

**Healthy Environment, Healthy Economy, Healthy Humans:  
Planning for Toronto's Waterfront Revitalization Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and  
21<sup>st</sup> Century**

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## **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the revitalization process of the Toronto Port Lands. The paper moves through the historical transitions of the Toronto Port Lands, looking at three eras of plans, which have helped to shape the Toronto Waterfront. The first plan begins with the industrial city between 1912-1954, which had planned the waterfront based on what was best for the economy and industries at the time. This time period left the Toronto waterfront to answer several pressing questions for decades to come. The plan looked at questions of jurisdiction and what to do with an unusable brownfield site after the destruction of land in a declining industrial era. This set out David Harvey's theoretical approach to the intersection of capitalism and space within an urban context. Throughout the three plans we are able to see how society is dominated by the tensions between politics, capitalism and planning. The second timeframe looked at David Crombie's Royal Commission on the Future of the Waterfront's 1992 comprehensive ecosystem approach, which focused on the revitalization of the environment and restoring the damage caused through the industrial period. This would in turn create a thriving economy yet widen social divisions within the city. The third timeframe analyzed is a contemporary neoliberal based planning approach focused on; the environment, economy and humans, which is where the question of specializing in everything is truly brought to the forefront of the Toronto Port Lands 2010 plan. The idea of specializing in everything although a utopian thought for planners, reinforces the assumption that the freer the market, the greater the social inequalities.

The paper then examines global cities, specifically; Vancouver, Sydney and San Francisco, which all have their own niche specializations throughout their waterfront planning processes that have helped shape their city, yet contribute to their own urban imbalances. This paper argues that planning is informed by dominant ideological planning perspectives of the particular period of time. In the case of planning for Toronto's waterfront we can see how the paradoxical goal of wanting to specialize in everything creates tensions in planning and further contributes to social-division, as the underlying goal of each of the plans examined relies on the political realities of the time and the pursuit of capital accumulation within the urban context.

## **Foreword**

This paper is the final requirement of the Masters degree in Environmental Studies, with a specialization in urban-regional planning and the Business and Environment Diploma from York University in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. This paper is the final product of the Plan of Study (POS). The plan of study guided the preparation of this paper, with a focus on waterfront revitalization. The plan of study has informed the content of this paper, which includes the shaping of planning ideology. This paper has deviated from my POS wherein I aspired to compare the Toronto Port Lands waterfront to Vancouver's English Bay and focus on public consultation within the planning process. I believe however, that the tensions capitalism presents in planning and the case studies I have included provide a greater range of context in support of my major paper. The POS explored themes of creating a healthy city and how; historical, political and social aspects of planning practices contributed to the shift of specializing in nothing, to wanting to specialize in everything. This paper focuses on the discourse surrounding planning practices and political and economic decisions that have informed a shift in planning ideologies within an urban context. The POS maintained a strong conceptual approach to the most recent Port Lands plan for waterfront redevelopment. By contrast, this paper provides a much greater theoretical background on planning practices and includes the political and economic variables, which have informed planning practices throughout the historical time period's of 1912, 1992 and 2010. I have learned that the process of writing a paper of this magnitude is similar to the

planning of the waterfront- a constantly evolving process, continuously being shaped and reshaped.

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## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	p.9
Urban Planning in a Capitalist City.....	p.13
Capitalism and Space.....	p.16
<b>Evolving Conceptions of Planning Practices</b> .....	p.22
<b>Chapter One: Planning for the Industrial City 1912</b> .....	p.23
Pivotal Planning Decades: Fordism and the Mid-20 <sup>th</sup> Century.....	p.32
The Effects of Fordism.....	p.32
<b>Chapter Two: A Comprehensive Planning Approach 1992</b> .....	p.39
Comprehensive Planning.....	p.41
Specializing in Everything.....	p.49
<b>Chapter Three: 2010 Port Lands Acceleration Initiative</b> .....	p.52
Creative Cities: Post Industrial Planning.....	p.59
Actually Existing Neo-liberal Planning.....	p.64
<b>Summary Of Plans</b> .....	p.69
<b>Chapter Four: Planning for Global Cities Waterfront's</b> .....	p.73
Vancouver.....	p.74
Sydney.....	p.80
San Francisco.....	p.86
<b>Chapter Five: Specializing in Everything</b> .....	p.93
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	p.100
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	p.103

### List of Figures

Figure 1: Toronto Port Lands 1896.....	p.25
Figure 2: Toronto Port Lands (1861-1912) Map.....	p.27
Figure 3: Toronto Portlands Concept Plan (1993).....	p.47
Figure 4: Toronto Port Lands Company Toronto Port Lands Structure Plan (2015)...	p.54

## Introduction

Planning for Toronto's waterfront has been an on-going process throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. Toronto has undergone three major development plans that range in focus, yet simultaneously maintain a common underlying goal: the pursuit of capital accumulation. The Toronto waterfront plan of 1912 focused on the industrial city, which was rooted in establishing a better port and viewed the city as a mode of capitalism and profit for industries. David Crombie's "Royal Commission on the Future of the Waterfront" established the second Toronto waterfront plan in 1992. This plan advocated for comprehensive planning through an ecosystem lens, which promised to bring together a healthy environment that would strengthen the economy and develop livable communities. This plan romanticized sustainability in planning, and introduced points of contention between the environment, economy, and equity. In 2010, there was a large focus on the revitalization of the Toronto Port Lands as they had been underutilized since they last operated as a Port in the 1960's. The 2010 plan, much like the 1992 plan, focused on developing a healthy environment and economy, while enhancing the quality of life through a neo-liberal planning approach. In the context of a post industrial global city, remediating abandoned industrial spaces played a crucial role in the plans.

Although these plans differ in methodology, each was designed to pursue profit; unfortunately, this also deepened social divisions within the city. More recently, we are able to see a shift from a comprehensive top down planning approach to a neo-liberal



planning approach, wherein private investment and private-public partnerships are projected to be the main source of income and a catalyst for development. Since the 1992 plan, it is clear that the City of Toronto aspires to establish itself as a global city, with a desire to “specialize in everything” (Lehrer, Laidley 2008 p. 787). Throughout these three plans however, there is an underlying contradiction within the planning goals. As the political and economic planning goals are based on capitalism, equity has been consistently undermined throughout the planning process.

Lehrer and Laidley describe the Toronto waterfront as “a new paradigm of mega-project development within the framework of the competitive city”. They argue however, that its paradoxical goal is to “specialize in everything, allowing for the pretense that all interests are being served while simultaneously reinscribing and reinforcing socioeconomic divisions” (Lehrer, Laidley 2008 p. 787). This idea of “specializing in everything” is based on the possibility that the waterfront redevelopment could act as a catalyst for a trifecta of benefits within the city itself. In other words, waterfront redevelopment would improve a city that could holistically incorporate a healthy environment, healthy economy and healthy humans. This goal however, has been unsuccessful in satisfying the needs of all people at all times. There have been several debates on the various reasons for the lack of success in redeveloping the waterfront, including: a lack of government accountability, the inability to secure funding, contaminated ecosystems, inappropriately built infrastructure, and Toronto’s ambitious quest to specialize in everything, which, as previously stated, carries an innate contradiction within an urban framework. This paper will analyze waterfront

transformations from global cities Vancouver, Sydney and San Francisco as well as critically examine the three Toronto plans and their planning approaches that have shaped Toronto's waterfront to date. This paper will question if Toronto is truly equipped to "specialize in everything", even though past planning approaches have offered limited success.

I argue that the Toronto waterfront has been a collection of plans, ideologies, and planning practices conceived over a period of time, while simultaneously acting as a space that has always had an underlying goal of capital accumulation. The combination of these cumulated approaches have contributed to the evolving conversation regarding the ideology of planning practices. The way ideology influences debates regarding planning practices have allowed the city to believe in its capabilities to "specialize in everything" by building a healthy environment, economy and communities; however, this comes with distinctive contradictions.

### ***Urban Planning in a Capitalist City***

Toronto is a city that is defined by its set of class alliances, political coalitions, neoliberal planning, economic policies, and an ongoing visioning and planning process (Kipfer and Keil 2002). Urban political theory can be understood through urban dynamics, which deals with the spatial expressions of economic forces within political institutions and the built environment. Urban planning is a critical aspect of urban life, which deals with social processes, and the distribution of space. Within a capitalist city, planning constitutes political and economic forces within market-driven urban development, which creates social-unevenness. Urban planners have a complex set of interests as they perform functions within a capitalist society that benefits both the city and the developers (Foglesong, 1987). Urban planners have little control over investments, and play a restricted role in managing the contradictions of capitalist urbanization, real estate trends, politics and development approvals (Kipfer and Keil 2002). Toronto, while undergoing complex revitalization of the waterfront, aims to prove its ability to be a “world class city” which encompasses a healthy environment, economy and humans. During the planning process, the waterfront has become filled with internal contradictions between spatiality, political economy, society and ecology. Urban planning within the context of capitalism is a geographical and political economy of uneven development which consistently re-inscribes social conflict.

More recently, planners are facing difficulties in decision making when they are being asked to protect the environment, promote the economy and advocate for social justice. Campbell (1996) discusses how, in an ideal world planners would strive to

achieve a balance of all three goals. In practice however, there are political and fiscal constraints limiting the power of planners to serve the broader public, and holistically harmonize growth, preservation and equality (Campbell 1996, p.297). Campbell identified that the three priorities lead to different planning perspectives within the city. The economic development planner sees the city as a location of production, consumption, and distribution, where space is commoditized. The environmental planner sees the city as a consumer of resources and producers of waste, and finally the equity planner sees the city as a location of conflict over the distribution of resources, services and opportunities (Campbell 1996, p.298). In a city that aims to specialize in everything, and yet is driven by capitalist motivations, it is difficult to reach the elusive center where all three planning ideologies can meet cohesively. These tensions create conflict within cities, as the economy, environment and equity are priorities; yet, the environment and society will always come second to the economy in a capitalist city.

At the waterfront, the interest in physical planning emerged simultaneously with the evolution of public-private partnerships, which has contributed to the pursuit of capital accumulation. New urban design tools were developed to control the appearance of large precincts, while parcels continue to develop in incremental development over-time (Gordon, 1996). Planning tools and legislations contribute to developer interest and capital, while further perpetuating social-economic divide. Zoning By-laws are created which exclude a wide array of affordable housing at the waterfront, yet push for luxury condos and retail space. Cash in lieu provisions allow developers to opt out of social housing units and parklands, and contribute to space

scarcity within a city that so desperately requires public space and affordable housing. Planning policies and political-economic goals such as these are strategically implemented in order to carry out the vision of a “world-class city”, yet are socially exclusive in nature. The tensions between capitalism, space and planning have effected planning overall, and these tensions are prevalent while planning for Toronto’s waterfront.

## ***Capitalism and Space***

The years leading up to the 1912 plan, as well as those shortly after, from 1901 to 1920, focused on planning for an industrial city. Economic, political, and social ideologies presented themselves at the waterfront, which helped to shape planning practices at the time. Within the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we are able to see the tensions between competing economic, political, and social interests while planning for the waterfront. This time period between 1901-1920 is often referred to as the Progressive Era, a political ideology that stemmed from social power that favours rational governmental action to improve society, and rose as a response to industrialization. The Progressive Era addressed societal issues of poverty, safe environments and an efficient work place and it was integral to Fordist planning methods (Hays, 1964). Throughout this time period however, we are able to see how industry, the economy, and the pursuit of profit had the greatest effect on land use planning.

David Harvey focuses on the relationship between capitalism and space and what this means for the “right to the city” (2003). Harvey defines “the right to the city” as “not merely the right of access to what already exists but a right to change it after our hearts desire... as we need to be sure we can live with our creations” (Harvey 2003 p.939). When planning for the Toronto waterfront, the historical, economic, political, and social processes informed through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century have presented many challenges. During the industrial era, the focus was heavily placed on economic development and capital through industry and production. This notion of “living with our creations” was not at the forefront of priorities for governments and industries that

were occupying the waterfront space. Instead their priorities lay with industries, regarding financial gain, and with governments, assessing the mandates that needed to be developed. It is here that we note the right to profit and the right to property informs how cities operate.

As seen through Toronto's waterfront plan of 1912 (and the years leading up to this plan), there were several conflicting views on who should maintain ownership and jurisdiction over these lands. During the industrial era, all three levels of government consistently neglected these lands and ownership remained questionable. Questions of jurisdiction over land, ownership rights to sell, and lack of funding to clean up the Harbour were predominate concerns. Since governments did not appropriately plan for the waterfront, this left opportunity for industries to continue with unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, which would exploit workers and place them in harm's way. David Harvey's *Right to the City* (2003) allows us to reflect on the built environment and the social interactions we are able to create based on our perception of physical space. We are able to question what we as city dwellers value and desire most in the city.

Robert Park states: "The city is man's most consistent and, on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his hearts desire. But if the city is the world which man created, it is the world he is henceforth condemned to live in. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself" (Harvey, 2012 p.4). When planning for the waterfront, in hopes of shaping the city to be environmentally, economically, and

socially sustainable, there are several questions planners need to consider, including: “What do we desire and how are we building a built environment for the people living within it?” From 1912-1920 there was a heavy emphasis placed on space being commodified as a foundation of capitalism. This idea is one that would follow through all three of the plans the waterfront has seen. Harvey stated, “to live under capitalism is to accept or submit to that bundle of rights necessary for endless capital accumulation” (Harvey p.940, 2002). This idea of capital accumulation is the basis for the revitalization of the Toronto waterfront, as each plan focuses on how to utilize this space to produce a profit.

It is interesting to see the historical transitions as we move forward throughout these planning decades, which have ultimately shifted from specializing in nothing to attempting to specialize in everything, even though the basis of specializing in everything truly means pursuing capital accumulation and deepening a process of social unevenness. Through these plans, we witness transformative thinking that focused heavily on re-framing the process of capital accumulation and the pursuit of profit through an environmental and social lens, and how this has attributed to re-inscribing forms of accumulation. Waterfront redevelopment and planning in general has an innate motivation for capitalist development, and when this need meets urbanization, it strikes an inherited antagonism. The relationship between planning, capitalist ideology and urbanization has always presented contradictions and dilemmas. The intensification of capitalist growth processes has shaped urban infrastructure, concentrated populations and has impacted cities and mega-projects. Capitalist development and



urbanization presents a contradictory relationship that we can see in planning for the waterfront revitalization, which is better known as the theory of capital accumulation (Albo, 2009). The commodities of labour, workers and social relations have been shaped by these political and capitalist ideologies, as we see through these three plans. The dynamic of capital accumulation, directly shapes the built and natural environments of the city, leading to the accumulation of capital, intensification of urban space and the concentration of the forces of production (Albo, 2009). Planning for the waterfront and planning in general is contested set of relationships between urbanization and capital accumulation.

For Harvey, capitalism is the most important variable in how the city is produced. He explains that capitalism is in constant search of surplus profit, however in order to be successful at this, capitalists must always be able to produce surplus product, which is absorbed through urbanization (Harvey 2012). The pursuit of capital profit was visible throughout the industrial era of Toronto, as industries and workers on the waterfront relied on the industrial sector for their source of income. The waterfront was seen as a space that would produce capital gains, and was mentioned throughout all three plans.

Harvey conceptualizes the relationship between capitalism and urbanization and recognizes that in planning for a city, unlike the plan of 1912 we cannot solely focus on the working class and exploiting them for their labour. Rather, there needs to be a focus on the urban as a whole. Focusing the use of the waterfront through industry left this space inaccessible for the majority of the city inhabitants to utilize, and for many workers of 1912, it was industries that claimed the right to the city. Harvey stated that

through “the un-alienated right to make a city more after their own heart’s desire, we arrive at politics of the urban that will make sense” (Harvey 2012 preface XVI). It was not until the water became too contaminated to continue working, thus placing limitations on labour and capital, that there was a recognized need for a new regulating body and change to occur. We saw a response to these concerns raised through the Progressive Era within 1920-1950 from political re-thinking, where Former Mayor Adam Wilson wanted to focus on improving the lives of citizens in Toronto. During this time, the recognition for a clean waterfront grew; the goal would be to provide accessible public open space for all, which would change the way government, and planners thought about planning for the waterfront for decades to come. This new way of thinking reconsidered what planning practices and goals should be at the forefront of the waterfront. For Harvey, the right to the city means, “claiming shaping power over the process of urbanization” which in turns looks at how our cities are made and remade (Harvey 2012 preface XVI). In terms of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, this meant a Fordist approach to planning.

## **Evolving Conceptions of Planning Practices**

This section will explore the City of Toronto's waterfront plans from 1912, 1992 and 2010. It will establish connections between the broader socio-economic and political perspectives of the time, and will analyze planning practices that have informed planning decisions. Throughout these plans, we are able to see a historical transition of waterfront planning and explore what influenced these planning decisions during these specific moments in time. First, we will address the 1912 plan that focused on an industrial city that was planning with the advancement of the economy in mind through Fordism planning methods in the mid-century, while leaving the waterfront in environmental disarray. Second, during the 1992 plan, we see the Crombie Commission focus on environmental revitalization through an ecosystem approach of what was left as a brownfield, while simultaneously trying to bolster the economy. Third, we can review the 2010 plan, which aims to specialize in everything, and is heavily focused on neoliberal planning ideologies. Throughout these planning eras, we recognize a shift in ideology, when the Toronto waterfront transitions from specializing in nothing to wanting to specialize in everything, while simultaneously re-inscribing methods of capital accumulation within an urban framework.

## Chapter One

### *Planning for an Industrial City 1912*

In 1834, the year York became the City of Toronto, the industrial city was well underway. The use of the Toronto Port became an important aspect of the waterfront and the city's economic activities. Ships were becoming increasingly larger, and it was evident that the Toronto Port Lands economic endeavors were becoming more complex. Industry and manufacturing were a vital part for economic prosperity within the city and Toronto played an integral role of trading imports and exports through the St. Lawrence River. By 1850, the railway corridor was built for faster movement of goods and people, which was a clear indication of a healthy economic city (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.12). By 1901 the City of Toronto had grown to 208, 040 people, industrialization was on the rise, and this is where capitalism and the commodification of space were most visibly evident. It is within these larger ideological perspectives of socio-economic and political contexts that planning was understood within the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

During the year of 1844 the Board of Trade began campaigning for the Harbour Trust to have jurisdiction and ownership over the lands, which are known today as the Toronto Port Lands (Ports Toronto, 2016). The Board of Trade offered more stability than local city council and promoted long range planning, however did not have sufficient power over land usage or adequate funding to maintain the Port. By the 1860s, five Harbour Commissioners were appointed to manage the Harbour, which

began a period of divided ownership between the Commission, City, railroad, and private owners (Ports Toronto, 2016).

### **City of Toronto 1896**

This historical map from 1896 is a proposed plan of subdivision for the lands known as the Port Lands. This map identifies locations for factory sites and industry as well as railways and parks. This demonstrates that in 1896, the need for economic growth and expansion through the incorporation of industrial units and the railway were well developed, and capitalism and growth were at the forefront of the city's plans.

**Figure 1**



(Toronto Department of Works E. H. Keating, City Engr. Feb 8th, 1896. Villers Sankey, City Surveyor. Sheet measured. 1896 Date Created year accurate; month and day unknown for 1896)

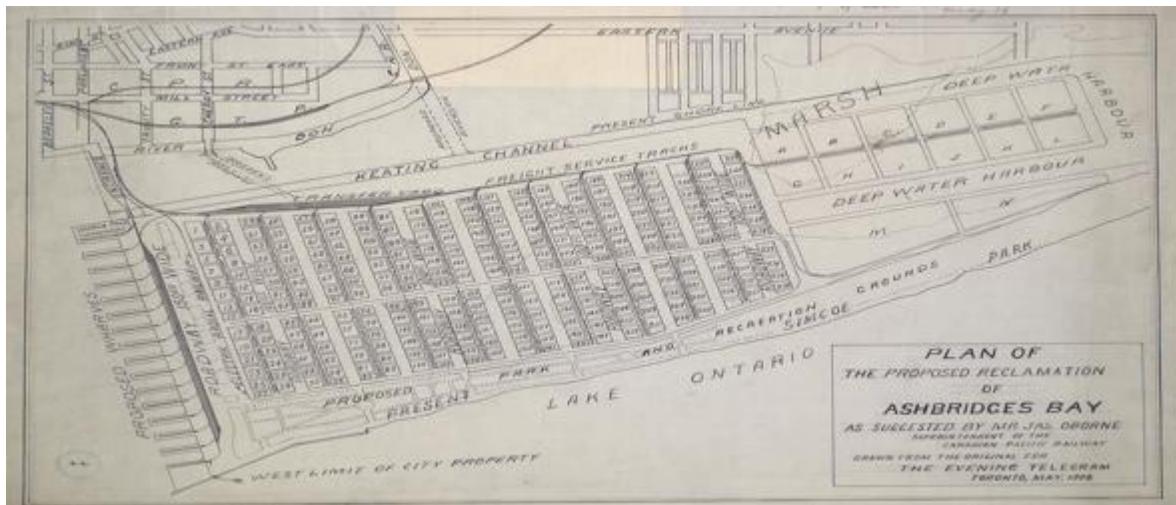
The shortcomings of Harbour Trust, according to Desfor and Laidley, were due to its lack of powers and funding. Therefore, by developing a Commission that had been granted the “right to hold land in trust” for the city, to build and operate docks and

railways, and to expropriate and develop property, this would open opportunities for the future of the Port Lands. The problem however, is that it neglected to specialize in something, therefore leaving the Port Lands with economic and political confusion (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.45). After utilizing the Port Lands as a place for economic activity, dumping grounds for toxic waste, and secluding it from public access, it was evident that by 1908 the City By-Laws for trunk sewer systems and waste water treatment facilities paved the way for the federal government's involvement in the Harbour. By 1911, with the support of the residents, a referendum was held that placed the reclamation of Ashbridges Bay with the Harbour Commissions (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.45). In 1912, by the peak of urban growth rates, Ontario's first planning legislation was passed, including a proposed system of electrical railways for Southern Ontario (Reeves, 1993 p. 2).

**1908 Proposed Reclamation of Ashbridges Bay as suggested by Mr. Jas Osborne Superintendent of the Canadian Pacific Railway.**

This map sets a precedent for the future of the City of Toronto wherein planners for the city were people who had an economic interest and could gain a profit from the strategic placement of infrastructure. The superintendent of the Canadian Pacific Railway proposed this plan as it brings the railway right into the dock shipping area for the ability to transfer and move goods quickly and efficiently, as there was money to be made. This plan set out a foundation for the land use plan of 1912.

**Figure 2**



(Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Collection)

1912 was a momentous year for the City of Toronto and future planners, as this was the year the Toronto Harbour Commissioners brought forward the first comprehensive plan for the Toronto waterfront (Reeves 1993). The Toronto waterfront development plan of 1912-1920 guided a process of industrialization in a city that was

heavily focused on the economy. The idea was to make the Port Lands a part of the city that would lead as an industrial center through socio-nature processes (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.50). The development strategy was a production of approximately 500 hectares of deep water, which would be primarily filled in at Ashbridges Bay and the Central Harbour area. The Harbour Commission's recommendations to City Council for the 1912 plan was that the port was to be used for three types of land use (1) commercial and dock development in the central waterfront and along new retaining walls constructed in Ashbridges Bay (2) there were to be parks, bathing beaches and other recreational activities in each section of the waterfront (3) the foot of Bathurst Street and Ashbridges Bay would be used as an industrial district (Desfor, and Laidley 2011 p.107). This industrial district would be used for manufacturing and warehouse firms, there would be an increased shipping toll, and the idea was that land rents would repay the expenses of constructing the industrial land. In the planning for this industrial area the link to modern rail, water transportation and firms were projected to pay off the \$25 million dollar investment. The problem with this ideology, although logical in the sense that capital revenues was to pay off investment, was that businesses were complaining about the high transportation fees and the forms of accumulation that were at play. This began to spark competing concerns with residents, shipping interests and railroad companies over the value of the location (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.55). Supporters of the waterfront began to take into account a number of concerns and summed them into a single agenda item as a "waterfront problem", which emphasized the need for expanded port facilities, a stronger Harbour governing body, a concern for public health,



high costs of transportation and a need for more public parks and access (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.56). The supporters of this public agenda called for a need of “deep water and good land” (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.56). This was an evident act of a democratic response which would further re-inscribed social inequality. The changes brought forward to this waterfront plan reflected the relationship between politics and capital accumulation.

There has been vast discourse in academic literature surrounding the causes of failure or long-term underutilization of the Toronto Port Lands. These issues presented themselves prior to 1912 when the first Toronto waterfront plan was developed. There were several discussions surrounding Harbour Trust’s inability to maintain a safe Harbour for shipping conditions. At one point, the Harbour became so unsafe due to the lack of government intervention and inadequate funding that the commercial viability of the port was jeopardized, and shipping as a mode of transportation was losing to the railway companies. What this demonstrated was that planning for the waterfront during this time meant specializing in nothing, as there was no cohesive planning process that established accountability or appropriate direction. By specializing in nothing, it was obvious that there were three main components that had competing interests that wanted to be met: economic, political and social. The inability to specialize in any of these aspects of waterfront planning made it difficult to have a thriving waterfront as each of these aspects work interdependently.

By 1923, the Trust had ceased making any positive contributions to the improvement of the Harbour, and if there were to be improvements made at the Port and Harbour, a new regulatory body would need to be established (Desfor, Laidley 2011

p.57). Long before the argument supporting the lack of government accountability arose, serious issues and accusations surrounding public health needed to be addressed. Due to the nature of an industrial city and shipping activities proceeding at the waterfront, there were high trepidations surrounding the “cesspool” of the Ashbridges Bay water (Defor and Laidley, 2011 p.58). The water was seriously polluted due to three key reasons: (1) in 1880 the city emptied its sewers directly into these congested waters (2) a break wall was created to reduce the flow of water through the Bay (3) industries disposed of their waste in the marshlands, such as cattle and dairy (Desfor, and Laidley 2011 p.59). The unhealthiness of the environment trickled into an unhealthy economy and unhealthy humans during this period of time, which lead to a shift in how people began to think about planning. It was evident that the bodies in charge of the waterfront were unable to specialize in planning for an industrial city and in fact this lack in specialization was reflected throughout the inability to maintain a clean environment. The lack of specialization generated many health and environmental concerns for the waterfront, which in turn affected the success of the industries and created an economic downfall. For Waterfront Toronto, being able to specialize in something, in the case of the industrial planning era of 1912 would have been able to increasingly sustain the physical environment of the Port Lands, advance its economic prosperity, develop political accountability and enhance the quality of life for citizens. The economic and industrialization processes shaped the land use of the Toronto waterfront throughout this time period and identified many challenges and concerns for

Waterfront Toronto. Specializing in nothing highlights this lack of governmental accountability to support the forces of industrialization.

### ***Pivotal Planning Decades: Fordism and the Mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century***

During the peak of Toronto's industrial era in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the sole planning motivation for the Port Lands was the accumulation of capital and growing the economy. The idea of space and ownership of space was always controversial at the waterfront. Governments did not take responsibility for the waterfront, and private companies wanted to exploit this land and workers in order to achieve economic gains. At the time however, these planning practices were heavily used by the City of Toronto and private industries, which would benefit from capital profit. Utilizing the waterfront as a source of shipping, industry and labour were reasons to establish a strong port even if that meant focusing less attention on the environmental repercussions that followed. These social-political and economic tensions shadowed the planning process of the waterfront for years to come.

### ***The Effects of Fordism***

The Fordist method of mass production was successful in achieving its goals of mass consumption and accumulation within cities. This idea of Fordism originated in the 1920s and 1930's, and it dominated the economies of developed countries during this period (Filion p.2 1996). The ability to exponentially grow and expand the city, industries and transportation methods met the requirements of the market. As Fordism continued to prevail as a predominant planning method in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, this meant that there would be large-scale centralized mega-projects. As a result this increased the growing number of workers who lived close to factories and their workplace, which lead

to high density and poor quality housing leading to 'everydayness'. Lefebvre's concept of 'everyday' is a theory that Keil refers to as a "reflection of the Fordist societalization after World War II "(Keil 2002, p.583).

Keil argued that the "everydayness is both an imposed reality of mass society and the constantly virulent source of subversive action" (Keil 2002, p.583). This idea of 'everydayness' and politics became an intertwined space where individuals were divided by class, race and gender. Fordist capitalism shaped space within cities and was a mode of regulation of everyday urban life. The impacts of Fordism planning were seen throughout the historical transformation of the waterfront, as there was an underlying capitalist need for high density, and expressways that would connect workers to the industrial factories. The population growth that the expressway would bring, added to pre-existing problems of poor housing and sanitation at the waterfront. The Fordism movement was seen as necessary by capitalist and politicians, in providing infrastructure for the working class, and was provided through planning regulations. This plan, in conjunction with the lack of initiatives in fixing what had already unfolded at the waterfront, ignored these planning mistakes and continued to develop a long-range comprehensive plan. It was not long however, until the Port Lands were no longer used for shipping and industry, as political uncertainty, social upheaval, and environmental concerns lead to a declining industrial sector.

During the decline of the industrial era, the waterfront was left as a brownfield site, which was highly contaminated and unused. After the regression of the industrial use of the Port Lands there was a significant decrease in the amount of economic

prosperity that was generated off of these lands. Brownfields are defined by the US Environmental Protection Agency (1997) as “abandoned, idled, or under-used industrial and commercial facilities where expansion or redevelopment is complicated by real or perceived environmental contamination” (Sousa, 2002 p.289). In Canada, the regulation of brownfield redevelopment is largely the responsibility of provincial and municipal levels of government; however, in the case of the Port Lands, the government only saw their role as regulatory, and not financially responsible. The goal of capitalism as Harvey suggests, is profit. In this case the government could not foresee profit production in this waterfront location, therefore it was left essentially abandoned. The forces of profit however, did not leave the waterfront for long, as the city wanted to focus on the redevelopment of this area, which would contribute to an image of a world-class city that reinvented itself. The forces of profit and capital accumulation however, would contribute to the gentrification of the waterfront. Cleaning up the brownfield site and developing ideas for revitalization would be no small task for Toronto. Here we begin to recognize a shift from planning for a city that relied on an industrial economy, to focusing on re-framing human and environmental health and welfare as a means to advance the economy, which contributed to processes of gentrification.

The Toronto Master Plan of 1943 was created to focus on large-scale policy aimed at avoiding past mistakes. The plan was part of the post-war reconstructing program that would attract financial support from senior levels of government. It was called the “people’s plan” and was meant to control and direct natural growth while coordinating the development of the metropolitan area as one geographical, economic,

and social unit (Reeves 1993 p.10). By 1953, council approved plans for a waterfront expressway and deemed this project a “prime necessity” (Reeves 1993 p.27). The project sparked tensions between local and regional objectives and reflected a lack of progress in planning. Former Mayor Adam Wilson at the time felt that the Gardiner was so “contrary to the public interest, so devious of the city-planning forethought that it was unsupportable” and stated strong opinions about the waterfront expressway. “Whatever structure’s are built now will remain for generations, the whole thesis of waterfront for public recreation and enjoyment which has governed city policy for the past thirty years has been discarded” (Reeves, 1993 p. 34). The Gardiner Expressway is a prime example of where the politics of capitalism and space have prevailed when planning for the City of Toronto’s waterfront. When the Gardiner Expressway was approved, it demonstrated yet another example of neglecting the opportunities of incorporating public space into the waterfront. What the Gardiner did was essentially block off any pedestrian access to the waterfront, and even though there had been a slight political shift in ideologies from economy to environment, it was not seen through this development.

Fordism planning practices were still the predominate planning method up until the 1970’s even though the Port Lands experienced an economic decline. When the Gardiner Expressway was introduced, it reaffirmed the need to build a strong economy and increase mass production with quick transportation. Fordist planning refers to the system of mass production and consumption characteristics of highly developed economics during the 1940’s-1960’s to produce sustained economic growth (Womack et

al 1990). Filion (1996) described Fordism as being “characterized by a mass production of standardized commodities and a distribution of revenues that propelled the expansion of a middle class, which enjoyed sufficient purchasing power to consume these commodities” (Filion p.2 1996). The building of the Gardiner brings back the question of the right to the city; the desire to live in a city based on a working theory and social practice is the ultimate utopia for urban inhabitants. With this new infrastructure in place, this dominated the ideology of the time for cultivating economic prosperity by creating faster accessibility to import and export goods and people.

The industrial era set up the planning framework that shaped the Toronto waterfront. The planning was heavily focused on capitalism, consumption and industry. However, it had no direct specialization within any particular aspect of planning and was largely left unaccounted for. Through the chase of economic prosperity, the environment and the health and well being of industry workers were not identified as a main priority in planning, which contributed to a decline in industrial work and a site that was left as a brownfield. A few people recognized that building industries of production was not the only way to enhance the city, and that if the city wanted to respond to its planning mistakes and grow in the future, it would need to make tremendous changes. The transformation of brownfield sites through water and soil cleaning was essential to the future of the Port Lands as well as open access from the public. David Crombie recognized that the old conception of industrialization was not working for the city any longer, and the dramatic waterfront shift from foundations across the city being hauled to the shore and dumped, transformed the area entirely



while at the same time shaping it as a port. The Port Lands' brownfield could not and would not be left this way forever, as land is always seen as an opportunity for profit to be made. The conjunction of Harvey's notion for capital accumulation after a declining industrial period, along with strong historical influences of Fordist planning and a need for brownfield revitalization sparked the need for a change in planning methodology. This new era would push for transformative planning methods through David Crombie's Commissions comprehensive ecosystem approach, which moved away from Fordist planning.

## Chapter Two

### *A Comprehensive Planning Approach 1992*

In 1954, the priority in planning for Toronto's waterfront was heavily path dependent in Fordist planning, wherein water supply, sewage, and roadwork development were at the forefront of political expectations, essentially excluding earlier goals of planning for the people. Planning within a social context however, would have included focusing on creating healthily built environments and eco-systems where humans could benefit from access to public space (Reeves, 1993 p.42). It was not until 1956 that Thompson recognized a need for regional parkland. In 1965, Metro Council accepted a plan that was contrary to the city's goal of creating a "naturalistic waterfront and regional parkland" when the plan focused on intensive commercial development (Reeves, 1993 p.42). The difficulty with planning recreational activities at the waterfront was due to the shallow shore, a built up industrial environment, privately owned lands, polluted and cold waters, and no sign of the federal government to help restore this natural resource (Reeves, 1993 p.63). Between 1954 and 1992 however, the waterfront was left largely unattended, and governments as well as the private sector were unsure of its future.

This reframing of planning practices to focus on the environment still had underlying goals of capital accumulation however; it shifted from industry to condo development, and privatization, which enhanced processes of gentrification. We saw the processes of gentrification begin to take place at the Queen's Quay, where the

condo development boom began to make a mockery of the planning process. In the 1980s condo development began to change urban space by privatizing the entire area, leaving no room for green space and socially excluding many urban inhabitants as public space was now being sold to the highest bidder. As condo developments became more popular within the late 1980s to the early 2000s, remediating environmental damage became the primary focus by planning through an ecosystem lens. The goal of planning through an ecosystem lens articulated awareness of humans as being part of the ecosystem, and changed the process of decision-making aiming to enhance quality of life through sustainability (MacGregor 2002 p.74).

The halted use of the Port and diminished industrial and manufacturing sectors, which had separated the Port from public access, left the Port Lands underutilized and heavily polluted. The postindustrial city however, opened up space for an eco-system approach. It is here that we see the historical shift from not being able specialize in anything to wanting to specialize in everything, even though this had innate contradictions. In 1989, the David Crombie Royal Commission on the Future of the Waterfront Regeneration Trust was made the new agency in charge of the waterfront activities as mandated by the province and federal government (Laidley 2011 p. 215).

### ***1992 Plan: Comprehensive Planning***

Comprehensive planning is a planning approach utilized to establish policies and guide physical development within cities. The context of the plan was situated in environmental-economic goals, which was dominated by political debates. Goodman stated that a comprehensive plan should have six main criteria: (1) It should be comprehensive (2) it should be long-range (3) it should be general (4) it should focus on physical development (5) it should relate physical design to community goals, and social and economic policies (6) it should be a policy instrument first and a technical instrument second (Goodman, 1968). David Crombie's Royal Commission for the waterfront developed a comprehensive planning report, which included more than 60 recommendations for redeveloping the waterfront. The majority of these recommendations focused on environmental issues that were aimed at the federal government, however, were applicable to all levels (Crombie 1992 p.6). Environmental recommendations heavily focused on improving public access to the entire waterfront, restoring the watershed and ecosystems, creating a healthier environment, and halting the unnecessary privatization of the public shoreline and crown resources such as water lots. (Crombie 1992 p. 6, 15) It was mentioned however, that the single most important aspect of waterfront planning was to protect Toronto's vital ecosystem through government funding as watershed planning played a central role in selecting Toronto as a bioregion. The problem with this approach was the jurisdiction issues that arose creating a "bureaucratic and political paralysis" that placed a hold on projects (Crombie 1992 p.9).

The Commission believed that a comprehensive planning approach, which encompassed interactions between ecological, social, economic and political systems in the bioregion, would be the best approach to planning for the waterfront at the time. Crombie quickly learned that this was no easy task as it was impossible for one level of government to resolve all the issues related to the waterfront. He called for new provincial mandates that added federal-provincial cooperation on these matters (Crombie 1992 p.9). The ecosystem approach was called to promise, “bringing together in one development model the long-term promise of a healthy environment, economy and livable community and it was supposed to produce more creative solutions to traditional planning” (Laidley 2011 p.203). The Royal Commission noted, “the key to the approach was that a good quality of life and economic development cannot be sustained in an ecologically deteriorating environment” (Laidley 2011 p.210).

For the Crombie Commission, it was essential that the watersheds were cleaned in order to revitalize the waterfront. The Commission focused on greenways as a cleansing function, which would create vegetated buffers, and enhance water quality (Crombie 1992 p.183). The greenways design focused on bringing people to the water’s edge. Several outcomes were envisioned: an increased interest in the environment and outdoor activities, a strong demand for urban facilities, and strong public support for linked parks and trail systems as well as the preservation of natural areas (Crombie 1992 p.184). For Crombie, having greenways built around the waters edge was a way to create a healthy environment, economy, and livable communities. Crombie’s ecosystem approach to planning encompassed the definition of a “healthy city” as defined by the

World Health Organization 2003. "A healthy city is one that is continually developing those public policies and creating those physical and social environments which enables its people to mutually support each other in carrying out all functions of life and achieving their full potential" (WHO, 2003).

The Commission strongly supported a healthy environment, which would be beneficial to those living within the city, and could provide a place close to home that would be accessible for all income groups (Crombie 1992 p.185). He envisioned an urban greenway that would be accessible by public transit and would remain affordable for all citizens. His goal was to take the existing brownfield and apply ecological restoration to create a waterfront within an urban context that could harness the attributes of a healthy city. Crombie argued that these green gateways could also bring economic benefits to communities. The Commission argued in the report that properties adjacent to greenways would increase property values by 32% and that corporations wanted to locate in areas that would offer "quality of life", meaning clean, green and accessible, therefore utilizing the environment as a means to enhance processes of capital accumulation (Crombie 1992 p.187). For the Crombie Commission, natural landscapes and ecologic processes were the most important aspect for shaping the waterfront, as he believed this was a way of life that would enrich us all throughout every aspect possible. He quoted Jeffery Stinson, a Toronto architect, who stated: "our history is imbedded in everything we build" (Crombie 1992 p.470). In the context of the post-industrial city, where industry has left, there is now a new reality emphasized through the Commissions plan. The Commissions plan radically shifted planning

perspectives to focus on achieving a healthy city through restoring the waterfront and revitalizing abandoned spaces, which simultaneously contributed to the perspective Lehrer and Laidley share on new forces of capitalism at play, which re-inscribe social divides.

At the time in 1992 there were larger political motivations at play, which influenced the push towards an environmental movement. The concept of sustainability first emerged in the 1980s however, was also heavily adhered to within the 1990s. “Sustainability” was defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The Summit laid out a foundation for sustainability by specifically stating the intentions of the goal:

- (1) The need for reconciliation between economic development and environmental conservation;
- (2) The need to place any understanding of environmental concerns within a socio economic and political context;
- (3) The need to combine environment and development concerns (Tilbury, p.197 1995).

During the 1992 Summit in Rio de Janeiro known as the UN conference on Environment and Development, environmental and economic goals were reflected through political debates, which shaped the ideological reality of the time. In the same year David Crombie’s Commission released “Regeneration” (1992) which held policies

and ideologies of best planning practises, which heavily focused on the environment, the United Nations released a similar message to the world. The goal of this Summit was to address the pressing concerns that were occurring at the time, while aiming to prepare the world for the next centuries challenges. It reflected global consensus and political commitment at the highest level of development and environmental cooperation (UN, Agenda Item 1.3 1992 p.3). The goal also aimed at new global partnerships, and social inclusion in planning which was inspired to achieve a more efficient and equitable world economy, having international economic relations and supporting a community driven approach to sustainability (UN, 1992 p.4). Through the Crombie Commissions release of Regeneration (1992) and the United Nation's Summit on Environment and Development there were many political pressure's placed on planning for Toronto's waterfront which brought forth this notion of sustainability in planning. Planning with sustainability initiatives and goals in mind helped to set the stage for Toronto's goal of specializing in everything, as sustainability encompassed planning ideologies for the environment, economy and a social-political context at the time. It is important to recognize however, that sustainability practises, although globally and locally recommended reiterated the same concerns as the idea of 'specializing in everything' as it re-inscribed capitalist goals.



### Toronto Port Lands 1993

This photo depicts a transformation in land use from the plans of the 1912 era. Clearly, there is visibly more green and open space as David Crombie and the Waterfront Commission had recommended. The green gateways created a city that is more appealing, and added visual benefits to the skyline and waterfront. This plan shifted its focus from industrial capitalism to enhancing the environment, which would bolster the economy, as this was a historical reality of the time. Aspects of this plan are seen in today's Port Lands Acceleration Initiative 2010.

**Figure 3**



(Toronto Port Lands Concept Plan, HSW 1993)

David Crombie's Commission's report aimed at "specializing in everything" through the lens of an ecosystem approach. The Commission wanted Toronto to have strong intergovernmental cooperation on creating a new waterfront. They wanted the waterfront to have a strong tourist industry, create jobs, restore the real estate market,

build infrastructure compatible with the environment, deliver long-range housing programs, create a green industry, healthy environment, and have a strong global trade system (Crombie 1992 p. 464-468). The report put forward from the Commission noted that the idea to limit private investment within waterfront planning, and solely focus on the three levels of government to share a joint jurisdiction over the waterfront and contribute economically would be no small endeavor. Although Crombie's recommendations had included halting "unnecessary public investment", it soon became obvious that Crombie's Royal Commission found private investment as a source of income opportunity to begin working on the waterfront revitalization. The Commission stated that establishing partnerships amongst governments and private sectors was critical. The government was to agree on the plans and projects and the private sector was to design, finance, and construct them which would help "jumpstart regeneration and contribute to economic recovery" (Crombie 1992 p.469). This idea of "specializing in everything" was a postindustrial strategy for abandoned brownfields that would not operate outside of capital accumulation. The pursuit for capital accumulation remained, shifting from industrial production to condo development and the privatization of services and spaces at the waterfront.

### ***Specializing in Everything***

The comprehensive ecosystem approach truly spearheaded the idea that Toronto's waterfront could help the City of Toronto to "specialize in everything", yet neglected that this was re-inscribing processes of gentrification, and contributing to negative externalities of capital accumulation. Evidence of this notion was alluded to during the 1940s, but was ultimately ignored during implementation. The ecosystem approach promised to bring together everything under one model: a healthy environment, economic recovery, sustainability and a livable community (Laidley 2011 p.203). This innovative ecosystem planning approach brought new life to the City of Toronto and promised that by focusing on the goals of the time, such as: investments in the environment and natural space they could restore the health and usefulness of the waterfront (Laidley 2011 p.204). Laidley described this plan as being founded on the notion that "everything is connected to everything" (Laidley 2011 p. 204). Hence, if everything were connected to everything, then the ability to specialize in one thing would create a domino effect opportunity to specialize in everything, as politics, economics, environment, and social variables are all interconnected. This plan was exciting, and offered a utopian vision, as even the media described the plan as the "wave of the future" for Torontonians (Laidley 2011 p. 204). Toronto was excited to have an approach to planning for the waterfront after it had been left untouched for so many decades, yet offered so many opportunities.

Lehrer and Laidley (2008) suggested that Toronto's waterfront development is a "paradigm of mega-project development within a competitive city with a paradoxical

goal to specialize in everything” (Lehrer, Laidley 2008 p. 787). They stated however, that in allowing for all interests to be served this also reinforces socio-economic divisions (Lehrer, Laidley 2008 p.788). This links the idea back to David Harvey’s conception of access to space, and the effects of neo-liberal ideology, as well as Crombie’s contradictory goal of having the waterfront be accessible to all people. During the industrial era of Toronto’s waterfront, it was evident that the Port Lands lacked public access as the waterfront was primarily used for port and shipping activities. During Crombie’s comprehensive ecosystem planning approach, this focused on creating a clean, natural environment to better serve the public. The problem with this was that port development measures such as the reorganization of space concentrated on economic activities such as services, tourism, and leisure. It also involved jurisdictional gridlock because so many levels of government were involved, while still excluding those who could not contribute to the aforementioned (Schubert 2011 p.75). The ecosystem approach paved way however for the Commission to identify an acceptable role for the private sector in waterfront development through: (1) the need for green infrastructure and (2) through innovating funding techniques (Laidley 2011 p. 214). The waterfront revitalization project sparked the interest of not only the government, but the private sector as well. This only created further economic divides and deepened social inequality at the waterfront, as private investment seeks capital accumulation. In contrast to Fordism planning, we begin to see a different mode of regulation through neoliberalism, which operates to regulate everyday urban life to reproduce forms of globalized and unrestrained capitalism (Keil p.584 2002). This idea of “specializing in

everything” creates urban neoliberalism and sets new conditions for accumulation of capital.

## Chapter Three

### *2010 Port Lands Acceleration Initiative*

In November 1999, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Ontario Premier Mike Harris and Toronto Mayor Mel Lastman gathered to propose their 30 year, \$17 billion plan which envisioned “a new waterfront for a new millennium” that would be “the most exciting people place in North America”, acting as “a green gateway to the City” (Lehrer and Laidley 2008 p.786). What they envisioned was a location that would be used for “year-round cultural and recreational activities, attractions, facilities, a healthy lakefront eco-system, new wetlands and shoreline protection programs. This would also include a full range of housing choices affordable to all members of our community and new accommodation for tourists as well as a better home for Toronto’s growing and internationally-competitive imagination industries such as new media, film, animation, and digital creations” (Lehrer and Laidley 2008 p.787). What this meant was that Toronto still had high hopes in the post-industrial city to specialize in everything.

“The vision for the Port Lands can be as layered and diverse as the place itself, and the people who inhabit it. Just like Toronto, that can be its strength” (Waterfront Toronto, 2015). The new plan for the Port Lands section of the waterfront was developed through the City of Toronto and Waterfront Toronto, along with the help of consultants Urban Strategies Inc. that was called the “Port Lands Acceleration Initiative” in 2011. The plan looked at flood protection, naturalization, city building, business strategies, and revitalization. The plan has six key components: (1) Stitching to the City:

there are six signature streets which connect the Port Lands to the city North-South “Cherry, Don, Broadview, Carlaw, Caroline, and Leslie, the goal is to create a Broadview Avenue extension from “tower to tower” meaning the Broadview Tower to the CN Tower through a transit extension. (2) Uniting the Harbour and the Wilds: the East-West linear systems include the Commissioners, Ship Channel and Unwind the plan is to have loop streets and floating culture at the waters edge. The plan also includes 15 km of signature East-West and North- South complete streets that accommodate cycling and transit. (3) Resilient Urban Fabric: this includes having complete neighbourhoods and local streets to generate diverse urban fabric. This will include 30+km of local streets and laneways, which will be used for industry and local experiences. The plan is to have flexible blocks to accommodate diverse uses (Waterfront Toronto, 2015). (4) Green the Parks and Open Space Network: the plan includes a vast amount of public space, and the implementation of priority projects for a linked network of 93 open spaces within 13 public space districts. This also includes a 42-acre park combining both active and passive recreational opportunities on a brownfield site (Urban Strategies, 2011). (5) Green and Blue Expanded Open Space Network which includes built form and (6) Designing with Water as a Resource.

## Toronto Port Lands Structure Plan 2015

This photo depicts the structure plan of the Toronto Port Lands which incorporates all of the aspects of the new plan focusing on; the economy through the use of commercial, retail and residential units, the environment through the open green space and place making for people through the conjunction of all of the listed aspects above.

**Figure 4**



(Toronto Port Lands 2015)

To date, many initiatives have already taken place or are undergoing construction, including: the Cherry Beach 2004 restoration and the Lake Ontario Park, which encompasses 927 acres and is calling to be “Canada’s next great urban park” “Waterfront Toronto has stated “A City is a Process. The plan for the Port Lands will not be a finished article, not the end game. Rather, it will continue to evolve - as it always has - to accommodate the things we can imagine, and perhaps some we can’t yet” (Waterfront Toronto, 2015). This quote is important, as it demonstrates that although there is a plan in place and it is in the process of development, cities are not stagnant;



we can look to the waterfront when shaping our metropolis as an indication of a healthy growing city, despite its inherited flaws. The waterfront has been a collection of planning practices and ideologies that have evolved over time. It is understood that the city is in need of healthy ecosystems, healthy growing economies, and livable communities, and in order to succeed at achieving these goals, there is a need for a cohesive vision, which has been constantly reshaped over many decades.

Schubert fails to define the term “revitalization”, especially in the context of ports and waterfronts, stating that they tend to have a range of meanings attached to them. Nevertheless, we recognize that revitalization in terms of the waterfront can also be a form of gentrification. Schubert explains that it is a process of planning directions focusing on reorganization and relocation, changing former port lands and economics activities to services, tourism, leisure and housing. He notes that revitalization has no precise definition, but instead embraces a set of complex changing uses (Schubert, 2011 p.75). For the Toronto Waterfront, revitalization has occurred for two main reasons: first, that larger political realities shape planning practices of the time and second, that regardless of which planning practice dominates, there is an inevitable re-inscribing of capital accumulation. Revitalization in planning for Toronto’s waterfront has been nothing short of an ever-evolving process. There has been a clear shift in paradigm from a comprehensive planning approach to a neo-liberal approach, focusing on public-private partnerships to help specialize in everything, which was meant to have spectacular, residential, commercial, and cultural as well as attracting global capital (Lehrer and Laidley 2008 p.787).

While redeveloping the waterfront, consulting group Urban Strategies was hired. They prepared a comprehensive design based Zoning By-Law and urban design guidelines which implemented Toronto's Official Plan and Waterfront Toronto's plans within the regulatory framework. Urban Strategies was involved in the development of the Waterfront Secondary Plan for the City of Toronto working for Waterfront Toronto as project managers. Urban Strategies developed plans for Waterfront Toronto, which included subdivision block planning, public realm strategies, and engineering teams to resolve transportation, and infrastructure challenges and served as Public Engagement Specialists on the Central Waterfront. They have been a part of Waterfront Toronto's Sustainability Advisory Team for many years and most recently work for Waterfront Toronto on the Port Lands Acceleration Initiative (Urban Strategies, 2015). Waterfront Toronto's revitalization mandate emphasized "global best practices in sustainable development" which included: district energy, green buildings and a risk-managed approach to redevelopment in a brownfield site (Urban Strategies, 2015). Urban Strategies, a planning company hired to work for Waterfront Toronto, included a sustainable development framework which approached sustainable planning and design reflecting goals of LEED green building systems, passive energy in power park utilities, walking and transit serviced communities and the maximization of green space. The achievement of these intensification targets assisted Waterfront Toronto and Toronto's Green Standard policy in achieving their sustainability goals (Urban Strategies, 2015). Toronto has spent more than \$1.5 billion dollars on infrastructure, cleaning polluted soil, and creating new parks through high quality design due to the brownfield, which

was left unattended to for many years (Urban Strategies, 2015). Just like the contaminated water as unable to provide an efficient quality of life for many years, the new regulatory body (Waterfront Toronto) was facing the same struggles with its soil, which lead to many years of undevelopable land, and expensive restoration costs.

Throughout the 2010 plan, neo-liberal planning practices were evident, and peaked the interest of many investors who were attracted to this space both for residential and commercial use, as this re-inscribed a pursuit of capital accumulation. Waterfront Toronto has used a variety of planning practices, including “precinct planning”, as a predominant aspect of the Central Waterfront Secondary Plan, which has in turn shaped ideologies and discussions of planning practices for the redevelopment of the Port Lands project. Precinct planning incorporates appropriate land use options, physical environmental constraints, infrastructure requirements, and community values into one plan. It encompasses the input of local council, community consultation, and advisory committees (Queensland Government, 2015). The City of Toronto, the Toronto and Region Conservation for the Living City and Waterfront Toronto required that precinct plans be prepared prior to enacting Zoning By-laws in the Central Waterfront. This focused on urban design guidelines, strategies for affordable housing, community facilities, urban vibrancy, and a great public realm, which are planning practices and tools being utilized within the Port Lands Acceleration Initiative.

The 2010 Port Lands Acceleration Initiative, unlike the plan of 1912, focused heavily on neo-liberalism practices within an urban context. Similar to the 1992 plan

however, this 2010 plan inspired hope and change for the revitalization process at the waterfront, while it contradictorily reinforced social-divisions and enhanced processes of gentrification. Neo-liberalism has been a politically directed method of capitalist production, trade and consumption that has been visible throughout this 2010 plan, which heavily focuses on conceptualization, and political motivations.

### ***Creative Cities: Post Industrial Planning***

Postindustrial planning has shifted away from planning for a city that revolves around industry, and instead promotes ideas of neo-liberalism. Richard Florida conceptualizes ideas of urban neo-liberalism and frames this in the context of a creative city ideology. Florida emphasizes the importance of fostering urban vibrancy and public realm within Toronto's plans for waterfront revitalization. Richard Florida and his theory of the 'creative class' have influenced the principles and planning practices within the Port Lands Acceleration Initiative. Florida identifies that the rise of creativity and the creative class are a fundamental economic driver with a new rise of social class (Florida, 2003). Toronto is filled with people who Florida categorizes as creative class, and it is no surprise that new innovation and creativity was brought to the city's attention with the Port Lands project. Place is increasingly important because people in the creative class want to be in places that offer stimulating and creative environments. In addition, people want to like where they live, work, and play, and they want to be able to engage and contribute in their communities. Florida argues that amenities are an important aspect which greatly affect the quality of life within a city. Thus, if there is a vast amount of amenities present within a city, this is more likely to attract individuals (Florida, 2012). Although Florida has many critics, it is clear that his ideas around place making, and engaging creative environments are evident throughout the Port Lands initiatives. Kipfer (2009) has said:

*“ His ideas, about investing in skills and training, are nothing new; that his numbers – the indices that he bases his work on – are statistically suspect; and that his work*

*conveniently leaves out obvious trends as the rich/poor gap grows constantly wider...it is less about economy, and more about people. All of a sudden, you've got a situation that seems to allow usually marginalized people – artists, gays, lesbians, immigrants – to finally think that Hey! There's some economic value to our existence! But the danger in this is that it reduces them to economic inputs: As long as you see immigration as a way to benefit Canadian capitalism, or culture and sexual orientation as tourism and economic development tools – you're in. But don't tell us about questioning racism, don't tell us about wanting to re-organize the family, don't tell us about most of your history. We don't want to hear it" (Whyte Toronto Star, 2009).*

This quote recalls the argument made by Harvey and Crombie that space should be accessible for all people, especially for those who have been historically exploited, and continue to be exploited in the labour force and urban spaces. Kipfer's critique of Florida points out the current underlying paradox within neo-liberal realities, that we want to do well and see our city grow, yet in doing so, we have displaced many people through the social processes that exploit people for labour, and continue to contribute to social division through the pursuit of capital accumulation. Florida however, does not see this representation, and instead notes that people of diversity have much to offer within the city and have culture niches that enrich our economy, while rejecting that his idea of the creative class perpetuates further economic divide. When looking at the policies and implementation strategies of the Port Lands, it calls upon a strong local economy and local industry, as well as places of diversity; however, it has yet to

mention how to deal with a widening of socio-economic division created by these neo-liberal ideologies (Waterfront Toronto, 2015).

Florida takes on Schumpeter's definition of creative destruction defined as "incessantly revolutionizing the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, and incessantly creating a new one" (Florida 2010 p.2). What he essentially means by this is that over time and space, creative destruction, meaning the removal or destruction of previous developments in order to create new development and opportunities within cities, will ultimately position the city in a new form of economic and social neo-liberal ideology. This goes back to David Harvey's idea of spatial fix, which is manifested through capitalism, globalization and neoliberalism (Harvey, 2012). In Florida's work we are able to see the ideas of specializing in everything once again, but with a heavier focus on reframing this through the creative class. The creative class is comprised of creative intellectuals and artists however; Florida maintains that all people are creative (Florida, 2012). For Florida, the best way to organize a city as David Harvey asked, is based on organizing it for the people who live within it. This idea ensures that cities are attracting talented people and are retaining the people they already have through the amenities and opportunities the city has to offer (Florida, 2012). Building after our hearts desire includes: shaping space to encourage a natural environment, the diversity of people, community and cultures, creating a space that encourages lifestyles of social interaction, a mating market, authenticity, amenities, scenes and jobs especially, the new found space of opportunity as the waterfront (Florida, 2012).

Florida argues that creative destruction itself has been seen throughout the phases of Toronto's waterfront planning. Florida, however only continues to reinforce ideologies of neo-liberalism, as creative destruction, which is a term his theory depends on. The problem with this however, is that creative destruction is a term that not only refers to "revitalization" as Schubert describes however, it is widely recognized through a colonial view of planning reinforcing gentrification which is more aligned with Kipfer's argument. "Specializing in everything" through a creative city approach as identified by Richard Florida further outlines the process of capital accumulation, and highlights the displacement of people within urban space. The 2010 Port Lands Acceleration Initiative reinforces how the waterfront is undergoing constant political, economic, and social transformation. The revitalization of space offers hope for a city that wants to provide a healthy economy, environment, and livable communities, yet is still perpetuating socio-economic divides through processes of neo-liberalism.



### ***Actually Existing Neo-liberalism in Planning***

“Waterfronts are as fluid as the cities they belong to” (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.7). Conceptualizing urban change as both local and global forces represented as flows is to understand urban spaces as a result of a process of urbanization wherein “the city exists in the midst of processes of deterritorializing and reterritorializing” (Desfor, Laidley 2011 p.7). What this means is that there is a network of flows (capital, knowledge, goods, people) occurring over local and global space, which is how we have reached a neoliberal planning method today. Waterfront redevelopment in Toronto has historically consisted of comprehensive master plans prepared by planning authorities. These plans although aiming to specialize in everything focused on: financial, commercial and industrial land uses which failed due to long-term and top down planning approaches (Desfor et al., 1989). More recently however, we see diverse planning and development processes which are usually project-led, meaning that the redevelopment of particular sections are completed after the land-use function has been established (Galland and Hansen, 2012). Galland and Hansen argue that this type of planning system takes place where there are open market forces, which is clearly happening within Toronto, demonstrated by capital accumulation. During the redevelopment of the Toronto waterfront, we see mixed-use redevelopment projects that focus on the preservation of industrial sites. The quality of public spaces have been kick-started by public-sector investment, while later completed by the private sector through small development increments (Gordon, 1999). Galland and Hansen however, refer to public-investment planning and regulative planning as ideal, as this is plan-led

and market critical, where the public sector allocates funds, and coordinates redevelopment proposals in pursuit of benefiting local-lower income groups and the private sector plays a minor role in implementation (Galland and Hansen, 2012).

The comprehensive planning approach seen through the early stages of the 1992 plan has drastically shifted to a neoliberal planning approach, which focuses on harnessing relationships between the private and public sectors. Neoliberal ideology is the belief that “open, competitive, unregulated markets are liberated from all forms of state interference, and represent the optimal mechanism for economic development” (Brenner, Theodore 2002 p.350). Brenner and Theodore explore the idea of actually existing neoliberalism, which emphasizes projects that have been produced within national, regional, and local contexts. Nevertheless, it is understood that this is path dependent and a process of ongoing creative destruction of political-economic space at multiple geographical scales. This idea of “actually existing neoliberalism holds a global imposition that creates uneven social and geographical consequences” (Brenner, Theodore 2002 p.350). At the waterfront, this raises several concerns when thinking about access to space, as mentioned by Harvey and Crombie. In more recent years, the private investment of lands and intensification of globalization through foreign investment in residential and commercial units within the City of Toronto have become more common. The main reason for this is that Toronto is a city that is generally economically and politically stable, which makes the waterfront a perfect location where neoliberalism is actually taking place (Rosen and Walks, 2013). The problem

however, is that this ideology is the main form of capital accumulation which reinforces gentrification and socio-unevenness.

The main concern within a neoliberal planning approach is that social and geographical exclusion follows from having private space in a historically public location, as we also saw within the 1992 plan with David Crombie's idea of public space and privatization. Brian Hoyle looks at the possibility of having a shared space at the waterfront. His studies include Canadian waterfronts and how they have been funded through private-public partnerships. He emphasizes the importance of governments stepping forward to fund waterfront redevelopment projects. He notes however, that it is possible through cooperation and cohesion that both the private and public interests can be brought forth to attain a successful waterfront. He argues that just because space may be privatized, does not mean it cannot act as a public space (Hoyle 1995 p.358). Regardless, even if the private space reflected a space that looked physically accessible for all people, with privatization and capital accumulation as the goal of neo-liberalism, these locations would still reflect spaces of socio-economic unevenness. Hoyle states that the public sector has a lot of drive, and a lot of money behind it; however, private ownership does not have to prohibit public access (Hoyle 1995 p.358). In the case of waterfront development, it guarantees public objectives such as open space and in the case of private ownership of waterfront land, conditions of development can be public entry. Today, developers understand that they will unlikely get approval for a project if they do not incorporate public space in their plans and this is a risk they are not willing to take (Hoyle 1995 p.356). The importance of the private

sector in planning for the waterfront has increased over planning decades within the City of Toronto. It seems that a neoliberal based approach to planning is the dominant ideology shaping Toronto's waterfront in terms of accountability, implementation, and funding practices.

Comprehensive planning practices, at the Toronto waterfront have pro-longed the project through the lack of authority funding, political interest and extended time periods for development. As it stands, neo-liberal planning practices focusing on public-private partnerships in conjunction with aspects from 'precinct' and 'trend planning' are the most predominate approaches shaping neo-liberal planning at the waterfront. Precinct planning focuses on strategies to enhance public-private infrastructure, which includes community needs, public art, and creating a market where one never previously existed as there has been a significant amount of austerity. What this does is allows the private sector to build a relationship within communities as they will provide the types of services governments no longer can. This type of planning also includes phased development, which helps to create timelines for development, and does not lead to 'pro-longed development' (Waterfront Toronto, 2015). Trend planning is when local authorities such as Waterfront Toronto facilitates development and the private sector implements it, which is what we are beginning to see at the waterfront through the hiring of Urban Strategies and other small firms hired for the implementation process. This planning style has been referred to as neoliberal planning in practice by Allmendinger and encompasses the values expressed through Brenner and Theodore's *Actually Existing Neoliberalism* (Galland and Hansen, 2012).

The Port Lands initiative while well underway still has plenty of work to be done. It is evident that we have reached this plan that exists today through the transformations and planning decades that have preceded us. Throughout these planning shifts however, two aspects have remained consistent. The first is that these plans have been constructed by political realities of the time that have informed planning practices and second throughout these plans capital accumulation has always been an underlying motivation for redevelopment. The 2010 plan highlights the paradoxical goal of “specializing in everything” while re-inscribing social-economic divides, as politics and capital are the primary motivation in planning for the waterfront.

### ***Summary of Plans***

The plan of 1912, 1992 and 2010 have all been shaped and reshaped through political realities and economic interests which have been grounded in capital accumulation. The disorganized political scene and the need for a strong industrial sector, which would bolster the economy, shaped the 1912 Toronto Waterfront Plan. This plan questioned issues of political jurisdiction, created unsanitary working conditions, and contaminated the water. This combination created an unhealthy social-environmental atmosphere for workers and industry. The inability for the plan of 1912 to specialize in anything, along with the importance the role of capitalism and space played in an industrial economy and urban space made it difficult for the waterfront to be successful long-term leaving the waterfront as an unused brownfield. Fordist planning methods contributed to this unhealthy waterfront by pushing the agenda of

production and consumption without simultaneously responding to physical health concerns, and environmental degradation that arose.

In 1992 David Crombie and his Commission looked at the opportunity of waterfront revitalization through an ecosystem lens, which still had motivations of capital accumulation, as this was evident through Fordist planning within the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Crombie's overarching goals aimed at regenerating the waterfront and reframed planning for the economy by making the environment a top priority. Global politics at the time in 1992 were pushing the same agenda through the Environment Development Summit and created a platform for open discussions on the importance of a healthy environment, and sustainability. It is here that we begin to see restoration of ecosystems and the Toronto waterfront as a bioregion. During this time the ideology and evolution of planning practices stemmed from political realities, and historical planning oversights seen throughout the 1912 plan and the years following, through Fordist methods. David Crombie and his Commission saw that it was important to focus on the environment and that this would in turn help to create a healthy economic and social milieu. The 1992 plan identifies that the triple bottom line of sustainability; environment, economy and society are all important attributes that must be addressed in order to have what was considered to be a successful waterfront. These processes however, reiterated socio-economic divisions, intensified gentrification and began building a bridge for neoliberalism where private investment would begin to change the political and social context of the waterfront. The idea of "specializing in everything" in 1992 highlighted the contradiction within the paradoxical planning goal: as "specializing

in everything”, would be undermined by the capitalist need of accumulation and would create deterritorialization.

In 2010 the Port Lands Acceleration Initiative again aimed at “specializing in everything”, yet was unable to plan for the uneven social and geographical consequences that would follow, through the incorporation of a strong private sector. The plan strongly emphasized neo-liberal planning and has attempted to foster relationships between the public and private sector. In the 2010 plan we are able to see how the public sector develops plans based on current political realities, and how the private sector is able to implement them while providing amenities for public access, yet contradictorily limiting its public access. There has been large debate regarding the ability of private space to act as public space, while capital accumulation is the underlying motivation for development. The 2010 plan reiterates these tensions as it focuses on place-making and inclusionary spaces, yet is rooted in neo-liberal ideology.

These three plans of 1912, 1992 and 2010 have been shaped through political motivations, and economic aspirations. The desire to create a healthy city, which would encompass a healthy environment, economy and humans, would be created through shifting ideologies of the time. These goals were deeply imbedded in processes of capital accumulation, and contributed to the paradox of social-unevenness. These plans have been shaped through historically political realities at the time, the pursuit of capital and global influences.

## Chapter Four

### *Case Studies from Global Waterfront's*

The following are a series of case studies from global world-class cities that have established their waterfronts through ever-evolving processes, as envisioned throughout the cities goals and objectives. Each city has developed a niche through their waterfront planning: Vancouver has emphasized the value in planning for the environment, Sydney has focused its attention on economic vitality, and San Francisco has recognized a need for public space in an attempt to combat forces of capitalism. Each of these cities has utilized their waterfronts as a stimulus for opportunities to enhance their specializations, while at the same time, much like Toronto, are subject to political realities and maintaining an underlying motivation for capital accumulation as they reach neo-liberal based planning approaches. Like Toronto, the planning processes, which have taken place in these cities, have also experienced inherited contradictions in planning for their waterfronts. The goal is to have a thriving economic city however, the outcome often results in displacement and socio-geographic injustices. The processes that have shaped these three cities are a part of a continual ideological reshaping of planning practices through historical, political, environmental, economic and social influences.

#### ***Vancouver: Planning for the Environment***

Vancouver's waterfront history begins with the story of natural heritage and First Nations groups. In the 1850s, prior to the arrival of European settlers in the False Creek area, there was a lush area of trees and streams where First Nations groups including



the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tseleli-Waututh people lived. In 1859 however, the European settlers arrived, marking the beginning of the industrial period, the pursuit of capitalism and a change in land-use. This industrial period changed the natural features of the land by harvesting forest resources and developing a busy center for manufacturing and processing, essentially erasing the First Nations groups from this land. The site was used for shipbuilders, sawmills, metalwork and a salt refinery similar to the Toronto Port Lands (The Challenge Series, 2016). A political decision in 1885 to make Coal Harbour and English Bay the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) paved the way for the development of False Creek as an industrial district (Jacopo, 2011). When Wilfred Laurier came into power between 1896 and 1911, this deepened the removal of First Nations groups from the False Creek area. Jordan Ross's article quotes

*"The city is suffering, as it has suffered these forty years or more, from a useless, undeveloped, un-taxable piece of waste land impinging on the populous area. 'An Indian Reserve in the middle of a big city is an anachronism ... a city is no place for the primitive wards of the government'"* (Ross, 2008 p.542).

Essentially Ross illustrates that Indigenous people were perceived to have no place within modern urban life, strengthening colonial views of oppression and white supremacy. The quote further demonstrates ideas from David Harvey, who concluded that society is dominated by the accumulation of capital. Indigenous persons were deemed as 'useless' within a process of accumulation as they did not pay taxes, and they were utilizing land that could be used for profit making (Ross, 2008 p.542). Ross's

article makes it clear that the Indigenous groups were seen as people who were evading taxes and employment. The municipal government became heavily involved with the fight for land between business men and Aboriginals, stating: *“It is a stroke of fortune truly that the Reserve has come down to the present time in public ownership”* (Ross, 2008 p.549) however, what they truly meant was that this stroke of luck was colonialism in itself, as now the land would be taken from the natives and used for the “public good” (Ross, 2008 p.549). This public good however, would only benefit the rich and re-inscribe processes of social inequality. Harvey quoted Plato’s Republic, which argued, “each form of government enacts the laws with a view to its own advantage, so that the just is the same everywhere, the advantage of the stronger” (Harvey, p.940 2003). The removal of the first nation’s groups from the False Creek area was a strategic removal of person’s who would be in the way of processes of accumulation, and economic vitality.

In 1902, the city began buying land along English Bay with the idea of creating a waterfront park between the Burrard Bridge and Stanley Park. Over the years, the Park Board bought the rest of the land. In 1929, the Park Commissioner outlined a plan for a Marine Driveway that ran along the entire English Bay waterfront, from the West End to Point Grey (Mackie, 2014). Political and economic decisions influenced the way space was being used and how land would be shaped. The ability to capitalize off of land for industrial purposes was at the height of the political agenda during this Fordist planning movement within the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The City of Vancouver, like that of Toronto, historically failed to recognize in its pursuit of profit and capital the importance of

natural landscapes, and by the late 1920s, problems associated with industrial sites such as air quality and water pollution were prevalent at English Bay.

Between 1920-1950, during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Fordist planning the smoke generated by the sawmills and other businesses created an unhealthy environment for surrounding residential areas, as well as unsanitary waste management. By 1950, Vancouver's government realized that this area needed transformation, setting the stage for False Creek's redevelopment in the 1970s (Jacopo, 2011). The ideology influencing planning practices for the City of Vancouver was reshaped from planning for the economy, when it was recognized that by planning for the environment, a strong economy would follow. By 1980, the Vancouver Central Area Planning Department developed the Living First strategy, which emphasized housing intensity, diversity, and coherent neighbourhoods. This policy rezoned 8 million square feet from commercial to residential use within the downtown core, doubling the population. The goal was to increase economic development and tourism, especially around English Bay and False Creek Area (The Challenge Series, 2016). The re-zoning of these lands marked a shift from Fordist planning approaches to neo-liberal ideology wherein, land would be seen as more valuable within a free market.

Vancouver, recognized as the greenest city in North America, is not a natural process of coincidence, but rather a restructuring of political, economic, and environmental ideologies that have influenced planning decisions to maintain the city's green reputation. Between 1996 and 2011 when population in the city center increased by 40%, there was a notable 25% decrease in the number of vehicle journeys, and

increased use of public transit, cycling, and walking routes within the City of Vancouver (Brown, 2015). The City of Vancouver more recently has developed a Greenest City Action Plan by 2020 by demonstrating that the welfare of citizens depends on renewables, rapid transit systems, and walking/cycling. The city's list of targets also includes reductions in air pollution, waste, and water use, providing green space within a five-minute walk for every citizen, planting thousands of trees, and growing food locally (Brown, 2015). Vancouver emphasizes that access to green space is essential to having a healthy city. As previously defined, the goal of a healthy city also includes having a healthy economy, therefore, utilizing the green-city as a mode of attraction for persons and profit. Throughout 2014-2015, Vancouver had focused on making access to nature a top priority by building more parks (especially along the waterfront), increasing urban tree canopies, removing by-laws that allowed the cutting down of healthy trees, and improving walkability and cycle paths (City of Vancouver, 2015). The City of Vancouver especially around the West End's Waterfront has successfully incorporated parks, open spaces, sidewalks, bodies of water, trees and landscaping into the downtown core protecting the beauty of city while still allowing for density and growth (City of Vancouver, 2012).

The vision of the waterfront is to build a strong local economy, vibrant and inclusive neighbourhoods, and meet the needs of generations to come through setting measureable and attainable targets that have put Vancouver one step closer to becoming the greenest in the world (City of Vancouver, 2017). Like Toronto however, the goal of becoming a fully inclusive city is halted at the point of privatization, as this

only means that beautifying of one space excludes several people from it. As Harvey states, the rights of private property and the profit rate have negative consequences (Harvey p.940 2003). This idea of inclusivity draws a direct contrast to neo-liberal ideology as what the market truly does is supports the widening of socio-economic class, and quickly leads cities into divisions. We can see this in the case of Vancouver through the waterfront, as on one end of the city it is being enjoyed by tourists as well as the rich in the private sector, while the other end is occupied by East Hastings, a space inhabited by Vancouver's poorest and most displaced.

The City of Vancouver's policies have been put in place through strategic planning goals in the pursuit of profit and the continuous need for capital accumulation. Through the implementation of these policies, Vancouver has used the same tactics of Toronto in 1992, where the environment was used as a way to retain and attract people and industries. The shift from Fordist planning to neo-liberal ideology re-framed green planning within the City of Vancouver to accumulate capital through its political and economic agenda, which have ultimately displaced many of the city's people. The City of Vancouver's shifting and evolving historical and political agendas, as well as the beautiful environmental landscape, has carved out ideologies and reshaped planning practices. These practices have helped Vancouver create a waterfront that specializes in being the greenest while reaffirming the monopolies of power within a neo-liberal context.

### ***Sydney: Planning for the Economy***

Planning for Sydney's waterfront renewal highlights their status as a global city and is centered on continuous economic growth. Sydney is a prime example where we can see urban neo-liberalism and capitalist economies within the everyday life of people. Keil states "urban neoliberalism creates new conditions for the accumulation of capital yet it also inevitably creates more fissures in which urban resistance and social change can take root" (Keil p.579 2002). Like the Toronto plan of 2010 this urban neo-liberalism is at the forefront of Sydney's redevelopment plans for their waterfront, which can lead to extreme social tensions.

Like Toronto, planning for post-industrial Sydney was complicated as it was compromised by jurisdictional gridlock. The proliferation of consent bodies and competing control for the waterfront between the state and local governments resulted in missed planning opportunities (Marshall, p.29 2001). The Central Sydney Local Environmental Plan of 1996 followed similar ideologies presented in David Crombie's 1992 plan for Toronto. The idea was to create an exceptional public realm and design excellence that would increase the environmental beauty of the area while simultaneously increase the economic prosperity of the location (Marshall, p.29 2001). What this plan did was essentially push for the pursuit of capital accumulation and reinscribe neoliberal ideology. Like Toronto, in the 1920-30s during the Fordist planning era, the Bays were used to import and export large amounts of fish and timber. While planning with mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Fordist ideology of production and consumption in mind, it was a necessity to move goods faster, which made way for terminals for cars in the

1960s. This began to expand the opportunity for economic uses at the Bays. By the 1990s the eight-lane Anzac Bridge opened, making exchanges of economic capital easily accessible (NSW, 2015 p.13).

The 1990s heightening the need for capital accumulation, profit seeking, and neoliberal ideology within Sydney. By 2015, the Transformation Plan was created to help restore some of the historical buildings that were left abandoned after the decline of the industrial era. The 2015 Transformation Plan's first goal is "to drive an internationally competitive economy, through the creation of great destinations on Sydney Harbour that will transform Sydney, New South Wales and Australia" (NSW, 2015 p.1) The Bay's Precinct is made up of 5.5 KM of harbor front, 95 hectares of government owned land and 94 hectares of waterways (NSW, 2015 p.2). Planning for economic prosperity is a key theme throughout the transformation plan, as the goals clearly indicate "international competitiveness, and attracting industries and people from all over the world" (NSW, 2015 p.3). Political and economic interests have influenced Sydney's waterfront transformation, reinforcing neoliberal ideology and capital accumulation. Most recently, the sale of public land to the private sector has raised concerns for community members as they have expressed their apprehensions with the rapid waterfront transformation.

UrbanGrowth NSW developed the transformation plan in conjunction with the New South Wales government agency in order to help support Sydney's growth. The plan was developed through feedback received by Sydney residents, local government,

industries, and state agencies however, the plan was highly political as land values continued to increase (NSW, p.8 2015) The new plan of 2015 was developed in preparation for the estimated 1.6 million people moving to Sydney by 2031, an economic output of \$565 billion and year and an additional 689,000 jobs required. Through the aforementioned statistics, the Bays Precinct primary role was to become a generator of social and economic transformation, which would ultimately result in a natural process of displacement for many (NSW, 2015 p.14). Gentrification in Sydney is no longer narrowed around the housing market, however, it has become a much larger remaking of the central urban landscape which purposely excludes the history of the old city (Brown-Saracino 2010 p. 35).

Like Toronto, in order to secure funding for this new project, the finance model will include developer contributions and private-public partnerships, thus relying heavily on a neoliberal capitalist method to bolster the economy and spearhead the transformation plan. The planning process also encourages a wide array of public engagement programs, liaisons with councils, and connections to university students while working with the government to facilitate the transformation. This also simultaneously excludes those who lack access to these private spaces (NSW, 2015 p.25). The plan itself is heavily focused on growing the economy, open public space, and a hub of knowledge and innovation clusters. NSW has developed a “best planning practices checklist” with key criteria called “Waterfront Development Excellence and Placemaking Checklist”. These include: (1) sensitivity of the design to water (2) quality and harmony of design (3) balance mix of land-water use and activity (4) environmental



excellence and resilience (5) civic, heritage, cultural and educational contribution (NSW, 2015 p.71). Sydney's waterfront has always been a popular location for residential, recreational, and industry-commercial uses. The proximity to the waterfront initially attracted people to this space, however, the natural landscapes prohibited development for many years in certain areas of the waterfront (Beckett 2013 p.322.) With the new transformation plan underway, Sydney will be able to reap economic benefits, and attract many people to their city as their plans have indicated. Sydney has a strong focus on their economic sector, as well as utilizing the waterfront as a space to plan for an influx of people expected to move to Sydney within the next few years. Toronto, much like Sydney, is also expecting a large influx of people moving into the city. By 2036 Toronto is projected to meet a population of 9.1 Million (Greater Toronto Marketing Alliance, 2011).

Toronto and Sydney have similar attributes in terms of how they have decided to fund their waterfront projects. Although Toronto has historically relied on comprehensive planning approaches that awaited government funding, today we are seeing a shift to a privatized method of funding and implementation of development. Urban Metrics defined economic development strategies as a healthy and vibrant community as being fundamental to economic growth. Developing and expanding a community's economic base however, requires a solid understanding of the local and regional economy and in particular how a community's industrial and business sectors compete in a global economy. An economic development strategy incorporates a careful analysis of a community's competitive position and reflects its unique economic

structure, assets, limitations and business environment (Urban Metrics, 2011). The primary concern with the ideology however, and similarly to that of Toronto lays with the expectation of these immigrants to cities like Sydney or Toronto to act as sources of human labour to be exploited within this capitalist need for accumulation of profit. With the expected growth these cities are anticipating, there is no doubt that the societies are dominated by the accumulation of capital through market exchanges. The social processes of a city depend on urban inhabitants to live in and be involved with capitalism, which will ultimately benefit some and leave others living in repression and poverty (Harvey p.940, 2003).

The historical transformation of the Bays port has been influenced by a shift of Fordist planning methods of industry and profit to capital accumulation through a strong neoliberal ideology. The need to specialize in a growing economy is seen through planning ideologies that have come to surface with the Sydney Transformation Plan. The 2015 plan strongly encourages privatization of space, and focuses on building a strong labour force. Sydney's society may strive economically, however, the city is dominated by a conception of rights within capital and strongly reinforces ideology leading to the inequality of opportunities, and space.

### ***San Francisco: Planning for the Public***

Much like Toronto, San Francisco's waterfront was historically used as a shipping port for importing and exporting goods, and was well known as an industrial city. The political and economic ideologies of the time developed the Port Commission of San Francisco which was adopted in 1997, and helped to define the Port's acceptable uses, policies, and land use applicable to all properties under the Commission's jurisdiction (City and County of San Francisco, 2016). Through the conjunction of several public-planning processes the waterfront coordinated joint jurisdiction through the Port Commission, the City, public-private partnerships and the community (City and County of San Francisco, 2016). San Francisco is a noteworthy example of waterfront planning that rejects the forces of capitalism in a time where the market is so strong. Unlike many other postindustrial port cities, San Francisco did not utilize the avenue of public-private partnerships to enhance their economy; instead, they rejected traditional neoliberalism that could have had renowned effects on the San Francisco waterfront. The focus instead remained centered around major public open space and historic preservation. Unlike many waterfront cities, including Toronto, San Francisco's waterfront is not associated with the flows of capital investment through a free-market and a privatized urban environment making San Francisco an interesting case study (Rubin 2011 p.143).

What is extraordinary about San Francisco's waterfront is the accumulation of public space that has been at the forefront of planning since the modernist proposals for the port dating back to the 1960's (Rubin 2011 p. 143). The port began placing restrictions on development in the 1950s and by the 1960s it began to see many

proposals; however, none were able to foster the vision officials and community wanted for the future of the port. The port, like that of Toronto, was left inaccessible to the public for several decades and failed to make a transition to modern uses (Cook, Marshall, Raine 2004 p.119). It was evident that the Port Commission and city agency were significantly out of touch with the cities goals, with little idea about how to implement these goals for the waterfront. Citizen projects on the future of the waterfront were established, yet they were never brought to light; this is where citizens began to lose trust in the competency of the Port Commission (Cook, Marshall, Raine 2004 p.119). In 1969 the ports control went from the State of California to the City of San Francisco, subject to local planning authority, as there were raising conflicts between decisions surrounding the best use of the port. It was not until the 1990s that the port began its revitalization process emphasizing adaptive reuse, and public amenities (Rubin 2011 p.150). It was important for the Port Commission and the City to regain the trust of the public in planning for the future of the waterfront. As a result, the word “NO”, as suggested by Cook, et al, had become famously known when redevelopment projects were presented (Cook, Marshall, Raine 2004 p.119).

San Francisco is defined as “the city that knows how” which is due to its innovation, creativity, job creation, locus for investment, major cultural institutions, luxury condos, upscale hotels, and shopping (Rubin, 2011 p.147). Due to this, it has been difficult for San Francisco to resist the pressures of increasing privatization, the pursuit of profit, and pressures for transformation. Nevertheless, the city has maintained its core values, identifying that the waterfront has been influenced by a strong sense of

place by city planners and residents (Rubin 2011, p.148). San Francisco's waterfront changed the need to pursue privatization for revitalization efforts, resisting the forces of global capital and neoliberalism to utilizing the private sector to buy public amenities that were otherwise unaffordable (Rubin 2011 p.157). The waterfront plan to date emphasizes public access to the waterfront and calls for "a network of parks, plazas, walkways, open space and integrated transportation improvements to improve access to, and enhance the enjoyment and appreciation of, the Bay environment" (City and County of San Francisco, 2016). The port staff proposed an advisory board to help regain the trust of the residents that looked at the needs of the port over a span of six years. The efforts of the advisory board identified the appropriate use for urban form and public amenities (Cook, Marshall, Raine 2994 p.122). For the City of San Francisco, the importance of gaining public trust, the inclusion of public advisory boards, the cohesion and accountability between governments, and the responsible use of private investment helped shape the waterfront into a beautiful and vibrant public realm. It took resistance from local government and active support from the public in order to achieve the social values wanted for the waterfront. In the case of San Francisco's waterfront, they have established what is perceived to be an appropriate land use for their city and residents to enjoy.

Finally, we see evidence from San Francisco of a working model that rejects capitalism and neoliberal pressures from the private sector and focuses on planning for and with the community. San Francisco is an example of how to properly utilize the waterfront as a mode of public space. They have successfully used the private sector to

only fund public infrastructure and amenities, and have worked diligently to include the public within the planning process.

Toronto, unlike San Francisco, is not a city that will reject private investments completely, as this will compromise their ability to further enhance their economic sector. Nevertheless, in aiming to specialize in creating open public space, they can reflect on core concepts from San Francisco to assist them in doing so. It is not necessary for the City of Toronto to continuously say yes to development applications, as this can be problematic in preserving open public space and creating a sustainable and green environment. This is due to S.37 of the Planning Act, which states “37. (1) The council of a local municipality may, in a by-law passed under section 34, authorize increases in the height and density of development otherwise permitted by the by-law that will be permitted in return for the provision of such facilities, services or matters as are set out in the by-law” (Planning Act, 1990 S.37). This essentially states that if a councilor of the municipality agrees to extended height or density of a development, the developer will then in return offer expenditures for facilities which the community or municipality may desperately need. The problem with this is that too often it is used as a neoliberal planning tool, which is seen as pro-development, compromising what may have been already existing, including natural open and public spaces.

For San Francisco there is heavy emphasis placed on planning with social ideological practices in mind. Historically, San Francisco failed at incorporating the public into the planning process, however, has deemed this is an important aspect of planning. Through the reshaping and shifting of ideologies the San Francisco plan has

learned how to specialize in planning for the people while still maintain the ability to have a strong political presence, upholding a clean environment and a strong economy.

### ***Summary of Global Case Studies***

Historical, political, and economic variables have influenced the ways in which these three cities Vancouver, Sydney and San Francisco have each identified their own specialties and have implemented planning ideologies within their waterfront design. Each of the cities are known as a 'world class global city', encompassing the definition of a healthy city. These cities, similarly to Toronto, focus on having a healthy environment, economy and humans and have done so through the shaping and reshaping of their waterfront's from the political realities of the time and the underlying need for accumulation.

The core difference between these cities and Toronto is that these cities are known for specializing in one category of planning, even if they incorporate other aspects of what comprises a world-class city into their planning implementation strategies. Each city at any given time however, has been driven by capital processes, which started in the industrial era of Fordist planning. San Francisco is the only city, which is noteworthy in their planning practices that have over time rejected traditional neoliberalism. This was essentially due to the backlash they received from the community for not planning in a way that benefitted the communities' needs.

The shift from Fordist planning to post-industrial planning still heavily focused on capital accumulation. Through a neo-liberal-based planning approach that we see more

commonly today, these cities will continue to face tribulations and challenges. Toronto specifically has and will continue planning in a way that creates an uneven social and geographical displacement of people. It is perceived that neo-liberal planning ideology is dominant within cities as they are driven by private markets and maintain little government regulation. Aside from San Francisco, which still includes some aspects of privatization we can clearly see how Toronto, Vancouver and Sydney have been affected by the pursuit of profit. Through these case studies we have seen how cities around the world are similar to Toronto based on how their political realities influence planning and they too have underlying capital motivations for a strong economy, even at the expense of creating social and geographical unevenness.



## Chapter Five

### *Specializing in Everything*

“Our new Waterfront will be a model to the world of how economic development, environmental protection, and cultural and recreational growth can complement each other...Toronto’s waterfront will offer something to everybody; a place to play, live and work” (Toronto Waterfront, Session 01. 2015). Waterfront Toronto put this statement forward in 2015 as part of their revitalization plan. The quote highlights Toronto’s goal to use the waterfront as a catalyst of change and a project that will shape the city to specialize in everything; as Toronto believes it can. This goal however, includes an underlying tension within the context of urban planning in a capitalist city. Historical transition’s seen throughout this paper raises question’s of past development implementation failures, and recognizes the adverse effects of planning which can cause gentrification and social exclusion. Through these plans we have seen how the idea of specializing in everything seems rather ambitious and presents many challenges.

Historically we have seen the process of planning priorities transition between 1912, 1992 and 2010. Each of these plans focused on their own ideologies of perceived best planning practices based on what was an important political and economic goal throughout that historical time period. In 1912 we were able to see that planning and government officials were unable to specialize in anything, yet so desperately wanted a strong economy. The inability of the government to establish jurisdiction over the Port

Lands contributed to this economic and planning failure leaving the future of the waterfront in question. In 1992 we saw the historical shift of specializing in nothing from the 1912 plan, to a strong focus on specializing in planning for the environment to help improve the use of the waterfront, restore the environment and rebuild the economy. This plan was essential in shifting ideologies as it brought forth new planning focuses and helped to restore ecological damage caused from the 1912 plan. The comprehensive planning approach focused heavily on environmental restoration, greenways and watersheds identifying Toronto as a bioregion through its unique ecosystem that co-exists within urban space. Ideologies of the 1992 plan trickled into the 2010 plan, as this plan strongly focused on specializing in everything through a neo-liberal based approach. Ideologies of planning practices collected throughout the years heavily influenced political planning goals; to have a healthy environment, healthy economy and livable communities. Waterfront Toronto has undergone decades of historical planning transformations that have been recognized and used to their advantage.

Waterfront Toronto in 2015 stated, “Just like Toronto, the Port Lands is big enough to accommodate multiple visions...while remaining the one and only Port Lands” (Toronto Waterfront, Session 01. 2015). This quote signifies that a magnitude of vision’s, can contribute to the creation of the new Port Lands and that these multiple vision’s can incorporate aspects of what key stakeholders, including government and members of the public realm may wish to see at their waterfront. The main concern with this idea is that Waterfront Toronto is aiming to satisfy the needs of all people

involved within this planning process, therefore aiming to specialize in everything to satisfy all needs. Lehrer and Laidley (2009) reiterate that the aspirations of the new mega-project, presents many challenges associated with disenfranchisement and urban inequality (Lehrer and Laidley 2009, p.787). The concern stems from the “paradoxical goal of specializing in everything” (Lehrer and Laidley 2009, p.787). When investments are made into large-scale developments, the land use becomes highly focused on economic advancement of the location and a large private sector presence. Regardless of if the city aims at offering bountiful public and open park space, the area would become highly gentrified with private sectors moving in.

The Toronto Waterfront focuses on the three pillars of sustainability within their plan for the Port Lands, which include: economic development, social growth and environmental protection. Today we see the language of sustainability practices and policies that have become embedded into today’s plan for the Port Lands (Bunce 2009 p.2). The issue with sustainability here is created through a high importance placed on mega-projects to perform urban economic functions, which are ultimately exclusive in nature. Urban sustainability practices are market-oriented and are a cause of gentrification processes, as sustainability is integrated into profit maximization strategies for urban land development, which meet the demands of the middle to higher class. These practices are ultimately socially exclusive and perpetuate exclusionary city spaces (Bunce 2009 p.2). The social dimensions of urban waterfront regeneration plans play an important role within urban politics. Urban waterfront projects are part of a larger political scheme to enhance the land use to foster a vibrant

economy even though these practices are socially exclusive in nature (Sairinen, Kumpulainen, 2005 p.121). Physical renewal of space has lead waterfront planning away from social dimensions and community targets and have instead embodied increased capital mobility and inter-urban competition. Cities have had to compete for investments and actively pursue economic configurations, further fragmenting space (Sairinen, Kumpulainen, 2005 p.122). This urban governance approach to planning has incorporated a large range of private actors, focusing on aggressive marketing and consumption-based projects such as retail and tourist centers, which are how waterfronts are typically marketed. These large-scale waterfront regeneration projects tend to lead to increase densification, built infrastructure and intensified planning within waterfront areas and at the same time are driving up the prices of housing and amenities within these waterfront spaces.

David Harvey's idea of the commodification is an important aspect of waterfront planning and reiterates the consistent political and capitalist needs of the consumption of urban public space. Toronto is Canada's economic global city with a flow of capital, production, trade and consumption. The downtown waterfront area, through the new plan will have a high concentration of financial and business services. Through Florida's idea of the creative class we are able to see an influx of creative industries, which have expressed interest in the Toronto Waterfront. Through this conceptual global capitalism, we are also able to see large-scale economic divide and a deepened exclusion of the poor from the Toronto Waterfront (Lehrer and Laidley 2009 p. 790). Brian Hoyle (1995) expressed his concerns throughout his research that examined the fundamental

relationship between actors involved within urban waterfront redevelopments. Demonstrated through his findings are research which emphasizes that the private sector's primary concern is short term financial reward, while the public sector is interested in the social objective of redevelopment and the role of the waterfront within the urban community (Hoyle 1995 p.347). The primary concern here was also identified throughout Harvey's literature, as well as Lehrer and Laidley, such as how cities like Toronto can specialize in everything, when the primary object of the neoliberal planning approach we see today is driven by the private sector, where self-interest and financial gains are prevalent. To specialize in everything means exactly that: "everything". This includes accountability and inclusion of open and public spaces that could be enjoyed by everyone at any economic level as mentioned by Crombie. Although the city has stated these are aspects they would like to incorporate through the implementation of their plans, it begs the question: how realistic is this goal? Far too often, when aiming to specialize in everything, the goal becomes too ambitious with too many variables to account for. These ideologies of planning practices that have shaped the waterfront have historically been and will continue to be exclusive in nature as long as it is in partnership with the private sector that has their financial goals at the forefront of their plans. Specializing in everything is a novel idea, however, there is a climate of uncertainty, economic will, political motivations, and private interests which would prevent the ability to truly specialize in everything for everyone at all times.

Hoyle identifies that an essential problem with waterfront redevelopment is coming to terms with the shared vision, within a specific time period. He mentions that

waterfront development processes are long-term whereas political objectives are short time as government continuously turnovers. (Hoyle 1995 p.353) This creates an on going conflict in the balance of power and contributes to un-even social divide. Outcomes, as Hoyle suggests, are never likely to satisfy everybody, yet everybody is looking and is interested in the redevelopment processes (Hoyle 1995, p.367). Decision makers face many challenges when taking on a planning approach that aims to satisfy the needs of all people and will take collaboration, and cooperation by all stakeholders and decision makers. The transformation of the Toronto Port Lands has been a long time in the making and the City of Toronto and Waterfront Toronto finally have a window of opportunity to implement this plan carefully and properly. To specialize in everything is a concept that cities and planners wish they could achieve. The reality of the notion however, poses too many unanswered questions, and undermines planning goals.

## ***Conclusion***

The Toronto Port Lands have been a prime example demonstrating the shifting historical urban planning processes of the Toronto waterfront. This urban landscape has undergone years of historic change and transformations based on political planning goals and realities of the time. We have witnessed these historical changes in urban landscape, planning priorities, and ideologies of planning practices throughout the 1912, 1992 and 2010 plans.

Throughout each plan we have seen the Port Lands being used as a space that is commoditized and capitalized through its land use. In 1912 this space was essential for shipping industries and was once a space that contributed to a strong economy in the City of Toronto. Through planning goals of the time, the inability to develop political cohesion, and disregard for social-environmental planning and the rise of Fordist planning and its effects of this time period have been ever lasting. In 1992 we saw a shift in framing the planning for the economy through David Crombie and his Commission's focus on the environment through a comprehensive ecosystem approach. The approach acknowledged for the first time in the planning process that the environment and human health was essential for economic prosperity. The ability to create cohesion between governments and amalgamate the public and private sector into one shared space created an opportunity for the Port Lands to become something the city so desperately desired. Global political goals identified through the 1992 Summit of Environmental Development in conjunction with a strong governing body over the

waterfront helped identify planning priorities and reshaped ideologies of planning practices. In 2010 the shift from a comprehensive top down planning approach to a neoliberal way of shaping space brought forward the Port Lands Acceleration Initiative of 2010. Through historical urban transformations incorporating a collection of successes and failures of the time, shifting planning ideologies from the three plans discussed throughout this paper, and influences from global cities, have brought the Port Lands from an unused brownfield site to a new and exciting place that Torontonians will be able to enjoy.

It is important to note, “A city is a process. The plan for the Port Lands will not be a finished article, not the end game. Rather, it will continue to evolve - as it always has - to accommodate the things we can imagine, and perhaps some we can’t yet” (Waterfront Toronto Session 01. 2015). This quote accurately depicts the continuous shaping and reshaping of planning ideologies that have emerged over time. The quote states the Toronto Port Lands is a process that is not finished and will continue to evolve like it has over the past few decades. The idea of specializing in everything for the Toronto waterfront places heavy emphasis on creating a healthy city by planning for the environment, economy and livable communities, while at the same time creating urban inequality. The main theme recognized throughout these three plans and the historical transformation of the waterfront has been based on political objectives and the underlying need for capital accumulation.

The need to continuously utilize the urban as a space for profit, will contribute



to the continual shaping and reshaping of planning ideologies at the waterfront and throughout planning processes in general. Through the quest of creating a healthy city, planning for waterfront revitalization has been informed by evolving ideologies and will continue to inform evolving conceptions of planning practices.

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### **Figures**

- Figure 1: (Toronto Department of Works E. H. Keating, City Engr. Feb 8th, 1896. Villers Sankey, City Surveyor. Sheet measured. | 1896 Date Created year accurate; month and day unknown for 1896)
- Figure 2: Osborne, James (1861-1912) Map. Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Collection (1908)
- Figure 3: HSW, Toronto Portlands Concept (1993)
- Figure 4: Toronto Port Lands Company Toronto Port Lands Structure Plan (2015)