THE REALITY OF NEOLIBERAL SUSTAINABILITY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WEST DON LANDS, TORONTO

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ABSTRACT

Interactions between neoliberalism and sustainability within urban landscapes can impact aspects of sustainable development. Employing urban political ecology as a theoretical framework, qualitative research on the West Don Lands uncovered the reality of sustainability in neoliberal governance. It was found that neoliberalism is more compatible with addressing environmental issues as this is a profitable venture due to its marketability. Social concerns with regard to social housing provision stand marginalized and diluted: affordable housing is the greatest extent into social sustainability that neoliberalism currently allows. Particularly as social housing is an escalating issue, this form of sustainability is not acceptable. Furthermore, sustainable development requires housing provision for even low income groups, and this cannot be addressed through affordable housing as it excludes the most vulnerable populations. This questions the sustainability of the research site, and lends to the conclusion of the inherent incompatibility of neoliberalism with some aspects of social sustainability.

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INTRODUCTION

Cities are only one of many forms of human settlement. They are also the largest, both spatially and in terms of population agglomeration: more than half of the world's population reside in cities, an amount that is projected to steadily rise (Stratmann, 2011). The landscape of cities can change over time, being developed and redeveloped to suit the needs of the current society it provides a habitat for. However, are needs met for all members of society?

Inherently entwined with the social, economic, and environmental conditions of humanity are the processes of urbanization. A current trend in urbanization is that of sustainable development, a term that has seen increasing visibility among urban planning strategies and academic literature. In popular discussions of sustainability, such manner of development is often characterized by hydroelectric, wind and solar power energy, efficient public transportation and bicycle lanes, parks, low carbon emissions, clean air and water quality, environmentally friendly waste management, LEED certified green buildings, and protected forests, waterways and agricultural land; in other words, sustainability has a heavily environmental focus. There is less in popular discourse on sustainable development in relation to addressing social issues, such as the provision of social housing, decreasing poverty, increasing the quality of life, and equal access to infrastructure for all members of society. Yet, a social focus (as well as an environmental one) is necessary for sustainability to be truly achieved. In the current neoliberal era, some social aspects of sustainability stand marginalized to that of the environment in sustainable urban development. Why is this the case?

In the City of Toronto, place-making, large scale economic development, and the aestheticization of urban space are carried out to transform the city into an investment platform (Brenner and Keil, 2006; Harvey, 1989; Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Creating space

conducive to investment and redeveloping brownfield sites are only two of many neoliberal revitalization tactics (City of Toronto, 2000; Kipfer and Keil, 2002). The formerly industrial lands along Toronto's Waterfront, deemed as poor use of the land's intrinsic value, are being redeveloped to attract new modes of capital accumulation (Laidley, 2007). These developments and their continual redevelopments, such as that of the West Don Lands, are increasingly inclined toward addressing sustainability concerns, such as environmental health, heritage, and diversity (Desfor and Keil, 2004; Laidley, 2007). The key land use and development policy instrument of the city, the Toronto Official Plan, and the publicly funded and legislated Waterfront development corporation, Waterfront Toronto, are reflective of this and are heavily influenced by sustainable thought. However, what is the reality of sustainability under the dominant neoliberal model? With competitiveness approaches, governance that is influenced by neoliberalism, and the increasing marketability of environmental sustainability, can urban development be reflective of sustainable policies that address both social and ecological issues? Are the policies themselves inherently embedded with business-friendly approaches, serving as a tool for neoliberal goals? If so, is this at a cost to a sustainability that equally addresses both social and environmental issues?

The objective of this research is to undertake a critical assessment of the sustainable urban development policies of the City of Toronto. The West Don Lands neighbourhood is used as a case study, with a focus on two primary sites within the area (Corktown Common Park and the River City Condominiums) and a secondary site (the Toronto Community Housing Corporation affordable rental housing complex at 589 King Street East). These will aid in examining the extent to which sustainable policies are implemented in an era of neoliberal governance, and the manner of sustainability that is realized.

- CHAPTER TWO -
LITERATURE REVIEW

Using cities as a platform, the primary objective of this research is to uncover the extent to which sustainability is possible in neoliberalism. While there has been extensive work done on the sustainability of cities, less is found of its intersection with neoliberalism. My research goal is to explore, in detail, the relations between the two. What follows is a presentation of my theoretical framework of urban political ecology and key topics that inform my research: uneven development, neoliberalism, and sustainability. This literature review will then form the basis for the following chapter that contextualizes these concepts in the City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Political Ecology

The research framework of urban political ecology cannot be explained without first delving into political ecology. Stated simply, political ecology is a theoretical framework that analyzes the complex relations that exist between society and nature. This relation is viewed as an interdependent and a reciprocal one (Johnston, et al., 2000; Mung'ong'o, 2006; Watts, 2000). Now a firmly established field of study in Geography, it initially arose during the 1970s from the intersection between human geography and anthropology (Kim, Ojo, Zaidi, and Bryant, 2012). In the 1980s, political ecology began to heavily focus its work on the social and political impacts of environmental issues (Budds, 2004). This was pioneered by Piers Blaikie in his 1985 work on soil erosion in developing nations. Commonly, environmental issues were thought of as being apolitical. He uncovered that they are inherently political, and explained that political ecology combined "the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy" (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, 17). It examined "access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods" (Watts, 2000, 257). Most work on political ecology examines ecological and human development crises in the Global South (Bryant and Bailey, 1997).

However, it is now increasingly addressing issues in the North, particularly seen in McCarthy (2005).

Political ecology arose as a reaction to the disregard of the political aspects of nature-society relations. However, some authors, particularly Vayda and Walters (1999), state that political ecology is now a politics without ecology. This claim rests on their basis that much work done in this area regard politics that are only very loosely connected to environmental matters. Especially since the 1990s, political ecology heavily intersects with the cultural production of nature under capitalism (Neumann, 2011). My own research falls within this category that explores, in part, nature's commodification. As my study site lies in the urban, a highly politicized space, I believe that a focus on the political dimensions of urban nature is helpful.

Political ecology often neglects the urban due to the misconception that cities are unnatural – spaces without nature (Braun, 2005). However, in recent years, political ecology has extended its reach into urban environments (Cidell, 2009). This new field focuses on impacts upon hybrids or socio-natures by political, social, and economic processes. Urban political ecology fills the urban gap that exists within political ecology. It is a valuable framework for my research as it also bridges the gap found in sustainability studies that often neglects capitalist influences (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw, 2006).

Urban Political Ecology

Urban political ecology developed as a branch of political ecology during the late 1990s with Eric Swyngedouw (1996) first coining the term when speaking of cities as hybrid spaces. Unlike the popular Global South focus of political ecology, work in urban political ecology often takes place in the urban environments of developed nations (Braun, 2005). This framework emphasizes the impacts political economy has upon urban environments (Heynen, 2006). The two primary objectives of urban political ecology are to bring political ecology

into urban landscapes, and to demonstrate urbanization as a socio-natural process (Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2015). This latter objective will be explained in greater detail later in this chapter.

Urban political ecology calls for a conceptualization of the urban that involves the unification of society and nature, rather than their separation. It examines power relations both within society and also between nature and society (Zimmer, 2010), thus questioning equality issues in cities in order to create a more just urban landscape (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). It examines the role of power and capital accumulation in the transformation of the socio-natural environment, and views cities as hybrid spaces that are continually produced and reproduced by both humans and non-human nature alike (Cidell, 2009; Zimmer, 2010). It also covers a number of research areas, such as urban forests (Heynen, 2006), gentrification (Quastel, 2009), and land reform (Myers, 2008).

Like political ecology, urban political ecology asks similar questions of who produces nature and for whom. Often, nature serves the interests of the elite at the expense of marginalized groups (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw, 2006). This framework often draws heavily from Marxist perspectives when examining the commodification of nature and neoliberalism (Zimmer, 2010). Thus, urban political ecology is founded on a critical approach to understanding capitalization in cities.

Urban environmental issues arise from not only a complex mix of political, social, and economic processes (Heynen, 2003), but natural processes as well. However, it is the political, social, and economic processes that tend to create and sustain inequalities that exist in urban landscapes (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). Urban political ecology attempts to uncover these processes that impact cities (Keil, 2003). As urban policies are increasingly aimed at reshaping the urban form into one that is sustainable (Keil and Graham, 1998),

urban political ecology is best suited as the theoretical framework to examine neoliberal sustainability in cities.

Uneven Development

Urbanization has long been a part of the human experience with cities as the "initiating and controlling centre of economic, political, and cultural life" (Wirth, 1938, 2). Discussions of urbanization cannot be brought forth without the concept of uneven development: capitalist urbanization processes produce urban landscapes that are characterized by unevenness (Cooke and Lewis, 2010). Uneven development is unique to capitalism and refers to urban development that does not occur in all spaces at the same speed, frequency, or with the same social impacts (Smith, 1982; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003). The cause of this is capitalism's reliance upon the accumulation of wealth through the rapid circulation of commodities (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw, 2006). This economic system is dominated by competition between various enterprises that are able to survive only through increasing profit-making (Smith, 1982). In fact, capitalist cities are built and rebuilt for progressively more rapid circulation of capital, especially so as urban space is a limited commodity (Cooke and Lewis, 2010; Phillips, Page, Saratsi, Tansey, and Moore, 2008). However, urban development is not even since capital investment in the built environment occurs in some spaces instead of others (areas of disinvestment) (Smith, 1982). It is also often aligned with certain social classes and their interests (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004; Smith, 1984). The unevenness adheres to the ways in which capital flows: it places significance and investment in some spaces while devaluing and disinvesting in others. When it is profitable to do so, it shifts focus from developed to underdeveloped regions in a cyclical fashion in order to continually maximize capital accumulation. Invested capital is immobilized in completed developments for a specific period of time until returns and profits are achieved. Former spaces of new investment and spaces of disinvestment become new markets for capital. As

these areas are developed and await investment returns, the cycle continues (Smith, 1982). Thus, urban space is in a continuous state of development for capital accumulation to be, at the very least, constant.

Uneven development is exacerbated by urban goals that transform cities into advanced entrepreneurial spaces (Davidson and Lees, 2010). For this to occur, the urban form must be conducive to unobstructed flows of capital (Cooke and Lewis, 2010). Spaces of disinvestment are clogs in this flow. Sustainable developments, especially its inclusion of nature in projects, further aid in capital accumulation through creation of more aesthetically and economically attractive spaces (Curran and Hamilton, 2012). Such developments also tend to yield higher economic returns and increased property values (Heynen, 2003; Sandberg and Wekerle, 2010; Wolch, Byrne, and Newell, 2014).

This is nowhere better expressed than in the research site of the West Don Lands neighbourhood: once a brownfield along Toronto's Waterfront area and deemed as poor use of the land's intrinsic value, it continues to be redeveloped to attract new modes of capital accumulation (Laidley, 2007). The site's sustainable development particularly intensified in the wake of the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games where the City of Toronto was advertised to many nations in North and Latin America. Although beyond the scope of this research, the Games could potentially give rise to noticeable transnational capital investment. It also could internationally distinguish the City through its sustainable approaches to development of the neighbourhood.

Neoliberal Urban Development and Sustainability

Thus far, political economy has only briefly been discussed. In this section, I will introduce the dominant theory of political economy that is relevant to my research site: neoliberalization. Since the 1970s, this political philosophy has deeply influenced many policy domains under the guise of objective goals and social and environmental goods

(McCarthy, 2005; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004). In short, it is described as a strategy to reshape economic and political governance in accordance with the self-regulating market as this is believed to create the most optimal social results (McCarthy, 2005); human well-being, regardless of socioeconomic class, can be attained by bringing all aspects of human life into the market (Harvey, 2005). It also entails a restructuring of the relationships between the state and society where the role of the government is often to design and regulate the functioning of institutional frameworks and withdraw from various social services (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005). The state is to create policies and absorb potential risks while the private sector is to increasingly become the primary actor in implementing policy goals and achieving economic benefits (Harvey, 1989).

A Brief History of Neoliberalism

David Harvey's *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005) gives a detailed account of this movement throughout the years. After World War Two, the governments of many nations were restructured in order to not only hinder geopolitical conflict that had led to war, but also to avoid the conditions that created the Great Depression. This restructuring required the state to focus on economic growth, citizen well-being, and to also have the power to intervene in the market where it saw fit. It created policies that increased employment provision and established a large number of welfare systems. This manner of state action is now referred to as embedded liberalism: the market is to perform under strict conditions given by the interventionist state. It is this restriction that neoliberalism wished to break.

While state control over the economy led to high growth rates in many nations, it also reflected specific class relations where blue collar workers and left-wing politics were supported. During the 1960s, the system of embedded liberalism was no longer effective and social expenditures, unemployment rates and inflation rose. To address these issues were two solutions:

a) Increase control of the state and market regulation, or
b) decrease the state's power and reinforce market freedoms.

This second solution became dominant by the mid-1970s, and policies to accomplish this began to be implemented by the end of that decade.

The beginnings of neoliberalism was first to have started in the 1940s with the Mont Pelerin Society – a small group of economists, historians, and philosophers. They wished to not only create optimal conditions for capital accumulation, but to also restore power to those of great economic wealth. They were against an interventionist state as they believed the state could not possibly be unbiased due to its involvement with various groups, such as unions and environmentalists, and could not make sound economic decisions. However, it wasn't until 1979 that neoliberalism became significantly visible in governance.

In May 1979, Margaret Thatcher, the newly elected Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, reformed the economy and brought neoliberal political thought into governance. She aimed to radically change economic and social policies, remove or decrease the duties of the welfare state, privatize social services (such as social housing), and increase market freedoms. While Thatcher established these changes, across the Atlantic Ocean, Ronald Reagan became the President of the United States in 1980. He discouraged unions, and pushed for tax and budget cuts, deregulation, and increased market freedoms especially for wealthy corporate actors (Harvey, 2005).

In Canada, the beginning of neoliberalism is less clear, but is believed to have begun in 1984 with the election of Brian Mulroney during the economic recession. One of his noted achievements was the Nielsen Task Force of Programme Review that determined ways in which governments could operate more economically and be more fiscally frugal. The 1990s saw strategies to reduce debt by restructuring the government, such as via cutbacks to social programs, deregulation of various economic sectors, and downloading of responsibilities from federal to provincial governments (Clark, 2002). Social housing provision, in particular,

was announced as no longer a federal matter in 1993, though the federal government was its largest source of funding. In Ontario, Premier Mike Harris, an avid supporter of a neoliberal think-tank, the Fraser Institute, removed provincial funds as well. This action was one of many to download responsibilities to municipalities, as well as to privatize various sectors. Competition and market freedoms were encouraged and believed to eventually solve the issue of affordable housing provision (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006). This is aligned with neoliberal theory that believes the various ills of low income groups, such as poverty, are best addressed through market and trade freedoms and privatization (Harvey, 2005).

These market freedoms were believed to be a fundamental good, and significant for wealth generation and economic productivity. Encouraging competition and privatization was thought to result in increased living standards for all citizens through trickle-down benefits and cheaper goods and services. Social well-being was the responsibility of the individual, rather than a welfare state. Any failures in this regard were an error of the individual, rather than neoliberal processes (Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberal Urban Sustainability

The form of neoliberalism, roll-back neoliberalism, which started with Thatcher, disposed of the welfare state and social programs almost entirely. This resulted in various failures and recognition that the state was needed. The neoliberal movement was then revised in the 1990s and known as roll-out neoliberalism. It entailed a need for the state, but required its transformation to aid in capital accumulation, adhering to neoliberal influence and market trends (McCarthy, 2005). In many cases, urban governance involves both roll-back and roll-out strategies. Some proponents, such as Keil (2009), believe that we are currently in a new era known as roll-with-it neoliberalism that can be often intertwined with previous incarnations of the movement. This is

> "The normalization of neoliberal practices and mindsets, the acceptance of the 'code of conduct' of neoliberalism, a manner . . . of inciting the subjects to conduct

> themselves after the model of the enterprise and the general norm of competition" (Keil, 2009, 242).

Neoliberalism is internalized: it "builds more and more on the existence of already socialized neoliberal subjects that have internalized neoliberal governmentalities" (p. 242). Unlike Thatcher's neoliberalism, the movement today does not have to be integrated forcefully into governance since neoliberal practices have become a normalized part of urban policies. Furthermore, the various failures due to roll-out neoliberalism have resulted in a reformationist movement that calls for social, political, and economic transformations. Social concern is of particular regard. Reformative action, Keil states, occurs in two ways that can also exist simultaneously in urban governance:

a) Roll-with-it 1: "more authoritarian, capital-oriented, market-serving policies and political constellations" (p. 239)
b) Roll-with-it 2: "more democratic, populist, reformist, ecological options" (p. 239).

The study site of the West Don Lands is an example of roll-with-it 2 neoliberal governance, illustrated later in the thesis.

Today, the dominance of neoliberalism in all aspects of social and economic life is not questioned; everything must contribute to capital accumulation, even nature (Keil, 2009). Urban space is "festivalized and spectacularized" for increased profitability (Keil, 2009, 238). With cities as the dominant platform for neoliberalization, urban space has continued to be a canvas for capitalist growth and commodification (Keil, 2009; Schurman, 1996). Urban goals, like sustainability, are addressed with strategies and policies that are inherently embedded with neoliberal compliance (Schurman, 1996; Theodore, Peck, and Brenner, 2011).

In order to create optimal tools for neoliberal urban development, capitalism often extends to socio-natural objects that are commodified. Additionally, key environmental issues tend to be addressed through sustainable practices as they are believed to be a favoured

consumer choice and thus adhere to market logic (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011). Sustainability is viewed as the guide for the future of urbanization (Keil, 2003; Keil 2005). This is reflected in the large scale redevelopment of central Toronto, aided by the Toronto Official Plan (2010), and similar redevelopment along the Waterfront area, overseen by Waterfront Toronto. Taking the form of an urban policy framework, it has been deeply entrenched in the process of creating low ecological footprint, environmentally friendly cities (Braun, 2005; Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011; Keil, 2003). This idea has heavily influenced sustainable policies (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011) and is reflected in Toronto's policy documents.

This sustainable urban development movement is one that is especially dominant in the Global North. It calls for changes in energy consumption patterns, the integration of green spaces, higher densities, green public transit, low impact building materials, democratic governance, and numerous other strategies. Very much the case of Toronto, the approach to creating sustainable cities largely involves urban planning and design (Braun, 2005). Strategies of sustainability also often marginalize issues of social justice and equality in actually existing practice (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011), going against various conceptions of sustainable development. This key point will be seen in my research site.

Sustainable Development

Referred to many times throughout this document, I will now present the concept of sustainable development. Examining the literature, there appears to be no fully agreed upon definition. The term has evolved through time and been interpreted in many different ways with multiple themes. Various authors place emphasis on different aspects of this concept from environmental protection, economic growth, human well-being, to maximum allowable consumption.

In 1987, the concept of sustainable development was first brought forth on a global platform in a report called *Our Common Future*, more popularly known as the Brundtland Report, by the United Nation's World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED). It defines this term in the following manner:

> Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987, 15).

It emphasizes that this can be achieved only if "population size and growth are in harmony with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem" (p. 15). However, it later states that harmony cannot be possible due to the "exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional change" (p. 15). It places great stress on economic growth and meeting basic human needs. Its conception of sustainable development is one that emphasizes the sustained increase in the level of societal and individual welfare, and a sustained level of the satisfaction of needs (Langhelle, 1999).

Sustainable development is a term that is used in three primary ways. It can be used as a physical concept for a single resource, as a physical concept for a group of resources or an ecosystem, and, finally, as a socio-economic-physical concept (Langhelle, 1999). In this latter way, the sustainability of a physical ecosystem is not as emphasized: "sustainable development *requires* [emphasis added] meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life" (WCED, 1987, 37). A few examples of these basic human needs are food, clothing, employment, and housing (WCED, 1987). It is this third way of sustainability as a socio-economic-physical concept that was developed and presented by the WCED in 1987 (Langhelle, 1999).

In 1987, the same year that the WCED had expressed their views of sustainable development, Goodland and Ledec (1987) presented a very similar, although slightly elaborated, definition:

> Sustainable development is a pattern of social and structural economic transformations (i.e. development) which optimizes the economic and other societal benefits available in the present, without jeopardizing the likely potential for similar benefits in the future (p. 36).

This definition appears to allude to the notion of maximum consumption (Goodland and Ledec, 1987). In the present day, one must engage in the most consumption that is possible without endangering future generations from consuming in this exact, maximum way.

While the above conceptions of sustainable development are the most popular, what follows are other major understandings of the term compiled by Wheeler (2004), briefly presented.

Grab-Bag Approach by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, 1986

Sustainable development is focused on five aspects: the integration of conservation and development, the satisfaction of basic human needs – similar to *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987) – the achievement of equity and social justice, the provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity, and, lastly, the maintenance of ecological integrity (Wheeler, 2004, 25). This strategy is essential as living resources are being continually destroyed and depleted. Unfortunately, to prevent this requires solutions that involve time and results are far from immediate, such as "planning, education, training, and better organization and research" (IUCN, 1980, 19).

Maintenance of Natural Capital by David Pearce, 1988

Sustainable development is focused on the preservation of the stock of natural capital, guaranteeing that it does not decrease with time. This natural stock refers to all environmental assets that are available (Wheeler, 2004, 24). Natural capital must be conserved as "critically important resources for which there are essentially no substitutes" (Pearce, Atkinson, and Mourato, 2006, 239). Thus, obtaining the goal of sustainable development is heavily connected to how an economy must manage and maintain its natural wealth over time.

Maintenance and Improvement of All Systems by Richard Norgaard, 1988

Sustainable development is intrinsically linked to the maintenance or enhancement of the "overall level of diversity and overall productivity of components and relations in systems" (Wheeler, 2004, 25). This is certainly a large challenge to undertake. However, it can be effectively executed by starting at the local level and determining how the location's agricultural and industrial practices affect the local resource base and environmental system. An examination of a region's dependency upon energy and material inputs outside its local area, and how long these external resources will last, is also of great necessity (Norgaard, 1994). Lastly, there also arises a need to figure out how to weigh the "degradation of some aspects of the environment against investments in beneficial environmental transformations and investments in new capital equipment and facilities" (Norgaard, 1994, 17). These are expected to minimize the challenge of sustainable development.

Not Making Things Worse by William Rees, 1988

Change must not have a negative impact upon the "ecological, social, or political systems upon which society is dependent" (Wheeler, 2004, 25) in order to be considered as sustainable development. This understanding of sustainability also states that such development necessitates a deeply detailed understanding of human ecology. Unfortunately, in today's world, this is largely disregarded and neglected as "primary values and criteria determining human material relationships with the rest of reality come from ecologically empty models" (Rees, 1992, 123). Without the inclusion of this, sustainable development cannot be achieved.

The above understandings of sustainable development share common themes of environmental protection, economic growth, human well-being, and maximum consumption. They also share vagueness about what actually is sustainable development. Although the WCED explains that sustainability is for everyone, it does not address by whom such

development is carried out. This could result in a sustainability that is for select socioeconomic groups. The majority of these definitions are occupied by economic and environmental sustainability, and only to a lesser extent do they regard social sustainability. Additionally, when social sustainability is discussed, there are no specifications as to who determines human well-being and basic human needs against what criteria. These points should be kept in mind when examining Toronto's sustainable policy documents and development projects.

Sustainable Urban Design

The different conceptions of sustainable development are expressed and implemented in cities through urban design (Braun, 2005). The most popular of these are seen in Table 1. Often, these design strategies are integrated with one another in sustainable urban development projects.

Design Concepts	Definitions
Compactness	High density development.
Sustainable Transport	Low impact transport that uses green energy; alternative transport.
Density	Ratio of people and/or built environment to spatial area.
Mixed Land Uses	Heterogenous zoning or multiple land uses.
Diversity	A variety of building and housing types, architectural styles, land uses, cultural and economic backgrounds.
Greening	The act of bringing non-human nature into urban spaces.

Table 1:
Popular concepts in sustainable urban design. Compiled by Author.

Compactness

This simply refers to the containment of existing urban sprawl, often done to preserve land on the outskirts of cities. It is carried out with the process of intensification, which is the development of previously undeveloped urban land, as well as the redevelopment of existing or previously developed sites (Jabareen, 2006).

Sustainable Transport

Sustainable transportation is defined as "transportation services that reflect the full social and environmental costs of their provision, that respect carrying capacity, and that balances the needs for mobility and safety with the needs for access, environmental quality and neighbourhood livability" (Jabareen, 2006, 40). It should limit emissions and pollution outputs, utilize renewable energy sources, minimize land usage, provide equal access to all people, and also be financially affordable (Jabareen, 2006). Additionally, sustainable transportation advocates alternative modes, such as biking or walking, as well as carpooling and public transit usage (Thorne and Filmer-Sankey, 2004).

Density

Density is the "ratio of people or dwelling units to land area" (Jabareen, 2006, 41). Higher densities aid in not only the conservation of resources, but also relate back to the previous design concept by creating compactness. Additionally, increasing urban densities can reduce energy consumption and automobile usage, while promoting alternative methods of travel, such as walking or biking. With higher densities, the use of public transit also tends to increase (Jabareen, 2006).

Mixed Land Uses

Mixed land use, or heterogeneous zoning, entails compatible land uses in close proximity to one another, sometimes even in a single building structure. This decreases the distances to be travelled, as well as the likelihood of automobile usage for commuting to various activities (Jabareen, 2006). If such mixed land uses provide services in close proximity to one another, alternative methods of transportation, such as biking and walking, can be encouraged (Thorne and Filmer-Sankey, 2003).

Diversity

Diversity is inherently linked to the previous design concept of mixed land uses; diversity is the achievement, the goal, of mixed land uses. It advocates a mixture of building and housing types, architectural styles, land uses, and rents. It allows for commercial and residential variety (such as residents of multiple income groups). With diversity, similar to the previous concept, alternative transportation can also exist. Without diversity, segregated landscapes along race, age, class, employment and income lines may be seen (Jabareen, 2006).

As one aspect of sustainable design, diversity is a partial solution to several urban issues. Social mixing, according to its proponent, contributes to the deconcentration of poverty and creates more socially sustainable spaces. Significant research on the deconcentration of poverty began with Wilson (1987) who proposed that disadvantaged groups within American inner cities lived in isolation from the middle class. Thus, Wilson believed, they were not exposed to the middle class conventional ways of life and behaviours deemed as appropriate. Other work, such as Dunn (2012), discuss the neighbourhoods in which these groups reside as having little or no access to good jobs, amenities, and public services, and are exposed to the supposed behaviours of the poor such as violence and crime, welfare dependency, and teenage pregnancies. He states that, through the deconcentration of poverty, disadvantaged groups are no longer in social and spatial isolation. Having a mix of income groups in urban development is thought to blur class boundaries, offer educational opportunities, and access to improved services. Exposure to the middle class and the resulting interactions are also believed to aid in improved employment opportunities, social networking, and upward mobility (Dunn, 2012; Khadduri and Martin, 1997; Turbov and Piper, 2005).

Creating socially sustainable, diverse urban communities may limit or entirely remove social isolation. However, the isolation of low income groups can still occur in social mixing. Buron, et al. (2002) and Allen, et al. (2005), through the use of several detailed case studies, suggest that socioeconomic heterogeneity in communities may not result in the building of positive relationships between groups. In some cases, the relationship can be one of othering and resentment (Sullivan and Leitz, 2008). Furthermore, residents with greater economic power may have their voices heard during neighbourhood political events while the issues of lower income groups are silenced (Graves, 2010).

The literature on the deconcentration of poverty can hold a very top-down view that disparages the disadvantaged, especially seen with Wilson (1987) and Dunn (2012). While there are numerous issues with having such a perspective, it cannot be ignored that diversity does provide marginalized populations with improved access to infrastructure and various services because they exist for higher income groups as well. Perhaps this is a cynical view, but it is unlikely that such access would be provided for neighbourhoods with concentrated poverty. In the ideal sustainable world, equitable access would exist regardless of spatial location and social class. Realistically, in a sustainable world influenced by neoliberalism, an urban space that claims to be socially sustainable should employ, at the very least, a narrow understanding of diversity. This can be seen in a small affordable housing project in my research neighbourhood, presented in a following chapter. It should be noted that social housing and affordable housing are not synonymous. Canada's social housing programs have built very few new units since 1993, and the government had claimed such programs were unsustainable due to high costs (Moore and Skaburskis, 2004). Today, a dire need exists for housing for low income groups. Terminology and Canada's social housing policy shall be expanded upon in a later chapter.

Greening

The last design concept, greening, views one type of socio-nature as an integral part of the city, and aims to bring non-human nature into the urban habitat through a diversity of open landscapes, such as parks, gardens, trees, shrubbery, and lawns (Cadieux and Taylor, 2012). The provision of access to nature is important as it moderates the urban climate, increases the ecological diversity of the urban environment, reduces pollution, and contributes to cost effective sustainable drainage systems. Additionally, seen in my study site, it adds to the lure of urban spaces by improving their aesthetic and economic attractiveness (Jabareen, 2006; Perkins, Heynen, and Wilson, 2004).

While nature provides an economic value, it also plays social, medical, and psychological roles (Botkin and Beveridge, 1997). It not only creates a purer, cleaner and healthier environment for living, but it also offers the possibility to "touch, smell, see, and hear the basic elements of nature (the sun, the wind, the grass, the trees, etc.), to walk or run with these elements around, and to enjoy the view of the recurring seasonal changes" (Bonnes, Passafaro, and Carrus, 2011, 208). As Botkin and Beveridge (1997) state, urban green areas meet psychological and social needs. They can benefit human health by serving as a refuge from the stresses and tensions of everyday life in the city, having a highly restorative power. These particular social and psychological effects can be achieved through careful design of greenery with certain types of trees and where they are planted to affect how users experience and consume the space (Botkin and Beveridge, 1997; Kitchen, 2013). Greenspace can also become a symbol of a community, creating stability and familiarity with a location, and contributing to local place identity (Bonnes, et al., 2011).

Urban Nature

As key characteristics of the research site are green roofs and a renaturalized urban park, a discussion on nature is warranted. During the industrial era, alongside the

development of cities was a view that urban spaces were unnatural and polluted. Instead, the countryside that lay beyond the city limits was determined as natural and pristine (Botkin and Beveridge, 1997; Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2005). A belief was held that cities were a purely social product (Braun, 2005), and underscored by a deep dualism between nature and society: two polar opposites (Keil, 2003; Wolch, 2007). It is perhaps due to this view that, with the exception of the last two decades, there has been little work done on urban natures (Keil, 2003). A term understood in numerous ways, I will only present two conceptions of nature: one that is the more dominant view of nature as the non-human world that is reflected in much urban planning, and another as the emergent idea of socio-natures that urban political ecologists embrace.

A highly contested and ideological concept (Hailwood, 2012), it is important to take note that understandings of nature have been produced through inherited, assimilated, and learned knowledge that may be filters that shape different conceptions of what is nature; it is a representation of nature (Castree, 2005).

Nature as the Non-Human

In many cultures, the most dominant conception of nature refers to the non-human world, the environment, the biotic and the abiotic, the animate and the inanimate (Castree, 2005; Hailwood, 2012). Also known as first nature (Beilharz, 2003; Cronon, 1991), it is (problematically) everything that is not human and separated from the work of humanity – nature as the given, what we begin from and have not yet done anything upon (Hailwood, 2012). Employing this understanding, planning strategies aim to bring nature into urban landscapes, from zoos to city parks (Cadieux and Taylor, 2012). Nature is viewed as an otherness to humanity and is thought of as the material world before human transformation. Thus, it is understood as ceasing to be natural once it is combined with human action. Nature is to stand apart from culture, history, convention, and all that defines humanity (Soper,

1995). There arises a conflict in urban natures under this conceptualization: natures in cities would be discounted due to their association with intervention by humans – who are not considered as part of nature in this view. Seen below, the emergent idea of socio-natures combats this conflict.

Socio-Natures or Hybrids

Rather than a process without nature, urbanization is nature's transformation (Cronon, 1991). Urbanization does not increasingly distance humanity from nature, but, rather, creates new interactions and relationships between the two (Keil, 2003). Instead of being separate and opposite, nature and society are interconnected and entwined (Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2003). The city is not a space without nature because urbanization itself is very much a socio-natural process: it is a *metabolization* of nature and society (Braun, 2005; Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011), a term to be elaborated upon shortly.

This inseparable connectivity can be seen in the idea of hybrids or socio-natures: assemblages of nature and society (Zimmer, 2010). Cities are comprised of constantly evolving collections of hybrids that are impacted by both nature and society (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011; Zimmer, 2010). To better understand this, imagine a clustering of urban trees. Their positioning and form are often planned by the city and planted with the aid of human knowledge in horticulture. Through techniques in cloning and grafting, plants have been cultivated and selectively produced to meet the requirements of the inflexible urban habitat (Hough, 1995). Thus, in the processes of urbanization, first natures (nature as purely the non-human) are no longer seen. Instead, these socio-natures are second natures: they have been shaped by human action into an aestheticized cultural artefact and/or a commodity to play a vital role in capital accumulation (Cronon, 1991; McAfee and Shapiro, 2010; Smith, 1984/2008). It should be kept in mind that not all urban natural landscapes are cultivated by humans for naturalized landscapes also exist. One example of this can be seen in urban weeds

in forgotten places of the city, emerging through cracks and gratings in pavement (Hough, 1995).

Metabolization

Related to this concept of hybridity is that of metabolism. This is the interactions within these assemblages or hybrids (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw, 2006). However, for some scholars, metabolism is, instead, the interaction between the separated entities of nature and society (Zimmer, 2010). It is important to note that this metabolism is the product of particular human aims, owing to the human control over urban nature. Due to being a reflection of social systems, metabolism is not necessarily an expression of all human aims and relies on existing hierarchies and relations within society. Thus, while metabolism regards some form of partnership with both nature and society, it is primarily controlled by the latter – reflective of the power relations between these two groups (Swyngedouw, 2006). It is within these relations that an understanding of what is nature exists, and this is concretized under capitalist commodification (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2011).

Circulation

In relation to metabolic processes, the idea of circulation is combined to explain the flows of socio-natures in urbanization. The greater the speed at which circulation exists, the faster capital accumulation occurs. This concept can be likened to blood circulation in the body, or water circulation through city pipes (Cooke and Lewis, 2010; Heynen, et al., 2006).

Context to Research

The primary objective of this research is to critically assess the effects of neoliberal governance on sustainable urban policy and development. Are neoliberalism and sustainability compatible concepts? Are there any compromises made to sustainable development in neoliberalism? To what extent is sustainability possible in the current neoliberal era? This chapter primarily presented the topics of urban political ecology,

neoliberalism, and sustainability. As urban political ecology is a critical approach to understanding the capitalist processes in cities, it is an effective platform upon which to explore neoliberal sustainability.

The achievement of sustainable development is addressed through various strategies and policies that are impacted by neoliberal ideology (Schurman, 1996; Theodore, et al., 2011). While sustainability would have been viewed as an obstacle to capital accumulation in previous incarnations of neoliberalism, roll-with-it neoliberalism advocates ecological options. Sustainability is not viewed as a hindrance to profit due to its marketability and consumer support (McCarthy, 2005). While the market is now much greener, this trend might not have been possible if it were not sufficiently profitable.

Sustainable building and landscape design are noted characteristics of the research site. Its affordable housing provision is not as visible as the area's green roofs, renaturalized park, and low impact building materials. The manner of construction and nature present in the space defines the area, and aids in its sustainable perception. A leading environmental policy trend of the commodification of nature and sustainability to produce high profits demonstrate that urban policies themselves may be embedded with neoliberal goals of capitalist growth and commodification (McAfee and Shapiro, 2010). Additionally, the implementation of such policies by the private sector, whose primary aim is to benefit from market opportunities, only furthers the inscription of neoliberalism upon the urban landscape (Harvey, 1989). Thus, urban policy makers and private sector actors are both instruments of a profitable market that employs a sustainable trend.

Using urban political ecology, power relations and equality issues involved with the transformation of urban environments can be examined. For whom is the nature in the research site produced? Who benefits from this sustainable space? The political, social, and economic processes involved in sustainable landscapes tend to create and sustain urban

inequalities. Urban political ecology attempts to uncover these processes, and, thus, aid in determining the extent of sustainability. As urban policies are increasingly aimed at reshaping the urban form into one that is socially and environmentally sustainable (Keil and Graham, 1998), urban political ecology is best suited as the theoretical framework to examine neoliberal sustainability in cities.

- CHAPTER THREE -
THE CITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

An Introduction to the City of Toronto

The two research sites, located near Toronto's Waterfront in the West Don Lands, are ideal locations to study the reshaping of urban space through pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial time. What follows is a very brief introduction of the City of Toronto to the present day.

When the first Europeans arrived in what is known today as Toronto in the 17th century, a war was occurring between two indigenous groups, the Hurons and Iroquois. With the Hurons defeated and dispersed, the Iroquois settled in and around the Toronto area in the 1660s. One of the Iroquois confederacy's five nations, Seneca, largely dominated the region for the next two decades. During this period of settlement, the term "Toronto" began appearing on various French maps, first designated to the current Lake Simcoe (Image 1), before finally being moved to a larger area that includes present-day Toronto.

Image 1:
"Toronto" was initially designated as present-day Lake Simcoe, 1688 (City of Toronto, 2015a).

From the 1690s to the end of the 18th century, the Mississaugas of the Anishinaabe peoples supplanted the Senecas either due to war or negotiations between the two. The Mississaugas, who frequently traded fur for European goods with British settlers, were approached by the French who wished to create an alliance. During territorial conflicts between the French and British Empires throughout the 1700s, what is known as present-day Toronto had initially fallen under French rule and operated as a small fur post known as Fort Rouillé in 1750 (see Image 2).

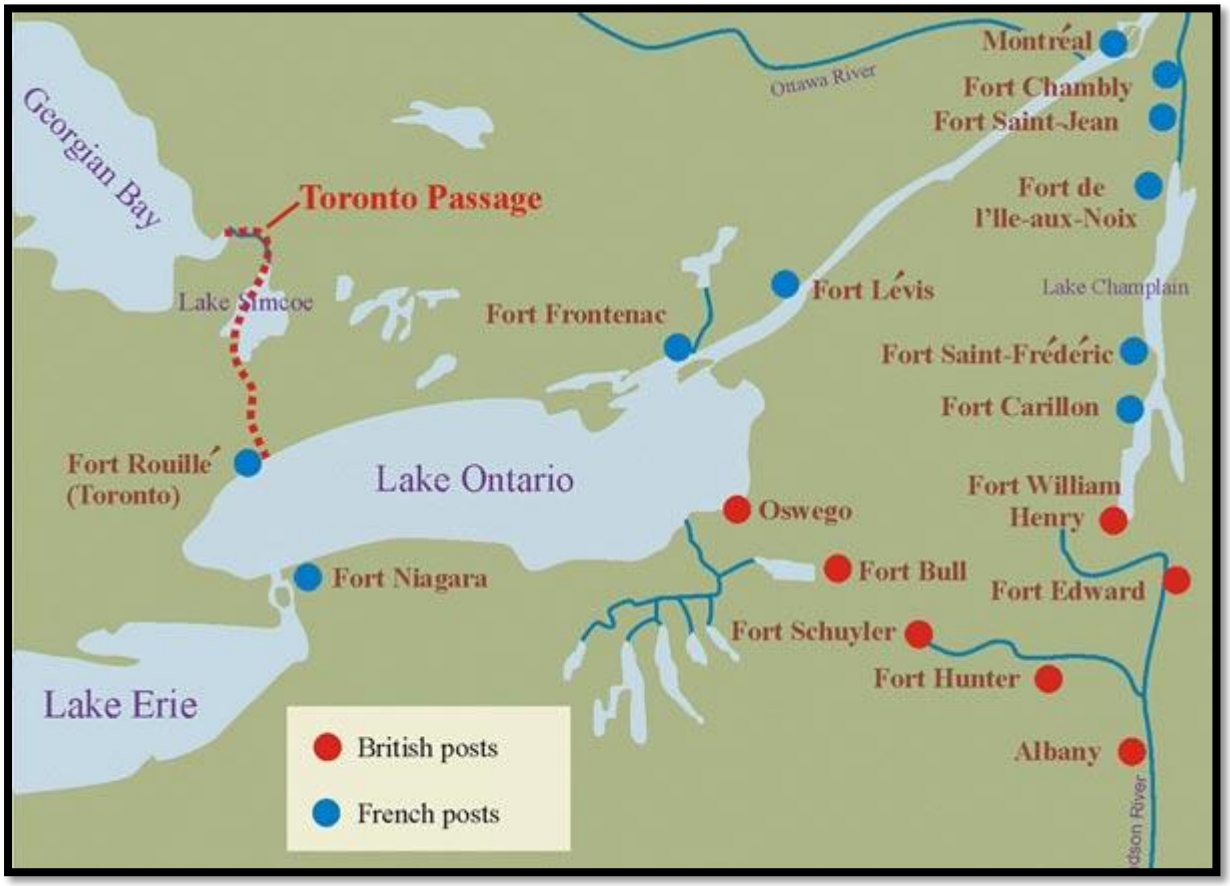

Image 2:
Fort Rouillé, just steps away from present-day Exhibition Place in Toronto, and surrounding region, 1750 (City of Toronto, 2015a).

However, after a few years, it was lost to British forces. The Mississaugas, who had previously aligned with the French and fought against British forces, entered a new alliance with the British (City of Toronto, 2015a).

While the area had been populated since the last ice age, it was not until 1793 that an urban community arose, known as the Town of York (City of Toronto, 2015b). This was marked by the construction of the nearby Fort York, along Lake Ontario, in order to defend the Toronto Harbour from French forces (see Image 3).

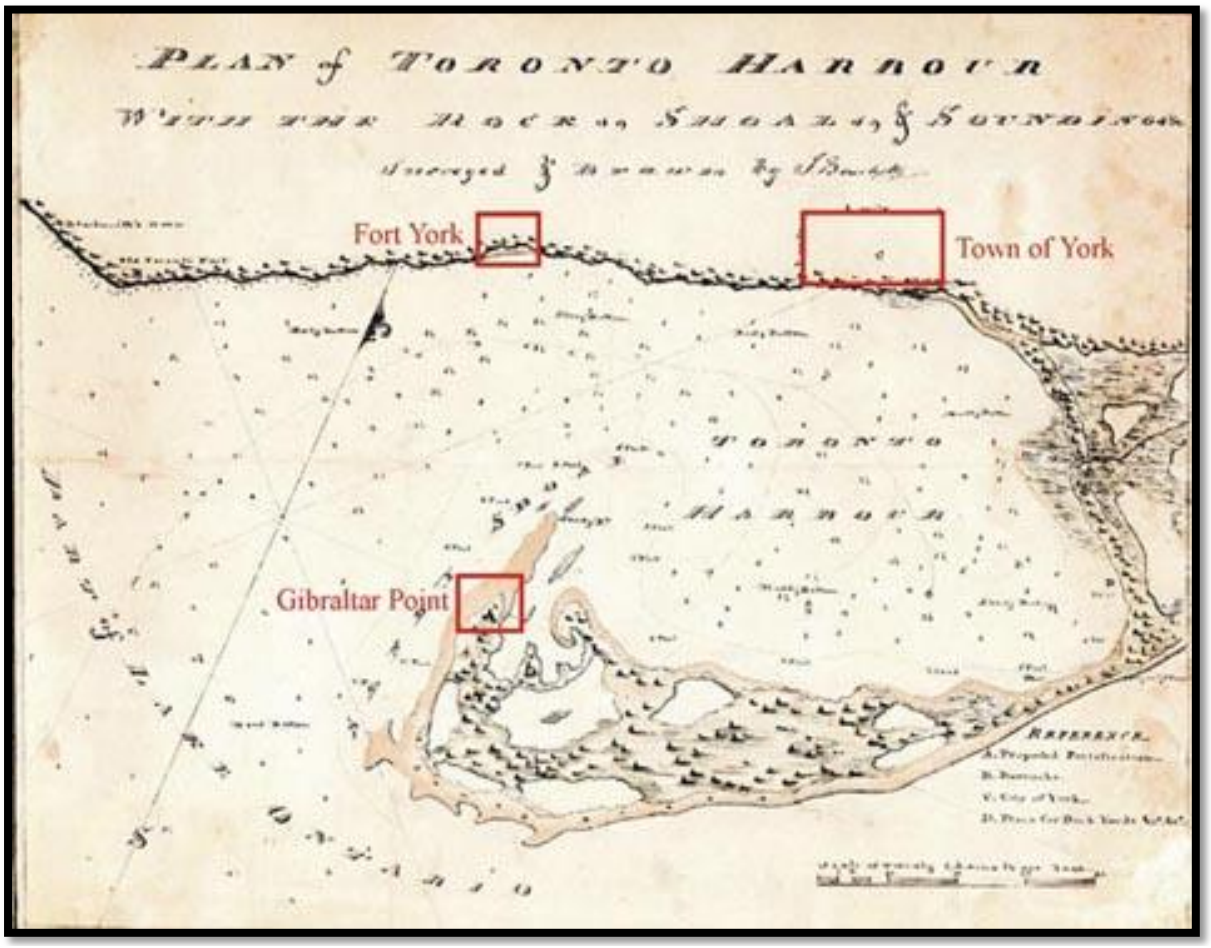

Image 3:
The Town of York and Fort York as situated along the Toronto Harbour, 1793 (City of Toronto, 2015b).

After the War of 1812 came to a conclusion in 1815, Toronto saw much change and became a key administrative and commercial centre. While in 1815, the population was a meagre 720, by 1851, it rose to 30,775. This boom is mirrored in the urban form, as seen in the growth between 1818 in Image 4 and 1851 in Image 5. During this time, in 1834, the area became known as the City of Toronto (City of Toronto, 2015b).

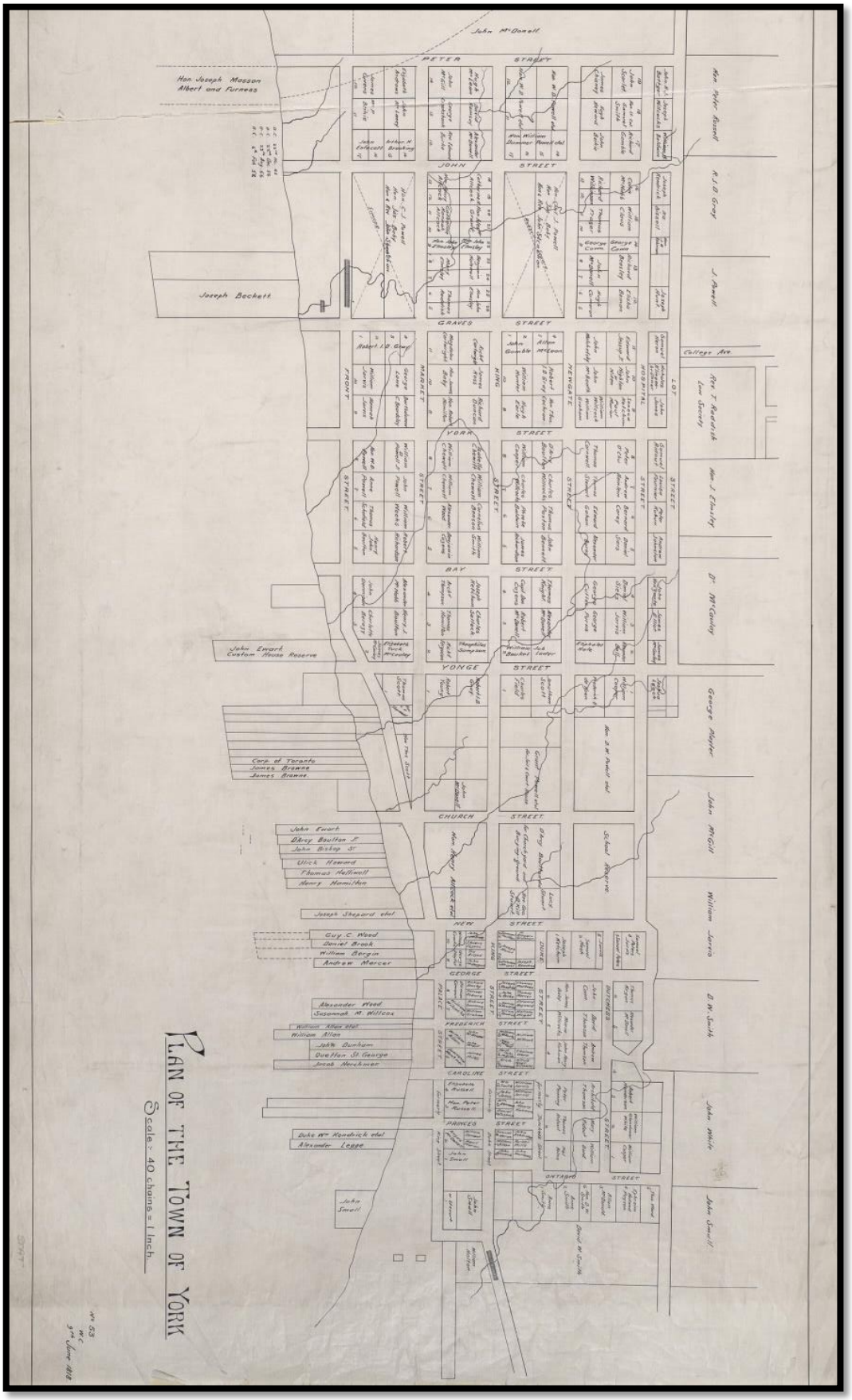

Image 4:
The small Town of York, 1818 (Toronto Public Library, 2015).

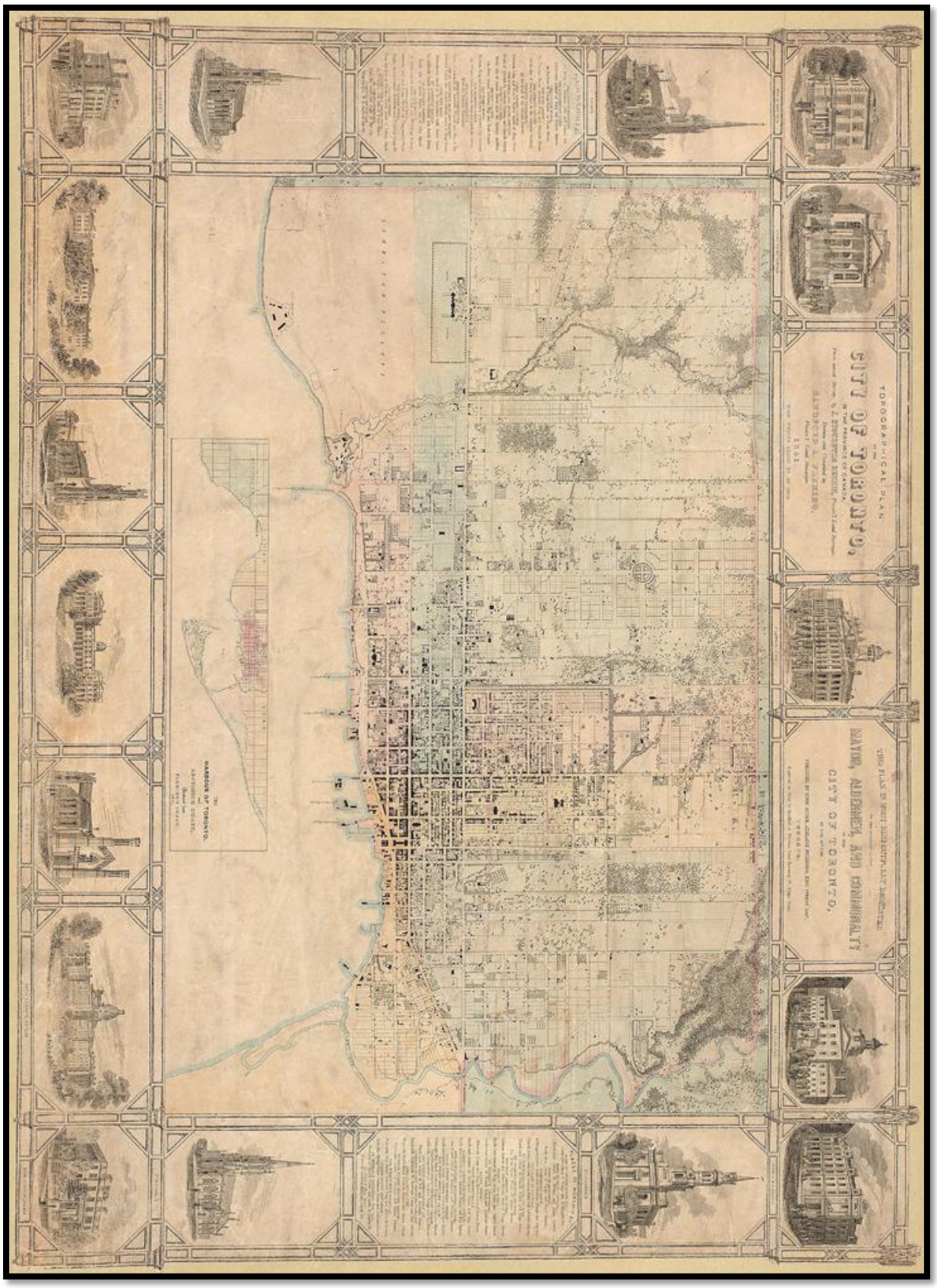

Image 5:
The much more urban and developed City of Toronto, 1851 (Toronto Public Library, 2015).

In the October of 1851, railway construction began. As seen in Image 6, this linked Toronto to many key locations in southern Ontario, as well as Quebec, Atlantic Canada and the United States.

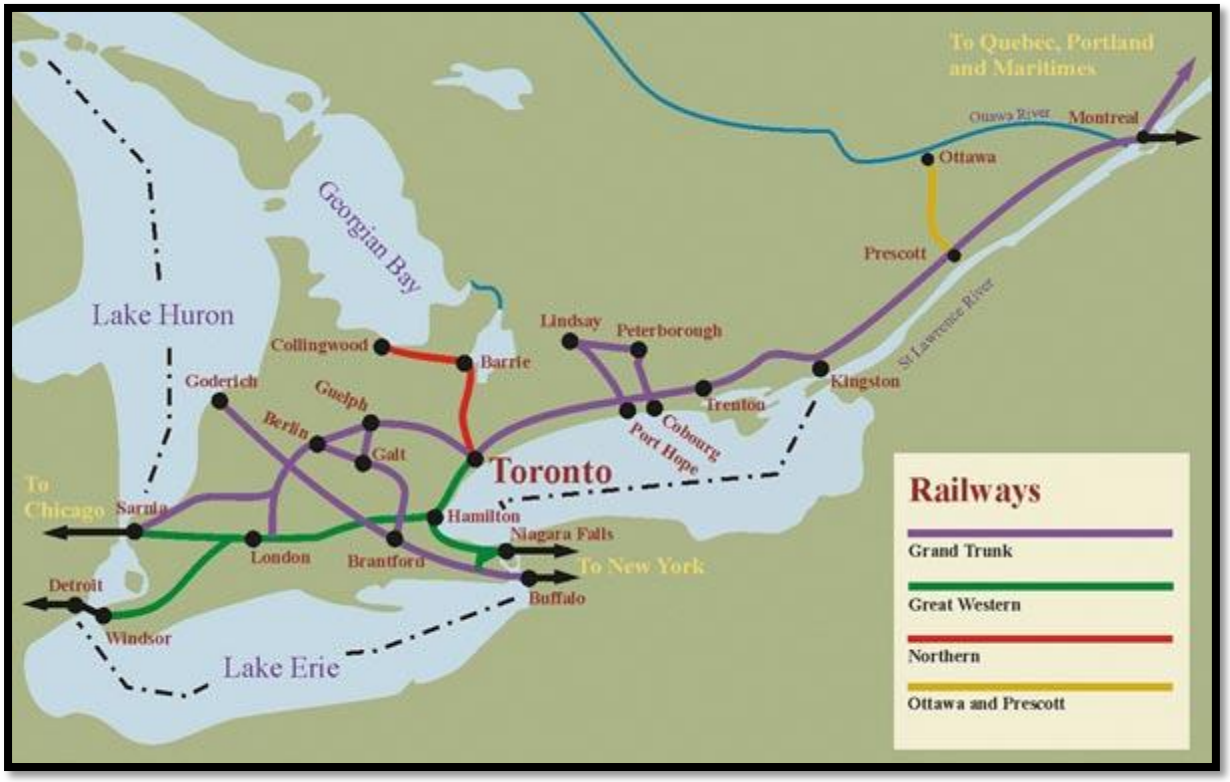

Image 6:
Key railway connections through Toronto, 1867 (City of Toronto, 2015c).

Becoming a major railway hub, the city attracted much industrialization by the 1860s, and new factories rose along rail lines near the Toronto Waterfront, seen in Image 7.

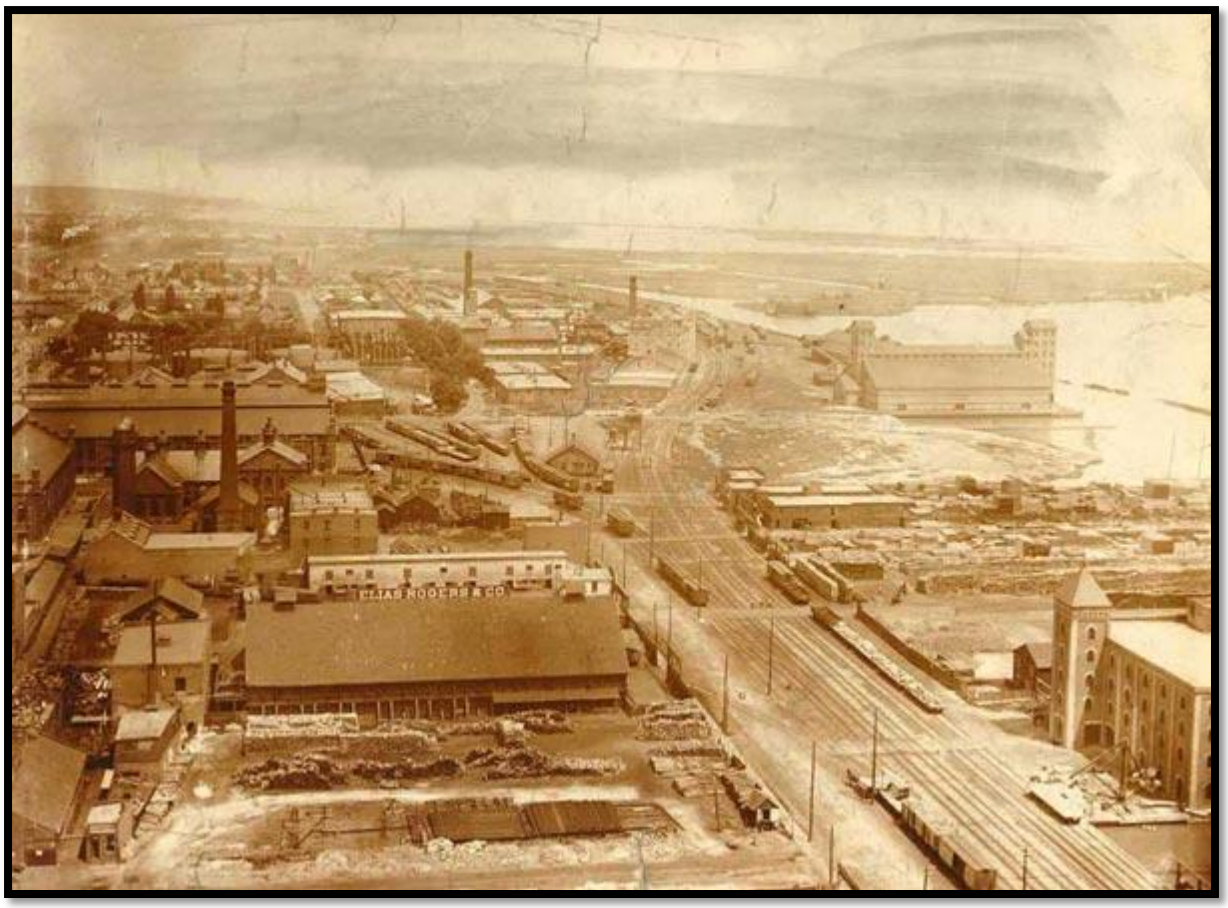

Image 7:
Industrial buildings (left) constructed along the Grand Trunk Railway (centre) by the Waterfront (far right), 1894 (City of Toronto, 2015c).

The polluted and industrialized Waterfront was so vital to the economy that its shoreline was extended hundreds of metres through infilling (Image 8).

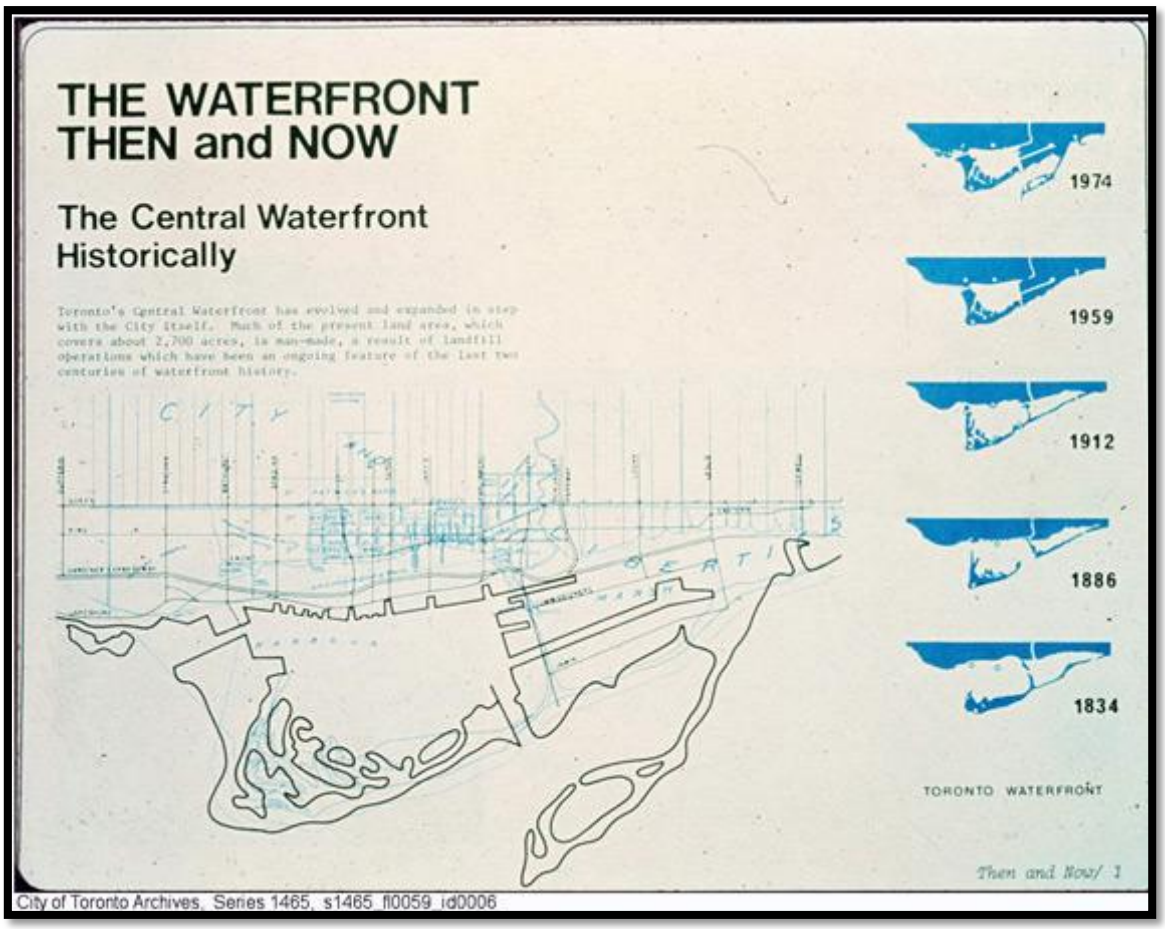

Image 8:
The extension of the Waterfront throughout the years, 1834 to 1974 (Flack, 2011a).

Due to the area's industrial concentration, it was widely believed that the Waterfront was an unattractive place to reside. Thus, while affluent residential districts appeared further north in Toronto, the often immigrant working class lived amidst the industrial inner-city near the Waterfront (City of Toronto, 2015d).

Due to economic success, the city grew past its original 1834 boundaries, steadily adding surrounding districts (City of Toronto, 2015d). See Image 9.

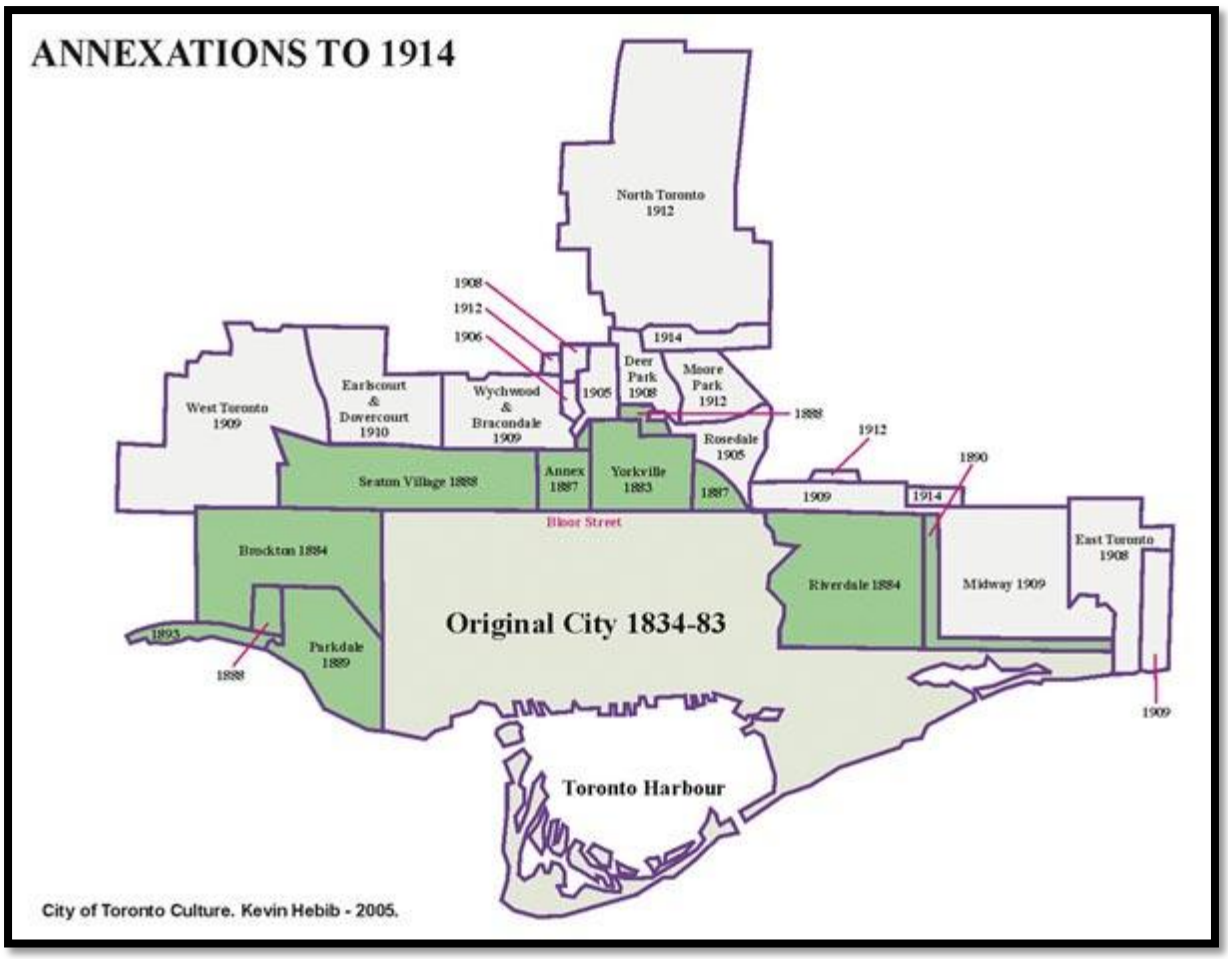

Image 9:
The expansion of Toronto, 1834 to 1914 (City of Toronto, 2015c).

Between 1871 and 1901, the city saw extensive economic and population growth, rising from 86,000 to 234,000 (Desfor and Vesalon, 2008). By 1901, financial services became an important sector, and their related companies managed economic growth from primary industries, such as lumber, agriculture, and mining. Retail and, especially, manufacturing expanded greatly, with the latter becoming the largest employment sector with 65,000 workers in 1911 – vastly ahead of the 40,000 people in the financial sector (City of Toronto, 2015d). Additionally, small scale businesses were subsumed or replaced by large factories.

To aid this growth, the Toronto Harbour Commission was created in 1911 by the federal government. After long decades of largely unplanned development, in 1912, the Toronto Harbour Commission created a "revitalized plan for the harbour" (City of Toronto, 2015d). With available sites of industry declining within the city, factories began extending

along the rail lines into the surrounding suburbs. This allowed for many of the working class to settle in such industrial suburbs and not be limited to residing within the inner city (Caulfield, 2010). By 1921, Toronto's population had risen to 522,000 (City of Toronto, 2015d).

With the 1940s came an ever-increasing importance of the financial sector in Toronto, and, by 1965, the city became home to numerous national headquarters for companies. By the late 1900s, the manufacturing industry persisted in Toronto, though it greatly declined in importance and scale, particularly in comparison to the financial and service sectors (City of Toronto, 2015e). Much manufacturing relocated outside of the city and into suburban sites. Deindustrialization, the decline of manufacturing in urban economies, was occurring in Toronto (Caulfield, 2010), aided by the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993. This allowed for a large portion of manufacturing to relocate to international sites (City of Toronto, 2015e). This was also aided by new production techniques where goods were manufactured on demand. It brought forth the fragmentation of production which allowed for the scattering of the production of parts for a single product to numerous locations. Technological advances assisted in the managing of these separated nodes of production (Kintel and Maloca, 2009). The employment sector saw and still continues to see a noticeable shift away from industrial and clerical jobs, and toward occupations in management, administration, finance, tourism, sciences, arts, information technology, culture, recreation, sales, and the service industry.

These economic shifts were especially apparent along Toronto's Waterfront. The decline in importance of manufacturing allowed for much of the land along the Waterfront to be redeveloped. In 1972, Harbourfront was created by the federal government with the intent of redeveloping industrial land into cultural and residential spaces. The redevelopment held some controversy as it was "little more than a long row of uninspired condominiums" (City

of Toronto, 2015e). Such spaces, after being revitalized, were often marketed to the middle class as symbols of the cosmopolitan and entrepreneurial renaissance of the city (Kern, 2010).

The City of Toronto Today

Image 10:
The City of Toronto and Lake Ontario, 2015 (Google Maps, 2016).

Located on the northern shore of Lake Ontario (Image 10), Toronto is the largest of Canada's urban regions as of 2016. Its census metropolitan area houses over 6 million residents (Statistics Canada, 2016). The city serves as an important financial, transportation, and cultural hub for not only Ontario, but also for Canada, with its multitude of highway systems, the busiest airport in the nation, cultural landmarks, and private transnational companies (Brenner and Keil, 2006). The latter, in particular, play a vital role in the city's journey in being a globally competitive city due to its continual search of new markets and profitable ventures. These are aided, in part, by urban governance that has moved away from managerialism and toward entrepreneurialism, and neoliberal urban policies that embrace

environmental concerns (Desfor and Keil, 2004). In the move to post-industrialism, urban policies adapt past sites of industrial capitalism to conform to the current form of green capitalism that addresses environmental issues (Curran and Hamilton, 2012), such as the case of the Waterfront area.

As deindustrialization took place, the city's Waterfront became available for new modes of capital accumulation (Greenberg, 1996). No longer was the Waterfront a key site for the manufacturing industry. In 1992, the Waterfront's planning focused heavily on environmental issues, and, in 1999, all three levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) promised to invest a combined $1.5 billion in the city's Waterfront in order to attract private investment and make a mark on the global economy. From 1999 to 2001, as Toronto was bidding for the 2008 Summer Olympics, government interest in the Waterfront heightened. This bid included a proposal for an Olympic Village situated on the east side of the Waterfront area. It also included a large scale redevelopment proposal (Filion and Sanderson, 2011). The bid was hoped to be key in showcasing the city on the global stage. Around this time, the city's policy documents compared Toronto to other globally significant cities, such as New York and London, noted their Waterfront development techniques, and used them as examples for Toronto's own Waterfront. Despite efforts, in 2001, Toronto lost the bid to Beijing, China.

During the same year, the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC) was created by the three levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal) with a mandate to oversee the development of the Waterfront area and renewal strategies, and to overcome intergovernmental and inter-agency conflict. While the Toronto Official Plan, the chief land use planning policy document of the city, sets the vision for Toronto, the TWRC is responsible for Waterfront development that also does not compromise the Official Plan. According to the 2002 Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation Act, the TWRC "shall

have regard to the Official Plan of the City of Toronto in carrying out its objects" (TWRC Act, 2002, c.28, s.3(3)). The Toronto Official Plan shall be presented in the next section. The Act also states that the TWRC "does not have the capacity to act as an agent of the City of Toronto unless city council gives express written authorization to the corporation to do so" (TWRC Act, 2002, 2005, c.31, sched.23, s.1). The Act outlines the goals of the TWRC as well, seen below:

a) To implement a plan that enhances the economic, social and cultural value of the land in the designated Waterfront area and creates an accessible and active Waterfront for living, working and recreation, and to do so in a fiscally and environmentally responsible manner;
b) to ensure that ongoing development in the designated Waterfront area can continue in a financially self-sustaining manner;
c) to promote and encourage the involvement of the private sector in the development of the designated Waterfront area;
d) to encourage public input into the development of the designated Waterfront area; and
e) to engage in such other activities as may be prescribed by regulation (TWRC Act, 2002, c.28, s.3(1)).

As the Waterfront was seen as a symbol, a representation of Toronto, the TWRC's focus lay in reaping economic rewards while addressing environmental issues (TWRC, 2012). Its mandate spans 25 years, aiming to transform the 809 hectare (2,000 acre) brownfield into sustainable spaces. However, after the Olympic bid had failed, of the promised $1.5 billion, only $35 million was given to the TWRC. While this was problematic, all three levels of government created various environmental initiatives and their own redevelopment projects for the Waterfront (Filion and Sanderson, 2011). These strategies created public infrastructure, office buildings, a college campus, greenspace in the form of parks, and the West Don Lands neighbourhood. The $1.5 billion promised was finally given to the TWRC (now known as Waterfront Toronto) (Horak, 2013). Perhaps this was done in anticipation for another bid to host an international sporting event: in 2009, Toronto won a bid to host the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games (PPAG). Like the planned Olympic

Village for the failed 2008 Summer Olympics bid, the PPAG's Athletes' Village was planned for the east side of the Waterfront area.

Sustainability in Toronto

As seen in planning policies and development guidelines, urban planning and sustainability are increasingly entwined. Additionally, this integration of sustainability into urban processes cannot be divorced from neoliberal influence where private sector interests are taken into account during development: sustainable development is often aligned with market-oriented practices (Bunce, 2009; Harvey, 1989; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Theodore, et al., 2011).

Many of Toronto's policies emphasize the need for sustainable development approaches that adhere to positive social and economic growth, as well as environmental protection. In fact, according to Waterfront Toronto, sustainability is the "new imperative for cities in the 21st century and the Toronto Waterfront will be distinguished by its leadership on sustainability" (TWRC, 2005a, 1.1). The city's stance on sustainability can be seen below:

> The vision and goal statements in Council's Strategic Plan are the broadest expression of the type of city we envision for the future. The Strategic Plan embraces sustainability as a central concept. Sustainability is based on social equity and inclusion, environmental protection, good governance and city-building . . . Sustainability means focusing on long term horizons (such as 30 years ahead) instead of the next fiscal year, or the next term of Council (Toronto Official Plan, 2010, 1.2).

The Toronto Official Plan (2010), the key policy instrument of the city, outlines what this entails:

a) Making sustainable urban growth choices with regard to compact centres;
b) improving the transportation infrastructure to having sustainable options;
c) making public transit universally accessible for all people;
d) incorporating sustainable building design and construction practices;
e) implementing sustainable energy strategies such as by reducing automobile dependency;
f) creating pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly environments;
g) creating programs for reducing waste and conserving water;
h) investing in sustainable technologies for stormwater management;
i) encouraging the provision of varying housing types with regard to form, tenure, and affordability;

j) increasing mixed use environments;
k) making housing choices available for all people in communities at all stages of their lives;
l) offering a variety of well-paid, stable, safe, and fulfilling employment opportunities to people with a range of education and abilities;
m) supporting people with special needs to live in communities;
n) measuring well-being by how well the most disadvantaged groups are provided for;
o) no person paying more than they can afford for shelter;
p) offering educational opportunities for people of all means and abilities;
q) supporting communities through equitable access to opportunities, resources, and services;
r) ensuring that beautiful, comfortable, safe, and accessible public buildings, parks, and open spaces, and other leisure and recreational opportunities are a shared and equitable asset as it is a key city-building principle;
s) improving the city's economic position; and
t) protecting, enhancing, and restoring the natural ecosystems such as sustaining the urban forest canopy with tree planting and preservation.

While the above list is all-encompassing, sustainability appears to entail a narrow understanding in the urban context. It is often limited to waterfront cafes, park space such as Corktown Common, and expensive LEED certified buildings, as with the River City Condominiums. By creating higher land values, and thus becoming economically and socially inaccessible to low income groups, this questions the place of marginalized populations in the sustainable city. While many understandings of sustainability entail social justice, its execution is more often concerned with environmental issues (Curran and Hamilton, 2012; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Rerat, Soderstrom, and Piguet, 2010). This is likely due to the history of the Waterfront as a highly contaminated industrial space, thus requiring costly environmental remediation. Therefore, addressing social sustainability issues, such as providing social housing for instance, is not as profitable due to low economic benefits. The high redevelopment costs could be the cause of limited social sustainability on the Waterfront. Perhaps, even if costs were low, Waterfront real estate values would be high due to proximity to a natural feature (the lake), the new urban landscape of parks and sustainable neighbourhoods created, and the higher economic returns that nature yields. Seen below, the West Don Lands is exemplary of this.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE WEST DON LANDS

The two primary research sites of Corktown Common and River City, as well as the secondary research site of 589 King Street East, are situated in the West Don Lands (Image 11), a district whose development is overseen by Waterfront Toronto, the steward of Waterfront revitalization created by the three levels of government, mentioned previously.

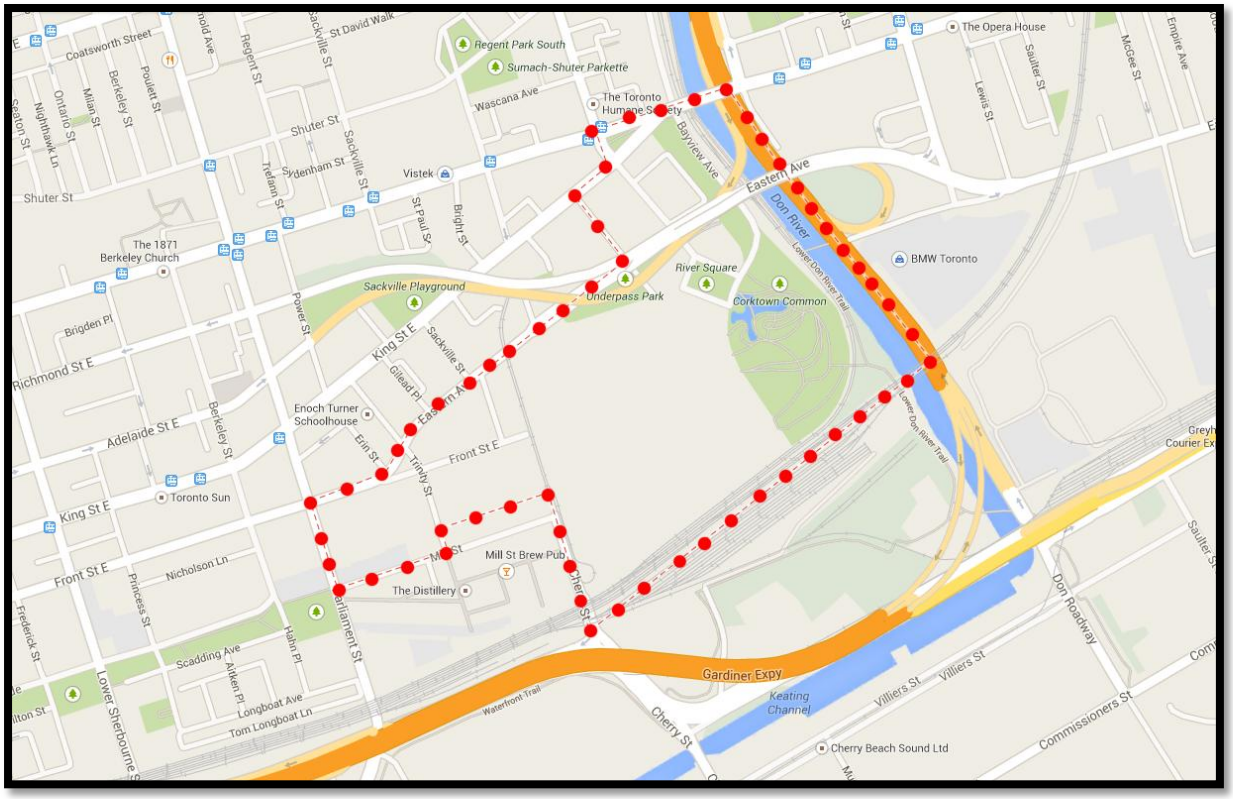

Image 11:
West Don Lands, as situated in the City of Toronto (Google Maps, 2015).

Present-day West Don Lands had been designated as "The Park" in old maps (Image 12), and were part of the crown reserve given at the Town of York's establishment in 1793. It should be noted that, when examining old maps, adjacent to the West Don Lands, the once meandering Don River had been straightened and its path altered many times since the 1880s (Bonnell, 2010).

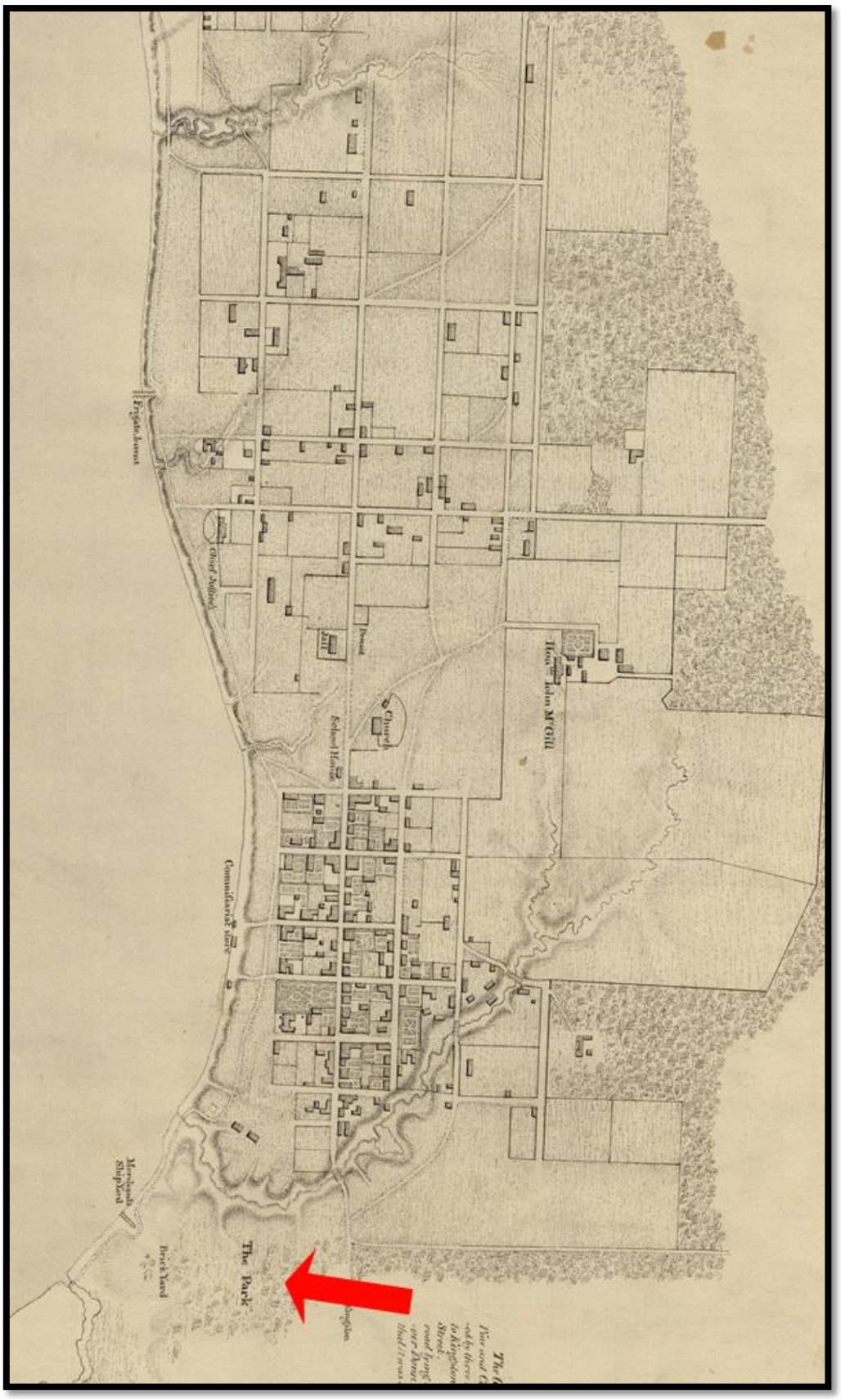

Image 12:
The Park in relation to the Town of York, 1813 (Library and Archives Canada, 2015).

The first development projects in the area were the construction of two parliament buildings in 1793 and 1814 at the intersection of Front and Parliament Streets. In 1837, significant industrial activity began with the arrival of the Gooderham and Worts Distillery (Image 13).

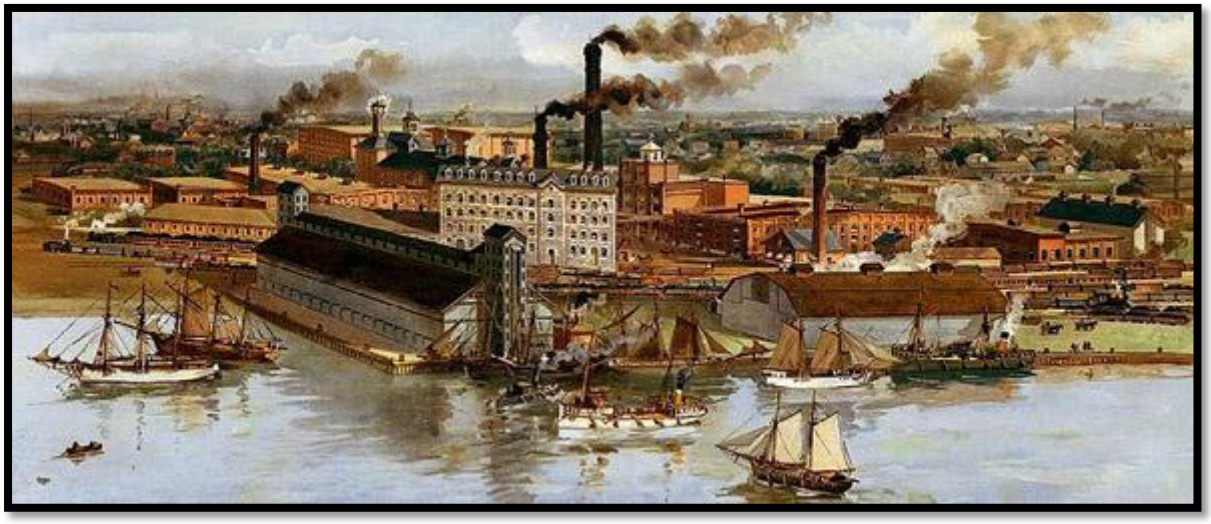

Image 13:
Gooderham and Worts Distillery, 1896 (Flack, 2011b).

Being a large employer, this attracted worker housing and other businesses as well. By the mid-1800s, the region was developed for mixed residential and industrial purposes. The age of railways came in the 1850s and intensified industrial activity in the area. Image 14 demonstrates breweries and distilleries, as well as oil, gas, and animal processing centres in the West Don Lands by 1935.

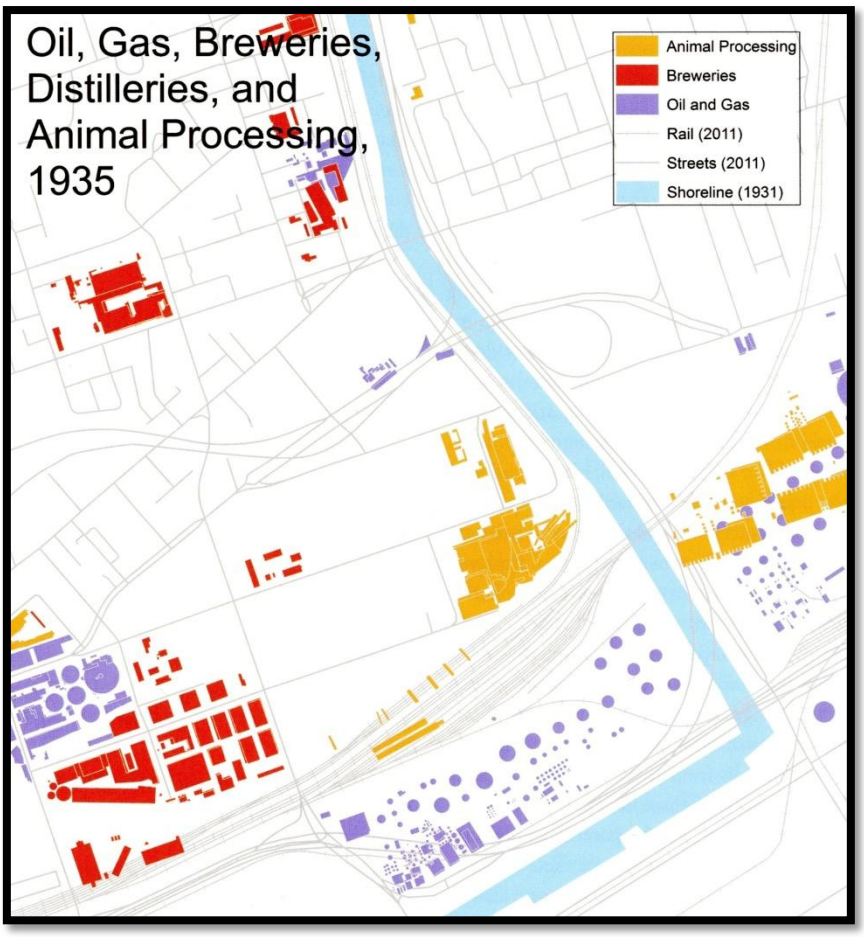

Image 14:
Industry in the West Don Lands, 1935 (Bonnell and Fortin, 2014).

Eventually, as the city continued to grow and deindustrialization began, much industry relocated from the area and into suburban sites (MMM Group, 2010; TWRC, 2005a). After this, the region's history mirrored that of Toronto's, as introduced in the previous chapter. Between 1999 and 2001, the West Don Lands area became the site of a proposed Olympic Village for the 2008 Summer Olympics. Although Toronto lost the bid to host this sporting event, it did succeed at another. Seen in Image 15, the West Don Lands had become a temporary home for athletes and officials (in its Athletes' Village) during the 2015 Pan Am and Parapan American Games in Toronto. The largest multi-sport event that has ever taken place in Canada according to its organizers, it was thought to be an optimal source of revenue and global exposure for the city (PanAm 2015, 2014; Urban Toronto, 2014a).

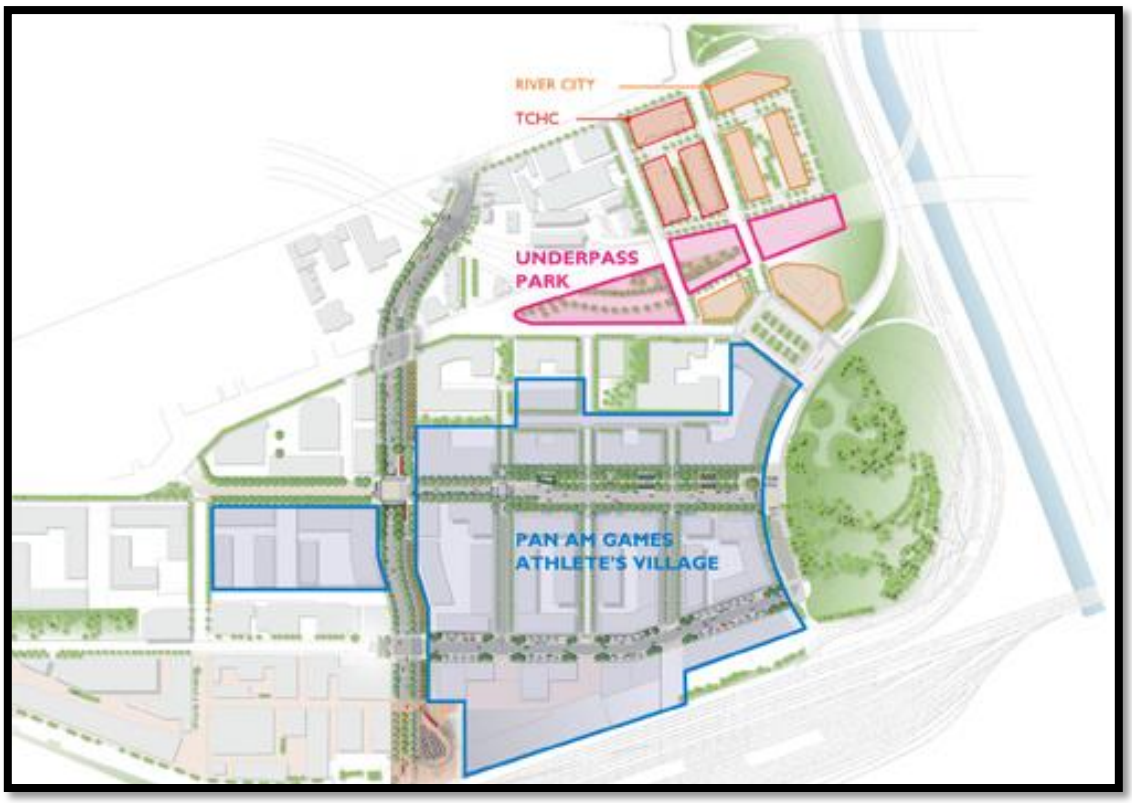

Image 15:
The West Don Lands as a home for the 2015 Pan Am and Parapan American Games athletes, with nearby Underpass Park, River City, and TCHC building at 589 King Street East as reference points (Waterfront Toronto, 2014a).

The West Don Lands is a 32 hectare (80 acre) neighbourhood along the Waterfront area, situated approximately 2 km east of Toronto's central business district, east of Parliament Street, west of the Don River, south of King Street, and north of the Gardiner Expressway (Image 16).

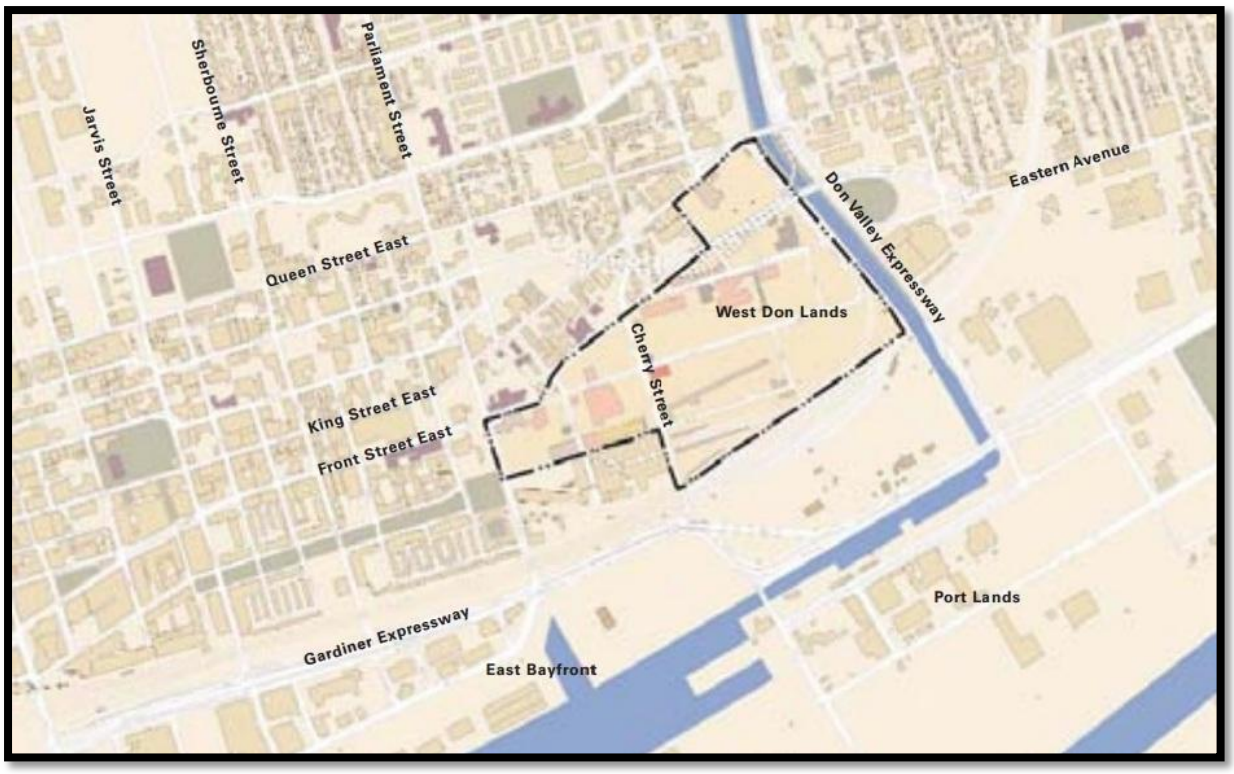

Image 16:
West Don Lands, as situated in the City of Toronto (TWRC, 2005b, 10).

It is being planned as a LEED Gold community that is expected to house 6,000 residential units (of which 1,200 are affordable rental units, and 300 are low-end-of-market units) (see Image 17), an unspecified number of retail stores and offices, an elementary school, two child care centres (Image 18), a community centre (Image 19), and extensive (almost 23 acres or 9.3 hectares) parkland and green, public spaces (Urban Capital, 2014; Waterfront Toronto, 2015) (Image 20). It is also expected to accommodate up to 4,000 jobs that can be accessible by the existing and revised public transit (Image 21), as well as routes for alternative transportation (Image 22).

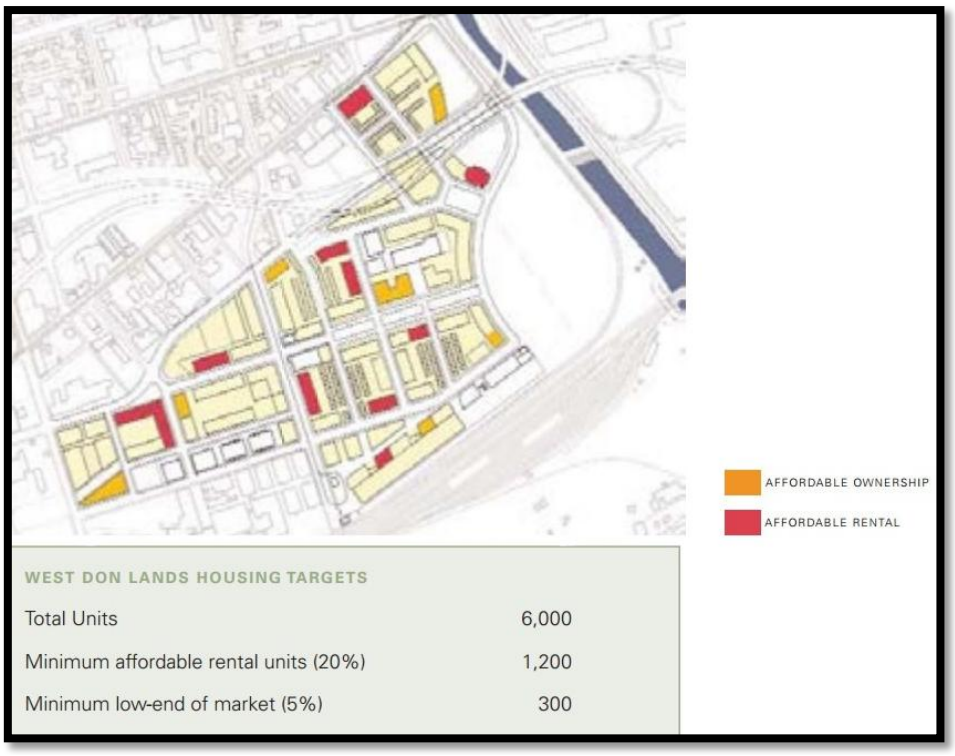

Image 17:
Planned residential units in the West Don Lands (TWRC, 2005b, 31).

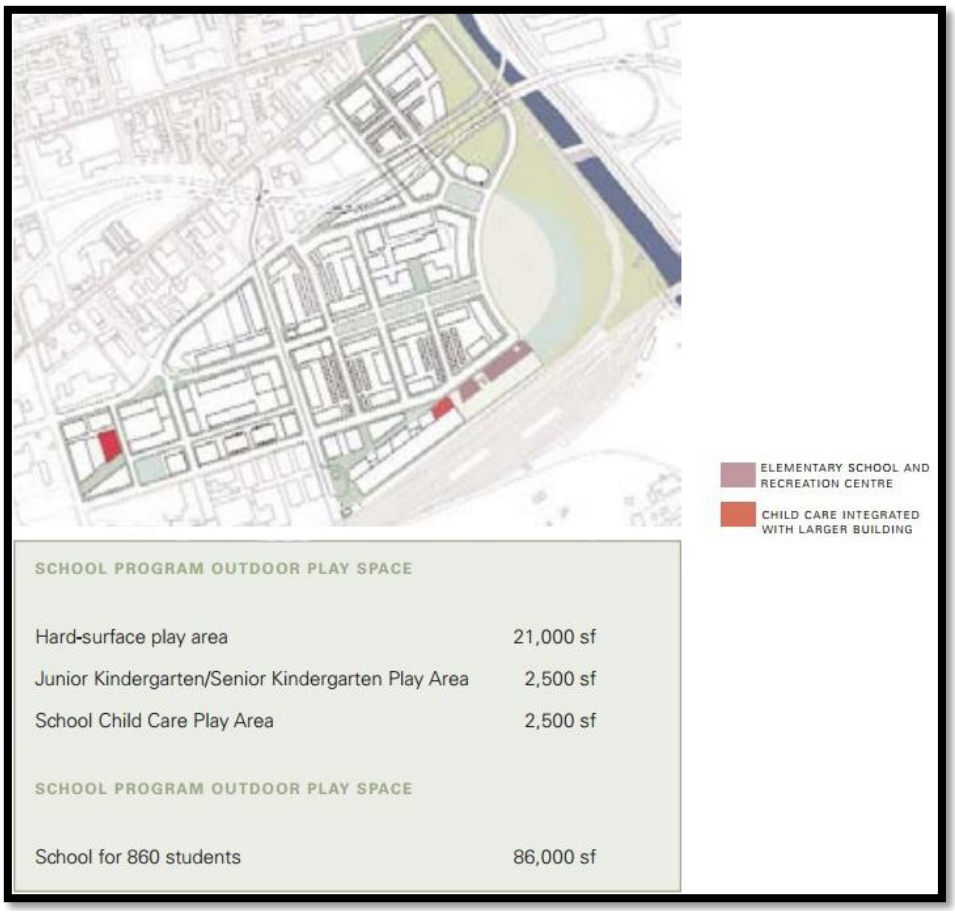

Image 18:
An elementary school and two child care centres in the West Don Lands (TWRC, 2005b, 33).

Image 19:
A YMCA in the West Don Lands (Taken by author, 2015).

Image 20:
Many varieties of greenspace in the West Don Lands (TWRC, 2005b, 9).

Image 21:
Current and future public transit lines in the West Don Lands (TWRC, 2005b, 24).

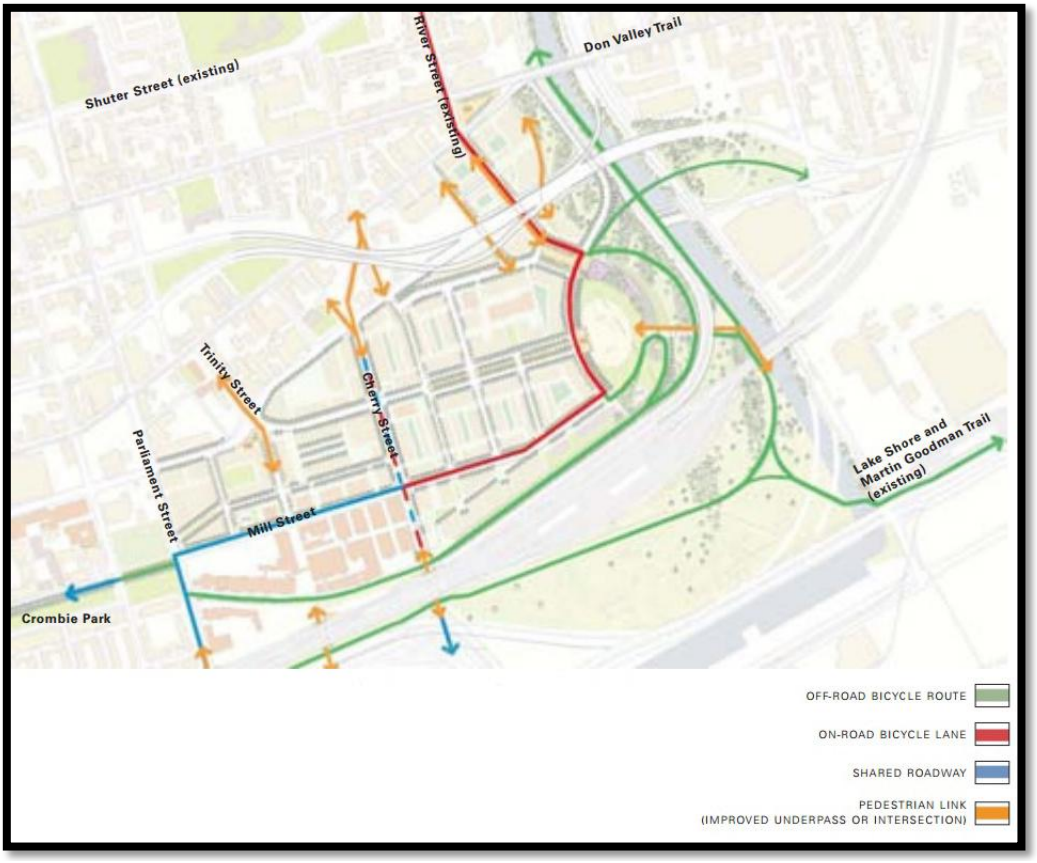

Image 22:
Bicycle- and pedestrian-friendly routes in the West Don Lands (TWRC, 2005b, 25).

The key goal of the West Don Lands is to create a mixed urban community of people of various ages, backgrounds, and social and economic statuses. The Affordable Housing chapter of its Precinct Plan indicates many different housing types and tenures, including a few affordable ownership and affordable rent options (as Image 17 demonstrated). In fact, it states that:

> Subject to program funding, 20% of all units in each Precinct of the Waterfront will be affordable rental housing. In the West Don Lands this will result in the creation of approximately 1,200 affordable rental housing units. A further 5% of all units in each Precinct will be low-end-of-market housing . . . In addition, the TWRC will explore mechanisms to provide additional affordable ownership housing (TWRC, 2005b, 31).

While the Toronto Official Plan (2010) provides definitions of affordable rental housing and social housing (seen in a later chapter), this document does not explain what is low-end-of-market (LEM) housing. The Co-Operative Housing Federation of Canada (who, jointly with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation or CMHC, developed a federal co-operative housing program) does provide a helpful, if not very detailed, definition of LEM housing:

> Rent at the lower end of the range of rents that private landlords are charging for similar housing in the same area (CHFC, 2016).

The Central Waterfront Secondary Plan by the Waterfront Secretariat (n.d.) does, however, offer a definition:

> The term low-end-of-market housing means small private ownership housing units suitable for households of various sizes and composition, the price of which would not be monitored or controlled, but which, by virtue of their modest size relative to other market housing units, would be priced for households up to the 60th percentile of the income distribution for all households in the Toronto CMA, where total annual housing costs do not exceed 30 per cent of gross annual household income (Waterfront Secretariat, n.d., 24).

The secondary research site is a small Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) building complex in the West Don Lands with 243 affordable rental units (TCHC, 2015). As this site regards affordable housing, exploring LEM housing is beyond the scope of this research. The TCHC complex will be expanded upon in Chapter Seven: Results and Analysis. Interestingly, the West Don Lands Precinct Plan, prepared by the TWRC, only

mentions The Ataratiri Plan in brief passing twice throughout its document in relation to parks and street patterns. It does not explain what it is, other than being "the first comprehensive effort to redevelop the entire area" (TWRC, 2005b, 14). Ataratiri was an ambitious West Don Lands redevelopment project that emphasized social housing in 1988. This will also be introduced in the Results and Analysis chapter.

As a former brownfield site, the area contained much environmental pollution and had great flooding vulnerability. However, the West Don Lands Precinct Plan emphasizes that it strives to achieve what other successful cities have accomplished: the built and natural urban environments being seamlessly integrated with one another. Additionally, it states:

> Redevelopment of the West Don Lands presents an opportunity to design the connection between Downtown Toronto and the Don River Valley corridor, the City's strongest link to Lake Ontario. The Precinct Plan proposes an understanding of the spirit and identity of natural systems so that they can be embodied and responded to by the built form surrounding them (TWRC, 2005b, 5).

Furthermore, by redeveloping the area, this will "not only define the West Don Lands, but will also provide a visual link back into the Downtown itself" and "give identity to a newly-revitalized, unique Downtown neighbourhood, as well as the centre of Toronto itself" (TWRC, 2005b, 5). Due to these reasons, despite the land's pollution, flooding vulnerability, and remediation costs, redevelopment was carried out. Its polluted soil was capped, moisture was removed from loose wet organic fill, and more than 365,760 meters (or 400,000 yards) of clean fill was placed on top. As some areas are flood prone, a few places were raised by 3.6 metres (12 feet), while others up to 9 meters (30 feet) (GB&D, 2015).

The West Don Lands still continue to be transformed into a space of optimal conditions for capital circulation, as well as a liveable urban neighbourhood. Development in the area is led by Waterfront Toronto's sustainability goals (which reflect the Toronto Official Plan's objectives) and implemented by private sector developers through high density and mixed use residential and commercial districts (Bunce, 2009). Waterfront

Toronto defines sustainable development as development and strategies that "result in the overall environmental enhancement, economic benefit, and social/cultural gain" (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 10). It is interesting to note that social and cultural gain is placed last in the quote. It aims to achieve this in the following ways:

a) *Energy*: reduce levels of energy consumption and make greater use of low-impact renewable energy sources to meet energy demands;
b) *Land use*: support sustainable community development through land use planning;
c) *Transportation*: make alternative transportation options such as walking, cycling and public transit the natural choice for residents and visitors to the Waterfront;
d) *Sustainable buildings*: use architectural building systems that reduce negative environmental impacts and provide high indoor air quality and exceptional comfort;
e) *Air quality*: minimize pollutant emissions on the Toronto Waterfront to help improve air quality in the city and throughout the region;
f) *Human communities*: plan for vibrant, welcoming, healthy and inclusive Waterfront communities;
g) *Cultural resources*: plan for a high level of cultural vibrancy and creativity;
h) *Natural heritage*: enhance the environmental integrity of the Toronto Waterfront;
i) *Water*: improve water quality along the Toronto Waterfront and reduce consumption of fresh water;
j) *Materials and waste*: reduce waste production over current levels and minimize the use of resources for the production of buildings and other materials; and
k) *Innovation*: encourage innovation as a means to make the Toronto Waterfront the foremost example of sustainability and a centre for creativity and knowledge (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 5).

While the private, not public, sector is the primary actor in implementing policy goals and achieving economic benefits in neoliberal urban development (Harvey, 1989; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Theodore, et al., 2011), there are various efforts to ensure Waterfront Toronto's sustainable interests are met. One example is that all buildings must adhere to Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Gold standards (TWRC, 2005a). A green design guideline was even created for developers to aid in their construction of sustainable buildings that are "economically viable in the market" as such manner of construction carries a "market edge" (Bunce, 2009, 662) – a clear example that sustainable

development policies themselves are embedded with profitability goals. Another example of sustainability is that of the environmental assessment of the West Don Lands that takes inventory of the natural and socio-economic environments, explores water systems, sanitary servicing, transportation alternatives, environmental effects and ways to mitigate them, and public consultation (TWRC, 2005b).

Examining these sustainability goals, it is clear that Waterfront Toronto's emphasis lies heavily in environmental, rather than social, sustainability. These goals sharply differ from the strong social justice emphasis found in the Toronto Official Plan. While the Toronto Official Plan has a greater emphasis on social justice, this is not well reflected in the urban landscape. Although there exists a high demand for social housing in Toronto due to a low supply of new social housing projects, Waterfront Toronto policies demonstrate social sustainability as a secondary concern. This is evident in projects on the Waterfront. A history of the city's social housing policies will be discussed in Chapter Seven: Results and Analysis.

Two Study Sites in the West Don Lands

While Waterfront Toronto gave much of the West Don Land's development to the private sector, such as that of the River City condominiums, Corktown Common Park was developed by Waterfront Toronto and designed by two private third parties. What follows is an introduction to the two primary research sites. The secondary research site of the affordable housing TCHC building complex is not presented in this section. It will be seen in the Results and Analysis chapter as this site is introduced to underscore Waterfront Toronto's lack of addressing social sustainability issues.

Corktown Common Park

Located at Bayview Avenue and Lower River Street, Corktown Common (formerly known as Don River Park) lies in a formerly industrial site within the West Don Lands. At

the primary entrance into the park lies a sign demonstrating its aim to attract local visitors through its promotion of sustainability (Image 23).

Image 23:
The entry sign to the park places emphasis on its sustainable principles (Taken by author, 2015).

The Toronto Official Plan (2010) emphasizes the redevelopment of former industrial sites as key to city-building, and this location exemplifies this as an abandoned post-industrial site transformed into a renaturalized public park. Its 7.3 hectares are aimed to serve as the park of the local community that comprises of several neighbourhoods (River Square, Don River Park, Mill Street, and Front Street) (see Image 24), as well as having served as a park for the temporary Athletes' Village community that was seen in Image 15.

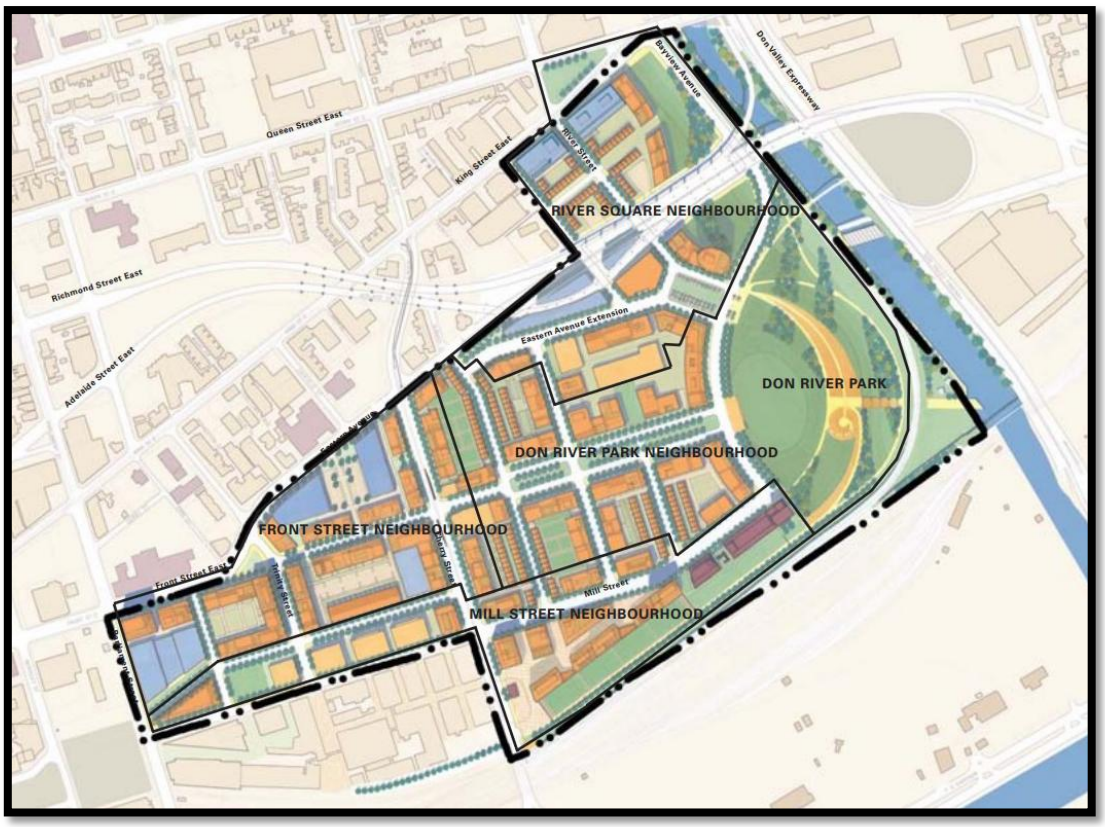

Image 24:
Local neighbourhoods around Corktown Common (TWRC, 2005b, 7).

Image 25 demonstrates design plans for the park. It features a playground (Image 26), hills, woodlands (Image 27), a marsh (Image 28), pathways through greenery (Image 29), a splash pad (Image 30), barbeque, an outdoor oven, plentiful benches (Image 31), bicycle racks (Image 32), and washrooms (Image 33).

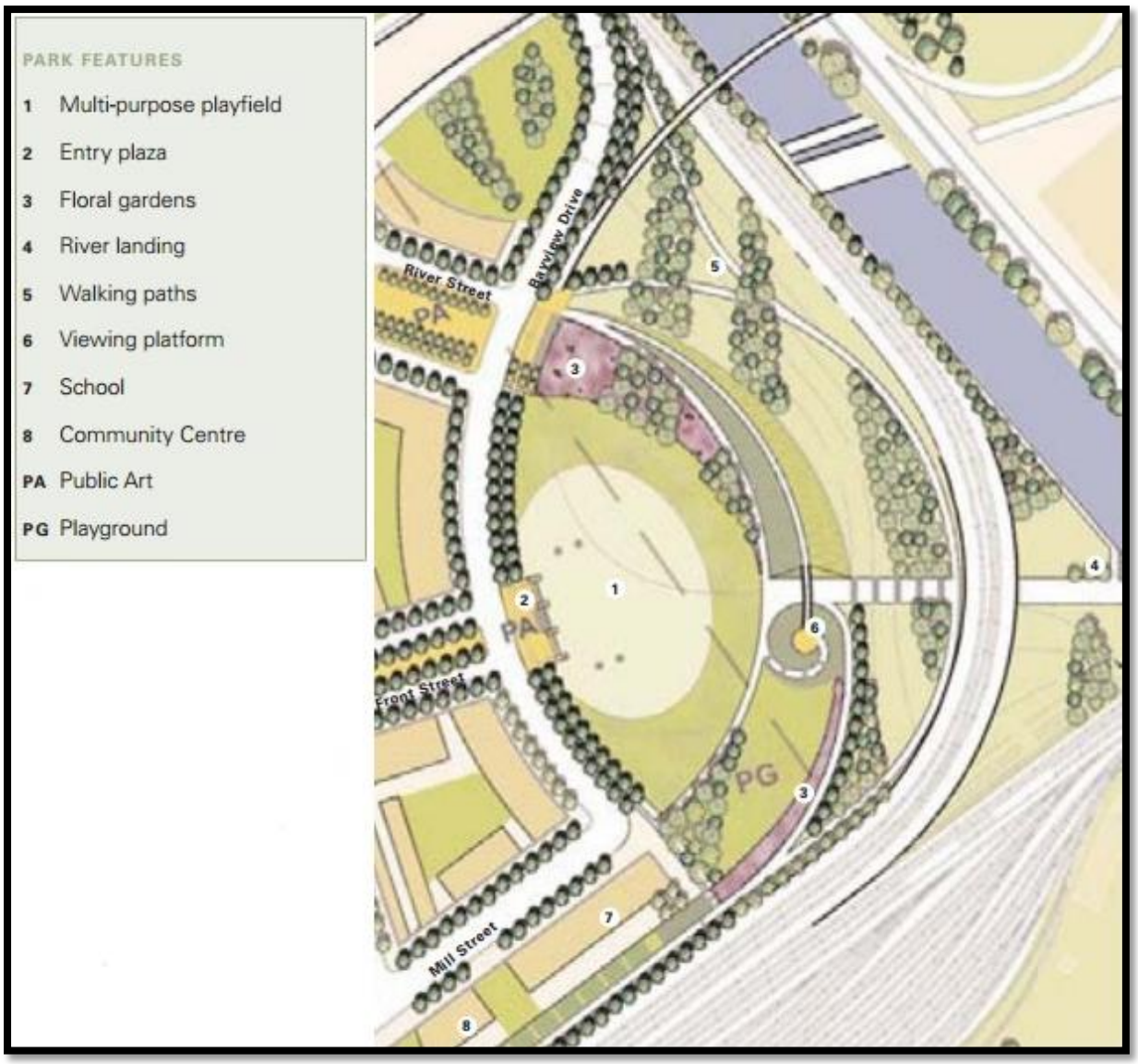

Image 25:
Corktown Common recreational features (TWRC, 2005b).

Image 26:
Corktown Common's very spacious children's playground in the summer (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 27:
Corktown Common's plentiful woodlands (Taken by author, 2014).

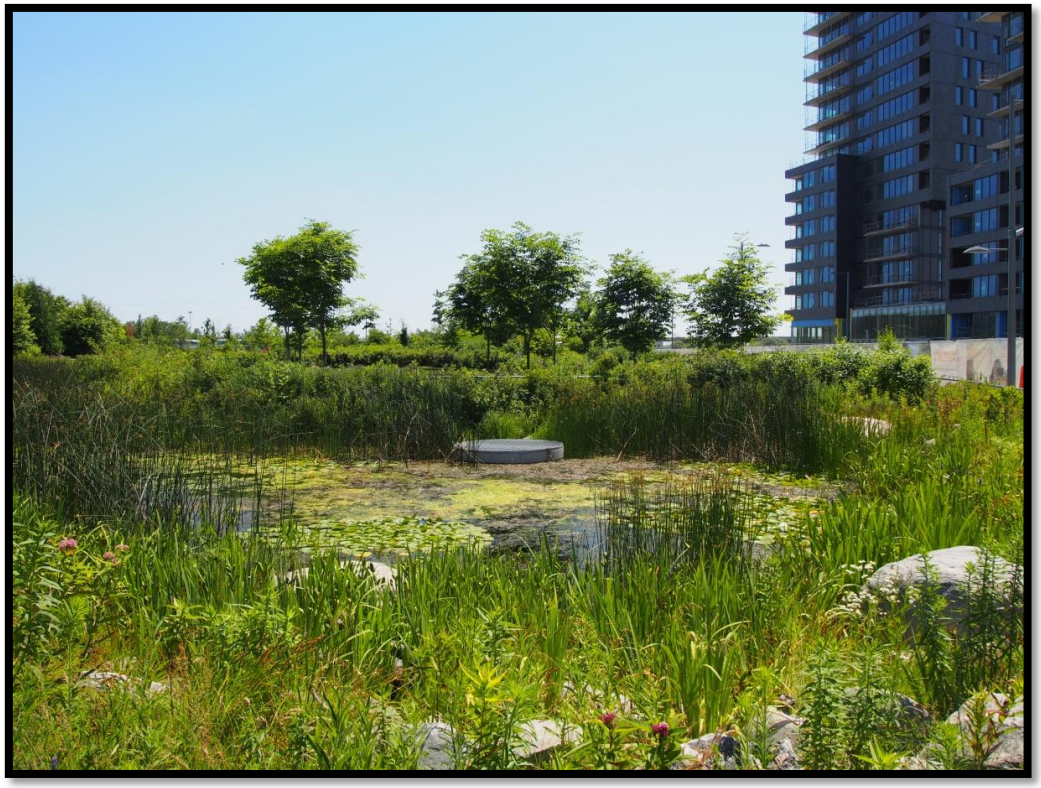

Image 28:
The park's fertile marsh, summertime (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 29:
A quiet pathway through greenery on a clear summer day (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 30:
Corktown Common's actively used splash pad on a clear summer day (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 31:
Benches along pathways in Corktown Common, providing comfortable places to sit and enjoy the scenery during quiet walks (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 32:
One of many bicycle racks in the park, promoting alternative transport among park users (Taken by author, 2014).

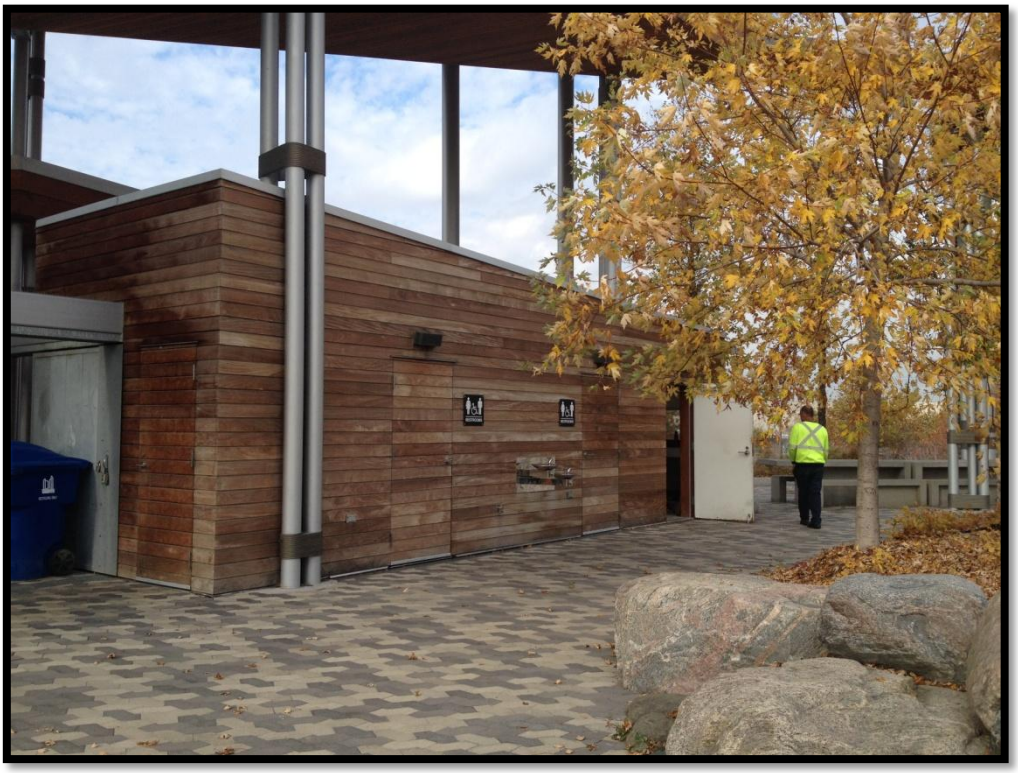

Image 33:
Convenient and clean public washrooms available at Corktown Common (Taken by author, 2015).

These features and its view of the Toronto skyline and the Don River, are hoped to create, in the park user, "a sense of connection to the wider landscape and the city beyond the park's borders" (Waterfront Toronto, 2014b, 1). Of its $26,589,352 budget for the park and pavilion (Image 34), $18,004,326 was given by the federal government and $8,585,026 by the provincial government (Waterfront Toronto, 2014, 2). Along with meetings with various stakeholder groups, there were also numerous public meetings held regarding Corktown Common (Waterfront Toronto, 2014b).

Image 34:
Corktown Common's pavilion by Maryann Thompson Architects (Taken by author, 2014).

The lead designer of the park was Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates Inc., an American firm well-known for their ecological approach to urbanism. Undertaking projects across the globe, the firm has won several awards for their innovative designs, including the design of the Lower Don Lands nearby and Lawren Harris Square (Michael Van Valkenburgh

Associates Inc, 2014). The park's pavilion architect was Maryann Thompson Architects, an American sustainable architecture firm with LEED certified professionals (GB&D, 2015; Urban Toronto, 2014b; Waterfront Toronto, 2014b).

According to Waterfront Toronto (2014), the park's design is inspired by the Don River nearby, the region's ecological history, and its proximity to the downtown core. Its design also adheres to various contours and elevations designated by the area's Flood Protection Landform environmental regulations. In addition to woodland plantings (that are nearly all native to Toronto), 1.3 hectares of the park toward the Don River is designed as an urban prairie to further aid during flood conditions. The prairie contains an upland and low land wet meadow for ecological diversity purposes. This wet meadow is an integral part of the park's stormwater management system that provides for the park's irrigation. The 3.6 hectare area west side of the park, away from the Don River and toward the city, is a collection of open lawns for people to partake in various recreation, such as sports, bird watching, picnicking, winter tobogganing, and to enjoy nature. It also houses a splash pad and playground for children of all ages. 100% of the water from this and the stormwater collection system is reclaimed for the irrigation system and for the marsh. Thus, it is a closed loop (Waterfront Toronto, 2012). The ultimate goal of Corktown Common is to allow people to feel connected to the native ecology of the region while in an urban space (Urban Toronto, 2014b; Waterfront Toronto, 2014b). The areas surrounding the park have been, and still are, undergoing intense residential (re)development, such as that of the River City condominiums seen below.

River City Condominiums

River City (Image 35), the first private sector development to be delivered in the West Don Lands, is a four phase, LEED Gold, mixed use development that spans north to south

from King Street East to Don River Park, and west to east from Lower River Street to Bayview Avenue.

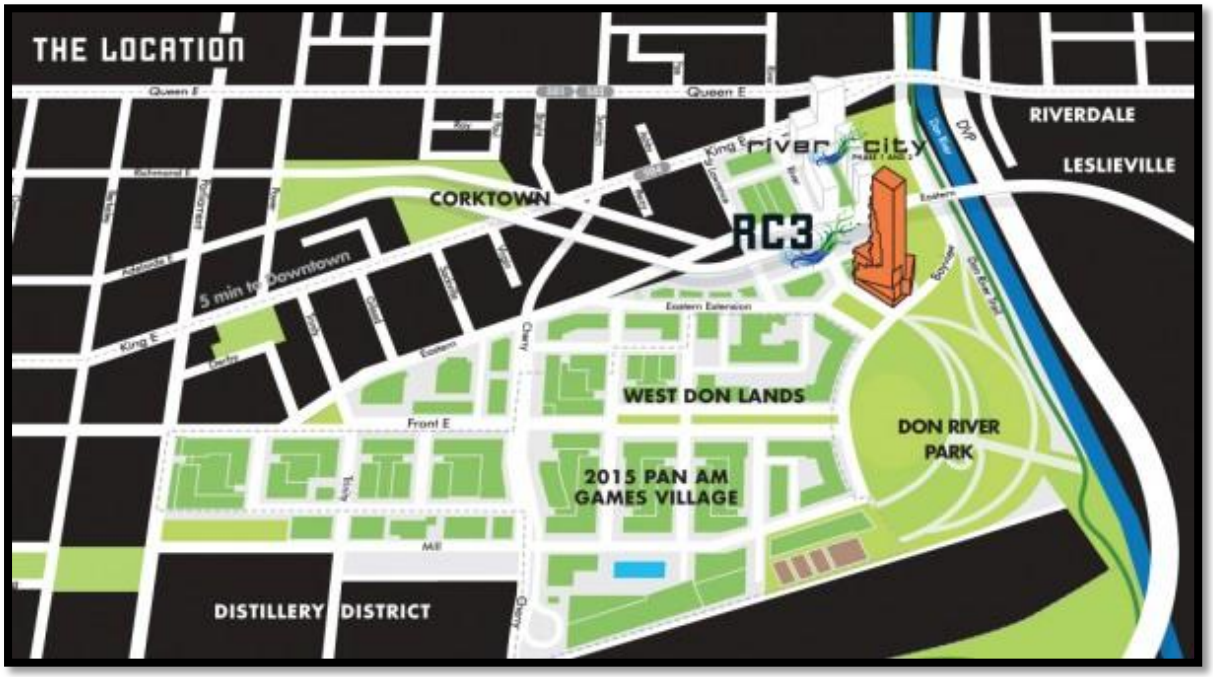

Image 35:
River City Condominiums as situated in the West Don Lands, with the park, Athletes' Village, and Distillery District as reference points (River City, 2014).

Development is led by Toronto-based Urban Capital Development Group, and designed by Montreal firm, Saucier + Perrotte Architects, and Toronto designers, ZAS Architects, with the intent of being a sustainable architecture icon. Images 36a and 36b, taken from their marketing material, demonstrate the project's innovative green design. When fully completed, it will house over 1,100 residential units, including ground level retail stores and townhouses (Urban Capital, n.d.). Images 37a and 37b are field photographs of Phase 1, 38a and 38b are of Phase 2, and 39a and 39b are of the proposed Phase 3 site.

Image 36a:
River City's unique green design (River City, 2014).

Image 36b:
A closer look at River City's unique green design (River City, 2014).

Image 37a:
Extreme architecture is featured as a key element of the project, Phase 1 (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 37b:
Green walkways at the River City Condominiums, Phase 1 (Taken by author, 2015).

Image 38a:
The River City condominiums, Phase 2 under construction (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 38b:
The River City condominiums, the uniquely designed Phase 2 (in white) close to completion (Taken by author, 2015).

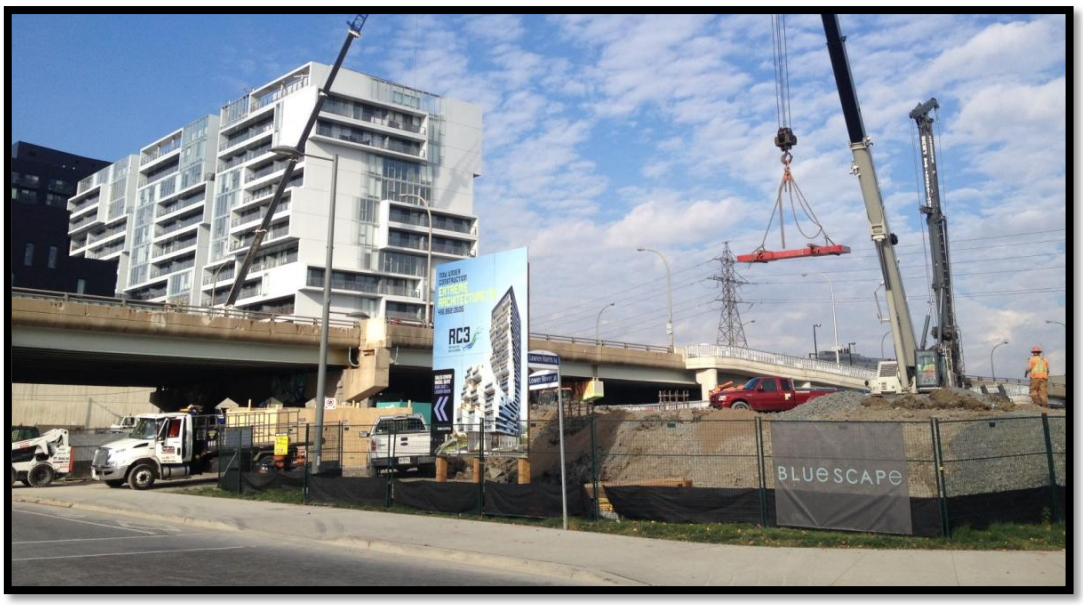

Image 39a:
The River City condominiums, location for the planned Phase 3 (far right), with Phase 2 in the background (Taken by author, 2015).

Image 39b:
Promotional poster of Phase 3 on planned site (Taken by author, 2015).

This condominium and townhouse residential development spans four phases. Phase One of River City, located north of the Adelaide ramps from King Street East to Underpass Park, was the first to be completed in the Winter of 2013. The 16 storey building holds 345 units with nine feet high ceilings. Very popular in the housing market, it was quickly sold out. A cursory examination of various real estate sites shows variable unit prices depending on the view and number bedrooms. A few examples from River City Phase 1 are a small 532 square feet one bedroom condominium unit priced at $275,900 (BuzzBuzzHome, 2015a), a 924 square feet one bedroom with a den facing north-west for $509,900, a 1180 square feet two bedroom with a den facing east for $619,900 (Moini Broker Home Leader Realty Inc., 2015), and an 890 square feet one bedroom townhouse at $429,900 (BuzzBuzzHome, 2015a). Phase Two, also north of the Adelaide ramps from King Street East to Underpass Park, has sold out as well. Its construction concluded in the Spring of 2015. It houses 240 condominium and townhouse units with also 9 feet high ceilings, a common height for all the Phases. A small 452 square feet bachelor studio is listed at $299,990. Both Phases One and Two boast kitchens designed by Saucier + Perrotte, stone countertops, 5 brand name Energy Star stainless steel appliances, frameless glass shower enclosures, and custom design features such as a back-lit medicine cabinet (BuzzBuzzHome, 2015b). The future Phases Three and Four will be located south of the Adelaide ramps, adjacent to River Square and Corktown Common. While little information exists on Phase Four as it is a distant project, Phase Three construction was delayed due to the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games, but started in September 2015 (River City, 2014; Waterfront Toronto, 2014c). With 332 units priced between $249,900 and $979,900, it is scheduled to be completed by November 2017. The prices for these condominiums are not very affordable. Furthermore, there are additional costs, such as $45,000 to purchase parking, $7,500 to purchase storage, $3,000 deposit on

signing, and monthly maintenance fees of an estimated $0.49 per square foot (BuzzBuzzHome, 2015c).

Phase 1 is one of Toronto's "most environmentally advanced condominiums" (Urban Capital, n.d., 20). The developer expands on this by speaking of River City as a leader in environmental design due to the site, the construction materials used, and the high level of energy efficiency. They also mention an important aspect of their sustainability program:

> We have committed to making the River City development carbon neutral. This is achieved by first reducing the amount of carbon embedded in the materials and labour we used to construct the building, and then second by purchasing carbon offsets to offset the carbon that has in fact remained (Urban Capital, n.d., 20).

The developer also cites the condominiums' green technologies, equipment and features for the goal of creating a healthy and livable environment. Of note, one of their many green features includes the "vegetated green roof and rainwater storage system" (Urban Capital, n.d., 50). Rainwater is collected on site and filtered in a holding tank. This is then used to irrigate the courtyard and other landscape features. The document continues to explain the value of this, educating the reader and consumer, and explaining impacts:

> The rainwater storage system at River City reduces the amount of run-off entering the city's stormwater system, as well as the demand on Toronto's potable water supply (as some of the water required to irrigate the building's landscaped areas is collected on site). In addition, the use of green roofs and light coloured roofing materials helps to reduce the heat island effect caused by all of the asphalt and conventional roofing materials that currently exist in our urban areas, and is a more pleasant feature to look at from surrounding buildings (Urban Capital, n.d., 50).

According to its plans, the River City complex will adhere to Waterfront Toronto's LEED Gold requirements, and will be the first residential buildings in Canada that are carbon-neutral. This act of carbon offsetting is a service where the developer pays a third party to create greenhouse gas reductions on their behalf, such as investing in a renewable energy project (David Suzuki Foundation, 2009). The carbon offset is then applied to River City's carbon footprint to reduce net emissions and aid in the project becoming carbon-neutral. Their distinctive designs also plan for green roofs, lawn and tree-lined paths, and a

parking garage with electric car chargers. Additionally, hybrid car and bike share programs will also be implemented (River City, 2014; Urban Capital, 2014; Waterfront Toronto, 2014c). Phase One, about which there is most information, is among the city's most green condominiums. The site, building materials used, and level of energy efficiency makes River City a leader in environmental design. It has been registered with the Canada Green Building Council as a LEED Gold building. However, as accreditation is a lengthy process, it is not expected to occur until late 2016 (Urban Capital, 2014). Unique in bold architecture like the Royal Ontario Museum and the Art Gallery of Ontario (see Patterson, 2012), perhaps River City may be a new trend in iconic urban architecture that is also green. Its developer, Urban Capital (2014), states that the design is intended to be an architectural icon that anchors entry into downtown Toronto from the east.

River City is being marketed as being in close proximity to various landmarks, such as the Distillery District, Corktown, Cherry Beach, and King Street East, and short public transportation rides away from other areas of interest such as St. Lawrence Market and downtown Toronto, as seen in Image 40.

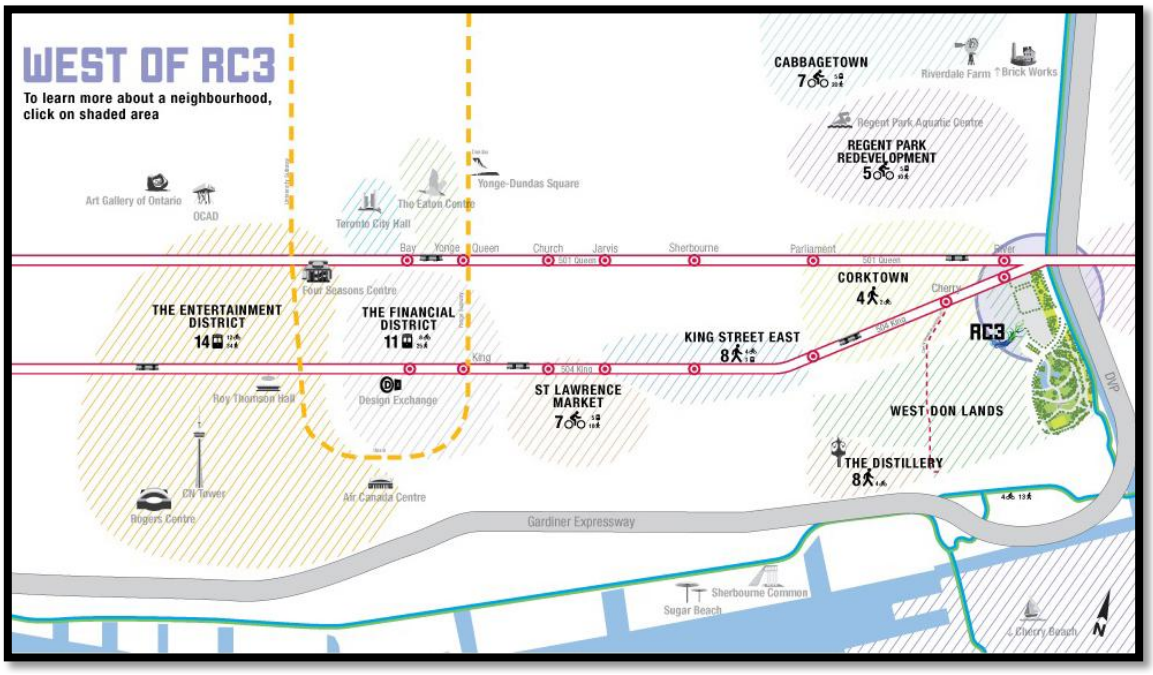

Image 40:
River City's location in regards to various landmarks and amenities (River City, 2014).

It is also marketed as being only steps away from the Don River, and several areas of public greenspace, including the largest of Corktown Common Park (River City, 2014) (See Image 41).

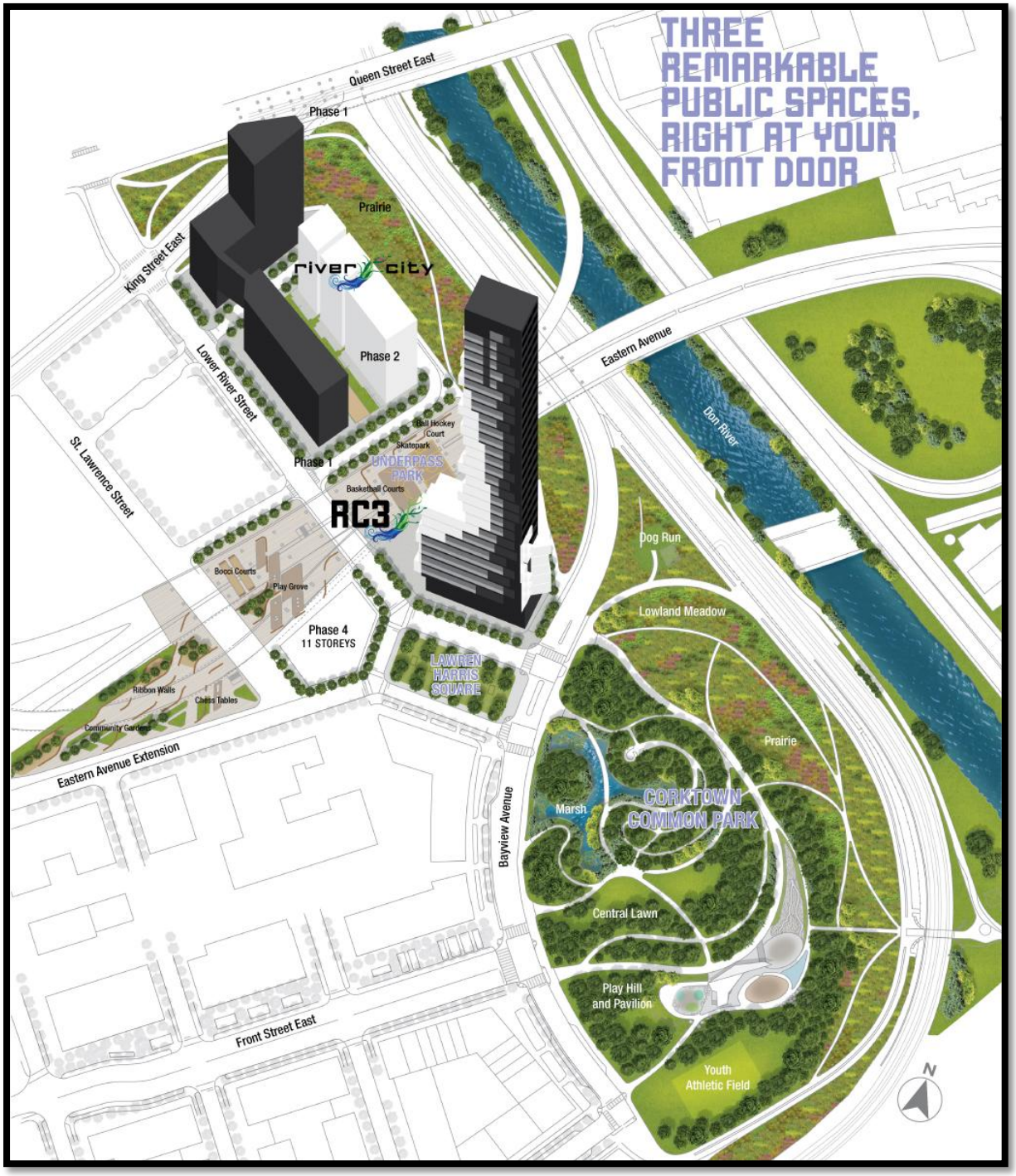

Image 41:
River City's proximity to nature (River City, 2014).

Aside from nearby landmarks, its sustainability and close proximity to nature are being sold as part of the River City neighbourhood experience. Greenspace and the project's sustainable design are commodified, increasing the economic and social value of the area and resulting in a profitable private sector venture and competitive real estate pricing (McAfee and Shapiro, 2010).

The Impact of the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games

The 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games and the Athletes Village development in the West Don Lands became a catalyst for planned and existing developments already in the area. With the Games completed, the Village is being converted into a mixed use space (Waterfront Toronto, 2014d). The once industrial area has undergone large scale and rapid construction, so much so that pedestrian movement had been of great difficulty in the months leading up to the Games, as well as there being much dust and noise pollution. This was for the end goal of creating a sustainable neighbourhood that is not only mixed use, but also LEED Gold certified for all buildings. Additionally, it was also for the goal of meeting as many completion dates as possible prior to the Games so that the space could maximize on capital accumulation.

The Compatibility of Sustainability and Neoliberalism

The objective of this research is to examine the influence of neoliberal governance on sustainable urban policy and development. Seen thus far in the thesis, urban policies indicate an entrepreneurial form of governance that embraces economic success. Such policies also demonstrate a clear goal of making Toronto, specifically its Waterfront, the figurehead of the city, into a sustainable space. Economic success seems to be required for sustainability in neoliberal governance, as the literature review and policies indicate. It is unclear, at this point, if both are indeed possible. The following chapters are hoped to address this. While much literature on sustainability is quite vague, Waterfront Toronto's policy documents

plainly outline how to achieve sustainability. However, this sustainability leans heavily upon tackling environmental issues, rather than those of social justice. This is not only seen in policy, but also mirrored in development projects, such as the lack of social housing in the West Don Lands. It could be assumed that some aspects social sustainability is more problematic to address than environmental sustainability from the standpoint of economic success in neoliberalism.

- CHAPTER FIVE -
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Primary Research Question:

> In the current era of neoliberal governance, to what extent is sustainable urban development possible?

The above question responds to the principal objective of this research. Neoliberalism has heavily influenced policy-making in regard to social and environmental goods, and strives to redesign governance in accordance with the self-regulating market. The previous version of neoliberalism, known as roll-out neoliberalism, required the state to be compatible with the market and neoliberal philosophy (McCarthy, 2005; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004). In earlier incarnations of neoliberalism, particularly during the 1980s, addressing environmental issues would have been seen as an obstacle to capital accumulation. However, in today's roll-with-it neoliberalism, sustainability, particularly environmental sustainability, is embraced due its marketability and public support (McCarthy, 2005). Cities, concentrated nodes of capital, are the dominant platform for neoliberalization (Schurman, 1996). Urban policy goals, such as the achievement of sustainable development, are addressed with strategies and policies that conform to neoliberalism (Schurman, 1996; Theodore, Peck, and Brenner, 2011). Neoliberalism, through urban governance, dictates sustainability. As profitability is a central motive for action in this political philosophy, it controls the extent and type of sustainability created and maintained within the urban landscape. Interactions between sustainable urban development and neoliberalism can be seen in the West Don Lands neighbourhood in Toronto's Waterfront area. Rather than being two separated concepts, they are very much entwined. This is even more evident within the urban context as cities are highly politicized spaces.

The Waterfront has been vital to the city's economy throughout its history, particularly since 1851 with the advent of railways that stimulated growth (City of Toronto,

2015c). Its significance is only underscored with the extension of the shoreline to create more urban land dedicated to industry in close proximity to rail lines (City of Toronto, 2015d). As decades passed, a shift in the economy to one that placed greater emphasis on the financial sector came with the 1940s. This and other processes diminished the importance of industry in the Waterfront (City of Toronto, 2015e).

With many formerly industrial sites in disuse along Toronto's Waterfront becoming brownfield sites that did not greatly contribute to the new economy, the Waterfront was redeveloped for new modes of capital accumulation in post-industrialism. Its planning focused heavily on sustainability and addressing environmental issues as the area had been contaminated land due to past industrial uses. Examination of related policy documents indicates a strong environmental sustainability emphasis and a much weaker focus on social justice issues. As profitability is a driving force in neoliberal governance, can sustainability, one that addresses both environmental and social justice issues, be attained and to what extent? Is the neoliberal model suitable for the achievement of a sustainability that equally emphasizes both environmental and social concerns? Are neoliberalism and sustainability compatible?

- CHAPTER SIX -
RESEARCH METHODS

Development in the West Don Lands is overseen by Waterfront Toronto. The organization's sustainable policies and guidelines are to be adhered to by any development projects within its jurisdiction. Thus, their policy documents were a valuable study. While Waterfront Toronto's policies dictate the West Don Lands, it cannot entirely go against policies in the Toronto Official Plan. Mentioned previously, according to the 2002 Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation Act, Waterfront Toronto (then formerly named the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation) "shall have regard to the Official Plan of the City of Toronto in carrying out its objects" (TWRC Act, 2002, c.28, s3(3)). It should be noted that the phrase "shall have regard" indicates some autonomy on Waterfront Toronto's part in its adherence to the Toronto Official Plan, and will be further examined in the Discussion chapter. Due to this relation, the Toronto Official Plan, the key land use planning policy instrument of the city, was also significant in the starting ground for this research.

From a previous chapter that introduced the history of Toronto with an emphasis on its Waterfront, the 1988 Ataratiri project was mentioned in brief passing in TWRC documents but proved to be a significant event to research. Although it did not come into fruition, its policies focused significantly on addressing various social justice issues, including social housing. A comparison between Ataratiri and Waterfront Toronto's vision for the West Don Lands is valuable, for the former emphasizes social sustainability while the latter focuses more on environmental sustainability. Ataratiri and a brief history of Toronto's housing policy will be discussed in the following chapter.

As previously mentioned, within the West Don Lands, a large study area, two smaller primary sites were selected to examine sustainability in greater detail. Corktown Common, a renaturalized urban park, and the River City Condominiums, claimed to be the first carbon-neutral residential development in Canada by its developer (Urban Capital, 2014), were

selected as they are two of the neighbourhood's most noticeable landmarks, and field photographs were taken and observations noted. The secondary site of 589 King Street East, explored in the next chapter, was also observed during site visits.

As detailed in Chapter Four, the development of Corktown Common was led by Waterfront Toronto who employed Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates Inc. and Maryann Thompson Architects. Employing such firms who are leaders in sustainable design indicate the significance Waterfront Toronto places on the park being a truly sustainable space. Although interviews could not be arranged with Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates Inc. and Maryann Thompson Architects, Waterfront Toronto proved to be a valuable asset.

The River City Condominiums were developed by self-proclaimed innovators who push the envelope in urban development, Urban Capital Development Group (Urban Capital, 2015), with the aid of one of the largest engineering consulting firms in Canada, MMM Group Limited (MMM Group, 2015), and overseen by Waterfront Toronto. Urban Capital employed the sustainable architecture firm, ZAS Architects, to design and provide construction detailing of River City, as well as Saucier + Perrotte Architects as the primary designer. Saucier + Perrotte Architects have gained international renown for their institutional, cultural, and residential projects for which they have received numerous awards, becoming one of Canada's top design firms (Canadian Architect, 2009). Similar to Corktown Common, the hiring of sustainable design focused firms underscore the importance of River City becoming a sustainable building complex. While interviews with Saucier + Perrotte and Urban Capital could not be arranged, interviews with ZAS Architects and MMM Group were successful and provided Urban Capital's development and design documents.

The design and development documents obtained on the two sites were examined in relation to the city's sustainable policies. To understand the reality of these projects thus far seen only in documents, Corktown Common and River City were also viewed on-the-ground

several times throughout the 2014 to 2015 years, starting from July 2014 to December 2015, with photographs taken and noting the state of construction.

Viewing the West Don Lands in its post-industrial present led to historical questions, and research was carried out on its industrial past through the use of historical maps and City of Toronto documents. This aided in the understanding of urban space and how it is shaped and reshaped to accommodate current trends in society and the economy. Seen in a previous chapter, the West Don Lands lay in a stretch of industrial land along the Waterfront during the industrial era. The economic shift away from industry is greatly apparent in the landscape. Today, with the popularity of sustainability, the area is promoted as a leading sustainable neighbourhood.

Research also involved interviewing various key city, private sector, and community actors involved with Corktown Common and River City. The primary purpose was to uncover their understandings of sustainability that may or may not be influenced by neoliberalism, and their opinion on the sustainability of the West Don Lands.

At Waterfront Toronto's office, an interview with the Project Manager of Environment and Innovation, Anna Palamarchuk, was very helpful on dialogue on Corktown Common and River City, as well as provision of related policy documents. Data was obtained from open questions in a 40-minute in-person semi-structured interview that was tape recorded and later transcribed.

The interview with ZAS Architects and MMM Group was conducted jointly via a conference call that included Rob Connor (Project Manager of River City) from ZAS Architects, and Anna Kazmierska (Project Specialist and Manager on Sustainability) from MMM Group. They were able to provide deep insight on the sustainable design of River City, as well as Urban Capital's development and design documents. Data was obtained from

open questions in one 40-minute semi-structured interview that was tape recorded and later transcribed.

Also interviewed were spokespeople from two key community groups in the West Don Lands: a local neighbourhood residents and business association and Friends of Corktown Common (FCC). Various documents and key people in the planning and development of the West Don Lands were explored. However, primarily examining top-down actors often erases on-the-ground knowledge. Top-down processes can greatly be benefitted by local knowledge and lived experiences to create a well-informed picture of urban sustainability. This is the rationale behind interviewing community groups. Members of community groups, in comparison to unaffiliated residents, are more likely to engage in community activism, be concerned of local issues, and have already deeply contemplated on developmental changes in their neighbourhood. Erin Balser, founder of Friends of Corktown Common, and an executive member of a local neighbourhood residents and business association (who wished to remain anonymous) were interviewed in two public locations, a West Don Lands neighbourhood coffee shop, Tandem Coffee, and the cafeteria of the Corus Quay building respectively. Data was obtained from open questions in a 40-minute in-person semi-structured interview that was tape recorded and later transcribed.

Lastly, the 589 King Street East TCHC affordable housing building in the West Don Lands is a secondary research site, Andrew Goodyear, the Senior Development Manager at the Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) was interviewed via conference call. While emphasis is on Corktown Common Park and the River City Condominiums, introducing this secondary site aids in demonstrating the social aspect of sustainability in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the interview was very helpful in understanding how one non-profit organization views sustainability. Data was obtained from open questions in one 30-minute semi-structured interview that was tape recorded and later transcribed.

This data collection approach from combined sources offers a valuable way to understand sustainability that also does not sideline those who are the most impacted by the success or failure of sustainable development: residents. Additionally, it allows for multi-faceted site examination, rather than a narrow and linear approach – such as through sole inspection of planning and development documents. It is hoped that, from the above processes, the primary research question will be addressed and the reality of sustainability will be uncovered in today's neoliberal governance. It should be noted that, for all interviews, ethics guidelines were followed, and the Informed Consent Forms and interview questions are attached in the Appendix of this document.

- CHAPTER SEVEN -
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The Toronto Official Plan

In Chapter Three: The City and Sustainability, on pages 39 and 40 of this thesis, a long 20 point list of what sustainability entails, as stated in the Toronto Official Plan (2010), was presented. It placed emphasis on all three aspects of sustainability: environmental, economic, and social. A search of the Toronto Official Plan shows that "sustain," as the root word, is used many times (52 times in total) throughout the document. It is mentioned in relation to the following: making sustainable urban growth choices; having sustainable transportation options; creating programs for reducing waste and conserving water; investing in sustainable technologies for stormwater management; sustaining the urban forest canopy with tree planting and preservation; sustainable employment (i.e. well-paid and stable); universal accessibility; sustainable living; incorporating sustainable building design and construction practices; implementing sustainable energy strategies; economic health and well-being; and the rental housing supply.

The various policies in the Toronto Official Plan (2010) specifically incorporate many sustainable goals: focusing urban growth into compact centres; using watershed principles to have better water quality, conservation, and management; reducing automobile dependency; improving the transportation infrastructure; creating pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly environments; protecting, enhancing, and restoring the natural ecosystems and agricultural land; encouraging the provision of varying housing types with regard to form, tenure, and affordability; increasing mixed use environments; and improving the city's economic position. From this policy document, it is clear that all aspects of sustainability are significant to the City of Toronto. However, as I aim to explore the extent of sustainability in neoliberalism with an interest in environmental and social issues, such as social housing, in sustainable urban development, this will be my focus. As the environmental sustainability

focus in the Toronto Official Plan was introduced in a previous chapter, what follows regard social sustainability in the document.

The housing chapter of the Toronto Official Plan (2010) unites the economic and the social aspects of sustainability:

> It is necessary for the economic health of our cities to have communities where Torontonians are engaged, children are valued, diversity is celebrated and residents have equitable access to housing, support services and recreational opportunities (p. 3.12).

It also mentions that "adequate and affordable housing is a basic requirement for everyone" (p. 3.12), indicating a strong social justice stance. Toronto has been undergoing a massive condominium boom for several years, and the Official Plan notes this, calling for a balance in types of housing for different family compositions, and also for housing tenure (e.g. rental, and affordable rental). It presents key areas that require attention, the most significant seen below:

> a) All three levels of government should aid in creating a business-friendly environment so that affordable mid-range private rental housing becomes attractive to invest in;
> b) to work with the various levels of government, and private and non-profit sector actors in order to generate affordable and social housing projects; and
> c) that the private sector is unable to address the needs of marginalized groups and rent-geared-to-income housing, presenting a challenge especially due to the aging current social housing stock (p. 3.13).

It seems that while the Toronto Official Plan notes the importance of social sustainability, it also is realistic in regarding to what the private sector cannot offer: social housing.

From its housing policy section, the document calls for various types of housing that fulfil multiple needs:

a) Ownership and rental housing;
b) affordable and mid-range rental and ownership housing;
c) shared and/or congregate-living housing arrangements;
d) supportive housing;
e) emergency and transitional housing for homeless people and at-risk groups;
f) housing that meets the needs of people with physical disabilities; and
g) housing that makes more efficient use of the existing housing stock (p. 3.14).

This indicates their dedication to be non-exclusionary, and provide for the housing needs of the city's disadvantaged citizens. The document also gives helpful definitions for key concepts. The two most relevant to this project are presented below:

Affordable rental housing / affordable rents:

> Housing where the total monthly shelter costs (gross monthly rent including utilities – heat, hydro and hot water – but excluding parking and cable television charges) is at or below one times the average City of Toronto rent, by unit type (number of bedrooms), as reported annually by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (p. 3.17).

Social housing:

> Rental housing units which are owned by a non-profit housing corporation, including housing provided by non-profit housing co-operatives to their members, and which are produced or funded under government programs providing comprehensive funding or financing arrangements, whether or not in partnership with municipal government (p. 3.17).

It is important to note that the document speaks of sustainability in regard to social equity and inclusion. This can be clearly seen upon examination of the Toronto Official Plan (2010) that champions diversity and defines it as inclusiveness and adaptability. It states that:

a) Housing choices are available for all people in communities at all stages of their lives;
b) a variety of well-paid, stable, safe, and fulfilling employment opportunities are available to people with a range of education and abilities;
c) people have equitable access to a range of leisure and recreational opportunities;
d) people with special needs are supported to live in communities;
e) public transit is universally accessible;
f) well-being is measured by how well we provide for the most disadvantaged groups;
g) no person pays more than they can afford for shelter;
h) educational opportunities are available for people of all means and abilities; and
i) communities are supported by equitable access to opportunities, resources, and services (p. 1.3).

The Toronto Official Plan (2010) seems to encompass all facets of sustainability, including a desire to be socially sustainable. Using one component of this, equitable housing, the document does note that this achievement of social sustainability relies on government

provision, rather than the private sector. The development of study site of the West Don Lands is spearheaded by Waterfront Toronto. As this organization was created by all three levels of government, it should be aligned with Official Plan policies as emphasized by the 2002 Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation Act. Thus, it can be expected that the West Don Lands would address environmental sustainability, but also social sustainability to some extent, even though much of its development is carried out by the private sector.

A Brief History of Housing Policy

The desire to address one aspect of social sustainability, social housing, seen in the Toronto Official Plan appears genuine, though also realistic: this issue is to be tackled by the state and is unable to be addressed by the private sector. In order to understand the state of social housing today, the history of Canadian housing policy requires examination. According to Fallis (2010), Canadian housing policy can be divided into four periods: 1945 to 1964, 1964 to 1978, 1978 to 1998, and 1998 to 2008.

First Period: 1945 – 1964

In 1945, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, later known as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), was founded (Wolfe, 1998). The federal government spearheaded the development of housing policy, aided by the National Housing Act that prioritized large scale urban growth and housing construction, to move society away from wartime economy and toward one of stability. Incoming war veterans, the baby boom, and low rates of construction during the Depression Era, were key motivators, and ownership and suburban land development were the program's primary goals (Fallis, 2010). In the 1950s, the federal government began to provide municipal grants for urban renewal, bulldozing buildings in disrepair and building municipally-owned housing, such as Regent Park, Toronto's first such project (CMHC, 2015a). At the time, there was only a small social housing program with no structured housing policy established. In the early 1960s, rather

than housing provision, the focus shifted toward housing affordability, seen below (Fallis, 2010).

Second Period: 1964 – 1978

In 1964, a series of amendments to the National Housing Act led to the sharing of expenses between its principal housing agency, the CMHC, and provincial governments, as well as the creation of many subsidy programs (Fallis, 2010). Additionally, the federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs was created to be directly involved with housing policy and programs, although they were often challenged by the CMHC (Dalton, 2009). The result was well-funded, large scale programs for social housing with over 20,000 units built each year (Shapcott, 2007). Within a few years, in 1970, over 10% of projects were for low income (specifically rent-geared-to-income) public housing. Households with modest income paid rent slightly below market costs. In order to keep up with the costs of operation, on-going subsidies shared by the CMHC and provincial housing agencies were in place (Fallis, 2010). However, with the mid-1970s came economic stagnation, unemployment, inflation, and increasing government deficits (Bourne, 1986; Fallis, 2010).

Third Period: 1978 – 1998

Towards the beginning of this period, social housing programs continued. However, by the mid-1980s, the federal government and the CMHC increasingly reduced providing assistance with the construction of new units. By 1993, they stated they would no longer fund any new units, except for limited support on Aboriginal reserves, due to social housing provision being too expensive and contributing to escalating deficits (Dalton, 2009; Fallis, 2010; Wolfe, 1998): the high cost of providing social housing resulted in the programs being deemed as "unsustainable" by the government (Moore and Skaburskis, 2004, 400). For instance, between 1978 and 1982, federal expenditures increased from $694 million to $1,390.5 million (Goldberg and Mark, 1985). These deficits were addressed through

reduction in expenses rather than increase in taxes. It should be noted that although assistance with new units was no longer provided by the government, there were also no cuts to the existing social housing units. Additionally, expenditure on these units also remained. By 1998, the financial situation improved with economic growth, low inflation, decreasing unemployment rates, and decreasing deficit (Fallis, 2010). It is during this third period that Ataratiri, a non-profit and affordable housing project in the West Don Lands, was created. This will be expanded upon in the next section.

Fourth Period: 1998 – 2008

With regard to social housing provision, there was much public opposition to the cuts, particularly as the issue of homelessness became more visible during the recession in the 1990s. While the federal and provincial governments were reluctant to create a comprehensive housing policy, they implemented some programs to address the issue of housing affordability, though not permanent solutions. One example was the 2001 Affordable Housing Framework Agreement / Affordable Housing Program Agreement where provinces cost-matched federal funding via municipalities, the private sector, donations, and others (CMHC, 2015b; Fallis, 2010). In Ontario, their affordable housing initiative provided some housing allowance and supportive housing, but primarily gave assistance in the form of slightly reduced rental housing cost and home buyer assistance. This neglected addressing housing for the most vulnerable populations, as well as financing the construction of new units (Fallis, 2010). The state of social housing today will be discussed later in the thesis.

Ataratiri

Many years before the West Don Lands Precinct Plan and its current residential developments, there had been a proposed large scale development project in the West Don Lands that was dedicated to meeting the social housing needs of Torontonians.

In July 1988, the City of Toronto and the Province of Ontario were determined to increase the affordable housing stock within the central city, and a 32.5 hectare area was to be the platform for this bounded by Parliament Street to the west, Front Street East, Eastern Avenue, St. Lawrence Street and King Street East to the north; Bayview Avenue to the east; and the railway to the south, i.e. the current West Don Lands. The joint municipal and provincial project, named Ataratiri, was a "socially and demographically balanced and environmentally sound community for 12,000 to 14,000 people" (Burns, 1990, 2). It was to be inclusive with households from a variety of economic, age, and cultural backgrounds, along with amenities that would serve all residents, and employment opportunities for a minimum of 1,500 people. It placed a significant focus on meeting the housing needs of the most vulnerable of populations as well (Burns, 1990; Clarkin, 1991). The primary objective of Ataratiri was to increase the supply of non-profit and affordable housing in Toronto, and as well as set the standard for future developments (Clarkin, 1991). While the project appeared very ambitious, the nearby St. Lawrence neighbourhood had hosted a similar municipally-run housing project in the 1970s. A former brownfield site, it was transformed into a mixture of public and market housing, retail space, and community services, creating a socially diverse and mixed use space. Formally opened in 1979, St. Lawrence also became the model to revitalize Regent Park 30 years later (James, 2010; Klemek, 2008).

The Ataratiri project created a timeline and a strict plan to adhere to in order to attain its ambitious goals:

a) Complete land assembly by the end of 1990;
b) complete the Environmental Evaluation Study by mid-1990 for presentation to the Ministry of the Environment and begin the environmental remediation process in the late 1990;
c) obtain Special Policy Area (S.P.A.) designation from the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority in 1990 for flood plan development control;
d) have the appropriate planning policies and controls in place in 1990;
e) prepare a social and community services development strategy and obtain commitments from service providers;

f) create an effective economic development and employment strategy that will ensure a healthy mix of industrial and commercial activities;
g) ensure that, by the time the neighbourhood is fully developed, the maximum units possible are developed for low and moderate-income people;
h) plan and implement the development of Ataratiri in a fiscally-responsible manner and ensure that the project is self-financing to the maximum extent possible;
i) arrange mid-term (5 years) financing by the middle of 1990; and
j) prepare and initiate the development program by mid-1991 and have some residents on the site by 1992 (Burns, 1990, 3).

It appeared to be a wonderful idea with a focused timeline and clear objectives. However, there were many obstacles it faced. In 1990, the federal budget indicated severe cuts to social housing programs. This, in turn, negatively impacted Ontario's ability to provide social housing. Additionally, the federal government was also steadfast in high interest rates and stringent budgeting. This was expected to have a considerable negative effect on the financial picture for Ataratiri, having to rely on provincial and municipal funding (Burns, 1990).

The Ataratiri Business Plan surmised this would result in 1,200 fewer units built in the city between 1990 and 1992, and emphasized that "this fiscal situation will not improve the quality of life of the poor and disadvantaged" (Burns, 1990, 4). Its commitment to social housing is earnest throughout the document, citing that more than 21,000 households were on the waiting list in 1990 and estimated 10,000 homeless individuals. It stated that the provincial government was able to provide funding for 6,200 social housing units for the city, with a minimum of 2,450 within Ataratiri alone. It was established that the project would have a combination of 60% social housing and 40% market housing (Burns, 1990; Millward and Burns, 1990), with the province funding a minimum of 35% of the social housing. This is a significant difference in comparison to the 20% affordable (not social housing) units stated by Waterfront Toronto today. The Business Plan (prepared by Burns, 1990) does note that federal funding and further provincial funding would be needed during the mid-term of the project.

The site was a highly contaminated area that lay within a declining industrial district. To determine the environmental conditions, an Environmental Evaluation Study took place in the following areas: soil and water management, air quality, health risk, noise and vibration, transportation and fixed facility risk assessment, and flood plain planning. From these results, a remediation plan was created in order for the space to be habitable. The results from the soil and water management study indicated that contamination was "confined to the upper one to three meters of surficial fill materials which cover the site" (Burns, 1990, 21), and that these contaminants were metals, as well as the carcinogenic, mutagenic, and teratogenic chemical compound of polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs), and the environmentally toxic organic pollutant of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) from industrial activity. There was also distress regarding groundwater contamination. Air quality was affected by emissions from nearby roads, highway, and the railroad. In regard to the transportation and fixed facility risk assessment, the nearby port was not deemed a risk, nor were potential hazardous materials transported by the nearby rail line as the risk was comparable to other sites along Toronto rail lines. It also noted that the southeast section of the area was at greatest risk due to being the location of 4 roads and 2 rail lines, and thus unsuitable for residential construction. Interestingly, this location is where Corktown Common Park currently lies. The entirety of Ataratiri was subject to flooding from the adjacent Don River. This posed a significant issue. However, by designating the site as a Special Policy Area, new development was possible. Furthermore, various measures against flooding were determined: "bridge widening, dyking, site filling, continued regular dredging of the Keating Channel, sensitive building design, storm water management and emergency procedures" (Burns, 1990, 24).

While it does seem that the environment upon which Ataratiri was to be built was full of great challenges, the Environmental Evaluation Study Report (prepared by Clarkin, 1991) listed its numerous benefits:

a) Add to the stock of affordable housing, including social housing;
b) clean up a polluted area;
c) help improve the Don River Valley;
d) eliminate existing storm sewers that flow directly into the Don River;
e) provide flood protection for 290 hectares of downtown Toronto;
f) create jobs in the construction industry and building trades, work in industries such as furniture and appliance manufacturing, and for architects and engineers;
g) create approximately 2100 permanent jobs on the site;
h) create a new neighbourhood without using valuable farm land;
i) cut pollution by encouraging walking and the use of bicycles and mass transit rather than cars;
j) demonstrate new ways to provide social services such as health and recreation services; and
k) help give artists both housing and workspace that they can afford (Clarkin, 1991, 1).

Why did the Ataratiri project in the West Don Lands fail? The economic recession of the late 1980s, resulting in declined funding, led to an uncertain and vague future regarding the financing of the project. Additionally, the high expenditures associated with the contaminated soil, the most significant of remediation expenditures, placed further constraints. This resulted in an estimated deficit of more than $688 million by the time of its completion. Furthermore, the development of Ataratiri was a public sector endeavour with a team comprised of members from various provincial and municipal offices. If it were led by an arm's length agency, the development of the site could be executed by the private sector, with the city still ensuring its policies are met (Vanderschaaf, 1997). In this manner, financing for the project would not strain the already limited resources of the municipal and provincial governments, and would instead rely heavily on private sector investments. Unfortunately, as Ataratiri was to be comprised of 60% social housing, it was unlikely, particularly due to the economic recession, that the private sector would take on this development. Perhaps this was one reason why Ataratiri was a failure, but Waterfront

Toronto's financial design for the West Don Lands appears to be a success. With 20% affordable housing, rather than 60% social housing, and the private sector heavily investing and developing projects, the financial strain upon the city is minimized. Perhaps Ataratiri failed due to its financing by the already underfunded provincial and municipal governments, the high costs of site remediation, and, ultimately, that it desired to address, in large part, social sustainability.

Waterfront Toronto and the West Don Lands

Mentioned in the previous chapter, Waterfront Toronto, formerly known as the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation, was created in 2001 by all three orders of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) to oversee the revitalization of the 809 hectares (2000 acres) of land along the Waterfront, and create sustainable communities (Waterfront Toronto, 2009). It is a public advocate and steward of such development, and aims to create 40,000 residences, 40,000 jobs, and 300 hectares of parks along the city's Waterfront. When completed, it is believed to become one of the world's largest waterfront brownfield revitalization developments (Waterfront Toronto, 2012). Its mandate includes "a vision of the City of Toronto at the forefront of global cities in the 21st century through the creation of sustainable communities that are largely defined and connected through its parks and open spaces" (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 4). In Chapter Four, Waterfront Toronto's definition of sustainable development was seen: it is development that results in "overall environmental enhancement, economic benefit, and social/cultural gain" (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 10). Interestingly, social gain is listed last, shares its category with culture, and is commodified by the term "gain".

The Sustainability Framework, a defining policy document for Waterfront Toronto, expresses their mandate to "build successful communities that combine long-term viability with the interlinked goals of economic, environmental, and social gains" (TWRC, 2005a,

1.1); social sustainability is again listed last. It states that the Waterfront will be "defined by its leadership on sustainability (p. 1.1), and specifies their corporate objectives:

a) Develop accessible, new and improved Waterfront communities and public spaces that offer a high quality of life for residents and visitors alike;
b) attract innovative, knowledge-based industries to the Portlands;
c) engage the community as an active partner in revitalization; and
d) develop strategic partnerships to attract private sector investment (p. 1.2).

It should be noted that it does not specifically address vulnerable populations in its objectives. Its Sustainability Framework focuses on 11 interrelated themes that reveal their focus on aspects of sustainability: energy, land use, transportation, sustainable buildings, air quality, human communities, cultural resources, natural heritage, water, materials and waste, and innovation (p. 2.4). These are detailed on page 53 in this thesis. The document also explains some key aspects of a sustainable community:

a) Social progress that meets the needs of everyone;
b) effective protection of the environment;
c) prudent use of natural resources; and
d) maintenance of high and stable levels of economic growth and employment (p. 1.3).

Although social progress is undefined by Waterfront Toronto, and its understanding of the term may be different from other organizations, a well-known definition comes from the Social Progress Imperative who are noted for their Social Progress Index. They define social progress as:

> The capacity of a society to meet the basic human needs of its citizens, establish the building blocks that allow citizens and communities to enhance and sustain the quality of their lives, and create the conditions for all individuals to reach their full potential (SPI, 2016).

With this understanding of the term, it is very promising to see social progress listed first as a feature of sustainable communities.

Another key policy document by Waterfront Toronto is the West Don Lands Precinct Plan (TWRC, 2005b) that offers guidelines for public infrastructure and new developments. This Precinct Plan was created through a public planning process that involved numerous

actors: design team, municipal and provincial officials, neighbourhood organizations, and citizens. It should be noted that, as the document states, the Plan is merely a guide to offer a flexible framework to carry out goals for the West Don Lands. The organization's objective is to create sustainable, mixed use communities with ample parks and open spaces along the Waterfront. A greater detailing of their social sustainability objectives when creating various neighbourhoods can be seen below:

a) Provide family services at the earliest possible opportunity, including excellent daycare, community, and school facilities;
b) encourage the creation of larger units and giving priority to families with children in the allocation of those units;
c) seek community support and sponsorship for senior housing, long-term care facilities, and housing for downtown workers;
d) provide opportunities for a wide range of tenure options in the delivery of housing, i.e. ensuring both affordable rental and ownership housing are provided; and
e) provide a mix of affordable and market housing sites across the Waterfront (p.31).

It also specifies that 20% of all units will be affordable rental housing, which, in the West Don Lands, means 1,200 affordable rental units. The locations for these rental units are determined by Waterfront Toronto and city agencies. While this emphasis indicates social sustainability issues are indeed important, it should be noted that 20% affordable housing is a small goal in comparison to Ataratiri's 60% social housing. Please see page 85 of this chapter for definitions of affordable and social housing.

Master-planned and overseen by Waterfront Toronto, the 32 hectare West Don Lands is a LEED Gold community that, when fully completed, will hold 6,000 residential units of different housing types and tenures (including the 1,200 affordable units), retail stores, offices, an elementary school, two child care centres, a community centre, as well as 9.3 hectares of park space. Of key note are the Athletes' Village located in the West Don Lands for the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games that catalyzed projects in the area. By 2015, over half of the developments in the neighbourhood were completed, including a new

YMCA, greatly benefitting residents. Furthermore, after projects are completed, residents, such as those living in River City, will be able to easily access the Distillery District, an important amenity (Urban Capital, n.d.). More detail on the West Don Lands can be found in previous chapters.

The West Don Lands is planned to be a socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable mixed community. It is to be "inherently sustainable" (TWRC, 2005b, 35) in regards to land use and adherence to smart growth by:

a) Remediating brownfields within the city core;
b) increasing the supply of affordable housing;
c) reducing air pollution associated with commuting;
d) making public transit, cycling, and walking the primary modes of transportation;
e) efficiently using existing infrastructure;
f) increasing the amount of park land and community services;
g) increasing economic development opportunity; and
h) demonstrating the feasibility of green buildings (TWRC, 2005b, 35).

After stating the above, the document mentions that these will contribute to creating a green Waterfront, the Province's Smart Growth plan, and aid meeting Kyoto Protocol targets. This indicates heavy emphasis on environmental sustainability, neglecting the mention of affordable housing in the document's ending summary statement.

Of interesting note, the Precinct Plan places great emphasis on urban nature, speaking of various cities in the world where nature is seamlessly integrated into the built environment, and a desire to mirror such cities. It explains that the spirit and identity of nature must be understood in order to meld them into the built form. When addressing Corktown Common Park (formerly known as Don River Park), a defining characteristic of the West Don Lands, an artful vision is given:

> The built environment, consisting of a continuous and beautiful building wall, will strengthen and define the Don River Park. The result will be a great urban room inspired by Toronto architectural traditions and reminiscent of other great spaces defining the heart of the world's greatest cities. In return, the open space will give identity to a newly revitalized, unique downtown neighbourhood, as well as the centre of Toronto itself (TWRC, 2005b, 5).

It is clear Waterfront Toronto is dedicated to sustainability, as the interview with Anna Palamarchuk seen later in this chapter suggest. However, its policy documents and interview results appear to emphasize environmental and economic sustainability more than the social. Its green design guideline, mentioned in Chapter Four, even states the profitability of environmental sustainability, particular in regard to sustainable buildings carrying a "market edge" and being "economically viable in the market" (Bunce, 2009, 662).

Affordable Housing in the West Don Lands

The fact that only 20% of all units are allotted for affordable rental housing, rather than any social housing provision, is a clear indicator that social sustainability is not the first priority: of its 6,000 residential units, only 1,200 are to be affordable units. Currently, there exists only a small 1.75 acre non-profit Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) building complex of an eight storey seniors-only building with one bedroom units and two four storey family buildings with two and three bedroom units. Together, the complex has 243 affordable rental units of which 115 are family units, and 128 are for seniors (TCHC, 2015) (See Image 42a and 42b below).

Image 42a:
TCHC complex at 589 King Street East in the outer edge of the West Don Lands (Taken by author, 2014).

Image 42b:
TCHC complex at 589 King Street East in the outer edge of the West Don Lands (Taken by author, 2015).

While the building is also LEED Gold, similar to River City, it does appear in stark contrast to the latter's bold and innovative design and thus makes the building's identity more visible. The TCHC's affordable units have their rents either set at or below what the average market rents are for similar units in Toronto. While specific details were not found on the TCHC's website or other TCHC documents, a helpful interview was conducted with their Senior Development Manager, Andrew Goodyear. What follows is information obtained from this interview. Additional details can be found in the Interviews section of this chapter. As the complex is for affordable housing, rather than social housing, the tenant selection process was open. It was listed as a building with available rental units, and tenants were selected on a first-come first-serve basis. They were provided a unit if they met the income requirement: the maximum income a tenant may have is four times the rent amount. There is no minimum income requirement, and it is up to the tenant's discretion to be able to afford the unit. The monthly rents for each unit are as follows: a one bedroom is $800, a two bedroom unit is $950, and a three bedroom unit is $1100. From this, the maximum monthly and yearly income a tenant may have for each unit can be determined:

Unit Type	**Monthly Rent**	**Maximum Monthly Income**	**Maximum Annual Income**
One bedroom	$800	$3,200	$38,400
Two bedrooms	$950	$3,800	$45,600
Three bedrooms	$1100	$4,400	$52,800

Table 2:
Rents and maximum incomes by unit types at 589 King Street East. Calculated by Author via monthly rent data provided by an interview with Andrew Goodyear.

Even keeping in mind that these are maximum, not minimum, incomes, the monthly rents for each unit excludes extremely disadvantaged groups. While affordable housing is assessed as 80% of market rent by the CMHC, and thus a one bedroom market rent unit is $1000, 80% of this would result in a monthly rent of $800 for an affordable one bedroom unit (as seen at 589

King Street East). This number really makes visible how exclusionary "affordable" housing can be. This will be expanded upon in the Discussion section.

In comparison to the TCHC's 243 affordable units, the adjacent development project led by the private sector, River City holds 1,100 market-priced units (and, understandably, no affordable units as the private sector is not responsible for such provision, nor would this contribute to their goal of profitability). Post-Games, the Athletes' Village, developed by Waterfront Toronto, will contain 787 units of market housing and an expected 253 units of affordable housing. However, the realization of this is not yet seen. The last large scale sporting event in Canada was the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games. Its Olympic Village had similar aspirations of mixed income housing as the Athletes' Village (City of Vancouver, 2015; Vulliamy, 2013). However, post-Games, the number of affordable units drastically decreased due to many issues, including a need to create more profit as the Games placed great constraints on the economy (Stueck, 2013; Vulliamy, 2013). Its initial plan was for two-thirds of the 1,100 units to become affordable housing, with half of this dedicated to social housing for those in great need. This was later reduced to only 250 units, and later to 126 units (Vulliamy, 2013). For this reason, I am sceptical of the Athletes' Village and its expected affordable housing units.

Certainly, the site's history as formerly contaminated industrial land lends to Waterfront Toronto's environmental sustainability focus. However, the Toronto Official Plan, which Waterfront Toronto is to "have regard" for, as the previously mentioned TWRC Act states (TWRC Act, 2002, c.28, s.3(3)), speaks of its desire to address the great need for social housing through government-led projects. As the West Don Lands neighbourhood is a significantly large area of development in Toronto, should it not offer a great opportunity to reduce the strain on social housing provision?

Interviews

Waterfront Toronto

Mentioned earlier, Anna Palamarchuk, Project Manager of Environment and Innovation at Waterfront Toronto was interviewed. Her role is to implement their sustainability mandate, such as minimum green building requirements (e.g. LEED Gold). She works with developers and construction contractors to ensure sustainability requirements are met. This includes compliance monitoring, i.e. how developers are attempting to meet the requirements. She emphasized that Waterfront Toronto is always working on "pushing the bar to be market-transforming," as well as "pushing developers beyond what is required of an average development."

When explaining sustainability, she includes environmental, social, and economic emphasis as well:

> "It's not just about the natural environment, it's also about executing improvements to human communities through social sustainability efforts, and also making sure that we're innovative and we are sustainable economically as well. In general, we look at benefits to ecological systems, communities, and the corporate. What kind of communities are we developing? We are offering amenities, parks, open spaces, and quality of life."

She also mentions her feelings about the West Don Lands project and its future:

> "I think it's going to be an amazing mixed use community. I think it's going to be one of those communities that is for all income levels. We have a huge affordable housing component so it's one of our core mandates as well – that the Waterfront isn't only for people who can afford really expensive condos, it's for everybody, for students, for low income families, for seniors. We have a Toronto Community Housing project in the West Don Lands as well. It has 2 family buildings and 1 senior building, so I think it's going to be a really great integrated community and highlight what Waterfront Toronto is about."

Certainly, from the policies in previous sections of this chapter, the affordable housing component does not appear to be "huge" or accessible. After developments are fully completed, the West Don Lands will provide only 20% of affordable housing in a city where there is a major shortage.

From the interview, there are several instances that indicate the importance of profitability and keeping in touch with the market:

> "What makes us really different from just a regular developer is that we have specific public policy objectives. We're not just selling land to the highest bidder. Although that's obviously one of the criteria, we have to make sure they're complying with our sustainability requirements."

> "As the market progresses, it would be great if developers started using smart meters."

Smart meters are devices that record electricity use hourly (Ministry of Energy, 2015).

When speaking of the green roofs of River City and the limited species planted, she states:

> "As the market allows, developers will be putting more effort on what kinds of species they plant on their roofs."

She also notes the role of Corktown Common Park in protecting the central business district:

> "The great thing about Corktown Common is that it's actually a flood protection landform so it serves that dual purpose of not only being a beautiful park, a renaturalized space, but it's also a very significant piece of infrastructure that's not only protecting the West Don Lands, but also all the way to the business district."

Also discussed were the economic benefits of the park:

> "From an economic perspective, it really draws people to the area. It's maybe a reason why people would buy a condo in that area."

Interestingly, when asked about the River City condominiums advertised as being carbon-neutral, she stated:

> "To get the carbon neutral certification, they bought some carbon credits. It's a major sustainability achievement."

As mentioned on page 71 of this thesis, this certification was achieved by the developer paying a third party to create greenhouse gas reductions on their behalf, such as investing in a renewable energy project. This is then applied to River City's carbon footprint to reduce net emissions and aid in the project becoming carbon-neutral. It seems that purchasing sustainability is a "major sustainability achievement."

From the interview, it is clear that profitability and market trends are to always be kept in mind if a sustainably developed project is to be successful, and not have a fate similar to the failed Ataratiri.

ZAS Architects and MMM Group

Rob Connor, the Project Manager for River City, from ZAS Architects and Anna Kazmierska, the Project Specialist and Manager on Sustainability from MMM Group were jointly interviewed. Their firms provided architectural services, design, and construction documents to Urban Capital Development Group. While Saucier + Perrotte Architects were the design architects, ZAS Architects are the architects that have the legal responsibility for the project and providing construction detailing. Anna Kazmierska's role was as a sustainability consultant, seeing how sustainability can be incorporated into projects. The mandate for ZAS Architects was to take on:

> "a diverse range of projects . . . investigating sustainability strategies, rainwater reuse, stormwater run-off, focusing primarily on environmental issues, as well as educating."

For the MMM Group, simply put, their aim was to "include sustainability on every project where available." Being two very environmentally focused firms on a private sector project (and thus having no need to address social sustainability), their focus was heavily lain in environmental sustainability while keeping costs and profitability in mind:

> "From an architectural perspective, it's a post-industrial landscape, and bringing a very high density urban residential area into this post industrial landscape. Being the first project in that landscape, there's the whole issue of connecting it to new infrastructure to make that possible. How can we approach it from a sustainable perspective, reducing the need for infrastructure as much as possible? Looking at this idea of trying to create a residential community where one had never existed before, we thought about it in ecological terms. We're a pioneering species coming into a rather quiet condition, so making this urban construct as robust, as reaching out so it will support future developments as they move forward, linking it to social infrastructure, like the park, so we're linking it to vibrant human elements of the urban design as much as possible in the new development. We're trying to create a biosphere for this new community so it can thrive in what's literally a concrete pad. Then, there were issues of climate change. The buildings themselves are on the flood

protection landform which is a dyke to prevent any flooding of the land, so you can look at it as a resiliency strategy."

"Most condos you'll see are basically floor to ceiling glass. This building we took a different approach because projects often go over budget for sustainability features. We wanted to avoid that, and also there's a large financial penalty from Waterfront Toronto if we didn't reach the LEED requirement, so our developer was very motivated to achieve it. So, we knew we couldn't achieve LEED Gold by simply adding things to the building later, or making a fundamentally bad design. So, one of the first things we looked at was the energy consumption that's required by a whole glass building and right away that shows to us we couldn't go that route, so our building is 40% maybe 50% glazing – dramatically less than what you find on a typical condo. We struggled with that from a design perspective and with the marketability of the condo so we spent a lot of time strategically locating the glazing so that you still have a very light airy view from the unit, you didn't feel enclosed, so it dramatically reduced the number of glazed areas."

"One of the key things is throughout the design, we included the green roofs. There's a green roof that almost every unit looks on to. Making the environment very obvious that was one of the reasons for the green roof strategies, greening strategy, also our inclusion of materials. A lot of places we didn't include a material if we didn't have to, so we left some things as bare concrete or bare steel, and used that as part of the aesthetic, not always covering things."

"This has been an interesting project for me, you do these sustainable projects with high aspirations like LEED Gold and are driven by these goals of a very strong environmental mandate and people want to do this because they really believe in it. In this case, the team believed in it but the developer had a very strong business angle, but at the end of the day, he was always bringing us back to 'we have to build units where people are desiring to buy' so really we focused our attention on not doing less bad, but doing more good, creating an environmental lifestyle that was attractive, that people would want to buy into the community. Yeah it's environmental, but really they want to buy into the community because of the great lifestyle and the environmental aspect happens because of the environmental lifestyle and not the other way around."

However, there were moments that alluded to the addressing of social issues to some regard:

"It was one of the anchor developments in the West Don Lands redevelopment. There was close coordination with the Toronto Community Housing across the street. It's one of the first designs in the city that has. It wasn't looked at in isolation, so the user experience of those in the neighbourhood was looked at cohesively. It resulted in a better design, even on the mixing of demographics in the area."

A Local Neighbourhood Residents and Business Association

Upon interviewing an executive member of a local neighbourhood residents and business association, who wished to remain anonymous, it was learnt that she is involved in

many of the Association's sub-committees, such as for heritage conservation, urban development, and the parks committee. The Association's mandate is:

> "To embellish the neighbourhood, to be active in community and business initiatives. We have committees that reflect that. For example, a parks and public committee, a business committee, a development committee, and a heritage committee. We have 6 to 7 different committees, and also have liaisons and reps with other neighbouring communities and stakeholders."

She noted how quickly developments arose in Corktown and the great number of changes with the Athletes' Village, Corktown Common, the Toronto Community Housing buildings, and River City. There were also changes in the general affordability of the area. Her understanding of sustainability was also very grounded, and thus different from the ZAS Architects' and MMM Group's responses:

> "I think of that in terms of encouraging the community to walk by foot. It really sort of resonates that people aren't really car-dependent where we live, so you walk everywhere. Just yesterday, I saw the ex-President of the [local neighbourhood residents and business association] in the car, and I didn't really recognize him because he was in the context of a car. So, all the people that getting to know him, we're getting to know him by foot, we don't really use the car. When I go back to my parents' place in the suburbs, it's a completely different dynamic. I think Corktown Common really does promote physical activity, and promotes having children, and bringing your children out to the park all seasons."

She had many positive opinions on Corktown Common Park:

> "I think it creates a great balance and I think it's necessary to have the green spaces. I think urban nature makes me feel very good. Additionally, I think Corktown is very hard, by hard I mean has lots of hard landscaping. In terms of creating these natural oasis within the urban environment is very important. We want to see the greenness. We don't have any dialogue with the water, even though it's nearby, because of the train tracks."

> "It's pretty big, and you see a lot of people coming together, bringing blankets, their food, their kids. The [local neighbourhood residents and business association] also has a lot of events at Corktown Common."

> "I think it's being used as a community space, it's for the rest of Toronto to use, as opposed to just Corktown. It happens to be there because of its footprint, but ultimately it's a city park. People come from the other side of the city to visit. It's like the High Park of the east."

When speaking of River City, however, she had a divided opinion:

> "I love it, I love the design, we need more of this design. I think the design is great, it's done by Saucier + Perrotte. The design is very audacious, it's got guts. People have some things to say about the units, the space of the units, there isn't enough space, it's very angular, there's weird spaces so you can't fit beds and things like that. It's very angular. You should walk around in there. Other than that, it's fantastic. It really sets a precedent for other developments in the area."

> "There isn't much communication between all the condos in the area. There's this faceless quality to condos. As the [local neighbourhood residents and business association] starts to establish itself, we want to be able to reach out to condos, seeing what the personalities are, getting people out, and communicating with other condos. It could be the age group that they're in, they don't have much community interest. For instance, in my 20s, I didn't really care where I live."

Friends of Corktown Common

From interviewing Erin Balser from Friends of Corktown Common, it was learned that she founded this very new and growing community organization in the fall of 2013. Its mandate is to:

> "To look at the sustainability of the park, and the social aspects of the park, also the regular maintenance of the park, and also schedule events in the park."

Similar to the executive member of the local neighbourhood residents and business association, she notes that the area's housing now is far from cheap, and the neighbourhood's rapid changes:

> "When we moved here . . . River City was a hole in the ground. This neighbourhood has undergone substantial change in the past 4 years. The King and River intersection didn't even exist. The park wasn't there . . . The West Don Lands and Waterfront Toronto have been responsible for a lot of it. I think it's because it's the last hub downtown that you can actually develop."

Given that her background includes a Masters in Environmental Studies from York University, her understanding of sustainability encompassed all three facets: social, environmental, and economic:

> "For me, sustainability is development that has a minimum impact on the environment. I think Corktown Common is a great park that adheres to this definition because it is built with climate change in mind. It also enhances the neighbourhood, which increases the economic value of the neighbourhood, and also increases the quality of life. Also, all the resources required to run the things in the park have no net impact on the environment."

She notes many positive aspects of Corktown Common Park:

> "Nature is essential to any community, especially as we get increasingly urbanized communities. Greenspace is more and more important due to social benefits, mental health benefits. We're living in increasingly smaller spaces, which makes sense in terms of long-term viability of humanity. To have parks and things, it's super important. So what nature means to me, it's any green or wild space in which plants and animals and humans can thrive. There are turtles and frogs and a lot of birds in the park. The Corktown Common plan, there's a very vigorous plan to include as much natural life as possible which is really good."
>
> "What I like about Corktown Common is that they've tried to connect it to the larger Toronto ecosystem, linking the park to the Don Valley Trail, which takes you to Rouge Park. It's not that hard to get from the park to a wild space. I also think that it's impossible to have pure wild space in the downtown urban centre, and I think that's okay, because Toronto is in a place that's easy to access, and I like this idea of connected parks throughout the city."
>
> "The park is very small and cultivated, as opposed to High Park, which is much bigger, there's more possibility for wild spaces and wild experiences."
>
> "I'd really like to see a skating rink, a skating trail. There's not a lot of winter activities in the park, it's more for summer. I think there's potential for sledding along the back hill that goes into one of the playfields. With the Don Valley Trail, there's opportunity for cross-country skiing and snowshoeing. We can definitely work towards it as the park becomes more established. I think a stronger connection to the neighbourhood is also really important. I think also a stronger connection to the rest of Toronto is also really important because right now people don't seem to know how to access the Don Valley Trail. I'd like to see more structured programming in the park, like a regular running group, a regular yoga class. There's enough space for it, and I think there's a strong need for it in the community."

Similar to the Toronto Official Plan, when discussing River City, she understands that the private sector would not be involved with affordable housing projects "because you can't make profit." Additionally, she notes:

> "I think it's great they're at LEED Gold standards. I also think that there was going to be development there anyway, so I'm glad that it's sustainable, as opposed to just throwing up a condo and being done with it. In general, the West Don Lands plan is a lot more thoughtful and environmentally-oriented. For condos, I think density is important: density is the future of urban space. I'd like to see more three bedroom condos so more and more families can live downtown in a condo lifestyle. The TCHC building does have family units, but it's just one building, but I think that's something River City is missing, no actual family units, but that's typical for condos now. The more people that live in them and the smaller the units can be, the more money you make as a developer."

Note that, rather than one family building, of the TCHC's three buildings in the complex, two family buildings.

As the West Don Lands development is ultimately created for the City's inhabitants, their opinions on the project are interesting. It does seem that, from the interviews with community organizations, they are satisfied with the overall development of the West Don Lands, and specifically River City and Corktown Common. However, they do have some reservations.

Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC)

From the interview with Andrew Goodyear, Senior Development Manager at the TCHC, the organization's mandate is to "ensure everyone has a quality home to live in and is a part of a thriving community." Certainly, in some cases such as 589 King Street East, "everyone" is not actually "everyone" as the affordable housing rents exclude low income groups. His understanding of sustainability was multi-faceted and he genuinely seemed to have the best interests of residents at heart:

> "Primarily, it's limiting the use of resources, or energy or things like that in development. So, it's about building a building that's generally efficient and limiting the amount of resources you use when you do build the building. That's certainly the financial side. There's also the environmental side . . . social sustainability, cultural sustainability. There's a lot of different elements in sustainability, so when we're doing any of our redevelopments or new builds or revitalization we always strive for these. It is as environmentally sustainable as we can, we of course are very much involved with social sustainability in providing jobs and training experience to our residents . . . so that there isn't just a one-time benefit but also ongoing social benefits to the community in terms of community facilities, job opportunities and things like that."

He also provided his understanding of financial and cultural sustainability:

> "In terms of financial sustainability, a lot of these [buildings] are striving to be as self-financed as possible so we don't use other resources . . . The goal in the West Don Lands would be the income generated by the development is efficient, or the development itself is sufficient enough to maintain itself over time. It's hard because you're not looking at a market-rent building, you're not looking at the same level of income so you're not sure it's going to be indefinitely sustainable, but we try to be as financially prudent as we can."

> "There's cultural sustainability in the sense that there's the culture of community that was there and built upon, so they're intimately involved with ensuring that the community retains its cohesiveness."

Interestingly, Goodyear was not aware of the Ataratiri project. After he was informed of its details, he acknowledged what was said, but avoided providing any positive or negative opinion. Regarding the sustainability of the 589 King Street East building, he stated that LEED Gold certification was obtained a few months ago, and noted some of the main green features of the building:

> "It has higher energy efficiency than a typical building that would be built today and better water efficiency. The location has excellent walkability and transit usage. We have individual metering for all the utilities, which, in the longer run, will hopefully generally lead to greater efficiency or less usage. When things are individually metered, it allows a better assessment for where building usage goes over time. We have all possible waste sorting, a lot of waste diversion. We use recycled building materials. We do have a green roof, and we incorporated light pollution reduction."

Regarding the River City Condominiums, he stated that the condominiums are very inward looking and thus it seems disconnected from the TCHC complex. He was very enthusiastic, however, about Corktown Common Park:

> "The goal was really to bring a lot of families to that part of Toronto. Having a park that is really nearby and has a lot of facilities for younger people, a waterpark, lots of play areas. We also have a lot of seniors and, because there's the park, they have a place to walk, see interesting naturalized areas, wetlands . . . The problem is that although it was open, it was then closed for the Pan Am Games. It had the whole area for a lot of the time that the residents have been living there that hasn't been as permeable because a lot of it was fenced up, so, hopefully, once it's all occupied and open and it's actually a thriving part of the city, there will hopefully be a connection and a move towards that area."

He also expanded upon the impacts the Pan Am Games had:

> "The whole reason the West Don Lands exists now is because of preparation for the Pan Am Games in terms of the new buildings, new roads, they're so wide, new facilities, our buildings. It's all kind of part of that, the new park even in a way. Some of it may have happened, but it would have happened at a different pace or different way . . . It catalyzed the development."

Regarding the end result of the TCHC project in the West Don Lands, he stated that he was "generally pretty happy." He mentioned that although there is a YMCA building and some

retail, King Street doesn't have many retail options unlike Queen Street one block north. He looks forward to the completion of construction for the remaining buildings in the West Don Lands as, once this is done, there will be many retail options created in the area. As of now, there are no nearby grocery stores. He seemed to feel fulfilled with the TCHC building, and even mentioned that an architecture critic from the Toronto Star, Christopher Hume, gave the building an A and that he thought it was a great addition to the neighbourhood. Goodyear states about the architecture that

> "They're not particularly bold, they're more subtle, but they're generally nice buildings, they're performing well, and people generally seem happy in them."

Of interesting note is that Waterfront Toronto and the TCHC had signed an agreement regarding the development of the building and various green requirements. However, he stated that

> "We weren't specifically involved in the decision-making process. We sort of adapted to their requirements."

Thus, if the TCHC did wish to make some changes, perhaps to the location of the complex or number of units, they were not able.

Discussion

The Toronto Official Plan (2010) emphasizes a need for sustainability that addresses both environmental and social issues. With regard to social sustainability, the document admits to an increasing need that is not being met: social housing. It also distinguishes the difference between affordable and social housing. With social equity and inclusion as a significant emphasis in this key urban land use planning policy instrument, it should be expected that the city's agencies reflect this as well. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the 2002 Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC) Act specifies that the TWRC (now known as Waterfront Toronto) "shall have regard to the Official Plan of the City of Toronto in carrying out its objects" (TWRC Act, 2002, c.28, s.3(3)) and that Waterfront

Toronto "does not have the capacity to act as an agent of the City of Toronto unless city council gives express written authorization to the corporation to do so" (TWRC Act, 2002, 2005, c.31, sched.23, s.1). While at first glance it may seem that Waterfront Toronto must adhere to the same emphasis in policy areas as the Official Plan, the wording of this Act casts doubt, specifically that Waterfront Toronto "shall have regard" for the Official Plan. The Act does mention that Waterfront Toronto cannot be an independent entity and must have permission from the City before carrying out its policies. However, the phrase "shall have regard" indicates that, rather than must, Waterfront Toronto may choose the extent to which it adheres to the Toronto Official Plan.

Waterfront Toronto's policy documents strongly emphasize the environmental aspects of sustainability, with social issues seeming as an afterthought – a less than wholehearted attempt at creating a holistic approach to sustainability. As it cannot act without approval from city council, it can be safely assumed that Waterfront Toronto's policies are accepted and supported by the City. Despite the Official Plan calling for both social and environmental awareness, the Waterfront area need not strictly follow these aims. Why is such the case?

The area along the Waterfront is unique when compared to the remainder of the city. One characteristic of capitalist cities like Toronto is that of uneven development. Urban space must be developed and redeveloped for increased capital accumulation. Areas such as the Waterfront experience more investment than others because of their greater profitability. Toronto's Waterfront had become a brownfield site, and, in the era of post-industrialism, the land's intrinsic value is not revealed and capitalized upon without redevelopment. With the aid of environmental remediation, the Waterfront became an important area for investment and development. Additionally, the city's policy documents celebrated the Waterfront development strategies of cities that were key nodes in the global economy, such as New York and London, hoping to emulate their economic success. It should be also noted that the

Waterfront was also home to many sites associated with the 2015 Pan and Parapan American Games. This included the Athletes' Village in the West Don Lands that catalyzed the neighbourhood's redevelopment. As the third largest international multi-sport event, trailing the Olympic Summer Games and the Asian Games, it welcomed approximately 7,000 athletes from 41 nations (Toronto2015, 2015a). The Games prompted 345,000 tweets from Canadians, and over 22 million Canadians watched some portion of media coverage (CBC, 2015). In addition to coverage by the host broadcaster, the CBC (Toronto2015, 2015b), the Games were also covered by ESPN, ESPN2, ESPN3, ESPN Desportes, ESPN Desportes+, Longhorn Network (Nunez, 2015), Claro Sports, CBI (CANOC Broadcasting Inc.), TyC (Torneos y Competencias), Rede Record Sport TV, and many others (Toronto2015, 2015b). These networks had broadcast the games to the USA and Canada, as well as many Caribbean and Latin American nations. The Pan and Parapan American Games displayed Toronto and its Waterfront to a multi-national audience, and potentially created avenues for future foreign direct investment which is beyond the scope of this research.

In order to maximize profits from Waterfront developments, the commodification of nature plays a significant role. Not only are these developments steps away from and/or in view of Lake Ontario, a natural and coveted feature, but the creation of urban parks, green paths, and other greenspace intensify this commodification. Why is nature in the urban form so valuable to consumers? Why is it economically attractive? Perhaps it is due to nature's hand in moderating the urban climate, a human need to be in close proximity to nature, and nature's contribution to social, medical, and psychological benefits. While previous forms of neoliberalism viewed the addressing of environmental issues as an obstacle to capital accumulation, the current form of roll-with-it neoliberalism (mentioned in previous chapters) advocates ecological approaches, such as sustainability. Due to consumer support and the marketability of sustainability, a green emphasis in urban development is profitable. Simply

put, environmental sustainability sells. Perhaps these are the reasons Waterfront Toronto need not strictly adhere to the Official Plan's social justice goals, choosing the extent to which it adheres to the Official Plan in the form of 20% affordable housing provision. It is also important to note that addressing social justice issues is difficult without provincial and/or federal funding for social housing. Thus, Waterfront Toronto's affordable housing provision, while small, is a notable achievement. This adheres to roll-with-it neoliberalism that calls for social, political, and economic transformations, as well as holds social concern in particular regard.

The marketability of environmental sustainability is clearly apparent in the West Don Lands. Corktown Common is a renaturalized urban park, and the River City Condominiums are a unique and innovative sustainable building complex that will be the first residential buildings in Canada to be carbon-neutral. These sites embody successful and environmentally sustainable projects. However, what of social sustainability? What of the increasing need for social housing? From the history of housing policy presented earlier in this chapter, since 1993, there have been almost no new units built in the city because new social housing provision and its related programs are "unsustainable" (Moore and Skaburskis, 2004, 400). It is interesting to compare the Ataratiri vision for the West Don Lands with today. The project was an ambitious, large scale development proposal to address the need for the supply of non-profit and affordable housing. The units in Ataratiri were to be comprised of 60% social housing and 40% market housing. It was to be a "socially and demographically balanced and environmentally sound community for 12,000 to 14,000 people" (Burns, 1990, 2) that prioritized social equity and inclusion. In the end, various reasons, including high costs for site remediation, reliance on the public sector for financing, and decreased funding due to the economic recession of the late 1980s led to its demise.

Today's vision for the West Don Lands relies heavily on the private, not public, sector investing and developing projects, thus minimizing the financial strain upon the City and senior levels of government. Plans indicate only 20% affordable housing (which translates to 1,200 of its total 6,000 units), with no mention of social housing provision. This percentage is unsurprising due to Waterfront Toronto's green emphasis and sidelining of social sustainability. Recalling the WCED's understanding of sustainability that is to provide shelter for *all* individuals, can a development claim to be "inherently sustainable" (TWRC, 2005b, 35) and a mixed community if it neglects social housing provision? This neglect also creates a space where access to nature, sustainable construction, and other amenities offered in the West Don Lands excludes social groups with little to no income.

To date, of the area's planned 6,000 residential units where only 1,200 are affordable housing, there currently exists a small Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) building complex with a total of 243 affordable housing (not social housing) units. The views from these low lying buildings are obstructed by the surrounding taller buildings and nearby highway. The complex is also situated adjacent to River City and stands very simple and box-like in design compared to River City's bold and self-proclaimed iconic architecture. Due to this contrast, its identity is apparent: from its plain design, it does not appear to be a costly condominium. From the interview with the Senior Development Manager of the TCHC, Andrew Goodyear, they had to be "financially prudent" and this project "has to be sufficient enough to maintain itself over time." Thus, the result is a plain design free of embellishments: "the buildings are not particularly bold, they're not subtle." He had stated that the maximum income the complex's residents can have is four times more than the amount of rent. There is no minimum. Table 2 presented calculations for the maximum incomes per unit type. These maximum annual incomes, as well as the monthly rents, demonstrate the exclusion of the extremely disadvantaged from the complex. While Goodyear states the TCHC's mandate is

to “ensure everyone has a quality home to live in,” this “everyone” is not “everyone” in this West Don Lands project. Furthermore, tenant selection was a first-come first-serve process, and, as Goodyear states, “because it’s an affordable housing building and not a social housing building, it’s just an open selection process. It was just advertised as a building and ... if they met the income requirements, they could rent a unit.” Groups from low socioeconomic backgrounds with lack of technological access and some disabled groups may not have even seen the advertisement. It should be noted that even if the TCHC were to disagree with any aspect of this development, they were not included in the decision-making process by Waterfront Toronto, and had to adapt to given requirements.

Of the 6,000 expected residential units in the West Don Lands, 1,040 will be from the redeveloped Athletes’ Village with 787 units of market housing and 253 units of affordable housing. The Athletes’ Village is currently being refurbished, and there stands the possibility that changes to the number of affordable units may occur, as seen from the briefly presented case study earlier in this Results and Analysis chapter regarding Vancouver’s Olympic Village that was created for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Waterfront Toronto’s policy documents state that the West Don Lands is sustainable. While it is far from an unsustainable space, it cannot achieve sustainability by aggressively advocating environmental awareness and marginalizing issues such as social housing provision. Certainly, there have been almost no new social housing units built since 1993, but a new neighbourhood development, especially one that is marketed as sustainable, offers a great opportunity for social housing provision.

The understanding of sustainability as one that emphasizes environmental awareness, green spaces, low impact building materials, and innovative design is reflected in the interviews from Waterfront Toronto, ZAS Architects, and MMM Group.

From the interview with Anna Palamarchuk of Waterfront Toronto, environmental, but also social sustainability is mentioned in her definition for sustainability. She states that the West Don Lands will be "an amazing mixed use community ... for all income levels," that the area has "a huge affordable housing component" which is one of their core mandates, and that "the Waterfront isn't only for people who can afford really expensive condos, it's for everybody, for students, for low income families." She believes that it will be a "really great integrated community." However, the reality is far from this. Due to the lack of social housing, certain income groups are excluded from this space, such as the extremely poor, resulting in a community that is not truly mixed. Furthermore, 20% affordable housing is not a "huge" provision in a city where there is a major shortage. Why is there not a larger percentage of affordable housing provision? Perhaps the cause of this is Waterfront Toronto's connections to the market, desire to remain competitive, the need to produce profitable spaces, and insufficient funding of new social housing projects from senior levels of government. The agency claims to be "pushing the bar to be market-transforming" and "selling land to the highest bidder" – that is, of course, as long as proposed projects comply with environmental sustainability requirements. Interestingly, one requirement is carbon-neutral certification. If developers have enough money, this can be easily obtained by purchasing carbon credits, which is "a major sustainability achievement." The agency is also always keeping in touch with market trends and what is profitable. One example of this can be seen in regard to green roofs in River City: "As the market allows, developers will be putting more effort on what kinds of species they plant on their roofs." Another key example from the interview regards the commodification of the nature in Corktown Common: "From an economic perspective, it really draws people to the area. It's maybe a reason why people would buy a condo in that area."

The combined interview with ZAS Architects and MMM Group demonstrates the extent to which environmental sustainability exists in one of Waterfront Toronto's overseen projects: River City. Waterfront Toronto's emphasis on environmentally-aware construction is epitomized in this development. Not only is it soon to achieve LEED Gold, but it consumes less energy, does not use unnecessary materials, and has green roofs that "almost every unit looks on to." Similar to Waterfront Toronto, profitability and attention to the market were significant motivators, and the green roof visibility from almost all units expresses this, as well as their desire to create an "environmental lifestyle that was attractive, that people would want to buy into." Furthermore, the design and development teams were influenced by Urban Capital's "strong business angle" where the developer "was always bringing us back to 'we have to build units where people are desiring to buy.'" Therefore, while the project designers aimed to create a sustainable building, they were also limited by what is and is not profitable.

The two interviews with representatives from two community organizations, a local neighbourhood residents and business association and Friends of Corktown Common (FCC), as well as the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, were revealing. The anonymous executive member of the local neighbourhood residents and business association had an understanding of sustainability that emphasized walkability and family-friendliness rather than the economic benefits of sustainable projects, similar to responses by Andrew Goodyear from the TCHC. However, Erin Balser's understanding of sustainability was similar to that of Waterfront Toronto's where she emphasized environmental awareness, economic benefits, and addressing social issues, such as "increasing the quality of life." The interview with Goodyear demonstrated a well-rounded understanding of sustainability that included environmental, financial, social, and cultural aspects. Not only must the West Don Lands TCHC building be environmentally sustainable, social sustainability must also be kept in mind, such as by "providing jobs and training" to residents. In this manner, the development

is “not just a one-time benefit, but a continued benefit in terms of community facilities and things like that.” The nearby YMCA, two child care centres, and HealthShield Pharmacy are a few indicators of such facilities. Additional details of Goodyear’s conception of sustainability can be found in the Interviews section of this chapter.

During the discussion of Corktown Common, the executive member of the local neighbourhood residents and business association underscored the value of an urban park for attracting both members of the community and people from elsewhere in the city. Perhaps unknowningly, her statement inherently speaks of the investment potential of neighbourhoods with green spaces. Likewise, Goodyear also indirectly states that the park will offer people a connection to nature and be a lure to move into the area. Balser underscores this and demonstrates the previously stated consumer appeal of urban nature: “Nature is essential to any community, especially as we get increasingly urbanized communities. Greenspace is more and more important due to social benefits, mental health benefits.”

In regard to River City, while the anonymous executive member offered many compliments on the bold design, she also noted that units, in general, were very small. This questions its liveability, especially for families. Additionally, the local neighbourhood residents and business association found it difficult to reach out to residents of River City, but she cites the cause “could be the age group they’re in, they don’t have much community interest. For instance, in my 20s, I didn’t really care where I live.” Balser had similar opinions as well. While she admired their goal of LEED Gold, she also noted that the units are not family-friendly and are also very small: “The more people that live in them and the smaller the units can be, the more money you make as a developer.” The only concern Goodyear had, however, was that the condominiums were very inward looking and thus appeared to be disconnected from the TCHC building complex. Regarding the topic of development in the West Don Lands, similar to the anonymous executive member, Erin

Balser noted the rapid redevelopment of the West Don Lands and its increasing affordability issues. As Goodyear stated, "the whole reason the West Don lands exists now is because of preparation for the Pan Am Games . . . Some of it may have happened, but it would have happened at a different pace or different way . . . It catalyzed the development." The space was created for the goal of a sustainable development in the Waterfront area that is also profitable. This affordability issue Balser mentioned could be attributed to the fact that, in the past, not much existed in the space: there was no River City, and no Corktown Common. These features contribute to the economic attractiveness of the area, and, thus, decrease the area's affordability. It also explains the minimal provision of affordable housing and complete lack of social housing.

With the decreasing affordability of the redeveloping and increasingly green West Don Lands, perhaps it is fortunate that even 20% of its residential units are planned to be affordable. This could be a satisfactory statement were it not for the neighbourhood's mandate to be a truly sustainable space. For this to be achieved, not only must projects in the West Don Lands be environmentally aware (a goal it has succeeded in and will continue to do so), but there is also a need for social inclusion and equity, access to environmental sustainability in the form of greenspace and green construction for a full range of social groups, and housing provision for various household types and income backgrounds (including those of very low income).

The driving force of this research is to explore the reality of sustainability in the current neoliberal model. As mentioned previously, today's governance is reshaped by neoliberal influence. Urban goals, such as sustainable development, are addressed with strategies and policies that are compliant with market-oriented practices. Waterfront Toronto's own planning policies are embedded with sustainable language that is also business-friendly. With sustainability being the guide for the future of progressive

urbanization, roll-with-it neoliberalism has embraced addressing environmental issues while only partially addressing social sustainability. This is reflected in much urban planning policy and practice.

The primary objective of the West Don Lands is to create a mixed use and diverse urban community of people from various backgrounds, ages, housing types and tenures, and social and economic statuses. Waterfront Toronto does state that sustainable development must "result in the overall environmental enhancement, economic benefit, and social/cultural gain" (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 10). However, a careful examination of the statement lists social gain last, and is also merged with the often-commodified term of culture. This not only dilutes the importance of social issues, but it also changes the meaning. It distances the social away from topics such as social housing provision and equitable access. Furthermore, the phrase itself is commodified by the term "gain." This decreased importance of social issues, compared to the environmental, is visible in the landscape of the West Don Lands that currently has 243 completed affordable units out of an expected 1,200 affordable units from a planned total of 6,000 residential units. Recalling back to Goodyear's explanation of cultural sustainability, integrating social housing units would disagree with the socio-economic makeup that is planned for the community. In order to achieve cultural goals – cultural "gain" – the social aspect of sustainability is minimized to affordable housing and foregone entirely with regard to social housing provision. Thus, Waterfront Toronto's statement of sustainable development is very accurately depicted in the landscape of the West Don Lands.

While disadvantaged groups are often found in spatial isolation, socially mixed communities may contribute to the deconcentration of poverty. Such communities also create more socially sustainable spaces by providing improved access to meaningful employment, educational opportunities, networking, socially upward mobility, amenities, public services, and often blurs class boundaries. However, as introduced in the Diversity section of the

Literature Review chapter, on pages 18 and 19, the culture of poverty is unwelcomed and is perceived to be associated with negative social problems such as violence and crime. Furthermore, such communities may not result in the building of positive relationships between groups. In some cases, the relationship can be one of othering and resentment. At its core, the West Don Lands is selling nature and environmental sustainability. As nature and green building contribute to the lure of urban spaces by improving their aesthetic and economic attractiveness, their potential for profitability, the "gain," is devalued if social issues are earnestly tackled. This is demonstrated not only in the absent social housing units and minimal affordable units, but also the TCHC building complex itself which, while meeting LEED Gold and other neighbourhood green standards, does not have additional sustainable design elements that exist in River City, nor was the TCHC involved in the decision-making process and instead told to adhere to given requirements. A comparison with the neighbouring condominium should not be made as the TCHC building is characterized by "humility" (interpreted as low income), and is "simple but thoughtful, modest yet mature" (interpreted as the bare minimum) (Goodyear, 2014). Additionally, rather than the private sector, it was funded by the federal, provincial, and municipal governments. Its repair costs are covered by the TCHC and remediation costs by Waterfront Toronto (TCHC, 2015). In this superficial act of social sustainability and inclusion, exclusion and social class division is evident.

Interestingly, when explaining how Waterfront Toronto will achieve sustainability, the policy states that it plans for "vibrant, welcoming, healthy and inclusive waterfront communities" (Waterfront Toronto, 2009, 5). By embracing only 20% affordable (rather than social) housing, the neighbourhood can claim it is mixed and diverse, while not being too welcoming and too inclusive to extremely disadvantaged groups that it loses its market edge and economic viability. Thus, the landscape accurately reflects this dilution of "social gain."

Recalling the failure of the social housing project of Ataratiri, perhaps today's limited affordable housing provision in the West Don Lands is a great feat. Over $300 million was invested before the Ataratiri project was cancelled in 1992 by Bob Rae, the leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP) of Ontario and 21st Premier of Ontario at the time (Henderson, 2006). In the end, the Ataratiri project never came to fruition. While the West Don Lands project does exceed Ataratiri's costs, much of this is covered by the private sector developers. Unlike Ataratiri, the West Don Lands development continues and is projected to be profitable. While the lack of social housing remains a significant issue, according to John Campbell, the President and CEO of Waterfront Toronto from April 2003 until December 2015 (Da Silva, 2015; Waterfront Toronto, 2015c), the West Don Lands neighbourhood is "not designed to be a social ghetto at all, it's just designed to be affordable" (Henderson, 2006). This statement was in response to explaining the objective of the West Don Lands: creating a neighbourhood with an affordable housing component, rather than a social housing project. The area's provision of 20% affordable housing, a mere 1,200 out of 6,000 residential units, reflects this. Waterfront Toronto's policy documents all-but-blatantly-state the goal of being distanced from social housing. This is bluntly and crudely addressed by Campbell: if social housing was to be provided, it would attract the city's extremely disadvantaged groups and alter the sustainable space into a "ghetto," welcoming issues (e.g. violence and crime) these groups are supposedly perceived to attract.

Regarding the reality of sustainability, it is certainly possible in the current neoliberal era as urban policies and the West Don Lands demonstrate. However, while neoliberal governance desires economic success and the very profitable trend of sustainability, this desire cannot be maximized if profitable avenues are forgone in order to address social matters, such as housing provision for the urban poor. This is even more so the case in the West Don Lands as the area is highly valuable and marketable due to proximity to natural

assets and green construction. Furthermore, the neighbourhood heavily relies on the profit-seeking private sector for development.

The interview with Anna Palamarchuk describes the West Don Lands as “an amazing community ... for all income levels” – as long as it is not for all income levels. Waterfront Toronto claims that it wants to meet “the needs of everyone” (TWRC, 2005a, 1.3) – as long as it is not everyone. Urban planning policy appears to be, first and foremost, an instrument for neoliberalism, rather than for social goods. Neoliberalism does advocate sustainability as long as it is realistic in the sense of profitability; it must not be too idealistic, too sustainable. It seems the future and reality of sustainability is a marketable environmentally sustainable one with some desire of a diluted social sustainability.

- CHAPTER EIGHT -
CONCLUSIONS

Toward the beginning of this thesis, a question was asked: Are needs met for all members of society? Throughout this research, it was revealed that, in certain forms of urban development and governance, needs are not met for some societal groups as it is not profitable to do so. Existing theories in sustainable development demonstrate that preserving the environment and ensuring basic human needs are met for all members of society must occur for sustainability to be successfully achieved. However, neoliberalism and its impacts on urban governance present a formidable obstacle. It influences policies under the pretence of addressing social and environmental goods. Its theoretical objective is to reshape governance in accordance with the market due to the belief that this will create the most optimal social results. However, it must be asked: optimal for whom? Its actual objective is to influence governance and urban developments, and steer them in a profitable direction. Although environmental sustainability is marketable, social sustainability is not. While social sustainability exists within neoliberal policies, it is subsumed, buried, and diluted by other terms, such as cultural sustainability. In this manner, a sustainability that embraces both the environmental and social is superficially achieved. In actuality, environmental sustainability is wholeheartedly embraced and commodified, while social issues, such as social housing provision, stand marginalized even in a context where a dire need exists – as is the case for the City of Toronto. Unfortunately, for such manner of housing, it is only socially profitable. Economic profitability is of greater significance in a neoliberalism-influenced sustainability.

Framing results of the research within urban political ecology, power relations, certainly between nature and society, but, also, within society is evident and creates landscapes of inequality. Neoliberal sustainable urban development strives for capital accumulation, and socio-nature is marketed for the benefit of specific income groups. Perhaps the inherent cause of ineffectual sustainability lies in the capitalist urbanization process itself.

Urban space, a limited commodity, must continually manufacture increasing wealth in order for capitalism to successfully thrive in urban developments. Addressing key issues like social housing within sustainable developments obstruct capital accumulation, especially since nature and green construction produce aesthetically attractive and economically profitable spaces. Not only does this create exclusionary sustainable spaces, but it could also be said that this does not create sustainable spaces at all.

Throughout this thesis and the study sites of Corktown Common and River City, it is clear that the West Don Lands is an environmentally sustainable urban space. The neighbourhood is projected to offer only 1,200 affordable housing units out of 6,000 residential units, and improved access to various infrastructure and services that exist primarily due to the area's higher income groups. The rents for affordable housing units cleverly exclude the extremely disadvantaged by requiring a maximum allowable income and no minimum. In this way, Anna Palamarchuk of Waterfront Toronto can comfortably state that the neighbourhood is "an amazing mixed community . . . for all income levels" and "the Waterfront isn't only for people who can afford really expensive condos, it's for . . . low income families." By including a maximum allowable income in order to qualify for affordable housing, 589 King Street East can be said to provide for the needs of lower income groups (without specifying how low) as it excludes those of higher income. Additionally, the TCHC's Andrew Goodyear stating that there is no minimum income and that being able to pay rent is at the tenant's discretion indeed superficially allows inclusion. In reality, low income groups would not be able to afford the monthly rent and other living expenses. Furthermore, affordable housing is 80% of market rent and this "discount" is meagre at best, making visible the exclusion inherent in affordable housing. While some affordable housing is better than none, the approach to addressing social sustainability rings hollow in the West Don Lands.

The primary research question asks if neoliberalism and sustainability are compatible, and, in some regards, they are. It can be said that neoliberalism and environmental sustainability are more compatible than neoliberalism and social sustainability. The West Don Lands case study demonstrates numerous accomplishments in urban sustainability, from a renaturalized public park to green building standards to some affordable housing provision. However, social issues are not given as much attention as environmental concerns, and it is evident that only a limited version of sustainable development can occur in neoliberalism. In the 1990s, the neoliberal federal and provincial governments cut funding to social housing programs, and downloaded these responsibilities to municipalities. Since 1993, there have been almost no new social housing units built in the City of Toronto. Roll-back neoliberalism had disposed of the welfare state and its social programs. Roll-out had aimed for market-oriented governance. The current incarnation of neoliberalism, roll-with-it neoliberalism, addresses the many crises created by its predecessors through reformation of neoliberal practices, calling for social, political, and economic transformations. The West Don Lands is an example of roll-with-it 2 neoliberal governance (see page 11 of this thesis for a definition). If this neighbourhood were to exist during roll-out, there would likely be no social issues addressed. Although roll-with-it does not fully attend to social issues, it also does not abandon them completely. While there are no social housing units, Waterfront Toronto does aim to allocate 20% of the site's residential units to affordable housing – whether this will be actually realized or not. Neoliberalism and sustainability are compatible, but is the extent of their compatibility acceptable? Is a neoliberal sustainability that encompasses environmental concern and some affordable housing provision acceptable at the cost of marginalizing the escalating issue of social housing? Returning back to the concept of sustainable development that was detailed in *Our Common Future* by the United Nations (WCED, 1987), "the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations is the major objective of development" (p. 37).

The document specifies that "sustainable development *requires* [emphasis added] meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life" (p.37). A few examples of these basic human needs are "food, clothing, shelter, [and] jobs" (p. 37). Sustainability requires housing provision (shelter) for even low income groups, and this cannot be addressed through affordable housing as it excludes the most vulnerable populations. Unfortunately, affordable housing is the greatest extent into social sustainability that neoliberalism currently allows. Perhaps this is the reality of sustainability that must be accepted in neoliberalism unless significant changes are made to the current mode of urban governance.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questionnaires

Interview:
Anna Palamarchuk (Waterfront Toronto)

1) Could you tell me a little of Waterfront Toronto's mandate?

2) What is your role in this organization?

3) There are many different interpretations of sustainable development. What does it mean to you?

4) What are the criteria that must be adhered to in the creation of sustainable development?

5) How does Waterfront Toronto enforce sustainability standards in the West Don Lands? (For example: the requirement of LEED Gold certification for all projects.)

6) Do you offer any incentives to developers for sustainable innovation?

7) If so, what are they?

8) As sustainable development has become increasingly associated with the inclusion of nature in urban space, what is your opinion on the value of urban nature?

9) Does the value of nature in the urban differ from nature outside the city?

10) One of the many projects in the West Don Lands is Corktown Common Park (formerly known as Don River Park). In what ways does this park contribute to the goal of a sustainable West Don Lands?

11) Another key project is River City. How do these condominiums adhere to Waterfront Toronto's sustainability standards?

12) How do the River City Condominiums contribute to a sustainable West Don Lands?

13) As the Pan Am and Parapan American Games are approaching in 2015 with its Athletes' Village in the West Don Lands, what are the impacts of this upon the location?

14) As I understand, at least half of the developments are expected to be completed prior to the Games. What pressures does Waterfront Toronto face in meeting these completion deadlines?

15) Has this caused any design and/or construction changes in projects?

16) Is it expected that Corktown Common Park will be fully completed prior to the Games?

17) What role will the park serve during the Games?

18) After the Games' conclusion, what will happen to the park?

19) Are any of the River City Condominiums expected to be completed prior to the Games? (Phase 1, Phase 2, Phase 3, Phase 4)

20) What are the benefits of having the Athletes' Village located in the West Don Lands?

21) How satisfied are you with what is being built in the West Don Lands?

22) What would you do differently, if given the chance?

Joint Interview:
Rob Connor (ZAS Architects) and Anna Kazmierska (MMM Group)

1) Could you tell me a little about ZAS Architects and its mandate? / Could you tell me a little about MMM Group and its mandate?

2) What is your role in this company? What do you do?

3) As there are many different interpretations of sustainable development, what does it mean to you and your firms?

4) Sustainability is an umbrella term that includes sustainable transport, density, diversity, mixed land uses, compactness, and many other facets. It is also increasingly associated with green spaces, with nature in urban space.
   i. What is your opinion on the value of urban nature?
   ii. Does the value of nature in the urban differ from nature outside the city?

5) One of your many projects are the River City Condominiums in the West Don Lands, Toronto, Ontario.
   i. As you worked in conjunction with Urban Capital Development Group, what was your firm's role in this project?
   ii. Was there anything about this particular location that drew you to take on the project?
   iii. What goals did you have in mind to achieve?
   iv. In what way does the particular design of the condominiums make it unique?
   v. Could you tell me of some of the specific ways in which your designs for this project were sustainable?

6) Waterfront Toronto (formerly known as the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Committee) oversaw all development in the West Don Lands, including River City Condominiums.
   i. Had they given you any sustainability criteria to adhere to? If so, what are they?
   ii. How did you achieve various sustainability standards for this project?
   iii. Did you experience any difficulties in attaining these standards?
   iv. Were you able to recuperate the costs of meeting these standards?

v. Were green spaces included in any part of your sustainable designs?
vii. If so, how did they enhance your designs?

7) The condominiums, located in the West Don Lands, are currently in a space that is undergoing much development. This is due to the Athletes' Village for the approaching 2015 Pan Am and Parapan American Games being located here. The impacts of this event have been felt since many years prior. Developments in the area experienced numerous obstacles, such as shortened deadlines.
   i. Did these Games have an effect on your firm's role in the development of the condominiums?
   ii. Did you experience any pressures that resulted in design and/or construction changes in the project?
   iii. Are you satisfied with the final design of the condominiums?
   iv. What would you do differently, if given the chance?

Interview:
Andrew Goodyear (Toronto Community Housing Corporation)

1) Could you tell me a little of TCHC's mandate?

2) What is your role in this organization?

3) The West Don Lands area is being promoted as a sustainable space. As there are many different interpretations of sustainability, what does it mean to you?

4) How does the TCHC building at 589 King Street East adhere to Waterfront Toronto's sustainability standards in the West Don Lands? (For example: the requirement of LEED Gold certification for all projects in the area.) Alternatively, in what manner is the building sustainable? (For example: building materials, energy efficiency)

5) What is the tenant selection process for 589 King Street East?

6) What are the required tenant income ranges to qualify?

7) What are the rents of the various unit types?

8) The River City Condominiums are a close neighbour. Does there exist a good feeling of community cohesion and inclusion?

9) With Corktown Common Park being completed, what do you think the benefits are of having such a space just steps away from 589 King Street East?

10) The Pan Am and Parapan American Games were held in August 2015, and its Athletes Village lay in the West Don Lands. Have you seen any lasting impacts this event had upon the area?

11) How satisfied are you with the TCHC building in the West Don Lands?

12) Are there any neighbourhood amenities that you would add, if given the chance?

13) Have you been included in the decision-making process by Waterfront Toronto?

14) What does this inclusion entail? (Are your inputs truly being taken into account?)

Interview:
Anonymous Executive Member of a Local Neighbourhood Residents and Business Association

1) Could you tell me a little of the Association's mandate?

2) What is your role in this organization? What do you do?

3) How long have you resided in the Corktown neighbourhood?

4) How did you end up living here?

5) What is it about this area that really drew you, more than any other place in Toronto?

6) What is the neighbourhood like?

7) Has it changed in any way, especially recently due to the Pan Am Games related construction?

8) The West Don Lands area is being promoted as a sustainable space. There are many different interpretations of sustainable development. What does it mean to you?

9) Sustainability has become increasingly associated with nature, as can be seen in the West Don Lands. How do these natural spaces make you feel, especially seeing it in urban space where often there exists very little nature?

10) Does having nature at your doorstep fulfil the need to exit the city into rural areas and experience rural nature?

11) Are they the same or different – rural versus urban nature?

12) Do you think a location can be defined as sustainable solely through the inclusion of nature or are there other requirements?

13) Does the Association have any connections to Corktown Common, such as events?

14) What do you like about Corktown Common Park, such as its design?

14) Do you think the park is big enough?

15) Is there anything more that the park should have?

16) How do you feel about the way in which the park is marketed?

17) Also still being completed and adjacent to the park, what do you like about the River City Condominiums?

18) Should more condominiums be built in this style?

19) How do you feel about the way these condominiums are being marketed?

20) Do you believe Corktown Common and River City are successfully achieving sustainable development? What about the West Don Lands as a whole?

21) The Pan Am and Parapan American Games are approaching in 2015, and its Athletes' Village will be in the West Don Lands. Have you seen any impacts of the approaching Games upon the area?

22) What do you think the impacts are?

23) There is a great deal of construction in the West Don Lands now. What do you think the future of the area is and the outcome of these developments? Do you think they will be completed without compromising sustainability?

24) Have you been included in the decision-making process by Waterfront Toronto?

25) What does this inclusion entail? (Are your inputs truly being taken into account?)

Interview:
Erin Balser (Friends of Corktown Common)

1) Could you tell me a little of the Friends of Corktown Common's mandate?

2) What is your role in this organization?

3) How long have you resided in the Corktown neighbourhood?

4) How did you end up living here?

5) What is it about this area that really drew you, more than any other place in Toronto?

6) What is the neighbourhood like?

7) Has it changed in any way?

8) The West Don Lands area is being promoted as a sustainable space. There are many different interpretations of sustainable development. What does it mean to you?

9) Sustainability has become increasingly associated with nature, as can be seen in the West Don Lands. How do these natural spaces make you feel, especially seeing it in urban space where often there exists very little nature?

10) Does having nature at your doorstep fulfil the need to exit the city into rural areas and experience rural nature?

11) Are they the same or different – rural versus urban nature?

12) Do you think a location can be defined as sustainable solely through the inclusion of nature or are there other requirements?

13) What do you like about Corktown Common Park?

14) Do you think the park is big enough?

15) Is there anything more that the park should have?

16) How do you feel about the way in which the park is marketed?

17) Also still being completed, what do you like about the River City Condominiums?

18) Should more condominiums be built in this style?

19) How do you feel about the way these condominiums are being marketed?

20) Do you believe Corktown Common and River City are successfully achieving sustainable development?

21) The Pan Am and Parapan American Games are approaching in 2015, and its Athletes Village will be in the West Don Lands. Have you seen any impacts of the approaching Games upon the area?

22) What do you think the impacts are?

23) There is a great deal of construction in the West Don Lands now. What do you think the future of the area is and the outcome of these developments?

24) Have you been included in the decision-making process by Waterfront Toronto?

25) What does this inclusion entail? (Are your inputs truly being taken into account?)

Informed Consent Form

Study Name:

Sustainable Urban Development in the West Don Lands (Toronto, Ontario)

Principal Researcher:

Sarah Ariai
Masters Candidate, Graduate Program in Geography
York University
4700 Keele Street
Toronto, Ontario, M3J 1P3

Purpose of the research:

My research regards what the City of Toronto and Waterfront Toronto describe as sustainable urban development. I aim to explore this manner of development in the West Don Lands. In particular, I am interested in learning about the conceptions of sustainability by local residents and developers.

The research will be compiled in the Principal Researcher's Master's Thesis document. It will be presented during a thesis defence before an academic examining committee, faculty members, and graduate students. Furthermore, it may be presented at scholarly conferences and published in academic journals.

What you will be asked to do in the research:

Research participants will be asked to engage in a 30 to 60 minute conversation about the West Don Lands and the neighbourhood's various developments.

Risks and discomforts:

There are no foreseen risks and discomfort to be experienced by participants.

Benefits of the research and benefits to participants:

A copy of the thesis will be provided upon request.

Voluntary participation:

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the study:

You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event that you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality:

The interview documentation and recording of the participant will not be associated with any identifying information unless you choose to waive confidentiality. Data will be collected through handwritten notes and an audio recorder. The data will be securely stored on a password-protected external hard drive that only the researcher will have access to. The data will be stored until August 31, 2017 and will be destroyed (deleted) on this date. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions about the research?

If you have questions about this research and/or your role, please feel free to contact the following:

Principal Investigator	Supervisor	York University
Sarah Ariai	Dr. Douglas Young	Graduate Programme in Geography

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca.

Legal rights and signatures:

I, _____, consent to participate in the study, Sustainable Urban Development, conducted by Sarah Ariai. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

___ I choose to waive confidentiality.

_____ _____

Participant Date

_____ _____

Principal Investigator Date