic (Bow, 2015). The goal was to improve Toronto’s transportation network through cost- and time-effective means (Bow, 2015). The plan was launched by former Toronto mayor David Miller and then-TTC commissioner Adam Giambrone (Lorinc, 2010; Curry, 2012).

It must be noted that this was not the first time the city and Province attempted to build a rapid transit line along Eglinton Avenue. In the 1990s, a subway was planned from Bathurst Street to York Centre, however, the project was ultimately cancelled due to lack of funding (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011; Gee, 2012; O’kane, 2011). David Miller (2016) states that “for 50 years, there has been a need for another east-west line in Toronto” (personal communication). That is, in addition to the Bloor-Danforth subway line. In addition, John Sewell (2016a), former Toronto mayor states: “There had been a report by Richard Soberman which came out in 1976, and he recommended something along Eglinton, a subway on Eglinton. So that idea had always been hanging around” (personal communication). Furthermore, Adam Giambrone (2016) states, “there had been previous demand following the corridor for many years, I mean the original subway proposal goes back to the 1990s, or even before in fact, and so there has been very clear demand along this corridor” (personal communication).

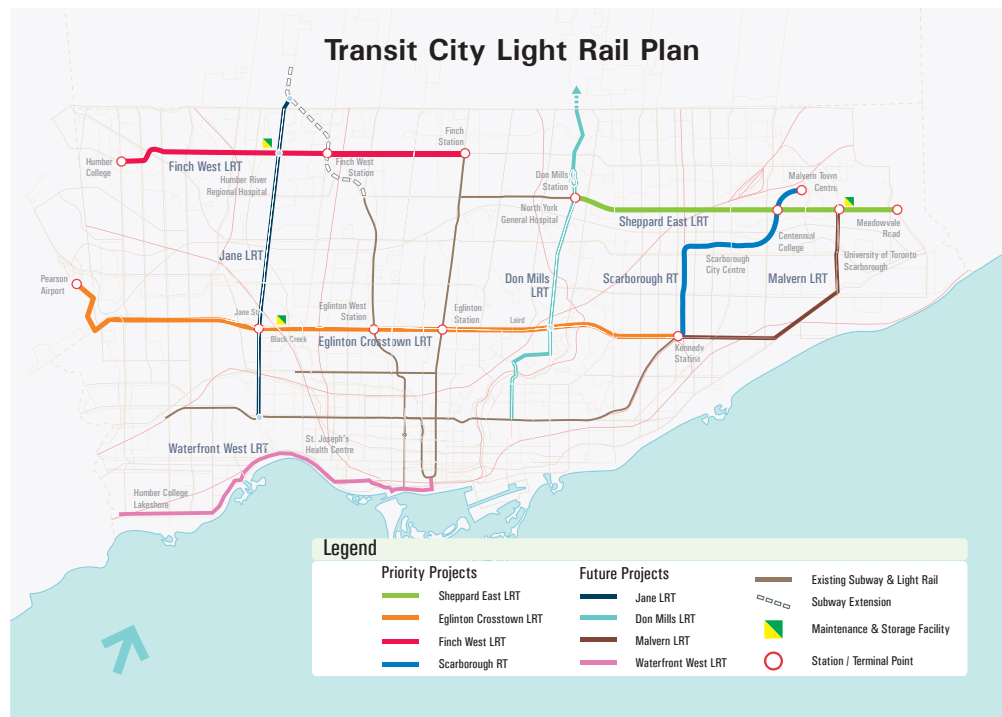


Figure 3. Transit City Light Rail Plan.

Due to the ballooning of costs and lack of funding, the plan was reduced to four major priority routes: The Etobicoke-Finch West, Eglinton Crosstown, Sheppard East and the Scarborough-Malvern LRT lines (Lorinc, 2010). The Etobicoke-Finch West line was planned as an 18-

kilometre line between Humber College's north campus near Highway 27, and the Yonge subway line at Finch station (Lorinc, 2010; Kalinowski, 2009). The 32.5-kilometre Eglinton Crosstown line was initially planned from Kennedy Road in the east to Lester B. Pearson international airport (Lorinc, 2010; Kalinowski, 2009). The Sheppard East 13.6-km line from Don Mills subway station to Meadowvale Avenue (Bow, 2015). The Scarborough-Malvern line, a 13-km line operating from Kennedy station, connecting the subway to the Eglinton Crosstown route, and terminating at Sheppard Avenue East, thereby replacing the deteriorating Scarborough Rapid Transit line (Lorinc, December 9, 2010; Bow, June 25, 2015). The Eglinton Crosstown was the 'centrepiece of the network', however, it has been controversial since it was announced as the longest and most expensive of Transit City's lines (Daubs and Kalinowski, February 4, 2010; Bow, June 25, 2015).

Adam Giambrone (2016), former TTC Chair states:

"The development of the LRT route was based on the Official Plan and numerous other planning documents over the last 30 years. There was a review of existing service on Eglinton, in which both the east and west branches of Eglinton are some of the busiest transit lines in the city, and so considering an upgrade to LRT made sense. As you know previously a subway had been considered in that corridor but both for the reasons of expense and in terms of the time it takes to construct the subway, it was determined that the passenger volumes both on opening day as well as projecting well into the future could easily be accommodated by an LRT, and so that is the reason an LRT was screened in for Eglinton Avenue" (personal communication).

The projects are all part of the Province's MoveOntario 2020 program, which was announced in June 2007, offering funding for 52 transit projects, including all the Transit City lines (Lorinc, December 9, 2010; Kalinowski, April 2, 2009; Bow, June 25, 2015). Metrolinx, the Provincial agency overseeing transit in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA), launched a regional transportation plan in September of 2008 entitled 'The Big Move', a 25-year, \$50 billion plan for coordinated, integrated transportation in the GTHA (Metrolinx, 2008). It was approved 2 months later, including the Transit City plan (Lorinc, December 9, 2010). Metrolinx, previously the Greater Toronto Transportation Authority (GTTA), was created in 2006 by the Province of Ontario to improve the coordination and integration of all modes of transportation in the GTHA (Metrolinx, 2016b). The mission of the agency is to "champion, develop and implement an integrated transportation system for our region that enhances prosperity, sustainability and quality of life" (Metrolinx, 2016b). The Eglinton Crosstown is one of the first projects in this plan.

In November of 2007, and at the same time the ‘The Big Move’ was approved, the TTC received a staff report was forwarded to City Council and Metrolinx confirming that the proposed Transit City lines satisfy a range of evaluation criteria and decided to move ahead with first four priority projects: Etobicoke-Finch West, Eglinton Crosstown, Sheppard East and the Scarborough Rapid Transit replacement (Lorinc, December 9, 2010). Since the project’s proposal, many changes have taken place and spurred a large public debate in the city.

The next section will elaborate on the modifications to not only the Eglinton Crosstown project, but other projects proposed in the Transit City plan due to political changes and other factors. The next section elaborates further on the Eglinton Crosstown LRT’s political history.

4.3 THE EGLINTON CROSSTOWN LRT POLITICAL HISTORY

On April 1, 2009, the Government of Ontario, under the leadership of Premier Dalton McGuinty and Transportation Minister Kathleen Wynne, announced funding for three projects: Etobicoke-Finch West (\$1.2-billion); the Eglinton Crosstown (\$4.6-billion); the Scarborough RT (\$1.4-billion), the 30-year-old, 7.2-kilometre Scarborough RT which would receive new vehicles and be extended to Malvern Town Centre or Markham road; and \$950 million for the Sheppard East line, which was announced by both the Government of Ontario and the federal government (Lorinc, 2010; Kalinowski, 2009). In 2009, Ontario’s Deputy Minister of transportation informed the City by letter that the four lines are regional transit projects are to be built by Metrolinx (Lorinc, 2010). In November of 2009, City Council approved Eglinton LRT environmental assessment study, and in May-June of 2010, Ontario Minister of Environment approved all the LRT environmental assessments (Lorinc, 2010). The LRT was planned to operate in a tunnel through the core but on surface rights-of-way at its east and west ends because the core features narrow streets, and widens on its east and west ends.

Newly elected mayor Rob Ford, who promised to ‘stop the war on the car’ in his campaign platform, canceled the Transit City plan in first day in office on December 1, 2010 (Walks, 2015). The Transit City plan that had that had already been launched and taken eight years to prepare under the previous administration of David Miller, and that would have built new light-rail train lines into the suburbs (Rogers, 2013; Curry, 2012; Walks, 2015). Furthermore, Ford promised to replace Toronto’s streetcars (above-ground trams running on rails) with buses, and cancel the

city's vehicle registration tax (VRT) (Walks, 2015). The streetcars have been controversial because they impede traffic. It was often Ford's transportation and mobility stance that took center stage in the campaign (Walks, 2015).

Ford's dislike of streetcars was well known, and in his view, the light-rail lines that would go on Eglinton Avenue are just a fancy form of streetcar that does nothing to ease congestion (Gee, 2012). Ford convinced the TTC chief general manager and the Premier to reconsider the plans and pushed for an extension of the Sheppard subway line from Don Mills to Scarborough Town Centre (Rogers, 2013). In March of 2011, the Province announced it will pay for the Eglinton line and gave green light to Ford's bid to bury all of the Crosstown light-rail line, as well as the cost of replacing the deteriorating Scarborough Rapid Transit elevated train with LRT technology at a total cost of \$8.4-billion, with contributions of \$333-million in federal grants that had been formerly pledged (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011; Rogers, 2013). However, the City would be required to pay \$4.2-billion for the Sheppard subway extension, meaning private funding must be sought (Rogers, 2013; Lorinc and Morrow, 2011). The Ontario government agreed to contribute \$8.4-billion under both plans, meaning that the contribution does not represent any new spending, but rather it is money that had previously been committed to build the first four lines of the Transit City (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011; Baluja, 2011). The only difference is that Province will now only pay for two projects, instead of spreading the funds across four different lines (Baluja, 2011). Furthermore, Metrolinx preferred a subway on Eglinton, but the TTC argued ridership would not justify the expense (Daubs and Kalinowski, 2010).

The \$8.2-billion light-rail line was planned to carry passengers from Black Creek Drive in the west to the Scarborough City Centre in the east, connecting to existing subway lines and alleviating congestion (Gee, 2012). Under the original plan, the line would go through a tunnel in the centre, but above ground in less dense areas like the eastern part of Eglinton Avenue (Gee, 2012). However, it was argued that light-rail vehicles are designed to travel on the surface, and the broad streets of east Eglinton would allow for that (Gee, 2012).

Although the Ontario government was responsive to Ford's demands, his stance on transit put him at odds with many stakeholders in the city, including city councilors, academics, and the general public. TTC Chair Karen Stintz took an important step when she questioned plans for the Eglinton Crosstown transit line, thereby opening a public debate on the biggest transit project in

the city (Gee, 2012). If it was going to be light rail, she wanted to make it a mixed line: part underground, part above (Gee, 2012). Stintz' move was risky because it put her against the man who hired her (Gee, 2012).

The majority of City Councilors, from left-leaning to the conservative end of the spectrum, including Councilor John Parker and Councilor Josh Matlow, whose wards will be served by the Eglinton LRT also agreed that it would make more financial sense to have the LRT above ground in some parts of the line (Gee, 2012). Particularly since many of the areas along their paths are low-density suburban neighbourhoods that might not have enough transit riders to generate the revenue to operate the transit lines (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011). Building underground is about three times as expensive as building surface transit lines, meaning the city could not afford to extend rapid transit to as many parts of the city as initially planned (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011). Cities in North America and around the world with variable climates have a renewed interest in

Opposition also came from an influential group of transit and planning experts, who released a 'strongly-worded' letter calling on City Council to modify the controversial \$8.4 billion plan (Lorinc, 2012). The letter was signed by 117 urbanists, rejecting Mayor Rob Ford's pledge to bury the entire Eglinton Crosstown LRT as 'radically out of sync' compared to leading cities around the world (Lorinc, 2012). The group, which included former Toronto chief planner Paul Bedford, veteran transit expert Richard Soberman, and urbanist Ken Greenberg called on Council to revive the original Crosstown plan (Lorinc, 2012). The letter pleaded that City Council return to detailed long-term transit planning because council's chronic flip-flops on approved transit strategies have cost taxpayers millions in contract cancellation fees and delays (Lorinc, 2012).

TTC Chair Karen Stintz handed a petition to the City clerk with signatures from 24 councilors requesting a meeting on transit (Church, 2012). At the meeting, which was held on Wednesday, February 8, 2012, Ms. Stintz presented a motion for Council to revive much of original Transit City plan and reaffirm its 2009 agreement for light rail lines on Eglinton, Sheppard Ave. East, Finch Ave. West, and replace the existing Scarborough Rapid Transit line (Church, 2012; Rogers, 2013). It passed by a 25-18 vote, and the Province vowed to uphold the City's decision to complete the Eglinton Crosstown by 2020, despite Mayor Ford's disapproval (Rogers, 2013). By the fall of 2012, Metrolinx and the TTC signed a deal to complete the four LRT lines, to introduce a smart-card fare system, and to obtain \$8.4-billion from the Province (Rogers, 2013).

There is an incentive to saving money on the Eglinton Crosstown project because savings, which constitute about \$1- to \$1.5-billion –could be used for the LRT line on Sheppard (Gee, 2012). A reversal to the original plan also saves time, because the environmental assessments for Plan A had already been completed, and with less tunneling required, construction would require less time (Gee, 2012).

A fight for control of building Toronto’s new light-rail network ensued, and behind the disagreement is a power struggle over who would manage construction of Toronto’s largest public transit expansion in decades: the TTC or Infrastructure Ontario (IO)¹¹ (Grant, 2012). The McGuinty government decided Infrastructure Ontario (IO) should act as the procurement agent that would select a private consortium to design, build, finance and maintain a network that will be ultimately owned by Metrolinx and operated by the TTC. However, giving IO control to deliver the lines required the TTC to dissolve a 200-person Transit Expansion Department established in 2008 (Grant, 2012). The TTC accepted losing control of the projects, although the transit authority will still be consulted, especially on the stations at Kennedy, Eglinton and Eglinton West where the lines connect with existing transit (Grant, 2012).

The agency has delivered projects such as hospitals and courthouses, and it is currently working on an LRT project in Ottawa (Grant, 2012). Metrolinx insisted IO can meet the 2020 deadline – especially with a private consortium to keep the project on track (Grant, 2012). In November 2015, Metrolinx and Infrastructure Ontario announced that Crosslinx Transit Solutions (CTS) – a consortium of SNC-Lavalin, EllisDon, AECON, and ACS Infrastructure Canada – was awarded the contract to complete the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project (Metrolinx, 2016c). Using the Alternative Financing and Procurement (AFP) delivery model, Crosslinx’s proposal commits them to design, construct and finance an integrated transit system, track work, signaling, communications and other required infrastructure; and maintain the system for 30 years, including lifecycle repair and renewal of building and system components (Metrolinx, 2016c).

This section sought to illustrate the power of the municipal government in guiding transit expansion in the city. It is a complex, fluid, and uncertain process which ultimately determines

¹¹ Infrastructure Ontario (IO) is a provincial procurement agency designed to attract public-private partnerships to large capital projects.

how people move around the city to access various services. The next section focuses on the details of the Eglinton Crosstown project as a result of these discussions and disagreements.

4.4 THE EGLINTON CROSTOWN LRT PROJECT TODAY

The Eglinton Crosstown is a light rail transit (LRT) line that will run across Eglinton Avenue between Mount Dennis (Weston Road) in the west and Kennedy Station on Kennedy road in the east (Metrolinx, 2016a). This 19-kilometre corridor will include a 10-kilometre underground portion, between Keele Street and Laird Drive (Metrolinx, 2016a). The Eglinton LRT will be operated by the TTC but owned by the province, since Queen's Park paid the municipal portion of the projects (Kalinowski, 2010). It represents an investment of \$5.3 billion, and is part of the \$8.4 billion investment from the Ontario government toward better transit in Toronto (Metrolinx, 2008).



Figure 4. Map of The Eglinton Crosstown Stops

The Crosstown project is one of the largest transit expansions in Toronto's history (Metrolinx, 2016a). Construction on the Crosstown line began in summer 2011 and service is projected to begin in 2021 (Metrolinx, 2016a). The speed of a Crosstown vehicle will average 28 kilometers/hour, which is determined by the spacing of the stops and the speed limits of surrounding traffic (Metrolinx, 2016a). Crosstown vehicles are expected to surpass the speed of

an average subway vehicle in downtown Toronto (Metrolinx, 2016a). There are some large gaps in distance between some of the stations, especially the underground stations in the central part of the LRT line (Metrolinx, 2016a). The LRT connects the city's busy midtown district with inner-suburban neighbourhoods to the east and west (Lorinc and Morrow, 2011).

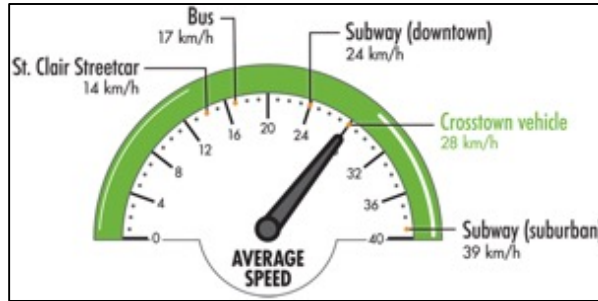


Figure 5. Speeds of Different Transit Modes in Toronto.

	Current (via bus)	Crosstown LRT
Kennedy station to Yonge-Eglinton	40 minutes	26 minutes
Kennedy station to Eglinton-Keele	73 minutes	38 minutes
Eglinton-Keele to Eglinton West station	16 minutes	6 minutes

Table 1. Sample travel times using the LRT in contrast to bus service.

The Crosstown will carry passengers in dedicated right-of-way transit lanes separate from regular traffic, as well as priority signaling at intersections, and it will be 60% faster than current bus service (Metrolinx, 2016a).

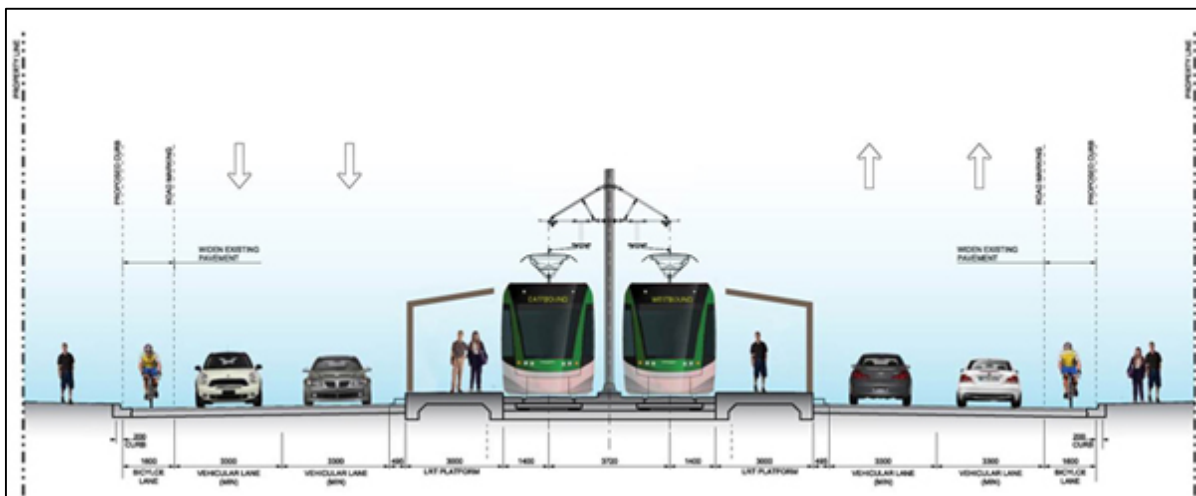


Figure 6. Rendering of a typical surface stop arrangement

The Crosstown will have 25 stations and stops, and it will link to 54 bus routes, three subway stations and multiple GO Transit lines (Metrolinx, 2016a). The projected ridership of the Crosstown is 5,500 passengers per hour in the peak direction by 2031 (Metrolinx, 2016a). The capacity of an LRT is 15,000 passengers per hour in each direction, and 66,000 passengers per day (Metrolinx, 2016a). LRT cars can be removed or added easily, providing the flexibility to accommodate ridership demands (Metrolinx, 2016a). LRT cars are designed and manufactured by Bombardier, and seat 60 people for a capacity of 163 passengers per vehicle, and up to three vehicles can be combined at a time, carrying up to 490 people (Metrolinx, 2016a). Currently, buses are heavily congested, and projections show that there will be substantial population growth on Eglinton Avenue, therefore, ridership will continue to grow. Crosstown vehicles are built to be accessible and will have multiple entrances and low floors to ensure fast and accessible boarding (Metrolinx, 2016a).

Throughout this section, I focused on transportation in the City of Toronto, as well as the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project. As I tried to illustrate, the process of transportation infrastructure development is highly controversial and fluid in a city with a large population and diverging interests. On one hand, there have been some recent developments in the transit network, but it will have to develop further in order to meet the demands by future generations. Regarding the relationship between transportation and urban development, the next chapter will elaborate on the impacts of the construction of the Eglinton Crosstown project on Eglinton Avenue.

5.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT project stretches for 19 km, and to study its impacts on all neighbourhoods is a difficult task. Therefore, I focus on the stretch between Eglinton and Yonge to Eglinton and Don Mills on the eastern portion. I will elaborate on the observations gathered from my fieldwork, as well as from interviews, on the transit line in general. In this section, my focus will be on the condominium developments that are leading to profound transformations in the area of Yonge and Eglinton, followed by developments around Eglinton and Laird, and finally less profound transformation on Don Mills and Eglinton.

5.1 EGLINTON LINE

The 19 km LRT line passes through 12 out of the city's 44 wards, and thus, neighbourhood characteristics vary throughout the line when it comes to density, urban form, population income,

and visible minority/multiculturalism.

Most of Eglinton Avenue contains mid-rise development. During the fieldwork I conducted on Eglinton in August of 2016, I familiarized myself and gained an overview of the study area. I analyzed the types of developments present in these areas, analyzed residential development, mixed-use, green spaces, offices, restaurants, retail, and so on, while taking photographs and recording notes. From my fieldwork, I observed contrasting urban forms representing various types of communities. Looking on Eglinton east from Yonge to Mount Pleasant Road, there are many high-rises, consisting of residential, office buildings, shops, restaurants and cafes. It is a lively area, even with current LRT and condominium construction. However, it is evident that there was a period of 20-30 years where not much development took place because the buildings are out-dated (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. The intersection of Eglinton and Mount Pleasant road

Heading east on Eglinton from Mount Pleasant, there are many high-rise residential buildings, which transition to mid-rise and low-rise developments. Some of which contain businesses. However, through this stretch (Eglinton and Yonge to Eglinton and Bayview), there are many signs of redevelopment.

The intersection itself, the Yonge Eglinton centre containing the Cineplex Cinemas, shops and restaurants has been renovated, giving a vibe of a downtown neighbourhood. It contains new buildings and it speaks to a more affluent and younger demographic (see Figure 8).



Figure 8. The intersection of Eglinton and Yonge

The intersection of Bayview and Eglinton is a relatively underused area, which will be the site of yet another condominium building to replace a plaza on the north-east corner: 660 Leaside by RioCan. Continuing east to Laird, there are both mid-rise and low-rise residential developments. There are also new condominium buildings under construction and existing commercial uses. The most prominent commercial use is the Leaside Business Park, which is an industrial park and major manufacturing centre.

Heading further east to Don Mills, it is primarily a park, with condominium developments taking place on the south side, close to Leslie and Eglinton. The Don Mills and Eglinton intersection contains the Science Center, Superstore, some commercial and residential buildings. Heading further east is the intersection of Eglinton with the Don Valley parkway, and some high-rise residential buildings and businesses. Then to Victoria Park there is a substantial number of

commercial uses all the way to Warden, car dealerships, fast food joints, and office buildings. There are mid-rise residential buildings from Birchmount Road to Kennedy, as well as plazas. This area seems to be for lower-income populations, based on the quality of infrastructure and shops.

From Yonge and Eglinton heading west, there are office buildings, mid-rise residential buildings and businesses that cater to a more affluent population. Avenue road is an affluent area with many luxury boutiques, restaurants, and cafes.



Figure 9. LCBO on Avenue Rd. and Eglinton



Figure 10. Boutiques on Avenue Rd. and Eglinton

From Avenue Road to Bathurst, it is also an affluent area. For example, figures 11 and 12 represent two historic art-deco buildings: The Crofton and Roycroft apartment-turned-condo buildings in the affluent Forest Hill area.



Figure 11. The Crofton condo building



Figure 12. Roycroft condo building

From Bathurst and Eglinton heading west, there are numerous mid-rise residential and commercial buildings, including many closed businesses and leasing signs. Around Eglinton

Avenue and Allen road is a segment of high-income populations (based on observation of well-maintained developments). Then heading west to more deteriorated areas, there are Caribbean, Asian, and Indian shops. In terms of the built form, it is mid-rise development, wide sidewalks, and transitions to some high-rise on Eglinton Avenue and Dufferin Street. Then heading west from Dufferin Street, it transforms to low-rise residential to Caledonia road, then some high-rise buildings and plaza. Heading to Keele Street, there are many 2-storey developments with local ethnic businesses on the lower level and residential on the second floor (see Figure 13).



Figure 13. 2-storey developments with local ethnic businesses on the lower level and residential on the second floor

From Keele east to about Yonge, most of the development is still 2 or 3 storey linear buildings. In sum, Eglinton Avenue is a long stretch representing various communities, development patterns, and communities. As a result, the impacts of the LRT on development patterns will also vary.

Aside from bringing mid-Eglinton closer to downtown, the Eglinton LRT will also connect Scarborough and Etobicoke to the city core. It will provide residents with better access to job opportunities and services, but the fact that it may result in higher real estate values is a problematic prospect. David Miller (2016), former Toronto Mayor and currently the CEO of WWF, states:

“I think it will change the way we see the city. The first thing I would see is Scarborough being far more connected to the fabric of Toronto, and you will be able to get on rapid transit from Scarborough and go all the way to the Yonge street subway.

That is a dramatic change for people who live there, and it will feel much more connected to the fabric of the city. The second place will be from Keele east to Yonge having a similar kind of fact of being connected into the fabric of the city, we will see people in that corridor feeling more connected to the center of the city as well. So I think the biggest impact will be bringing the former city of York and the former city of Scarborough and making them a much more accessible and convenient part of the City of Toronto as a whole” (personal communication).

On a similar note, former TTC Chair Adam Giambrone (2016) states:

“We know that the project ties together a large part of the city as it crisscrosses the city from Kennedy out to just past Jane, the Kodak lands and then ultimately out to the airport. It is transformational, it will I think knit together a lot of the different individual communities along the line and make rapid transit more accessible to a large number of people, I think it ultimately carries upwards of 15 million people a year, that is what the projected numbers are, so clearly this is going to have an effect on people who are already living in the corridor and people who move to the corridor, and because of the effects we know about LRT, and especially the areas in the underground LRT section in the center of the city which will act more like a subway. We know that that will also likely focus development within the corridor, so we can expect there to be as part of the Avenue study of the city, we should be concentrating development along transit lines, and that’s what I think will happen as part of the Eglinton project. It won’t just be about moving people from A to B, but it transforms communities and gives people access to better services, and therefore makes these services more available” (personal communication).

There are three key points that we can deduct from the above quotes, one is that the LRT transit line will connect residents of the city who were not as connected before. Secondly, it will transform communities, and thirdly, it will connect city residents to and from the airport, because the Eglinton LRT will connect with the Union-Pearson Express, heading to Pearson airport. It will be a transformational project because currently these communities rely on bus transit which is affected by traffic and can delay travel times during peak traffic periods.

5.2 LRT AND DEVELOPMENT

Currently, some of the biggest changes are taking place in midtown Toronto, around the intersection Yonge and Eglinton (Flack, 2016; Perkins, 2013). With the scheduled arrival of the Crosstown LRT for 2021, the Eglinton-Yonge neighbourhood is destined to become ‘the next

major transit hub in this city’, and development is underway to capitalize on the forthcoming feature of the area (Flack, 2016). Although development had already begun prior to the implementation of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, the LRT project is presumed to further accelerate the process of development in the upcoming years. Arguably, the LRT development has not only impacted the proliferation of condominiums, but it has also affected businesses.

The development of condominiums is no longer characteristic of the downtown core of Toronto (Perkins, 2013). The growth on Yonge and Eglinton is drastically outpacing the growth rate of the western part of downtown Toronto, where the sight of cranes is ubiquitous (Perkins, 2013). It is argued that part of the interest in developing in that intersection is due to the implementation of the Eglinton Crosstown:

“That is still years away, but the new transit is already having an impact on the neighbourhood. Yonge and Eglinton, which not so long ago was facing decline, is experiencing a massive growth spurt that is just in its infancy. Following in the footsteps of its southern siblings, it is going to get much taller, as 30-storey-plus condo buildings become more commonplace. And while density is being encouraged, the congestion that it can cause is likely to stir up more controversy around Yonge and Eglinton than it has in some parts of the core that are more accustomed to hustle and bustle” (quoted in Perkins, 2013).

There is a cycle taking place where as Yonge and Eglinton is attracting residents, condominium developers are drawn to the area, and with the added amenity of the new LRT line, are attracting more residents, and so on and so forth (Perkins, 2013). Developers suggest that density is inevitable, and should be positively perceived as a sign of a neighbourhood on the rise (Perkins, 2013). One of the interviewees for this paper lamented:

“Yonge and Eglinton was a great location from the beginning, you had access to the subway and there are many businesses, restaurants and shops. The Minto project brought up the investment again..... When that project got approved, other developers wanted to to build there too and that added to the intensification” (Developer, personal communication, 2016).

Regarding the relationship between condo developments and the Eglinton LRT, David Miller (2016) argues that the current proliferation in development within the core section of Eglinton is due to both general city trends, as well as the Eglinton Crosstown project. He states:

“We are seeing both, but I think anything that has been built as of 2014 was more applicable to general city trends because they would have had approvals while I was in office, and although Eglinton had received approval in funding, developers would have been skeptical until they saw construction start for obvious reasons. So I think as of 2014 maybe 2013, that would have been due to general city trends. Things that are approved post-2013 or 2014, so being built starting maybe next year or the year after, those would be more in direct response to the LRT. But we are seeing, in parts of Eglinton an influx of people wanting to live here and we will only see more of that as it becomes more convenient. I think that is quite clear. The question will be, in the core, the LRT is built like a subway with stations relatively far apart and underground. In the non-core, it is built at grade. Will we see a differential kind of development? Will we see what city planners predicted, which is the at-grade part, instead of having nodal development, will have more longitudinal. I think those are very interesting questions. There are also impediments to mid-rise construction anyway, it is relatively expensive because of rules like if you have 4 storeys, you have to have an elevator, so it is not a necessary default to build an 8 storey building here. The default is to build a 20 storey. Those are things that we are watching” (personal communication).

Many of the new condominiums which are currently proposed, or are already built are banking on the LRT line. According to Todd Cowan (a partner at CD Capital, one of the developers in the area), “Yonge and Eglinton needed something to give it a kickstart, and we think that this commitment for the LRT line is what really created the impetus” (quoted in Perkins, 2013). Furthermore, access to a higher order of transit, and in this case the Eglinton Crosstown “is one of the key considerations in looking at condominium sites because it is comparable to a subway since it will be underground and the time it takes to get from point A to B will be very similar” (Developer, personal communication, 2016).

On the other hand, John Sewell (2016a) argues that development takes a very long time to respond to transit. He states:

“We will see some development at some point, but the way cities work is it takes a long time for anything to happen. And I don’t think we are going to see very much in the first twenty years. It doesn’t happen fast. It takes a long time. Eglinton and Yonge got put in place in 1953, so when did all that redevelopment happen? 70s? early 80s? It happened about 25 years later. So it’s going to be the same with the Eglinton LRT. Will it happen? It probably will. But it’s going to take a long time. You look at Bloor-Danforth, so how much development has happened along Bloor and Danforth because of that? Not very much. That has been in place since 1962. Almost 50 years” (personal communication).

It can also be argued that the same is taking place with the development around the University-Spadina line North of Eglinton. The general consensus by developers and experts is that the LRT does impact development, however, it may take a longer period of time.

5.3 DEVELOPMENT

Currently, there is some development taking place on Eglinton, but it is mostly concentrated around Eglinton and Yonge. David Miller states, “I think we are only starting to see the beginning of it”.

Most of Eglinton is zoned mid-rise, consisting of seven to eight storeys, so changes to high-rise buildings will result in a dramatic change. As of October 12, 2016, there were 33 development proposals on the Eglinton corridor under review (Spurr, 2016). Jennifer Keesmaat, Chief Toronto Planner said that the planning department’s “main concern is finding ways to increase density, and to manage booming residential and commercial growth to make sure that community amenities and vital infrastructure keep pace” (quoted in Spurr, 2016). In terms of the transformations on Eglinton Avenue, Adam Giambrone (2016) states:

“Certainly the corridor has been experiencing ongoing growth, specifically at the node of Eglinton and Yonge, where it has been one of the major commercial centers and employment centers for the GTA. By upgrading transit options along the corridor, there is also the likelihood that more people in that corridor will take transit as it becomes more viable, more comfortable, more reliable. The new transit line will also spur development, we are already seeing this a little bit in terms of new development advertising in the future presence of the LRT in the corridor, so it is a sort of circular or an ongoing discussion. I mean there was a lot of density and travel demand there to begin with, the LRT will support that and then drive more of it, and so it is this beneficial cycle that continues to play out” (personal communication).

The following three sections discuss development in three main nodes on Eglinton: Eglinton and Yonge, Eglinton and Laird, and Eglinton and Don Mills.

5.3.1 EGLINTON AND YONGE

On Eglinton and Yonge, there is a great interest from developers to construct condominium buildings. In addition to attracting new residents to the neighbourhood, condominium developers who have invested in the area are hoping to attract some of the long-time renters in the many

apartment buildings into buying some of the new condominium units (Perkins, 2013). Condominium prices vary, but they are usually reasonable pricing, not ultra luxury like Yorkville (Developer, personal communication, 2016). Developers usually look for who lives in the area in the first place, and then there are also professionals who will want to move into the area and take advantage of employment, and access to the Eglinton Crosstown LRT (Developer, personal communication, 2016). The area is suitable for density because it provides access to the Yonge-University subway line, and the upcoming Crosstown LRT line, as well as access to employment, restaurants and shops. There are a number of concerns however, including a loss of commercial space, as well as increased height and density.

Firms like LinkedIn and Facebook occupy offices in the area, and young professionals who live in the new condos are will have the opportunity to work for such companies (Perkins, 2013). I will list some of the high-profile condominium projects on the intersection of Eglinton and Yonge, north and south of the intersection on Yonge, and east of the intersection on Eglinton. On the intersection itself, a joint project between Bazis, Metropia, and RioCan will bring E-Condos to the northeast corner of Yonge and Eglinton with two towers consisting of 58 and 38 storeys for a total of 854 units to be completed in 2017 (Figure 14).



Figure 14. A photograph taken at the intersection of Eglinton and Yonge
Across the street on the southeast corner, Davpart plans to bring the 65 storey-1 Eglinton

East project, which if approved, would be the tallest in the area, and would contain office, retail, and residential units (Flack, 2016). The proposal was reviewed by Toronto's Planning Department and the City's Design Review Panel. As a result, the developers were required to modify the original proposal by adding more traditional office space, conforming with the office replacement policies set out in Toronto's Official Plan Amendment 231 (Novakovic, 2016). The building will be connected to Eglinton Station on the TTC's Line 1 and future Line 5, the Eglinton Crosstown (Landau, 2016). This demonstrates that the City is putting in tremendous efforts to maintain commercial space in the area.



Figure 15 - 1 Eglinton Avenue East

Immediately to the south is the sold-out 58-storey 2221 Yonge Condos by Tower Hill Development Corporation and designed by Pei Partnership Architects and Quadrangle Architects with some retail on the ground floor.



Figure 16 - 2221 Eglinton Avenue East

The description in Figure 16 uses ‘the new Crosstown LRT’ as part of Tower Hill Development Corporation’s advertising strategy to attract buyers. Furthermore, the display of the CN tower in the image above demonstrates the fact that they seek to highlight the proximity of the condo to downtown Toronto.

Another prominent project to be built in the same corner is the Art Shoppe Condos, which will be located at 2131 Yonge Street. It is a 28-storey tower with 12-storey podium and retail mixed-use, commercial-residential building designed by architectsAlliance (Flack, 2016). In the condo description, it states that when it comes to location and transit, “Yonge and Eglinton is considered to be one of the hottest places to live downtown. It’s a fast commute to the core with a transit score of 95. There are over 50 local bus routes, and the new Eglinton Crosstown LRT will be right outside” (McAllister, 2016). When it comes to the neighbourhood, it has a walk score of 98, meaning that everything is a short distance away, including a “wide range of shops, cafés, restaurants, bars, and museums” (McAllister, 2016). Developed by Freed Developments and Capital Developments, sizes of the suites range from 315 to 1,985 sq. ft. with prices between the \$200,000s to \$2M for occupancy in 2019 (McAllister, 2016).

The language on the website seeks to celebrate this resurgence in development in the area and provides it as a selling point:

“Yonge and Eglinton is ready to soar. With a new injection of exciting and significant developments planned for the area, midtown’s pre-eminent neighbourhood is on the verge of an important resurgence. At the heart of this change is the impending arrival

of the Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) line, which will make Yonge and Eglinton an important transit hub connecting travelers between the LRT, subway and numerous bus routes” (ArtShoppe Condos, 2017).

Moving back on Eglinton is 55 Eglinton Avenue East, a 47 storey proposed tower which was designed by Kirkor Architects Planners (Flack, 2016). The project site is located two blocks east of the Yonge-Eglinton intersection. Zoned as a "mixed-use area," the lot on the south side of Eglinton is currently occupied by an 8-storey office building which was completed in 1968, and includes 6,500 m² of office space with retail at grade (Novakovic, 2016). By contrast, the proposed 42-storey tower would be given over to 455 residential units, while street-level retail would front the base of a 5-storey podium structure. Although the City's Official Plan, and the Secondary Plan for the Yonge-Eglinton 'Centre' both identify the area as a vital mixed-use node, the project and a number of other proposals would increase residential density while eliminating or reducing employment uses (Novakovic, 2016). The development was refused because the developers did not provide a one-to-one replacement of existing commercial uses (Novakovic, 2016). This goes to demonstrate that planning policies seek to maintain current commercial spaces. Even though the tower would be located near the heart of an urban growth centre, the site falls just outside of the 'height peak' prescribed in the Yonge-Eglinton Secondary Plan (Novakovic, 2016). The office uses contribute to the area's status as an employment hub.

Nearby is The Madison, a modern two tower project that is in the last stages of construction at 36 and 33 storeys (Flack, 2016). It also contains Loblaws, a high-end supermarket on the ground floor (see Figure 17).



Figure 17 – The Madison

Transitioning East on Eglinton to Redpath, the 155 Redpath development will be accompanied by the 38-storey 150 Redpath (Flack, 2016). Joining it is Menkes' The Eglinton at 161 Eglinton Avenue East, which would inject some retail (Flack, 2016). Between these developments, the corridor of Eglinton between Yonge and Mount Pleasant will look dramatically different in the next five years (Flack, 2016). To replace some of the older towers would be modern structures that seek to transform the area and add residential units.

Development is also substantial to the north of Yonge and Eglinton (Flack, 2016). Minto, who initiated the condo boom in this neighbourhood, will bring Minto30Roe to Roehampton and Yonge (Flack, 2016). Additionally, the Whitehaus development, launched by Lifetime Developments and Knightstone Capital Management will be on the west side of Yonge north of Orchard View Boulevard (Flack, 2016; Whitehaus Condominiums, 2015). The new building pledges 70,000 square feet of commercial space in its podium, but big retailers are expected to lease rather than the independents that have been pushed out as construction continues on the site (Flack, 2016). Again, the Eglinton LRT is part of the condominium promotions. On the advertisement website, they state that the new building is: "perfectly positioned nearby public

transit, just steps to the TTC's existing Yonge subway line, bus routes and the future Eglinton Crosstown LRT, making getting around the City a breeze" (Whitehaus Condominiums, 2015).

Designed by Diamond Schmitt Architects, the 29-storey tower will feature 366 residences of condos and townhomes (Whitehaus Condominiums, 2015). Amenities include a fitness centre, event kitchen, as well as a multi-purpose creative artist studio and a ping-pong lounge that open to an expansive outdoor area, including a dog run, a private residents' lounge connected to an exterior gathering space, as well as a dog washing spa for residents with pets (Whitehaus Condominiums, 2015). The building advertises the Yonge and Eglinton area as a neighbourhood which "boasts countless local amenities that will satisfy foodies, fashionistas, fun-lovers and fitness buffs. Just a short walk in any direction, residents will be met with countless savoury restaurants and chic bistros; cozy cafes; lively bars; stylish retail outlets or lush community parks" (Whitehaus Condominiums, 2015).

North at Broadway and Yonge, Postal Station K will be at the base of the Montgomery Square Condos (Flack, 2016). Developers Rockport and RAW architects are building a 26-storey condo tower which will rise from behind the federally protected structure (Bateman, 2013). Also, Pemberton Group is bringing the CityLights South 37-storey tower featuring a 5-storey podium with prices starting at \$199,990 (Pemberton Group, 2015). The condo sells the Eglinton-Yonge area as:

"A city chic vibe, and boasts a Walk Score of 89, meaning virtually every imaginable necessity and most errands can be accomplished on foot. Popular local restaurants span the gamut from casual bistro and café cuisine, to fine dining destinations. Undergoing a \$100 million update, the Yonge Eglinton Centre features 75 shops and services including Cineplex SilverCity and a Metro grocery store. The area's 93 Transit Score is due to the fact that the Yonge subway line is handy for north-south trips. Residents will benefit from the new Crosstown LRT, which will provide an east-west transit corridor" (Pemberton Group, 2015).

New condominiums offer many luxury features and amenities such as Gourmet-inspired kitchens, quartz countertops, cabanas, pools, gyms, and entertainment facilities. These amenities speak to a specific class of residents, especially young professionals who could find employment in the area, or with the added amenity of the LRT, would be able to access jobs.

David Miller (2016) describes the recent developments around Eglinton and Yonge, he states:

“So this area right here: the core parts of Eglinton at Yonge and Eglinton, Mount Pleasant and Eglinton has changed. It has been changing from commercial buildings to residential, literally, including some commercial buildings being rezoned, demolished and residential built in their place. Perhaps lower-level retail at grade. That pressure is continuing, and the advent of the LRT has meant there is a lot of real estate discussion going on, which I now hear as a tenant, it bubbles up to us you know people are interested in our office space because they want to be here and they do not want to be here during the construction, but they want to be here later. I know of at least 2 companies who have inquired about subletting our space because they are being pushed out of buildings on Eglinton that are proposed for redevelopment. And that is interesting because it would be of city value that we should keep jobs and commercial development, it should not just be residential” (personal communication).

There is a concern that residential condominiums will threaten the loss of office space in the area, and there has been an effort by the City to maintain office space, but it has been difficult to regulate (David Miller, personal communication, 2016). Concerns about excessive height and density and the removal of office uses is an issue more concentrated at Yonge and Eglinton (Novakovic, 2016). Reflecting the concerns voiced by both residents and the Planning Department, local Councilor Josh Matlow (Ward 22) has commented that “the replacement of office uses with residential space threatens the neighbourhood's economic vitality and 24-hour vibrancy”, and refusals would be given to developers who do not conform with the guidelines (Novakovic, 2016). Toronto's Official Plan Amendment 231 was redesigned to provide a one-for-one replacement of existing office space to maintain all the office space that exists from before (Novakovic, 2016). Throughout the planning process, the removal of office space was identified as a key concern as evident in community consultations (Novakovic, 2016).

Official Plan Amendment 231 was adopted by council on December 18, 2013. It contains new economic policies and new policies and designations for Employment Areas. The key directions of the new policies are to: “promote office space on rapid transit; to preserve the City's Employment Areas for business and economic activities; and to accommodate the growth of the retail and institutional sectors to serve the growing population of the City and the Region” (The City of Toronto, 2017). However, David Miller (2016) argues that the planning department has to look at this issue through the City as a whole.

There has been a transition at Yonge and Eglinton, but Eglinton is longer than just Yonge and Eglinton (David Miller, personal communication, 2016). The next part will deal with development taking place on Eglinton and Leaside.

5.3.2 EGLINTON AND LEASIDE

My second focus area is on the area of Eglinton and Leaside, which is set to become the site of another ‘tower city’ in mid-town Toronto (South Bayview Bulldog, 2016). The Laird Area is “projected to be transformed from its current use as a car-oriented shopping, business, and industrial district into a new mixed-use community with the addition of over 2,400 new homes and about 3,900 to 4,900 new residents in the next twenty years” (Landau, 2016).

Before I begin discussing the current developments, I would like to provide a brief history on the community. According to Connor Turnbull (2016),

“Leaside was established in 1913. You had farm land, and there was no bridge across the Don Valley. Around the turn of the last century, you have a rail road that is going through Leaside, and so the railroad decided that they wanted to create a development from scratch on this farmland, and they wanted it to be similar to other places that they have designed like Shaughnessy in Vancouver and Mount Royal in Montreal. These were all designed by the same landscape architect, Frederick Todd, he used the garden city principles to design Leaside. So right off the bat, you have a place that has an actual vision, it is a designed place. This is before Don Mills, this is really the first of its kind in Toronto. So the idea of a garden city is that it is based on an English prototype, you have the industrial section where people in the community worked. You have got main streets where people can shop, you have the railway where they can have access in terms of transportation, and you have some kind of verdant green space where people can have recreation for health purposes, and then you have these curvilinear streets and this kind of bucolic natural organic landscape. But for whatever reason, there was a pause after it was established. So the plans are put in place and you have got some streets laid out. Leaside already has a rail road station, a junction. The things that are in the landscape are the original farm buildings. So the first industrial building was the Canada cable and wire, there was this big building where the current Wicksteed and Laird is now. They decide they are going to build the first 69 buildings, first 69 homes for their workers. And these are really modest, bungalow semi-detached buildings, and they are all kind of constructed around Laird and Wicksteed, Laird and Mcrae area, so it is a scattering of buildings over at that area, and then these people live, they work for Canada cable and wire, you have got kind of this industrial, very modest start. Then you have the hydro poles going on Bayview, and you start to have

that kind of growth along that side. And all of a sudden, you have a shift to building along Bayview and Millwood. And that is a much denser building. And that begins to be slightly less modest, but not affluent. Just kind of a little bit more, slightly bigger houses and you have the beginning of some kind of the Bayview. But again, all this is incredibly modest. It is a lot more modest than the rail road or Todd imagined. But what it is is you have got is the ‘regular people’ begin to occupy a very sophisticated town plan. So it is almost you have all the advantages of a town plan, but you have people, regular people who move in. So when you think about the character of Leaside, you have apartment buildings, lots of apartment buildings in Leaside, you have got these Bungalows, you have got these houses where there might have been five people living in one of these typical Leaside semi-detached houses or detached houses, it is not affluent. The only affluence was maybe the managers who lived on the corners, so some of the buildings on the corners of the streets are slightly bigger, they are slightly more affluent, and they are slightly more differentiated in terms of their architecture. So I would say that is Leaside from about 1920 until probably the 1980s. So Leaside was a town from 1913 until 1967, and in 1967, it was incorporated into East York. And at that point, things began to change, but really you still have a kind of a town. In the 70s and 80s, industry begins to back off. But from what I hear from my neighbours and other people, life pretty much stayed the same” (personal communication).

The Leaside community is historically significant, and the community residents take pride in this history. Thus, new developments in the area have been quite controversial. A new condominium is set to be located at RioCan’s Leaside Centre at 815-845 Eglinton Avenue East at the southeast corner of Laird and Eglinton, which is currently occupied by retail space (Landau, 2016). There will be as many as seven new buildings ranging in height from 6-34 storeys with one residential tower containing 34 storeys, for a total of 1,435 residential units and commercial and retail space (South Bayview Bulldog, 2016; Landau, 2016). It will be designated as 815 Eglinton East, with a retail podium proposed that would contain the Canadian Tire store and Petsmart outlet, and other tenants on the 8.8-acre site (South Bayview Bulldog, 2016). That is quite a dramatic change from the current development patterns in the area. Most of the development in the area currently consists of low- to mid-rise residential and commercial developments.

Another massive development was proposed by Dawsco, current land owner, in partnership with Diamond Corporation (South Bayview Bulldog, 2016). It consists of four condo towers of 19, 20, 31 and 34 storeys, along with a mid-rise multi-use building on Eglinton consisting of eight storeys and a new private road to separate less intense commercial activity in the south (South

Bayview Bulldog, 2015). The four-tower development has been labelled by city Councilor Jon Burnside as ‘the Big Daddy’ of new development (South Bayview Bulldog, 2016). The proposed tower: 939 Eglinton Avenue East on the southwest corner of Eglinton and Brentcliffe Road is a 5-acre property. There is a proposal to change the land use from commercial to mixed-use to accommodate 1000 condominium units and 250000 sq. ft. of retail and office development.

Development in this area has been quite controversial due to a push back from the community to maintain the population density, and to maintain the community character. It reflects the dynamics of condo development in the city. At the community meeting for the 939 Eglinton Avenue East, as many as 30 people made comments and asked questions about the site (South Bayview Bulldog, 2015). Questions centred on traffic, schools and what many said will be an overloaded LRT when it is completed in 2021 (South Bayview Bulldog, 2015). There were also inquiries regarding how the school board would manage the influx of kids (South Bayview Bulldog, 2015). Connor Turnbull (2016), a community activist in the Leaside area states: “now, the biggest development is Brentcliffe and Eglinton, Laird and Eglinton, Bayview and Eglinton. So those are the ones that are slated to be built. I think that they said the population of Leaside would jump by 40%” (personal communication).

Due to this population influx, there have been talks of dividing the community into two wards. Connor Turnbull (2016) comments:

“It is also a division. They are talking about changing the ward to two. So this part north of Eglinton, which is called north Leaside, would become a separate ward from south of Leaside. So basically, you are politically bisecting a community that is a physically intact place. Because the way it is designed is you have Bayview, and then you have this ravine, and then you have a railway. And those are the boundaries of Leaside” (personal communication).

On the other hand, one of the interviewees I spoke to lamented that:

“Most communities raise concerns when introduced to change. Other communities are more accustomed to change. The Leaside community, because they are not accustomed to change, they are more vocal and more opposed to new developments even if there is no real reason. There are transportation concerns, but a traffic study demonstrated that traffic will be neutral, and there is not a significant change. That is because condos cause less traffic than offices since people work at various hours of the day, and some people even work from home. Meanwhile offices have set hours and there are peak periods of traffic. Retail also has peak periods” (personal communication).

Community opposition has been very clear within the Leaside community. This is not to say that there were no community concerns in other areas of the Eglinton Crosstown, but it is because I was able to interview one of the community activists. However, it is difficult for communities to oppose these high-rise developments because Toronto's planning policies, which are guided by provincial legislation, including the Provincial Policy Statement (2014) and the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (2006), as well as Toronto's Official Plan (2010) are supportive of mixed-use development and geared towards transit-oriented strategies.

For example, the Provincial Policy Statement is directed towards the promotion of efficient land use and development patterns through several policies that support densities and a mix of land uses. For instance, Policy 1.6.5.4 promotes a land use pattern, density and mix of uses that minimizes the length and number of vehicle trips and supports the development of practical choices and plans for public transit and alternative mobility modes. The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (2006) also supports mixed-use development within built-up urban areas, particularly in close proximity to transit. The Plan seeks to reduce dependence on the automobile through the development of mixed-use, transit-supportive, pedestrian-friendly urban environments (Section 2.2.2).

Toronto's Official Plan places emphasizes building an attractive and safe city with vibrant neighborhoods that are part of complete communities (The City of Toronto, 2015). Section 4.5 of Toronto's Official Plan states that the intent of the designation of mixed-use is to "achieve a multitude of planning objectives by combining a broad array of residential uses, offices, retail and services, institutions, entertainment, recreation and cultural activities, and parks and open spaces" (The City of Toronto, 2015). Furthermore, section 2.2 emphasizes the need to integrate land-use with transit and other forms of mobility, including subways, LRTs, streetcars, and bus lines; GO transit network, expressways and streets; railway corridors; city-wide bikeway network; as well as sidewalks and trails. Section 2.2.3, entitled *Avenues: Re-urbanizing Arterial Corridors* is aimed at the conversion of land-use on major avenues into mixed-use land designations, which is also consistent with transit-oriented development, as it encourages connections to bus lines and multiple land uses including residential, employment, economic and recreational uses.

It is important to highlight the policies and official planning documents because they guide practice. The next part elaborates on current development trends on Eglinton and Don Mills.

5.3.3 EGLINTON AND DON MILLS

Moving further east of Laird, the less pronounced condo development on Don Mills and Eglinton may be the beginning of yet another hub. Known as Sonic, it is the first condominium tower in this neighbourhood, and will be constructed by Lindvest Homes (Lindvest, 2015). It is advertised as “putting homeowners in the heart of the up-and-coming Don Mills and Eglinton neighbourhood” (Lindvest, 2015).

The first phase of Sonic features a ‘sleek and contemporary’ 28-storey condominium tower above a three-storey podium; while a second similar tower will come in Phase 2 (Lindvest, 2015; Lindvest, 2016). The director of sales and marketing for Lindvest, Joseph Alberga says “although this neighbourhood isn’t a condo hub right now, it will be when the Eglinton Crosstown LRT is complete”, furthermore, he states “Metrolinx has already identified this area as a transportation hub, and we envision the development of new condominiums for the Don Mills and Eglinton neighbourhood. The Don Mills station will be just a short walk from Sonic and, for people with cars, the DVP is right there. The plan is that when occupancy is available at Sonic, the Crosstown LRT will follow shortly thereafter, for residents to use” (Lindvest, 2015). The developers are interested in not only advertising the area in terms of transit, but also surrounding land uses and services, and connections to highways.

The new condominiums offer 313 high-end suites with various sizes, from studio to three-bedroom designs, and prices starting from \$208,900 for occupancy in January 2019 (Lindvest, 2015). Furthermore, indoor and outdoor amenity space is available for future condo residents (Lindvest, 2015).

The area of Don Mills and Eglinton has a walk score of 75%, meaning that many errands can be done on foot (Lindvest, 2016). There are numerous local attractions and services, including the Aga Khan Museum, the Ismaili Cultural Centre, the Ontario Science Centre, big box shopping at Real Canadian Superstore, as well as outdoor venues, including Sunnybrook Park and Flemington Park Golf Course (Lindvest, 2015). The intersection is also just minutes from the Shops at Don Mills, which offers many retail amenities. Currently the location has a transit score of 70%, and is set to increase once the Eglinton Crosstown LRT is completed as Sonic is located across the future Science Centre LRT Station, facilitating easy access to downtown and throughout the GTA (Lindvest, 2016).

As I attempted to illustrate, there is a tremendous development surge taking place on Eglinton, especially east of Yonge. Development is also taking place west on Eglinton, however, it is relatively less pronounced. For example, transitioning west to Avenue road, there is a 15-storey mixed use development, which would be built by the future Avenue Road LRT station. The whole parcel is known as 346, 350, 352 and 356 Eglinton Ave. West., and it is another example of the “development earthquake triggered by the LRT” (Spurr, 2016). David Miller (2016) states, “I think we are only starting to see the beginning of it”. He continues,

“There has been development and growth. In the section from Bayview to the other side of the DVP, there has been some growth just off Eglinton, not a lot on Eglinton. Part of that is a park, of course. Part of that is north on Leslie where there is an industrial area. The industries are concerned with losing space around them to residential development, and being priced out of their lands because of speculators. Once we get across the DVP, there has been redevelopments, obviously the Golden Mile, but they are not sparked yet by this, so I think we are going to see Victoria park in the east, the City’s ideal would be we would see a fair bit of infill development of the 8-12 storey kind of type, predominantly residential, retail at grade. I think that is likely, we have seen some kind of that kind of building hit and miss on Eglinton, there is lots more opportunity for it. Going west, there is a real transportation issue because between the Eglinton west subway let’s say and not quite to Keele, the road is narrow enough that there is just terrible bus service because it’s stuck in traffic all the time. That area, it will be very interesting to see what happens to it and what comes by way of development, if any. It is a very busy area. There are lots of small retail businesses because the rent is not expensive, it is very lively, a lot of Caribbean people, then you move to more Italian, and a lot of newcomers, I find. So it is very, quite interesting to see the pressures that happen to that side and I do not think we have seen them be public yet. I hear them at Yonge and Mount Pleasant because we are here. But there will be an impact there, it remains to be seen exactly what and how quickly it is going to happen” (personal communication).

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT arguably impacts development on Eglinton in two ways: concentrated development on the underground portion, and more even development on the at-grade portion. Furthermore, it depends on the other amenities in the communities.

6.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this major paper, I attempted to illustrate that international capitalist forces play a fundamental role in shaping urban planning processes in cities. Throughout a case study of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project in Toronto, it becomes evident that urban (re)development patterns are intertwined with transit infrastructure within the paradigm of neoliberalism. There is a great interest by developers to invest in condominium and mixed-use developments on Eglinton, and to capitalize on the latest investment in transit infrastructure, thereby, raising concerns pertaining to social justice in the city.

6.1 DISCUSSION

There is a concern that transit investments may result in the gentrification and displacement of the low-income populations and local businesses, who are likely to benefit most from transit access, a phenomenon termed *transit-induced gentrification* (Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016). Compared with bus transit, rail transit concentrates accessibility to the transit network, higher land values, and other advantages for residents in those locations (Rayle, 2015). Thus, rail transit “minimizes uncertainty and risk for potential real estate investors, making it more likely to spur development” (Rayle, 2015, pp.534-535). That was evident in Chapter 5, where data suggests that the LRT is an important amenity that investors look for.

As transit infrastructures are built, planning policies aimed towards smart growth and transit-oriented developments encourage intensification around transit stations. Advertisements of new luxury condominiums promise public art and luxurious amenities which cater to a different class of residents, especially young professionals (Jones and Ley, 2016). It is a worrisome outcome of neoliberal strategies that global cities have adopted, including the City of Toronto. In this paradigm, the condominium becomes a fundamental component of a privatized lifestyle, and reaffirms the idea of the home as an investment rather than a place of shelter and human necessity (Rosen and Walks, 2013). Condos, as private spaces, contain many amenities that are not accessible to the public, and although they alleviate some of the pressure from municipalities to invest in public and recreational infrastructures, they create inequalities in cities. Hertel, Keil, and Collens (2015) state, “building new transit infrastructure does not produce a more just transportation network” (p.23).

In the case of the Eglinton Crosstown project, Adam Giambrone (2016) states: “we expect the LRT to lead to an appreciation in property values. In fact, I think we are already seeing some of that. This will also lead to higher rents for rental properties. Obviously the affordability of property in the corridor will go down as its value goes up. This will be an interesting test case because subways have typically led to quite high value increases, we will have to see exactly what the LRT does in that context. In essence, we expect the value increases to be less dramatic than with subway development” (personal communication). On a similar note, David Miller (2016) states: “I think the big issue is will the rapid transit result in a significant increase in rents and other land costs, thereby push out people of modest means from the transit improvements that are meant for them? That is the conundrum about building a project like this” (personal communication).

If a lower-income neighbourhood has characteristics that a higher-income group finds desirable, such as proximity to transit and mixed-use neighbourhoods, it becomes highly likely for gentrification to occur, and for the displacement of original residents (Hulchanski, 2010). Residents can be displaced through the conversion of rental units into condos (Kohn, 2013). The problem is that higher-income households can always outbid lower-income occupants for housing quality and desired locations (Hulchanski, 2010). The fact remains that well-to-do populations are always able to afford prime locations, while limiting restricting other populations. There are many new luxury developments which can accommodate many people, but provide but little space for those who do not have the economic or cultural means to participate in ‘Toronto’s new urbanity’ (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer, 2010).

The evidence from David Hulchanski’s Three Cities Report is problematic because as a city that prides itself with multiculturalism, it is evident that it is concealing a reality of a city that is divided on social, class, and racial lines. What is even more alarming is the fact that this trend seems to be accelerating. It can be argued that transit infrastructures are no longer designed for the lower-income population segments, because these populations are increasingly pushed to the periphery of the city, and having to rely on private automobiles (if they are able to afford the cost of the automobile). Some long-term residents may remain in gentrified neighbourhoods, but they increasingly feel like aliens or outsiders in ‘their’ neighbourhoods (Kohn, 2013). This evidence supports my case in that there is a very strong relationship between urban (re)development patterns

and transit infrastructure in world cities. However, issues of affordability and eventually gentrification depend on a complex array of factors.

Public investments such as transit, could be contributing to gentrification and therefore the implications of these investments, including those of public transportation, need to be well understood in order to mitigate any harmful effects, which could include rising costs of living for existing residents, conflicts within communities and even displacement (Grube-Cavers and Patterson, 2015). Grube-Cavers and Patterson (2015) state, “although not all of the impacts of the implementation of transit may be fully known before it occurs, it is important for planners to include integrated neighbourhood and transportation plans to help provide affordable housing options accessible to transit” (p.192).

Several academics have offered recommendations to tackle the issue of social injustice within cities based on transportation and urban development patterns in terms of residential and commercial uses. They have argued that it can be done through government policies and interventions (Hulchanski, 2010; Kohn, 2013). John Sewell (2016a) argues that gentrification ‘is a normal thing’ and governments should implement affordable housing programs to maintain a healthy mix of incomes. He states:

“Gentrification is a normal thing. It is always happening. Where somebody is coming along and saying ‘hey, there is a nice neighbourhood, I think I will live there!’. And somebody else says they moved in there and so forth, so it’s a normal thing that happens. Jane Jacobs talks a lot about it, it is very normal, you can’t stop it. The problem is that it forces people out of lower income. So what you have to do is you have to have an affordable housing program that actually builds housing for low-income people” (personal communication).

Fainstein (2006) argues “national governments may not be able to affect the global economy, but they can shield their citizens from the most pernicious effects of that economy” (p.117). Is it possible for a region to economically prosper while maintaining a level of equality? Fainstein (2006) states “a combination of national initiative and local commitment can provide the basis for a region that both enjoys economic growth and sustains the well-being of the poorer section of the population” (p.117).

One of the biggest issues is that Canada has no federal housing program, in 1993, the federal government of Paul Martin downloaded the responsibility for funding and administration

of social housing to provincial governments, and in 1995, Ontario's right-wing conservative government Mike Harris further devolved the file to municipal governments, encouraging them to be entrepreneurial with their newly inherited public stock (August, 2016; Sewell, 2016a). Instead, we have the controversial Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) in Toronto.

Hulchanski (2010) argues that the segregation of the city on the basis of socio-economic status can be slowed and reversed. That can be achieved through public policies that would make housing more affordable to low-income households, by expanding transit and services infrastructures in neighbourhoods where the need is greatest, and by renewing the aging high-rise neighbourhoods scattered throughout the low-income neighbourhoods in the city, especially the 'in-between' city, i.e. the inner suburbs of North York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke (Hulchanski, 2010).

Furthermore, the provincial and municipal levels of government may enact policies such as inclusionary zoning to help maintain and promote mixed neighbourhoods (Hulchanski, 2010). Inclusionary zoning is where medium-to-large new residential developments must incorporate 15% - 20% affordable rental units (Hulchanski, 2010). Another tool at the disposal of the Provincial government of Ontario is to end vacancy decontrol, meaning that land owners are no longer able to charge any amount for a rental unit after a tenant moves (Hulchanski, 2010). This can discourage the displacement of low-income residents in areas undergoing gentrification (Hulchanski, 2010). Governments can provide a greater assistance with social housing and rent-g geared-to-income programs or provide financial assistance to the lowest-income segments of society in general (Hulchanski, 2010).

Implementation of projects such as the Transit City plan have the power to enhance the living conditions in the lower-income parts of the city for a broader socio-economic mix of households (Hulchanski, 2010). By implementing more quality transit throughout the city, there is a potential for real estate to become relatively even throughout the city (Kohn, 2013).

Kohn (2013) argues that "if there are no laws stabilizing rent and regulating tenancy, then high-income earners simply outbid the original residents" (p.299). Furthermore, she argues that we need to give priority to current residents of an area through rent control, regulation of tenancy, public housing or arrangements to help people live near their place of employment (Kohn, 2013).

Lehrer and Wieditz (2009) suggest that height and density bonusing provision could be used for building social housing. Two scholars have proposed more drastic measures to decommodify housing, which is what Vienna and Amsterdam have succeeded in (Fainstein, 2010 in Kohn, 2013; Williams and Smith, 1986). This notion goes back to the dilemma of property in the capitalism system, which entails a contention between the ‘use value’ of a neighbourhood or a home versus the ‘exchange value’ of real estate driving capital accumulation (Newman and Wyly, 2006; Krueckeberg, 1995).

In Ontario, even though rent increases are capped for the duration of the tenancy, market pressures can still drive out the lower-income segments of the population through changes in communities and businesses (Kohn, 2013). When it comes to commercial gentrification in Ontario, commercial tenants are not protected under the same policies that control rent increases for residential tenants (Kohn, 2013). This means that commercial areas can change at a faster pace than residential neighbourhoods do (Kohn, 2013). Other services including non-profit commercial centers, mutual aid societies, or other community institutions may also be displaced from gentrifying communities (Kohn, 2013).

Adam Giambrone (2016) states: “there are long-term ways to deal with affordability in these contexts. They are obviously to build affordable housing, making sure that their neighbourhoods have a mixture of mixed use, or mixed-income housing. That is really outside of the transit authorities’ ability to do, but should obviously be a part of a broader government agenda, without that, I think the supposition that some people will be priced out of the corridor is absolutely true. We have seen across the area property values along good transit corridors are going faster than the same type of property in other areas, so I think we can assume that that will be the case on Eglinton as well.”

David Miller (2016) argues,

“Fighting gentrification is not an easy thing to do, but we need to give it significant thought. Things the City could do is it could acquire, whether through a purchase or compulsory purchase, expropriation acquire significant swaths of land where today people either have small businesses that rely on low rent, like between let’s say Eglinton west subway and Dufferin. We need to use the city’s zoning and expropriation and land acquisition abilities to keep that stretch of Eglinton west subway and to Dufferin suitable for those kinds of businesses. There are development applications, if there are to keep a place for people of modest means to live and I think

that has to be a really serious consideration. There are things that could be done, you know the city could acquire land for housing and could build housing and as part of the development approvals require affordable housing as part of the development approvals, it could require affordable rental for commercial. There are tools it has and I think it needs a suite of them and they need to be done fairly soon, otherwise the changes will pass you by” (personal communication).

The housing situation in Toronto was much better in the past, according to John Sewell (2016a). He states:

“In the 1970s, before I was mayor and when I was mayor, the City of Toronto had this extraordinary housing program, City Home was the name of our company. We built the St. Lawrence community around the St. Lawrence market. One of the largest redevelopments in North America, 45 acres where a third of all the units that are going to be built here are rent-geared-to-income. We built that kind of housing throughout Toronto and it was really successful. The St. Lawrence community now, still is a third of the people that live there have very low incomes, so it is not like public housing. That’s how we dealt with the gentrification issue. I believe that the city should have taken the initiative as we did in 1973, and say this is what we are going to do. But you know the problem with the mega city is that the former City of Toronto is just a very small player. City Hall doesn’t care about housing. I mean we have 4000 units of the Toronto Community Housing boarded up. They haven’t even got the money to repair it” (personal communication).

The Toronto Community Housing Corporation has been underfunded. John Sewell (2016a) continues,

“Let us take a look at Regent Park, which I have been heavily involved with for many many years. Regent Park, 10 years ago, had 2200 units of rent geared to income housing. It was a badly designed project, you know we often tried to change it, so I have no problem with redeveloping it. But the redevelopment plan that city council has agreed to, it says after redevelopment, there won’t be 2200 rent geared to income units any more. There will be 1500, so the redevelopment is actually reducing the amount of affordable housing, I mean this is craziness. I was on the redevelopment committee for a while and I resigned, I was just so angry at these guys, we would say why not well the developers would not like it. What do you mean the developers wouldn’t like it? Who is in charge here? Because we did all this redevelopment in the 70s where that was the rule. You want to do it, a third, okay no problem” (personal communication).

There is tremendous interest to build in this city, and I do believe the city has the upper hand. One of the ways to do that, as Sewell suggests is through a housing program. He states, “developers cannot give you a free unit that they just built, they can’t afford that. So you have to

have a housing program that supports it. But this council has no interest, but that is how you deal with gentrification. The key problem in gentrification is you are kicking out low income people so what you want to do is find a way of keeping them there. Either buying existing units or building new housing in the area, probably a combination of them both” (Sewell, personal communication, 2016a).

There is an evident concern when it comes to housing, gentrification and displacement in the city. The role of governments becomes pivotal in mitigating the impacts of global capitalism in cities, and to provide means for all city inhabitants to afford housing and have the means to access transit.

6.2 CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on the relationship between transportation infrastructure and urban (re)development patterns through a case study of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project in Toronto. The Crosstown project is the largest transit expansion in the history of Toronto, and service is projected to begin in 2021 (Metrolinx, 2016a). I tried to shed some light on the process of urban development in relation to transit infrastructure in a metropolitan city because it has the potential to contribute to the gentrification of the city.

I have selected a combination of descriptive and evaluative research to analyze the relationship between urban (re)development and transportation infrastructure in the case of the Eglinton Crosstown project. I identified four findings: that there is growing pressure for residential development to replace commercial uses on Eglinton and Yonge; there is a clear relationship between new transit and urban development; there is a profound change in character of neighbourhoods; and the impacts vary depending on local conditions. However, I was unable to investigate patterns residential displacement and gentrification in this research.

In Toronto, the vast majority of the development is taking place in various hub neighbourhoods, and currently, and the biggest changes are happening at Yonge and Eglinton (Flack, 2016; Perkins, 2013). With the arrival of the Crosstown LRT, the mid-town neighbourhood is underway to becoming the next major transit hub in this city, with development capitalizing on this upcoming feature of the area (Flack, 2016). The TTC strategy builds on the specific advantages of public transit in the built-up core of the GTA. It is the relationship of urban density and the need

for cost recovery that drive TTC policies (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). But there are major social justice consequences arising from this logic because land becomes more expensive in these areas and inaccessible to the people who cannot afford them. Since transit stations are points of access to a transit system and the ability to access them conveniently and quickly influences property values, it is suggested that residential property values rise with decreasing distance to a transit station and with decreasing distance to the Central Business District (CBD) (Hess and Almeida, 2007).

Smart growth and intensification of existing urban uses and populations, particularly in the downtown core, have become justified in the name of tackling the urban sprawl, which characterized postwar development in North America (Bunce, 2004; Rayle, 2015). Support for smart growth intensification has been publicly encouraged by action-oriented environmental organizations (Bunce, 2004). However, smart growth intensification became a strategy to stimulate economic growth. Language in Official Plans supporting the notion of the ‘livable city’ is used to form a connection between an intensified population and denser spatial use and an elevated ability to reside and work in central Toronto (Bunce, 2004).

The language of smart growth and transit-oriented development have become a part of the planning discourse that is highly popularized and adopted in policies and practice. TOD designs target the middle class and especially nonfamily households and younger, college-educated professionals, the demographic groups usually associated with gentrification (Rayle, 2015). Municipalities update their zoning bylaws to conform to Official Plans, helping meet intensification objectives of the provincial growth plan (Tuckey, 2015). The transit-oriented development (TOD) principle is one of the primary concepts in the City of Toronto’s official plan as well as many other cities around the world. TOD features numerous benefits, such as accommodating population density necessary to support public transit and economic development. It also aims to curb urban sprawl, provide vibrant neighbourhoods, and convenience. I have aimed to demonstrate that sustainable growth and transit-oriented developments have created geographic and social inequalities within the neoliberal paradigm to enhance the city’s world status. However, government policies can play a major role in mitigating the negative impacts of such inequalities and divisions, and should be modified as such.

The growth and spatial location of ‘condos’, which are typically articulated in high-rise or mid-rise towers, works to concentrate and cluster people, mainly within the central cities, and in turn transform urban social geographies, social status, and sense of place (Rosen and Walks, 2013). The geographical polarization of the city is due to a deeper ‘social restructuring’ that results in a geographically ‘peripheralized working class’ (Williams and Smith, 1986).

Through planning policies and tools, neoliberalism has been realized in cities through geography and infrastructure and has contributed in uneven spatial development and injustice in cities (Viswanathan, 2010). The glamour portrayed by the inner city in downtown Toronto and in the ‘bourgeois urbanism’ of its gentrified inner city neighbourhoods overshadows inequalities that need to be investigated (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). As a state strategy, urban neoliberalization creates conditions for economic growth (Boudreau, Keil, and Young, 2009). The municipal and provincial levels of government in the case of Toronto’s transit development have restructured the role of public transit “as a tool to promote regional economic competitiveness in a neoliberal environment which competes to attract global capital” (Addie, 2013 in Hertel, Keil, and Collens, 2015, p.17).

The ability to move is critical because it is not only essential for people’s careers, but also their social integration in general, daily activities and the well-being of city inhabitants (Viry, Kaufmann, and Widmer, 2009). These issues will be increasingly important for planners and policymakers who have to contend with the question of displacement.

6.3 GUIDE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH/POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT case provides an important point of departure for future research related to transportation and urban (re)development in metropolitan regions. There are many directions to pursue as interest in development and transportation issues in metropolitan regions continue to grow. It would be useful to study development on Eglinton following the construction of the LRT project in 2021. It would also be pertinent to conduct a study regarding the property values compared to other parts of the city, and to analyze how they have changed since the year 2000. There is no question that the development of the Crosstown LRT will influence neighbourhoods in different ways, and there may be a difference in the ways development occurs near the stations that will be underground vs. the stations that will be on the street level.

Furthermore, other hypotheses that I have not discussed may also deserve consideration, such as other factors that play a role in the real estate market, and that influence patterns of urban development. In terms of research shortcomings and limitations, a quantitative data collection method would have been useful to provide data on condominium developments and prices. Furthermore, in terms of in-depth interviews, it would have been more useful to conduct interviews with more individuals of different professional backgrounds, such as planners, business owners, and other municipal actors.

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