Remaking the Nation-State: Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism and
Urban Revitalization

Vanessa Anne Rosa

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

June 2014

Abstract

My dissertation, *Remaking the Nation-State: Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Revitalization,* investigates the revitalization of two low-income housing projects in Toronto, Canada: Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. I situate my investigation at the intersection of nation-state/nationalism studies and urban studies and argue that processes of urban revitalization are an important site for the production of national identity and state practices. I examine links between revitalization projects and the construction of the Canadian nation-state by tracing how discourses of multiculturalism and neoliberalism gain currency in urban revitalization projects.

In particular, I investigate the links between historical urban processes of development and revitalization and North American projects of nation-state formation. I explore this entanglement by tracing what I identify as three distinct technologies that shape and are embedded in the revitalization planning process: discourses of diversity, surveillance, and consultations. I argue that the emphasis on participation of both culturally diverse and entrepreneurial subjects in community consultations and community policing integrates residents into rituals of democracy that are enmeshed with national ideals. My investigation maps this set of social processes to show how they ultimately reproduce exclusion and disparity by regulating diversity, normalizing community policing, and mandating consultations. Through my ethnographic research, I also trace how residents negotiate these processes and make meaning of participation that creates space for their own understandings of surveillance and consultation. My exploration locates the Canadian context in relation to broader examinations of nation-state making and as such can help us to understand the management of sociocultural difference and the neoliberal production of inequality in the contemporary moment.

For my father and mother, Gilbert and Kathleen Rosa
"That I'll be loving you always… "

Danielle Griffin, my soulsister and comrade Thank you for reading early drafts. This process would have been unbearable without our many phone calls and email exchanges filled with your love. I will continue to aspire to paint pictures with words the way you do.

Kathryn Trevenen/KT and Paul Saurette: For providing me with keys to your homes (and cottage!) and always welcoming me without exception; for supporting me through the loss of my parents and for reminding me that family can always be built. I can't wait to keep building and passing it on. KT: for endless hours on the phone, laying on the dock, sitting in coffee shops and rehearsing arguments with me, to talking me through moments of distress and reminding me why I love what I do. From the first time we drank lemonade together during my undergrad, you have been someone I deeply admire and am inspired by. And of course, for reading multiple (!!!) drafts of this dissertation on short notice! You are always a voice of reason in my life and I am so blessed to be showered by your love and support. Paul: From the moment I read bell hooks in your Political Theory class, my life was forever changed. It was you who let me write a final paper (on Freire!) that was different from other students—this was my first attempt at really thinking about what it meant to *be* political. You are my mentor, teacher, confidant, and dear friend who fuels my high-speed and high-intensity work mode! Thank you both for believing in me unconditionally—for constant encouragement and support. You both literally helped me finish the final pages of this dissertation. KT and Paul, I would have never imagined pursuing grad school if it weren't for both of you. You will forever be my family.

To my Grandmother. Thank you for your love and support, especially as I tried to finish writing after losing mom.

Jonathan and Gilbert, my brothers and best friends. Jonathan: you have stood by my side every day of my academic journey. You patiently (and sometimes impatiently!) edited my work in my undergraduate studies and pleaded with me to revise, revise, revise! Not only this, but you were the one who gave me *This Bridge Called My Back* as a gift. What a gift indeed. You changed my path and always believed in my project. Endless gratitude for editing this dissertation cover to cover, twice! Watching you finish your PhD inspired me to keep going—I am looking forward to that book! Profound thanks, Jonathan. Gilbert, your calm ways, endurance and ability to manage more tasks than should be humanly possible continue to set an example for me and my pursuits. Not to mention, you are forever my marathon partner and coach. You push me to my limits in runs and life! I owe you for this. Also for putting up me first on so many occasions, despite everything you had going on—I can always count on you and will never take this for granted. Jon and Gil, you have supported me in each aspect of this process—and made me laugh along the way. I really do look up to both of you. Thank you.

To my mother and father. Mom, I initially wrote these acknowledgements while you were still alive. I never imagined completing this journey without you here. Losing you continues to break my heart, but I drew on your strength to finish. You showed me that a bump in the road doesn't mean you have to give up. I originally wrote "Thank you for

bouncing back in time to see me bring this chapter of my life to a close. I'm so thankful you can be part of this." I know, in some way, you still are part of these pages. After all, it is you who took me to your small apartment, where you grew up in Regent Park, when I was young. Funny how you and dad didn't know you actually were mapping my doctoral dissertation!

Finally, to my father. It was you who made me fall in love with all things urban. We spent many hours driving up and down the streets of New York City—I could listen to you narrate the intricacies of the landscape forever, from pointing out the social and cultural "differences" from one block to the next, to the science of the timing of the street lights—something that you proudly understood and allowed you to boast that you could drive south through Manhattan at an unheard of speed (which I was lucky enough to witness first hand). Your stories of life on the street, jumping the train, driving cab, cleaning the hallways of Columbia University and the morning your family watched their home in the towers get knocked down (with the cockroaches streaming down the side like a well-organized army. I loved that detail!) never left me. I miss the days of your beautiful storytelling. While losing you and mom were the hardest things I've ever encountered, you both have given me this gift, and so much more. It keeps you with me each day. I write this for you both.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

Chapter One: Revitalizing the Nation, Revitalizing the Urban

PART II

Chapter Two: Discourses of Diversity: Managing Difference in Urban Space

List of Tables

List of Figures

<u>Abbreviations</u>

TCH: Toronto Community Housing Corporation
RPRS: Regent Park Revitalization Study
LARP: Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan
TTC: Toronto Transit Commission

Interview Citation

Pseudonyms are used for interviewees.

Interviews are cited using the following format:

Name, date of interview, and page number of the transcript being referenced (e.g. Vanessa, January 20, 2013, page 8).

Introduction

More than half of the global population was residing in urban areas in 2006. This trend is forecasted to increase with relative speed and intensity, and by 2030 this number is estimated to be 60%. Canada offers an extreme example; as of 2012, 80% of the population was living in urban areas. It is therefore no surprise that urban policies are of central importance to the economic, social, and political well-being of cities and countries around the world. The "urban" is understood as a key site where these policies are developed, tested, manifested, and renegotiated. To this end, the urban does not simply require examination because of density; rather, because cities connect global flows of people and resources, as well as impact global and international processes.

My dissertation, *Remaking the Nation-State: Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism and Urban Revitalization,* investigates the revitalization of two low-income housing projects in Toronto, Canada: Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. I situate my investigation at the intersection of nation-state/nationalism studies and urban studies. I argue that processes of urban revitalization are an important site for the production of national identity and state practices. My dissertation links historical urban processes of development, renewal, and revitalization to North American projects of nation-state formation by examining two particularly notable moments of revitalization in Toronto. Specifically, my research question is 'what do the processes of revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights tell us about how the nation-state is reconstituted at the urban-level; and, conversely, how do these local processes affect the nature of the nation-state in return?'

I examine what I identify as three distinct technologies that shape the revitalization planning processes in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights: discourses of diversity, technologies of surveillance, and consultations. I argue that the emphasis on participation of both culturally and socio-economically diverse subjects in community consultations and community policing integrates residents into rituals of democracy that are enmeshed with national ideals. My investigation maps this set of social processes to demonstrate how they ultimately reproduce exclusion and disparity by regulating diversity, normalizing community policing, and mandating consultations.

This is not primarily a theoretical dissertation; rather, it is a theoretically-informed empirical investigation whose concrete findings hold significant theoretical implications. The primary value and originality of this thesis is not its theoretical innovation. The primary value is the detailed empirical ethnographic and discourse analysis whose results help us to understand a transformative moment and process of urban revitalization in Toronto (e.g. these two generation-defining and city-altering revitalization projects) while also confirming/challenging certain theoretical assumptions made in the literature.

In this introductory chapter, I will therefore review a corpus of relevant literature on the nation, the state, the nation-state, neoliberalism, and multiculturalism in order to contextualize this study.[1] I will then discuss the main arguments and the contribution of

---

[1] Brenner defines scale as "a vertical' differentiation in which social relations are embedded within a hierarchical scaffolding of nested territorial units stretching from the global, the supranational, and the national downwards to the regional, the metropolitan, the urban, and the local, and the body (2005:9) However, while my dissertation also touches on issues that may intersect with some topics examined by scholars of site and scale, I do not to focus on this literature in detail for several reasons. First, the theoretical perspectives employed in this dissertation already allow me to explore the particularities of the local context in detail. Second, in relation to the 'scale' literature, each ethnographic chapter (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) provides insights into the ways in which the nation does not simply and straightforwardly transmit its content onto the local. Rather, it is a much more dynamic process whose specificities require detailed ethnographic mapping to understand.

this research in more detail. In the remainder of this chapter, I will outline the methodologies employed, followed by a chapter outline.

Literature Review

Nation, State, and Nation-State

From their individual evolution to their fusion in geographical and political contexts, *nation*, *state*, and *nation-state* are contested and evolving concepts that mark the formation of a particular political and social community. For the purpose of this dissertation, I explore literatures on nation and state, but focus specifically on the dynamics of the nation-state (what Etienne Balibar and Rogers Brubaker call "nationalizing"), and then proceed to more closely examine multiculturalism and neoliberalism as they are tied to nation-state formation. Because I explore these transformations in urban revitalization, I also engage with scholarship that addresses multiculturalism and neoliberalism in relation to the urban. Two questions are central to this review of the literature: 1. How do we define nation and state? And what is the relationship between nation and state? and; 2. What is the relationship between neoliberalism and multiculturalism in nation-state making processes?

Scholars on nation formation have explored the development of the *nation* in relation to its evolution in early modern Europe, colonialism/post-colonialism and separatist movements, and war and ethnic conflict (Asad 1973; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). Generally, a nation is thought to represent a political community that forms within a particular territory (Anderson 2006; Chatterjee 2003). Nationalism and nationhood have been studied as concepts that produce a sense of community between people who

"belong" to a particular nation (Bhabba 1990; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Gellner 1983; Mackey 2002; Trouillot 2003). Nations can form based on the construction of shared geography, culture, language, *or* civic ideals. Definitions of the nation that emphasize collective belonging, affective attachments, and community rely on metaphors of a national family: motherland, fatherland, blood, kin, homeland, homegrown, mother tongue, etc. (Anderson 1983; McClintock 1993:63; Pettman 1996:45). Such framings not only take for granted the alleged naturalness of the nation, but also assume common connections among people who are considered "members" of a nation. These framings also evacuate the politics embedded in nationalism: "affective terminology masks the political nature of nationalism by naturalising the relationships between the constituents of the nation, by symbolically removing the nation from politics" (Graham 2008:19).

But what is the value in defining "nation"? Can it be defined? Is it real or imagined? Is it a category of analysis or a category of practice? Rogers Brubaker highlights the challenges of defining nations, nationalism and nationhood. He suggests that any attempt to define or study "nation" actually reifies its "realness." Moreover, he argues that we should decouple the study of nationhood and nation-ness from the study of nations and nationalism; to do otherwise actually reifies the nation as real and natural. For many scholars studying the history and rise of the nation, "nation" as such is a taken for granted entity—whether real or imagined (Anderson 1991; Bhabba 1990).

The production of the nation has been explored as a process of nation-building, as well as one of nationalizing (Asad 1987; Anderson 1991; Balibar 1991; Brubaker 1996; Mackey 2002; Mongia 2013). While both perspectives are similar in that they don't take the "nation" as a natural entity, and both agree that there are "flexible strategies" in

nation-building, the former centralizes the role of the formation of community, the histories of colonialism and the building of the nation as a "western project." This nation-building approach also examines the essential features in each of these contexts. By contrast, an approach that explores the nation from the perspective of nationalizing risks dismissing the role of colonialism, but makes a much broader argument by unpacking how the nation, and the rise of nationalism, can swallow nationalist institutions. Importantly, this latter perspective centers upon a methodology of studying the nation by examining the specific moments or "events" in nation-formation. This approach does not take the nation for granted, but challenges the tendency to "impute national characteristics to all operations of the state and points to the dangers of attributing, retroactively, a national character to "non-national" forms" (Mongia 2012:200). Both approaches, however, make clear that one cannot take for granted the existence of the "nation", or the arbitrary features of nation. Each side of the debate are crucial for understanding and defining the nation.

The notion of nationalizing insists upon the fact that in order to understand nationalism one must first understand "practical uses of the category "nation," the ways it can come to structure perception, to inform thought and experience, *to organize discourse into political action*" (Brubaker 1996:7, my emphasis added). Rogers Brubaker (1996) unpacks this notion in the context of Eastern Europe and Eurasia, where he concludes that states undergo processes of "nationalizing" that would institutionalize different facets of nationalism without a defined nationhood or nationality. So, for example, in the case of the Soviet Union and its successor states, it institutionalized ideas about the territory of the nation and cultural attachments to the nation with long-term unintended consequences

(1996:7-8, 23-54). The point here is two-fold: 1) the construction of nations/multi-nationality by institutionalizing a system of nations can have unintended effects; and, 2) producing a nation does not necessarily require nationalism.

What is particularly useful for my discussion is that the central feature of the Canadian nation-building project employs flexible and arbitrary strategies—in some cases these strategies appear contradictory or conflicting. I understand nationalism as a historically-produced political, social, economic, and cultural formation; it can take different forms, is subject to historical transformations and employs different, arbitrary strategies/technologies. I do not understand the nation as geographically bound or unchanging. I investigate the nation as a category of practice by exploring the different events and "moments" where the nation takes shape; but, for the sake of my investigation, I do think it is crucial to then explore the nation as a category of analysis. This allows me to look at both discursive and material formations, and to problematize the taken-for-granted nature of the nation without reifying it. For the purposes of my exploration, this is essential because, as I demonstrate, the nation is always in flux and being re-constituted at the scale of the urban; as Mackey and others highlight, it is the "flexible strategies in the nation-building project that are worthy of investigation" (Mackey 2002:17). So for example, in the case of urban revitalization, we can trace differing, and sometimes contrasting, notions of nationalism and what it means to be "Canadian."

The *state* has been theorized in relation to the nation in two key ways: 1) the state as required for nation formation (Giddens 1985:119); and, 2) the state is often detached from a definition of the nation to define distinct political or governmental structures. In

both cases, scholars have approached definitions of the state as a social relation, a political entity, an economic force, or some combination of all three (Jessop 1990; Rose and Miller 1992; Panitch 2000; Panitch and Gindin 2004.). Theorizations of the state often explore bureaucratic structures, institutions or forms of governance, and government, as well as the states changing role under globalization (is the state still relevant?) (Jessop 2007; Panitch 2000). While there are other debates that are central to theorizing the state (Weberian vs. neo-marxist, structural-functionalist vs. pluralist, societal vs. political) (Anderson 1974; Barclay 2003; Barrow 1993; Bartleson 2001; Block 1977; Duzsa 1989; Gibson 2008; Hirst 1993; Jessop 2002;; Poggi 1990; Poulantzas 2000; Skocpol 1985; Svallfors 2007; Weber 1968; Wallerstein 1974 and 1980), for the purposes of this dissertation, I will examine the debate on states from the perspective of whether it should be understood primarily as an *actor* or a *structure*—understanding, of course, that some of the other debates certainly impact how we understand state as an actor or organization (Skocpol 1985:9). This then leads to two key questions in the context of this dissertation: 1) what impact does the state have in political and social processes; and, 2) what role does the state play in defining urban transformations?

Broadly stated, we can divide perspectives on the state into or whether they understand the state primarily as a structure whose rules define the playing field (which may indirectly help or hinder certain actors but are ideally neutral), but does not actively intervene in specific contests, or whether they primarily conceptualize the state as an actor who intervenes actively and directly to shape the outcomes of various struggles. The former perspective is what we might call liberal, neutralist theories of the state. Perhaps the most famous modern proponent of this view in political and social theory is

John Rawls(1999, 2005). According to Rawls (1999), the foundational premise of the liberal democratic state is that it is an arbiter whose procedural neutrality makes it indifferent to any specific conceptions of the good, and thus particular political and social contests. For Rawls (1999), once the constitution and basic political procedures are established (accomplished in the *Theory of Justice* by the theoretical thought experiment of the 'original position' and through an analysis of an alleged 'overlapping consensus' in *Political Liberalism*), the state must simply work to ensure that these function neutrally and equally. The state, from this perspective, cannot be an interested actor. For if it were to intervene in specific struggles to shape the outcome, it would necessarily be privileging one particular vision of the good, and thus it would lose its basic justification (e.g. its ability to ensure a fair and neutral playing field for its democratic citizenry).[2]

Interestingly, many theoretical perspectives that are often viewed to inhabit the opposite end of the political spectrum (i.e. compared to Rawls' defence of the liberal welfare state) also argue that the state should be little more than a neutral structure. Thinkers such as Robert Nozick, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Freidman (theorists who are the intellectual underpinning of contemporary neoliberal conservatism) forward this vision even more forcefully than Rawls. On Nozick's view, the problem with Rawls' conception of liberalism is that it is not nearly liberal enough; that is, Rawls' largely proceduralist, minimalist, and non-interventionist view of the state gives it far too much room to intervene in ways that limit the liberty of individual citizens, etc. In *Anarchy,*

---

[2] Whether Rawls' political vision would actually achieve what he claims is an entirely different question, as many scholars from diverse perspectives have argued that Rawls' system inherently privileges and assumes a variety of subjectivities and ideological positions. The point I am making here, therefore, is not that Rawls' system is successful in what it claims to do. Rather, I am simply using his perspective as an exemplar of theories that assume/portray the state as a neutral structure.

State and Utopia, Nozick (1974) argues that, for philosophical reasons, the state should have virtually no role in anything beyond establishing and enforcing the barest of rules that protect the life and liberty of its citizens. According to Nozick (1974), even Rawls' *'minimax' principle*—a basic constitutional principle that underpins the mild redistributive policies of Rawls' ideal state—is too interventionist as it vitiates the essential philosophical principle of neutrality and liberty that ground a liberal state.

The economist-philosophers Friedrich Hayek (2007) and Milton Friedman (1990) have also forwarded a similarly narrow and highly influential vision of the state's role, albeit justified more through the lens of market efficiency. According to Hayek and Friedman, the state should be little more than a referee and tasked with ensuring that the democratic contests do not get out of hand (and also to ensure that external states do not interfere in one another's business). Although Hayek's (2007) famous work *The Road to Serfdom* does acknowledge that the state has a legitimate role to play in providing more public goods than is often acknowledged by his contemporary heirs, the main thesis of the book is the argument that the state should be as minimal and non-interventionist as possible. Milton Freidman (1990), perhaps the most prominent intellectual resource of contemporary neoliberalism, pushes Hayek's vision much farther, arguing that there is no role for domestic state intervention outside of establishing and policing minimalist laws protecting private property and civil order since the free market can facilitate social interaction much more effectively.

The justification Hayek and Friedman offer for preferring the market over the state as an institution of social coordination is because, on their telling, the market is pure structure; and because it is pure structure (with no 'head'), it has no way to intervene in

particular transactions, nor coerce its participants into accepting any particular resolution (e.g. Friedman 1990).[3] In their view, the market is thus the ideal structural mechanism allowing for free and 'spontaneous' self-organization. Thus, they argue, the less the state does, the better (since it allows the 'free' market to enable society to self-organize voluntarily and spontaneously). While they champion a vision of the state as a minimalist structure, these theorists do acknowledge that empirically the state does act in ways that transform it from a structure into an actor. On their interpretation, most of the problems they see (tyranny, market inefficiencies and distortions, unfair and unjustified redistribution, etc.) are caused by the state overstepping its proper role of non-interference and becoming an active participant, rather than merely remaining a framework of rules that structure the political, social, and economic interactions undertaken by citizens and other actors.

Despite the fact that each acknowledges that actual empirical states sometimes do not live up to their conceptualizations, it should be clear that there is a strong tradition of theorizing the state, characterized by thinkers as diverse as Rawls, Nozick, Hayek, and Friedman, that asserts that the state should be understood primarily as a neutral structure that sets the ground rules but does not behave like an active participant in the social and political contests that take place within its borders. In contrast to this tradition, there are many other theorists that argue that the state, both empirically and sometimes ideally, is

---

[3] Again, as with the footnote above, the question of whether the state and market function in the way that these neoliberal theorists suggest is hotly debated. As such, as with Rawls, I am not suggesting this is an accurate portrait of how society, the market and the state function. Rather, I am simply illustrating the fact that prominent and influential theories of the state argue that the state does/should function essentially as a structural framework rather than an active participant.

best conceptualized as an active and interested participant in concrete social and political struggles, all the way down to the local, neighborhood, and even subject levels.

Some of these perspectives both understand and champion the state as a self-conscious and intentionally active participant (including shaping individual subjectivities, national and gendered identities, etc.), a view that has a long pedigree in political and social theory. For the ancient Greeks, for example, one of the main purposes of political structures such as the *polis* was to actively intervene in the concrete lives of its citizens in order to shape their subjectivities into the types that were believed to be 'good' for the community. According to Aristotle (1996, Book VII), the very definition of the 'good man' [sic] was identical to the definition of the 'good citizen.' Although the Greek city-states did not have a conception of the nation, philosophers such as Aristotle clearly argued that the political realm and the city-state played a key role in forming the identities, values, habits, and practices of the citizenry, and thus needed to intervene in a variety of ways (including individual-level interventions) to cultivate these dimensions.

Such a conception of the state's role and impact has had many defenders in western thought since. Similar notions were central to Roman political thought (see, for example, Cicero 1991). Such views were resuscitated strongly in Renaissance and Early Modern thought. Although Machiavelli is known most widely for his instrumentalist accounts of power and politics in *The Prince* (1988), his major work *Discourses on Livy* (1984) is a much more nuanced treatment of various political regimes that highlights again and again the importance of the state as an active participant shaping the identities and cultural values (especially *virtu*) of its citizenry. This perspective, often referred to as the 'republican' tradition to distinguish it from the liberal tradition, also found vocal

proponents in modern democratic thought. In this vein, Rousseau's conception of a strong, direct democracy organized around and through a strong state whose key role was to actively intervene to nurture and enforce the pre-requisite conditions of the general will (common culture, strong norms of 'virtue', deep affective bonds of community) is perhaps the strongest exemplar. As Quentin Skinner (1978, 2012), JGA Pocock (2003), Michael Sandel (1998a), and Charles Taylor (1992) have argued, this vision of the state not only characterized a variety of modern European political traditions, it also heavily informed the original political vision of The United States of America (Sandel 1998b); notably, it continues to have very strong and influential contemporary defenders (e.g. Putnam 2001).

These theorists are united not only by the fact that they suggest that the state empirically plays a direct role in intervening down to the local and individual level. They are also united by their assertion that this interventionist role is necessary and legitimate. There are other theorists of the state who agree that the state operates in this way in fact, but they argue that this level of state intervention is politically problematic. Second-wave Marxists and radical feminists, such as Catherine Mackinnon (1991, 1996), have argued that many of the state's most basic institutions, practices, and laws embody deeply patriarchal norms and biases that had the effect of directly intervening and shaping the gender roles and opportunities on a micro-level.

Others have argued that while state power clearly intervenes all the way down to the local, that the precise mechanisms of influence are more nuanced. Michel Foucault (1980) famously argued that theorists had to "cut the head off", the conceptual metaphor we use to understand power, and instead start from a micro-analysis of the diverse and

often surprising ways that power and influence flow from, to, and around the state (as well as multiple other social and political phenomenon and logics). A wide variety of contemporary political and social theorists have extended his insights to forward related analyses. Judith Butler (2006, 2010), for example, has shown that we need to examine the impact of the state in relation to, and in the context of, many other performative habits and practices that sometimes reinforce, and sometimes challenge, state efforts. Sherene Razack (2004, 2008), Stuart Eldon (2002), and others have further explored the complicated ways that state and extra-state dynamics coalesce at the local level, often with intense effects for specific subjectivities and identities on the basis of race, class, gender and sexuality (Agamben 2005; Eldon 2002; Kuus and Agnew 2008; Razack 2004, 2008; Razack, Smith and Thobani 2010).

What is missing from these questions, however, is *how* we study/research the state. While there are multiple theoretical debates about the function of the state and its effects, as outlined above, I build on Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (2003:89) notion of an "Anthropology of the State" to examine the state and its practices and process:

> If the state is a set of practices and processes and the effects they produce as much as a way to look at them, we need to track down these practices, processes, and effects whether or not they coalesce around the central sites of national governments. In the age of globalization state practices, functions and effects increasingly obtain in sites other than the national but that never fully bypass the national order. The challenge for anthropologists is to study these practices, functions and effects without prejudice about sites or forms of encounters.

Keeping Trouillot in mind, for the purposes of this dissertation, there are two dominant themes to emerge from literature focused on the state. First, it is clear that at a theoretical level there is wide disagreement about how we should understand the role and impact of the state at the local level. This however suggests that it is not a question that can be resolved primarily by theoretical means; rather, there may be significant value in leaving

open the question of the role of the state and instead examining how it functions empirically, in specific historical contexts, at pivotal moments—as is gestured by Trouillot's philosophy, especially in terms of its relation to the nation and nationalism(s). This latter approach will guide how this thesis will proceed—with the hope that its findings will lend some empirical weight to support one or more of the perspectives above. Second, to this end, special emphasis will be given to the question of the ways that state practices interact with the ideas, identities, and subjectivities framed around the concept of the nation.

Most of the modern theorists who argue that the state plays a key role in intervening down to the local, explicitly or implicitly, suggest that one of the main tools and goals of these interventions is strengthening the idea of the nation, national identity, and citizenship. Will Kymlicka (2000) encapsulates this view when he argues that even in an apparently highly diverse multicultural state like Canada, the state is always engaged in making the nation.

This then brings us to the question of the nation-state as a concept, and eventually to its relationship to multiculturalism. While the literature is wide and vast on this issue, Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (2003:80). work is perhaps the most helpful in the context of this dissertation, as his argument that the nation-state does not necessarily have an "institutional or geographical fixity" work offers significant nuance to this debate.

For Trouillot (2003: 83-84), the state is distanced from a definition of the nation as a distinct political or governmental organization:

> there is no necessary site to the state, institutional or geographical. Within that vision, the state thus appears as an open field with multiple boundaries and no institutional fixity—which is to say, it needs to be conceptualized at more than one level. Though linked to a number of apparatuses, not all of which may be governmental, the state is not an apparatus but a set of processes. It is not necessarily bound by any institution, nor can any

14

institution fully encapsulate it. At that level, its materiality resides much less in institutions than in the reworking of processes and relations of power so as to create new spaces for the deployment of power.

Trouillot does not take the state as an analytical given, but instead he explores how the state functions at multiple levels as a multi-faceted organization, and the ways it ultimately affects everyday life because of power.

As such, Trouillot argues that the conflation of "nation" and "state" as interchangeable terms is problematic. Trouillot proposes that "the conflation of nation and state was naturalized" in a particular historical context, and thus must be critically examined and not taken for granted (2003:83; Balibar 1991). In every historical context, there is a specific story of *how* nation and state become linked within a broader global shift to the configuration of the *nation-state*. In my analysis of the state and nation, I call upon a similar methodology that understands the state as a cultural artefact and can be ethnographically studied by examining institutions and practices (Sharma and Gupta 2006; Trouillot 2003). Futhermore, Drawing on Trouillout and others (Brubaker 1996; Kymlicka and Straehle 1999; Trouillot 2003), this dissertation analyzes the local practices of nationalism and the production of the nation-state as a non-linear and multi-directional process. To this end, this thesis ethnographically investigates the historically and contextually specific ways that ideas central to the nation (e.g. citizenship, belonging, community, etc.), and practices of the state (e.g. surveillance, consultation and participation), interact in distinct yet interlinked ways in recent urban development projects in Toronto.

Liberal Multiculturalism and the Nation-State

Of central concern for the nation-state in Canada (and elsewhere) is the question of diversity within its population. If the nation-state is concerned with the production of a national identity and governance, then the production of citizen-subjects is of critical importance. Amy Gutman's (1994) introduction to a collection of essays responding to Charles Taylor's *The Politics of Recognition*, takes on the fad of multiculturalism. Gutman writes (1994:3) "...it is hard to find a democratic or democratizing society these days that is not the site of some significant controversy over whether and how its public institutions should better recognize the identities of its cultural and disadvantaged minorities." Almost 20 years later, the concern has shifted from liberal to conservative and embraces an anti-multicultural tone.

Multiculturalism in Canada was born out of a need by the federal government to manage the two dominant cultures and languages, English and French, as well as the rising voices of other "ethnocultural" voices. (Mackey 2002:63-64). The French and English in Canada have a long history of coexistence, despite explicit cultural and linguistic differences. The Canadian government first introduced the idea of multiculturalism in the 1970s through a policy called *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework* (Mackey 2002:64). The questions of bilingualism and biculturalism were addressed by a Commission that was mandated to offer suggestions on how to equally recognize contributions made by the "two founding" cultures of Canada, French and English. The government, led by Trudeau Liberals, found that the most adequate way to legally address these issues was through adopting a multicultural framework that would explicitly acknowledge the variety of cultures in Canada, as well as the government's protection of rights for diverse cultural groups (Mackey 2002:64). At present, these

differences are embedded in Canada's history, and tolerance has been subsequently constructed as a national characteristic (Mackey 2002:31). A multicultural national identity sharply contrasted by that of the United States', which inevitably reflects its inability to manage racial and cultural differences.

Over 15 years later, the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 codified multiculturalism as official government policy. The Act legally mandated *multiculturalism* to reinforce the idea that Canada welcomed and supported diversity and ethnic pluralism. The 1988 Act expanded focus far beyond French/English relations, which effectively shaped the 1971 policy, to address the contributions and inclusion of immigrant communities. Further, it explicitly outlined the importance of eliminating racism and discrimination (Mackey 2002:67).

As Stuart Hall (2000:210) explains, multiculturalism has a variety of manifestations and is both contested and embraced in liberal democratic societies. For Hall (2000:209), multiculturalism refers to the strategies or policies used to "govern or manage the problems of diversity and multiplicity that multi-cultural societies throw up". Other scholars define multiculturalism generally as the social, legal, and political accommodation of ethnic diversity in liberal societies (Kymlica 1996; Povenelli 2002). If multicultural policies attempt to challenge the reproduction of ethnocultural hierarchies based on assumed racial or ethnic difference between groups, how should democratic societies acknowledge different cultural holidays, traditions, clothing, or languages? Does Canadian society have an obligation to accept different cultural laws (e.g. the Shariah Law debate)?

It is widely accepted that multiculturalism is understood as being central to "Canadianness", or the Canadian national identity. Neil Bissoondath (1994) termed this assumption the "cult of Multiculturalism in Canada", and he explicated that over time, multiculturalism has been studied from two contrasting perspectives: the *liberal* perspectives of the 1990's (Kymlicka 1996; Sandercock 2003; Taylor 1994) and *critical* perspectives that responded to these liberal positions (Bannerji 2000; Mackey 2002; McCready 2009; Modood 2007; Povenelli 2002; Teelucksingh 2006; Thobani 2007) (however, conservative responses to multiculturalism should also be considered a critique to liberal multiculturalism. The Harper government's policies exemplify an extreme conservative backlash to liberal multiculturalism in Canada). First, liberal positions on multiculturalism are frequently used to positively distinguish Canada from the United States (Kymlicka 1996; Mackey 2002:57). As Kymlicka (1988:21-22) argues, "Canada does better than virtually any other country in the world in the integration of immigrants"; in this regard, multiculturalism is a defining feature of Canadian national identity. Canadian "acceptance" and "tolerance" of different cultural groups and their traditions, embedded in Canadian law, makes Canada a model of liberal multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism, generally speaking, attempts to grapple with questions of identity and difference. Charles Taylor (1994) defines multiculturalism in terms of claims for recognition by groups that have been excluded from dominant society on the basis of cultural differences, generically referring to the multiplicity of cultures that make up the Canadian population. Multiculturalism, then, is a claim to the state for recognition of cultural differences (Taylor 1994). Taylor (1994) explores the question of whether liberal democratic societies should make room for different cultural groups and their practices?

If yes, then how should this acceptance and multicultural vision be accomplished? According to Taylor (1994), one's subjective identity is partly shaped by recognition from others. Thus, for Taylor, society plays a critical role in the shaping of one's identity. This is something that is often ignored in analysis of liberalism, where rights are understood as applied neutrally and equally across identity groups. Furthermore, Taylor (1994) argues that in many cases, identities are shaped by "misrecognition". He posits that for marginalized groups, identity is often shaped by negative portrayals that are subsequently embodied (Taylor 1994). To exemplify this misrecognition, he references the patriarchal misrecognition of women, and the racist misrecognition of blacks, noting that each has the opposite effect of recognition and instead further marginalizes both of these social groups (1994:25-26); misrecognition leads to the marginalization and exclusion of ethnocutlural groups. In the case of recognition, society's acknowledgement of difference, institutionalized through policy, is central to the formation of cultural identity. Taylor (1994) instead proposes a "politics of difference" where cultural difference is recognized. Taylor's ideas about multiculturalism evolve alongside the emergence and development of multicultural relations and policies in Canada. For example, Taylor recently (in 2008) co-led the Bouchard/Taylor Commission in Quebec; the Commission explored what was deemed reasonable accommodation of different ethnocultural groups, in relation to Quebec's preference for interculturalism. Taylor's framework on recognition shaped the report, which made recommendations to the Government of Quebec to be inclusive and promote integration and intercultural relations.

Liberal perspectives on multiculturalism in Canada embrace the federal recognition of cultural differences, and posit that different cultural groups should not be discriminated against or excluded because of cultural practices (e.g. language, the celebration of religious holidays, etc.). In fact, this liberal approach often takes pride in the promotion of various cultures in Canada (e.g. cultural food, festivals, organizations publications of governmental documents in various languages, etc). While multiculturalism and diversity are understood in dominant liberal discourses as inherent strengths of Canadian national identity, by contrast, critical feminist and antiracist approaches highlight that this necessitates a simultaneous underlying concern about "too much diversity" produced by unmanaged immigrant populations (Bannerji 2000). There are two main foci of critiques of liberal multiculturalism. One key area of focus is multiculturalism's limited definition of culture. Critical scholars of multiculturalism highlight that multiculturalism superficially "celebrates diversity", and they note that liberal definitions of multiculturalism often reference a celebration of diversity as one of its main features; specifically, critical scholars reference a symbolic model of multiculturalism that celebrates "saris, samosas and steel drums" (Alibhai-Brown 2000; Mackey 2002). In this example, clothing, food and music are the symbols of ethnic difference that can be consumed and celebrated in multicultural societies.

The other key focus is on how multiculturalism materially re-inscribes inequality and difference. Critical scholars have explored multiculturalism as it relates to the Canadian nation-building project by exploring the role of the dominant "Canadian" (white) culture, the exclusion of Aboriginal people, and the ways in which multiculturalism does not necessarily ensure equality among different cultural groups

(Bannerji 2000; Mackey 2002; Razack 2002; Thobani 2007). As Mackey (2002) and Thobani (2007) argue, multicultural policy reinforces white Canadians as original or "normal", and thus establishes an ethnocutlural hierarchy even as it attempts to embrace diversity and difference (Mackey 2002:67; Thobani 2007). It does this by marking "other" cultures as "different," producing white Canadians as the norm by which all other cultures sit in relation. As a result, there is an assumption that there is a Canadian identity and national consciousness that is "original." Because of the erasure of race, ethnic difference and power relations under liberal multiculturalism, this dissertation builds on critical approaches that examine the claim promoted by liberal multicultural frameworks that multiculturalism can initiate equality—something I investigate in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. I explore these links in the literature in the following section on multiculturalism and cities.

Multiculturalism and Cities

As A.L. McCready argues, multiculturalism is a highly effective tool for managing difference because its role as a federal policy, allowing the government to proclaim its ability to address cultural differences (2009:166). However, questions of ethnic integration and multicultural cities preoccupy studies on urban life across borders; in the context of the U.S., assimilation is was the preferred model which helps to contextualize the different approaches to managing cultural difference in cities.. From the *Chicago School of Sociology* to contemporary explorations on the segregation of immigrant communities and ethnic enclaves, cities provide the perfect site through which to examine how space is racially coded on a local scale.

The management of racial and cultural difference was a founding concern for urban sociologists. At the end of the 19th century, W.E.B. Dubois' work on Philadelphia was a seminal research inquiry into the urban life of blacks who migrated to the north. Additionally, the Chicago School of Sociology, including Robert Park, Lois Wirth, and Burgess, were preoccupied with the co-existence and assimilation of immigrant communities in Chicago. The main focus of the Chicago School of Sociology was how to make a homogeneous U.S. society out of different communities (Castells 2002:391). Their examination of Chicago explored the problems and tensions between, among others, black, Polish, and white communities. Thus, Chicago School theorists explored the problems between these communities while seeking to understand how they could be integrated into a cohesive society under a liberal framework. The Chicago School is particularly well known for its *urban ecological* approach. Urban ecology refers to focusing on change in cities as if they were "natural" biological entities. Urban ecology

> was to take as its object of enquiry the 'ecological community' which, in contrast to 'society', was characterized by an unconscious process through which human beings were engaged in a 'biotic' struggle for existence resulting in a functional adaptation between themselves and their environment. Human ecology was in this way constituted as the study of a basic process (competition) and its unintended effects (functional adaptation) (Saunders 1985:70).

The city then is understood as an organism with specific metabolic traits that grow and change over time (Wirth 1969:160). This approach does not focus on the individual but looks at how groups are organized in the city (1969:156). Further, the human ecology perspective presented the influx of immigrants and the competition for space as the major cause for change in the city. This perspective was situated within the overarching concern of the Chicago School: the assimilation of immigrant populations.

This concern continues to shape debates in urban sociology, although often from a critical perspective. Engin Isin (2005:41) argues that the city is actually a "difference machine" that produces the very differences the Chicago School was trying to assimilate:

> The city is a difference machine because the groups are not formed outside the machine and encounter each within the city, but the city assembles, generates, distributes, and differentiates these differences, incorporates them within strategies and technologies, and elicits, interpolates, adjures, and incites them.)

Presently, this difference machine is shaped by a dominant discourse of multiculturalism; and these diversity discourse generally describe urban communities as worthy of investment due to their cultural richness. This commodification of culture in cities is exemplary of the link between culture and urban spaces. Some ethnic enclaves are seen as an asset to urban space, but only in relation to such cultural elements as food and dance—similar to the steelpan, samosa and saris argument made by Alibhai-Brown (2000), Londoño and Dávila (2010), Sandercock (2003), and Teelucksingh (2006). In this way, multiculturalism can be used to manage urban populations, particularly people of color. As a result, multiculturalism has been critiqued for presenting race and culture as fixed and unchanging, as well as for promoting cultural difference as a commodity to benefit the city (Berrey 2005:144-146; Jacobs 1996:99). In a post-9/11 context, many theorists have examined multiculturalism and regulatory inclusion as it is used police and marginalized religious and ethnic groups. This securitization of cities in relation to multiculturalism is something I explore in detail in Chapter 3.

In my investigation, I draw on the critical literature on multiculturalism as a starting point to explore how multiculturalism became a "go-to" or normalized framework in the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. Although I acknowledge the current trend of commodifying culture in local spaces, I argue that

multiculturalism cannot be analyzed without an understanding of the ways it is interconnected with neoliberal processes in revitalization processes.[4] I build on this literature and these connections to explore how multiculturalism can signal inclusion, but often reproduces inequality in particular ways as it becomes intertwined with neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism and Processes of Gentrification

Like multiculturalism, *neoliberalism* has a variety of manifestations and meanings. Broadly, I understand neoliberalism as a form of governance that embraces the free market and a minimalist or noninterventionist state (Hackworth 2007:10). Whereas the Keynesian model focused on social welfare and state interventionism, neoliberalism dismantles state involvement to reiterate the liberal ideology of the individual and the pursuit of personal pleasures as most efficiently garnered by a non-interventionist state and open market. As a process, neoliberalism facilitates private (and private-public) entrepreneurialism by a simultaneous roll-back or destruction of Keynesianism, and a roll-out of flows of capital to freely roam in global markets. While this description of neoliberalism helps us to understand some of its defining characteristics, there is much debate around how to analyze and critique neoliberal processes.

Neoliberalism refers to the theory and practice of open markets and free trade; or as Harvey (2005:3) describes: "deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision..." Neoliberalism, as both a form of governance and political economic system, is a web of relations involving political-economic

---

[4] I explore literatures on the role of diversity in urban space in Chapter 2.

entanglements at individual, local, provincial, national, regional, and global levels. Mainly, neoliberalism breaks down constraints on market relations and emphasizes accumulation at whatever cost.

In response to critiques of studying neoliberalism as a "general" concept, across various geographies, Gillian Hart (2008:687) argues "precisely what is important about in-depth historical geographies grounded in relational conceptions of the production of space is their capacity to illuminate constitutive processes and interconnections, and thereby contribute to the production of concrete concepts." Hart (2008) leaves open the opportunity to explore various manifestations of neoliberalism, including its connections to the production of space in specific geographic contexts, theoretical framings of neoliberalism as a class project, governmentality, and hegemony. Hart (2008) brings together Gramsci (1971), Fanon (1963), and Lefebvre (1974) to challenge Marxist and neo-Marxist readings of neoliberalism, which analyze political struggles in terms of a top down process. Hart (2008) suggests that limited definitions of "ideal-type categories run the danger of obscuring as much as they reveal", and in so doing they also risk missing the "slippages" and contradictions which would open up room for possibilities to other understandings of neoliberal processes that do not reinscribe the dominance of the state (Hart 2008:684, 697). Specifically, it is this proposition that guides my inquiry into urban neoliberalism.

Cities are valued for spurring economic growth and serving as the nucleus of economic, political, and social innovation (Jessop 2002:465). In this way, neoliberalism and urban landscapes become linked if we further consider the state as processes. After all, neoliberalism,

powerfully structures the parameters for the governance of contemporary urban development—for instance, by defining the character of "appropriate" policy choices, by constraining democratic participation in political life, by diffusing dissent and oppositional mobilization, and/or by disseminating new ideological visions of social and moral order in the city (Brenner and Theodore 2002:103).

Therefore, neoliberalism has profound structural effects on urban life. While the extent of these effects are widely debated, urban scholars warn of neoliberalism's reach though urban governance. In debates on urban neoliberalism, it is framed as either having general characteristics that transcend site and scale (Beck 2000), or as contingent on site and scale; should it be studied as a universalizing, ubiquitous force? Or one that is contingent? My investigation engages with critical scholars who argue that neoliberalism and its evolution must not be framed as an all encompassing or universalizing project, despite its discursive core features (Brenner and Theodore 2002:107; Peck, Theodore and Brenner 2009:49; Jessop 2002; Lipsitz 2006). For example, neo-Marxist perspectives that emphasize the accumulation of capital and the economic reach of neoliberalism, as well as Foulcauldian perspectives that neglect the role of site and scale, overlook the transformations in everyday urban life at the local level (Keil 2002). Under a Lefebrvrian perspective of urban neoliberalism (in the context of French republicanism and state interventionism) we can better understand the urban as a site of everyday social transformation (Harvey 2008; Keil 2002; Smith 2003).

The geographically contextual effects of neoliberalism have been theorized as "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002:384), or in the context of cities as "contingent urban neoliberalism" (Wilson 2004:772). These perspectives both insist upon the connection between local particularities and the everyday transformations brought about by neoliberalism. As

"contingent," urban neoliberalism takes shape differently, depending on context, and cannot be theorized as a universal or unchanging.

I concur with the argument of Wilson and others that neoliberalism is not a "top-down", all-encompassing project (Jessop 2002; Wilson 2004:780). While I do embrace a definition of neoliberalism as a form of governance that embraces a minimalist government, a non-interventionist state, as well as a free-market to promote individual freedoms, I insist on elaborating on this definition to consider local urban dynamics and the "local state"; in the case of urban revitalization, I look at how the state at the local level works in contextually specific ways.. Due to Toronto's identity as a multicultural Canadian city, as well as the ways in which multicultural and neoliberal ideas and practices infiltrate the revitalization framework of urban public housing (via gentrification), Toronto, and Regent Park and Lawrence Heights in particular, provide an excellent site into the ways neoliberalism and multiculturalism intersect in urban revitalization.

While urban neoliberal policies and practices are manifested in diverse ways across urban landscapes, urban scholars have been particularly preoccupied with them in relation to processes of gentrification. Neoliberal policies enable the gentrification of urban neighborhoods following the logic of open markets through laissez-faire governance, the rolling back of the welfare state, public-private partnerships, and an emphasis on real estate investment and logic in general (Dávila 2004:8-11; Slater 2005:42). Smith (2002:447) argues "gentrification writ large—has become a central motive force of urban economic expansion, a pivotal sector in the new urban economies." Revitalization has emerged as an "official" term for state-managed gentrification (Lees

2008:xxi).[5] Hackworth and Smith argue "gentrification has changed in ways that are related to larger economic and political restructuring. Among these changes is the return of heavy state intervention in the process" (2001:464). This argument has been extended to examine gentrification as a global strategy for urban transformation (Smith 2002).

Although *gentrification* is constantly changing across contexts, Neil Smith loosely defines it "as the process by which working class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords, and professional developers" (1982:139). The term "gentrification" was coined in the 1960's by Ruth Glass to refer to the process by which neighborhoods are transformed from lower class enclaves to upscale communities where houses and buildings are usually renovated and refurbished to meet the needs of middle class residents (Atkinson and Bridge 2005:5); in turn, earlier residents are evicted and displaced. This perspective relies on an analysis of class division whereby gentrification is dependent on the "movement of capital, not people"; although, we see that the "movement of people" results from the movement of capital as people are displaced (Smith 2005:5).

While gentrification was considered sporadic in the 1950s and 1960's, it is now often state-managed and facilitated through the tearing down of public housing and the retrenchment of the welfare state[6] (Slater 2005:55). To differentiate between early *urban renewal schemes* and *gentrification* (called revitalization in the context of this

---

[5] The terms "gentrification" and "revitalization" are often used interchangeably in critical scholarly literature (Lees et. al 2008:137). Gentrification is a politically loaded term that explicitly critiques processes of revitalization. Gentrification changes the socio-economics of a neighborhood, whereas revitalization is explicitly motivated by such socio-economic transformation. Revitalization, as will be explored in this dissertation, is the "official" planning term for the tearing down of low-income housing projects, replacing them with new buildings.
[6] I explore the role of the welfare state in Chapter 1.

dissertation), Smith argues that post-war renewal schemes in the United States, which indeed facilitated "scattered private-market gentrification", combined with a shift toward privatization in inner-cities to establish the framework for the gentrification of today (Smith 2002:338). These contemporary large-scale redevelopment projects, are now the norm—a far reach from sporadic "white-painting" in the 1960s and 1970s.[7] Cities all over the world record gentrification as changing the urban landscape. Positive impacts attributed to gentrification include increasing property values, reduced vacancy, and a return of populations to the city from suburban areas (Atkinson and Bridge 2005:5). However, it is clear that for low-income communities the negative impacts of gentrification far outweigh the positive. These negative impacts include mass displacement, community divisions, conflicts, and homelessness (Atkinson and Bridge 2005).

The first phase of gentrification began in the 1950s and involved the "sporadic" nature identified by Glass (Hackworth 2002). The second phase of gentrification was shaped and influenced by the urban restructuring and economic policies of the 1970s and 1980s, and was subsequently attributed to the policies of Ronald Regan, Margaret Thatcher and Brian Mulroney. The third wave of gentrification swept across the globe, beginning in the late 1990s, and was expressed differently depending on time, space, and scale (Smith 2002:440). At present, the latest phase is motivated by urban neoliberalism: "Urban policy no longer aspires to guide or regulate the direction of economic growth so much as to fit itself to the grooves already established by the market in search of the highest returns, either directly or in terms of tax receipts" (Smith 2002:441). In Toronto,

---

[7] It was called "white-painting" because gentrified Victorian homes, purchased by middle-class residents, were often painted white.

this has been explored at length in the context of urban development (Keil and Kipfer 2002; Slater 2004), urban policy (Hackworth 2008; Keil 2002), and housing (Hackworth and Moriah 2006; Hulchanski and Shapcott 2004; Shapcott 2001).

Both feminist and anti-racist analyses provide insight into the uneven gendered and racialized effects of processes of gentrification. The displacement of communities of color not only dispossessed people from property, but it moves people away from previous employment, cultural networks, places of worship, etc. The displacement of non-white women in gentrified neighborhoods often moves these women away from important social networks such as childcare and community services, thus further marginalizing already excluded social groups (Dávila 2004; Smith 2002). Non-white communities that live in the downtown core in areas such as Regent Park, or even those in close proximity to transit lines, have been documented as being pushed to the peripheries of cities, where there is less public infrastructure and limited employment opportunities (Braconi and Freeman 2007).

I am in agreement with Smith's argument that the language of revitalization (or regeneration) "sugarcoats gentrification." I argue that this language actually erases existing and new urban inequality and disconnects broader processes at work, including the linkages between multiculturalism and neoliberalism. In Chapter 2, for example, I explore how the discourses of diversity are intimately tied to urban neoliberalism and fuse together to produce a framework for the revitalization plans in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. I demonstrate that despite their claims to promote equality, they do not necessarily initiate the inclusion that the plans promise. After all, "the powerful and pervasive neoliberal (free market) ideology asserting that state abstention from economic

protection is the foundation of a good society" stands in direct contrast to an ideal of social citizenship under the welfare state as I explore in Chapter 1 (McCluskey 2002:784). In fact, I argue that we can't clearly trace the urban processes of gentrification without considering about articulations of the national in urban strategies.

I consider the impact of gentrification on the contemporary urban landscape as a starting place to examine how multiculturalism and neoliberalism become manipulated, and how this dynamic can help us map a remaking of the Canadian nation-state. Because multiculturalism is a defining feature of Canadian national identity and embedded in state policy and ideas about governance and governing, I ethnographically explore how it, alongside neoliberalism, unfolds in the context of urban revitalization. While multiculturalism and neoliberalism have been theorized as interlinked (Fisk 2005; Zizek 1997), there is limited research on these linkages on the urban scale.

Johana Londoño and Arlene Dávila (2010:455) begin to chart the bridge between neoliberalism and multiculturalism through an examination of space:

> Scholars have long noted that neoliberalism functions through the structuring of space. The organization of space and mapping of difference onto space are central to its privatization and to the dominance of market-driven logics in urban development. However, space is also central to popular interventions and debates over citizenship and belonging. These issues become especially salient in twenty-first century American cities and suburban neighborhoods, where the outnumbering of whites by former "minorities" poses challenges to normative neoliberal logics and modes of belonging that seek to domesticate and subordinate difference from the mainstream American landscape.

Londoño and Dávila highlight how difference is central to privatization and market-driven logics (2010). Yet, simultaneously we can see how debates over citizenship and belonging occur in and across space. Difference—the primary language of multiculturalism—is actually central to development schemes, ushered in by urban neoliberalism. So, while such logics are often positioned as conflicting, in this case, they

go hand in hand. As Johana Londoño (2010: 488) argues,

> Neoliberal Multiculturalism in the United States, as it relates to design and other creative output, is a version of global competition squarely defined within a neoliberal economy and a postindustrial, postmodern, multicultural society. This confluence has created an environment in which cultural and identity politics are desirable insofar as they are also marketable. Often, local places and localized identities, such as barrios and the Latino population associated with these ethnic enclaves, respond to market imperatives by selling a stereotypical culture.

Londoño (2010) highlights how place is marked by a neoliberal and multicultural imperative. Under this guise, urban space becomes a key site to produce a marketable ethnic difference.

My project analyzes how multiculturalism and neoliberalism become weaved together as part of nation-building. I build on scholarship that links multiculturalism and neoliberalism, to move beyond an analysis that centralizes the "commodification of culture." I do not argue that multiculturalism "fits" simply into a neoliberal logic by commodifying culture; rather, my interest is in demonstrating how multiculturalism and neoliberalism, as defining characteristics of the Canadian nation-state, become forces that shape urban revitalization at the local level. That is, in the revitalization processes of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, I explore how multiculturalism and neoliberalism become shaping features of the revitalization frameworks. What emerges is a variety of interconnections between multiculturalism and discourses of diversity (Chapter 2), surveillance (Chapter 3), and community consultations/democratic participation (Chapter 4). This dynamic will be explored in ethnographic detail throughout the dissertation.

Main Arguments and Contribution

How is it that multiculturalism and neoliberalism come to be the dominant "forces" shaping urban revitalization in such local contexts such as Regent Park and

Lawrence Heights? Using ethnographic fieldwork methods and discourse analysis, my research explores the local particularities of urban planning in Toronto in relation to national preoccupations with a multicultural identity. Canada is often held up as a model for multicultural legislation. I explore how the politics of multiculturalism have become intertwined with neoliberalism and its corresponding social and economic transformations. I examine links between revitalization projects and the construction of the Canadian nation-state by tracing how discourses of multiculturalism and neoliberalism gain currency in urban revitalization projects. In particular, I analyze how the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are positioned in relation to Canadian multiculturalism and the proliferation of neoliberal transformations in cities. Both the Regent Park revitalization planning documents and the preliminary planning studies on Lawrence Heights repeatedly reference multiculturalism and neoliberalism: the documents describe culture as a central planning concern; individual participation is an organizing feature of the documents; diversity was regularly talked about at planning meetings and consultations; there are many references to residents' cultural differences and immigrant or citizenship status; there is a strong impulse for mixed-use and mixed-income housing; there is a call for private developers and private investment; individual entrepreneurialism and business development are encouraged; and, surveillance and community policing are promised to ensure economic regeneration and the promotion of cultural diversity (Regent Park Revitalization Study 2002; Lawrence-Allen Revitalization Plan 2010). So, for example, in Regent Park, the Plan proposes to "improve safety through more "eyes on the street" (2002:5) and promotes the idea that "the vibrant cultural mix and the young entrepreneurial demographic of Regent Park offer an

opportunity to create a unique market or 'bazaar' (2002:35). I problematize this dynamic in relation to the following: critiques of gentrification, data demonstrating the ways that diversity and multiculturalism actually reproduce disparity and inequality, and the portrayal of residents as being in need of management and regulation. Each chapter of this dissertation explores, to various degrees, how neoliberalism and multiculturalism connect revitalization to formations of nation-state.

A striking feature of the discourses of multiculturalism and neoliberalism in the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights is that the concepts of multiculturalism and neoliberalism converge and collide in curious ways. For example, I explore how cultural diversity is described as an "asset" of the communities. In such cases, for example, the revitalization is believed to give rise to economic development through the promotion of a cultural bazaar: "The vibrant cultural mix and the young, entrepreneurial demographic of Regent Park also offers an opportunity to create a unique market or 'bazaar'..." (2002:35). This is a convergence of multiculturalism and neoliberalism where cultural difference is called upon alongside the entrepreneurialism that I will argue is a marker of the neoliberal identity of the revitalization. As I highlight in more detail in Chapter 2, neoliberalism and multiculturalism also converge when culture is described as being the panacea for concerns about the neoliberal model of revitalization.[8] The two collide, on the other hand, when the revitalization plans describe a diversity of incomes. In Chapter 2, I explore how a diversity of incomes through the integration of socioeconomic classes actually merges two different types of diversity: culture and income, which ultimately renders cultural diversity invisible. In Chapter 3, I

---

[8] One planner outlined the connection between culture and the new framework: "so I think the mixing of the other elements [of use and income] will just sort of naturally play out so that we're going to see that cultural mixing." Personal interview with Amanda, July 27, 2010, page 19.

explore multiculturalism and neoliberalism's entanglement in the plan's emphasis on community policing as another example of a simultaneous convergence and collision. Residents are encouraged to patrol and police one another through what the plan calls "eyes on the street". For example, the Regent Park Revitalization Study (2002:5) speculates that the revitalization will

> improve safety through more "eyes on the street" and provide opportunities for the community to celebrate and share its diverse cultures. It would provide spaces for economic regeneration, educational programs, community gardens, recreational activities and arts and cultural programs.

While aspects of policing and surveillance are incorporated into the design and architecture of the new development, what is unique about the *Regent Park Revitalization Study* and planning documents is the explicit way that residents are called upon to police and patrol one another. In this way, community policing is portrayed as a means which residents can embrace "opportunities" to celebrate culture, while it is simultaneously being linked to enhanced opportunities for the economic regeneration of the community. Residents, however, named the stereotypical ways in which they were perceived by planners and police when questions of security and safety came up. This perspective addresses the racially differentiated ways security and surveillance are evoked in the communities and revitalization. Further, it is a clear expression of the tensions of how the principles of multiculturalism and neoliberalism as they are connected to surveillance and community policing.

I argue that this complex set of relations, negotiated in and on urban space, is intimately tied to a remaking of the nation-state. These entangled articulations of neoliberalism and multiculturalism, become a nodal point to consider *how* the nation-state is reconstituted in the contemporary moment. Because multiculturalism and

neoliberalism have become defining features of the Canadian nation-state, their institution and negotiation in urban revitalization is a unique context to explore this process. Each chapter of my dissertation will pursue an aspect of this entanglement. However, to begin this exploration, there is a central question: if the nation-state is being remade, what was its previous form? I map this transition in Chapter 1. In the remaining ethnographic chapters, I build on my argument from Chapter 1 to investigate how the incorporation of multicultural values, neoliberal imperatives, community policing, and calling upon residents to participate in the rituals of democracy (through community consultations), all become tied to the remaking of the nation-state.

Methods

The arguments in this dissertation are informed by a critical ethnographic approach to research. My qualitative "scavenger methodology," including interviews, observations and discourse analysis of planning documents allows me to present what is known in qualitative research as a realist ethnography of revitalization in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights (Halberstam 1998); a realist ethnography is not an exact replica or mirror, but an interpretation based on the data gathered over the course of my fieldwork (Van Maanan 1988). Furthermore, as feminist researchers suggest, "who we are guides what we look for and what we find in research" (Ramos-Zayas 2003:14). Thus, our own positionality in research matters—it is not that it should skew our findings or data, but informs the questions we ask and our own understandings of the social world. My methodology is informed by this theoretical approach.

In order to gain a full understanding of the processes underway, I employ a multi-method approach including interviews, analysis of planning documents, and ethnographic

fieldwork. My fieldwork was conducted between June 2010 and May 2011. My document analysis includes hundreds of planning documents from 2002-2013. Moreover, I draw on my experience and relationships with community members in Regent Park that developed out of the work I conducted at The Regent Park Learning Center between 2009 and 2011 (Figure 1).

Figure 1. 417 Gerard Street, home to Dixon Hall's Regent Park Learning Center, where I worked as a tutor from 2009-2011. To the southwest of 417 Gerrard, two new condominium (one with subsidized rental units and one with private, market-rent units).

Because of my pre-existing relationships in Regent Park, I was able to quickly navigate different settings in the neighborhood. For example, the director of the learning center where I worked connected me with different residents and other organizations; this assistance includes introducing me to one resident who was dislocated by the revitalization, a demographic of the population that was hard to connect with because residents moved to locations all over the city and often lost touch with their old neighbors. The director of the center also let me interview residents in one of the learning spaces, so in some cases residents knew before our interviews about my work in Regent

Park. Similarly, in Lawrence Heights, I conducted interviews at the local health center, so residents saw my interaction with many familiar community workers and activists which served to discreetly legitimize my presence and dilute their suspiciousness about answering questions to an "outsider." However, in some cases, residents were quite curious about who I was, why I was researching Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, and talked to me about the various researchers that they've encountered over the years. I drew on my work in the community center and the fact that my mom grew up in Cabbagetown/Regent Park and went to the local public school to talk to them about how I situate myself in relation to the project. While I was an "outsider," my familiarity and ability to reference "insider" knowledge, allowed me to quickly build trust and lasting relationships with residents. Further, although I had limited previous experience in Lawrence Heights, my work in Regent Park and relationships with TCH workers that I previously interviewed, helped me to build trust and gain access to different community groups and organizations.

Research Setting

I conducted my ethnographic research in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, Toronto. Both communities are owned and managed by Toronto Community Housing. At the beginning of this study, Regent Park was in the first phase of revitalization, while Lawrence Heights was still in the planning phase. This contrast provided a unique analytical space to consider how revitalization is mapped in different neighborhoods in the same city.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 21 people who were connected to the revitalization projects in various ways. Participants included: residents of Lawrence Heights and Regent Park, City of Toronto planners, representatives from the City of Toronto Revitalization Secretariat's Office, community development liaisons from TCH, and community agency representatives (see Table 1 below). Each interview lasted between 1-2 hours.

Table 1: Interview Participants:

Toronto Community Housing Employees (representing communities)	3
Residents	12
City of Toronto Planners and Employees	5
Community Service Employees/ Representatives	2

To identify City of Toronto planners and representatives from Toronto Community Housing (TCH) who were involved in the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, I located contact information on the City of Toronto and the TCH website.[9] All City planners and TCH representatives had a direct role in the respective revitalization projects. To identify residents to participate in interviews, I recruited members of both communities using a "site based" approach (Acuruy and Quandt 1999). I identified key sites in both communities, including resident organizations, community agencies, and community centers.[10] I contacted the "gatekeepers" or leaders of these sites through information letters (Acuruy and Quandt 1999), wherein they were asked to help

---

[9] I limit my recruitment description of planners and Toronto Community Housing representatives to protect anonymity.

[10] Such as the Regent Park Neighborhood Initiative (RPNI) and the Lawrence Heights Area Alliance regarding the community consultations and their involvement with the revitalization plan. The two groups were/are key participants in the consultations. Both the Regent Park Neighborhood Initiative and the Lawrence Heights Area Alliance work alongside Toronto Community Housing as the "official" tenant associations.

identify potential interview participants. I selected this approach for several reasons. First, I have been involved in the Regent Park community since 2005. Through informal networks and volunteer work, I learned quickly that residents' views and opinions on the revitalization varied greatly; residents felt strongly about the revitalization, whether in support of or in opposition to the changes. In Lawrence Heights, I began my fieldwork by attending community meetings (e.g. the Lawrence Heights Inter-Organizational Alliance or LHION to meet leaders in the neighborhood and begin to understand the social context and community structure. Using the site-based method I was able to navigate these polarized viewpoints by tapping into a variety of "cliques" and social groups in the community. While residents had different ideas about revitalization, several general themes emerged across interviews.

These interviews allowed me to establish on-going relationships with residents, many of whom repeatedly contacted me with additional information, invited me into their home, requested assistance with different housing and social service challenges, and introduced me to their children and families. These relationships and interactions informed my understanding of the revitalization and community dynamics. My past research from 2005-2006, in combination with my involvement in the communities, greatly facilitated the interview process. Not only did I work closely with activists and residents in Regent Park while completing my Master's thesis, but I also worked at the Regent Park Literacy Program for Women, organized through one of the main community agencies in Regent Park (Dixon Hall), where I tutored women in literacy skills.

In addition, I interviewed key stakeholders at both the Toronto Community Housing (TCH) and the City of Toronto.[11] I interviewed representatives from TCH, the city planners who constructed the revitalization plans, City of Toronto Development officers who represent Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, and staff at the city's revitalization secretariat. These interviews allowed me to trace the development of the revitalization plans, explore the logic of revitalization for both communities, investigate how planners imagined or envisioned the revitalization (in relation to multiculturalism and neoliberalism), and map the emergence of the underlying principles of the plans.

Ethnography

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork from June 2010-May 2011. During this time I observed or participated in community meetings, community activities and events, and continued my previous volunteering at a local literacy program for women. During these meetings and activities, I took detailed fieldnotes using comprehensive ethnographic techniques (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995; Warren and Karner 2010). This includes thick description and a detailed account of "spatial relations," "temporal sequences" and "interactions and personalities" (Warren and Karner 2010: 111). I attended over 100 hours of community and planning meetings, which allowed me to observe the various levels of organizing that shape the revitalization processes.

I observed meeting organized by the Lawrence Heights Inter-Organizational Alliance (LHION), BePART (a local resident participatory action group in Lawrence Heights), School Community Action Alliance Regent Park (SCAARP), the Social

---

[11] This includes the TCH Community Revitalization Consultants for Lawrence Heights and Regent Park.

Development Plan (SDP) Stakeholders Table, TCH consultations and meetings, and City of Toronto Consultations and meetings.

I also attended community events such as The Regent Park Film Festival (which regularly served as a space for public debate about gentrification in Regent Park), an anti-development rally in Lawrence Manor (organized by the Save our Streets campaign), and local vigils on community violence. The data that I gathered through my observations facilitated my analysis of the planning documents and interviews. Finally, attending consultation meetings organized by the City of Toronto allowed me to stay in touch with residents and active members of the community, which in turn helped me to network with community agencies and planners through informal interactions and conversations.

Discourse Analysis

I analyzed documents including site plans, social development plans, economic plans, zoning documents, city council minutes, community council minutes, and consultation documents in both Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. I gathered these documents through the City of Toronto online databases. I scanned the databases for any documents relating to the revitalizations in Lawrence Heights and Regent Park. I also attended planning meetings where I was able to access agendas and minutes. I analyzed all of these documents using discourse analysis.

I analyzed the data, including official print documents and interview transcripts, using Foulcauldian discourse analysis. By discourse, I am generally referring to "a socially-constructed knowledge of some social practice..." (Foucault in Van Leeuwen 2008). Discourse is a culturally-constructed representation of reality—as a representation,

it is not a "copy" or replica of reality, but always a representation based on interpretation (Foucault 1972a). This approach is based on the notion that no way of communicating is neutral, and "ways of talking" never simply reflect the social world, but in fact change it or have real material effects (Jorgenson and Phillips 2002:1). Discourse, in this formulation, is a

> group of statements which provide language for talking about—i.e. a way of representing—a particular type of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. (Hall 1992:201)

Discourse analysis is an examination of contingencies and continuities. It examines the ways that we might analyze taken-for-granted communications and making them "strange"; that is, to question the assumptions that allow them to exist as normal. This process allows us to identify discourses and critique them. Discourses produce knowledge and ways of knowing, and it is for this reason that power and knowledge are understood to coexist in ways that inform and restrict what can and cannot be included in a particular discourse. In this way, language and communication are never neutral, but contain and shape power; power is understood to be "in all things." Discourses are sustained and reinforced by discursive practices, or practices that preserve and disseminate discourses in the form of groups of statements. There is no single or straightforward method to analyzing discourse for Foucault. A Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis requires asking questions of the text: what is taken for granted? What concepts are central and which are not? What ideas/ways of thinking are fused and which are separated?

I initially coded the documents and interview transcripts using open coding. I traced patterns and themes that emerged in the documents. I then used axial coding to

thematically organize and group the emerging themes. Using discourse analysis, I identified several key themes in the Regent Park Revitalization study and the Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan and supporting documents by tracing patterns, repetition, co-occurrences, and priorities. I identify diversity, surveillance, and consultations as key themes because they emerge as the dominant *shaping principles* of the plan. By shaping principles I am referring to how the plans frame "social" aspects of the revitalization around these themes. More specifically, each element of planning, which includes transportation, incorporation with the surrounding neighborhoods, as well as the spatial layout of the neighborhoods, is framed or referenced always in relation to these themes. My argument about these themes is not based upon the number of times the planners reference them, but rather how they figure centrally to the plans such that without these themes, the revitalization(s) would be quite distinct from the current projects.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 of this dissertation explores the theoretical and historical arguments and contexts that link together the nation-state and revitalization. I explore articulations of the national in urban strategies by building on explorations of social citizenship (Purdy 2002). In this chapter, I examine how the nation-state became tied to housing and urban development through welfare state ideologies. However, I trace a transformation from welfare state logic that promotes social citizenship to a neoliberal framework where these responsibilities lessen. I argue that revitalization and gentrification are tied to broader national processes and more importantly that public housing revitalization contributes to an overall transformation and rescaling of social citizenship in Canada.

In Chapter 2 I trace how discourses of diversity ambiguously move throughout the plans, drawing on the social value of diversity in Canada in relation to multiculturalism. I explore *how* these discourses operate in conjunction with one another in racially and historically specific ways. Chapter 2 engages with recent scholarly debates in Canada about the role of cultural diversity in changing the urban landscape (Valverde 2009; Teelucksingh 2006) and the impact of neoliberal ideology and economic reinvestment in urban development (Hackworth 2007; Kipfer and Keil 2002). These debates frequently draw attention to the commodification of culture and diversity as part of a neoliberal agenda that ushers in gentrification (Hackworth and Rekers 2005). However, I analyze the links between multiculturalism and neoliberalism in another light. In some cases, there is a straightforward correlation between how multiculturalism and neoliberalism are injected into the revitalization plans in ways that reinforce common-sense ideas about inclusion, diversity and equity (central characteristics of Canada's national identity), but in other examples in the plans, the national characteristics don't necessarily support acceptance or inclusion, but actually challenges a promotion of diversity.

In Chapter 3 I explore how this seemingly progressive (yet ambiguous) use of diversity in revitalization has another face: surveillance and security. Chapter 3 maps how surveillance and security are actually central to revitalization. Increased security and community surveillance regimes are mobilized through a call for "eyes on the street" (encouraging residents to patrol one another), a concept developed by Jane Jacobs in *The Life and Death of Great American cities* (1961). I argue that the use of "eyes on the street" and other technologies produce two types of surveillance: normalizing surveillance and negotiated surveillance. Normalizing surveillance refers to the ways that

both planners and residents promote and encourage how the neighborhood needs more policing (e.g. "eyes on the street") as the common sense way to make the neighborhood safe and more "normal." Negotiated surveillance on the other hand, references residents' nuanced understanding of surveillance and how they both accept and reject surveillance and policing. Both "types" of surveillance denote different ways residents "participate" in nation-state formation. The nation-state is reconstituted, here, by how planners' use of eyes on the street normalizes surveillance by making it an everyday practice. Curiously, in this process there is a contradictory logic whereby, surveillance is a key method to produce a unified community, but residents, and the community more broadly are positioned as criminals who require the most minute forms of policing. On the other hand, the differing perspectives among residents signifies a reconstitution of the nation-state by challenging norms (such as a unified "community"), while at the same time residents accept technologies of surveillance (cameras, etc.).

Chapter 4 traces how revitalization both recruits residents to participate and limits their participation. In Chapter 4 I examine the role of community consultations organized by Toronto Community Housing and the City of Toronto in the revitalization process. Here I analyze how consultations are positioned as an inherent part of the revitalization and symbol of democracy. The democratic participation ushered in by consultations is positioned as a way to teach "Canadianness" to residents. Residents however, understood their participation in more complex ways. Chapter 4 focuses on how this set of processes can ultimately reproduce exclusion and disparity. In Chapter 4 we see the emergence of two types of participation: "technical consultation" and "politicized engagement." Technical consultation positions engagement as a mere opportunity (similar to voting)

and teaching residents the "habit" of political engagement and participation securing Canadian ideals around participation and inclusion. However, it challenges the nation-state (in theory), by the belief among planners that the content of participation actually has an effect. Similarly, Politicized engagement both reinforces and challenges engagement and democratic participation's association with "Canadianness." In this context, residents had disparate views on the value and impact of consultations. Some residents challenged the normalizing practices of engagement and had cynical views and critiques of the engagement process. On the other hand, various residents felt empowered by participation; they viewed consultations as an opportunity for decision-making at the local level—it was not just about voice, but that participation could mobilize a sense of having rights and demanding rights. Yet, Politicized engagement also reinforces Canadian notions about belonging among residents and an affiliation or desire to be "Canadian." Politicized engagement thus, leaves space for residents to create their own meaning in the consultation process.

Conclusion

This dissertation analyzes how three themes arise to manage sociocultural difference in urban revitalization: diversity, surveillance, and participation. While Chapters 1 and 2 explore the national-identity making aspects of urban transformations and address the specifically Canadian elements as embodied in Canada's special relationship to multiculturalism, Chapters 3 and 4 explore the nominal democratic subject making aspects embodied in these transformations: surveillance and community participation. The latter chapters address the particularities of state-making and subject-

making that are not necessarily uniquely "Canadian" but often take on Canadian inflections—diversity lingers in the background of Chapters 3 and 4 as the idiosyncratic Canadian "stamp" on the revitalization projects. In each ethnographic chapter I demonstrate that the nation-state is "remade" through a dynamic between the nation-state and urban revitalization.

I use the terms "remaking" and reconstituting interchangeably, to gesture to the ways in which the nation-state is in a constant "state" of becoming. The language of remaking or reconstituting attempts to capture the various parts of the process. I avoid the use of "reproduction" because the nation-state is not simply produced in a cause and effect dynamic; further, the nation-state and nation-building do not have simply have normalizing effects on subjects. I make this argument by examining different manifestations of the national, including national identity, nationalism, and citizenship.

Throughout each chapter, there is an underlying thread around different manifestations of citizenship. Citizenship, in the most narrow sense, marks one's legal membership to a nation-state. As Sassen (2002:278) argues, a limited definition of citizenship describes "the legal relationship between the individual and the polity." A passport, state identification, the right to vote, and mandatory military service are just a few material symbols of citizenship. However, scholars have explored how citizenship involves an array of dynamics between individuals, the state, and society (Yuval-Davis 1997:4). Citizenship has been theorized by some as a relationship to a national community or to the state (Anderson 1991; Marshall 1950). Marshall's (1950) theory of social citizenship, as I explore in Chapter 1, links citizenship to a basic sense of social and economic well-being ensured through legislation and policy, examining the state's

ties to citizenship. Feminist and critical race scholars have challenged liberal ideas about citizenship that universalize belonging and erase differentiated and exclusive access to the nation-state (Benhabib et al. 1995; Crenshaw et al. 1996; Delgado and Stefancic 2001). Furthermore, those who challenge liberal theories of citizenship highlight the ways in which defining membership—or inclusion in the nation—is simultaneously dependent on the exclusion of others (both within and outside of borders). However, as Isin posits (2008:287-9), "rights" can be claimed at the local level (and define translocal citizenship) and in fact, redefine "civic and political engagement across a wide variety of issues and boundaries. In this dissertation, citizenship emerges in various forms: cultural, social and legal. These different aspects of citizenship gradually (and discreetly) link to my exploration of the management of difference in the contemporary nation-state, especially in a neoliberal and multicultural context.

Re-Making the Nation-State: Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Revitalization explores an intricate web of relations in the revitalization of two public housing communities: Lawrence Heights and Regent Park. I explore revitalization in two different neighborhoods in Toronto because of the similarities and differences in revitalization in both neighborhoods; these similarities and differences are explored throughout the chapters. Despite the similar framing of revitalization and the centrality of multiculturalism and neoliberalism in the plans, the contexts differ in the geographic relation to the downtown core and also in the ways in which revitalization was initiated. These sites are important for understanding the nation-state not only because housing and urban redevelopment are consistently topics of national concern, but also because both

revitalization plans are embedded with central themes related to the functioning of the nation-state: participation, surveillance, multiculturalism, and neoliberalism.

Chapter 1

Revitalizing the Nation, Revitalizing the Urban

Revitalization in the urban context characterizes the revitalization of neighborhoods or urban areas that are deemed in need of "new life." While the term "revitalization" became ubiquitous in the 21st century for urban reform, it is part of a long history of slum clearance, urban renewal, rehabilitation, redevelopment, and gentrification.[12] In this chapter, I explore how urban interventions, such as revitalization, are imperative to nation-state formation. I map a general history of housing policy in Canada to trace how housing is a "national concern" that can be addressed by regulation and deregulation of housing in cities (Bradford 2007; Sewell 1994). By closely looking at the history of housing policy in Canada and a shift between two different phases of revitalization, I trace how the nation-state is tied to urban processes and a transformation of social citizenship.

While housing policy was once a priority under the welfare state, there is a distinct transition whereby concerns about social housing were removed from the federal and provincial agenda. Through reform, the state shifted responsibility for elements of social policy that were previously characterized as a national priority (e.g. housing) to local governments or the private sector. Housing, in particular, is thus a key site where

---

[12] These terms are often used interchangeably. However, each emerged in a specific context to reference a particular process. . Slum clearance was a policy in the early twentieth century to rid cities of slums—slums were literally bulldozed over. Urban renewal was a housing policy in the mid-twentieth century which attempted to rejuvenate run-down neighborhoods of cities by building new housing. Rehabilitation programs were generally geared toward business districts or downtown cores and money was invested in these areas to attract and generate business.

we can see how social citizenship (the general notion that members of society deserve a basic sense of social and economic well-being ensured through legislation and policy), is transformed and narrowed with the changing role of the welfare state.

Scholars of nation-formation, feminism, and urban studies have long argued that housing is of essential concern to the nation-state and nation formation—in fact it is a tool in the project of nation-building (McClintock 1995; Martin and Mohanty 1986; Sewell 1994; Sharma 2006; Purdy 1998;). Canadian housing expert David Hulchanski (2006:222) suggests the link between housing and nation-formation is explicitly addressed by the state:

> there is a need to recognize that each country develops a housing system—a method of ensuring (or not) that enough good quality housing is built, that there is a fair housing allocation system, and that the stock of housing is properly maintained. Government plays the central role in creating, sustaining, and changing this system.

Housing is thus positioned as crucial for the state because it is an essential material need for citizens. Hulchanski (2006:222) goes on to suggest that the relationship between government and housing

> establishes and enforces the "rules of the game" through legislation that defines such things as banking practices, tax and regulatory measures affecting building materials, professional practices (for example real estate transactions), subsidy programs, and incentive patterns for average households. This system is so ingrained in the culture and so intertwined with related systems (such as tax measures and welfare state benefits) that it tends to be taken for granted…

"Ingrained" in the culture, housing is always a national concern managed by the state. While Hulchanski specifically addresses the role of the state, governance and legislation, the nation is linked to concerns about housing because the home is also a place where national ideas and values are cast and learned. For example, Sean Purdy (1998:514; 2002:129) asserts that the arena of housing and housing improvement are perfectly suited to foster the values of Canadian citizenship because the home is the key site of social

reproduction and is thus also the key site for building the nation—to build homes is to build citizens. What Purdy (1998) unpacks, similarly to feminist scholars' critiques of the "home" as a neutral space, is that the home is in fact political: it is a place where the nation-state is formed at the most micro of scales because the values of a nation are transmitted in everyday home life.

Building on Sean Purdy's (1998) assertion that access to fair housing becomes an essential space to shape one's relationship to the state, I link social citizenship to housing policy to trace the connection between the deconstruction and rescaling of the welfare state and public housing redevelopment via revitalization (or neoliberal state-managed gentrification)—my investigation does not explore the role of the home space in nation-building directly, but instead builds on this scholarship to examine broader understandings of the role of homes and housing in policy that is premised on ideas about social citizenship and the welfare state. In his famous essay "Citizenship and Social Class," British sociologist T.H. Marshall (1950) argued for a theory of citizenship that ensures that all members of society are entitled to a basic sense of social well-being. Marshall (1950) takes a historical approach to citizenship and suggests that we can divide citizenship into three parts: civil, political, and social. While before the eighteenth century these three parts were intertwined in a more singular concept of citizenship, by the twentieth century these strands became differentiated. By civil citizenship, Marshall (1950:11, 18) refers to the rights associated with individual freedoms such as freedom of speech or the freedom to own property. The institution Marshall links most closely to civil is the legal system and courts. Political citizenship, on the other hand, refers to the rights to participate in society and politics (ibid., 11, 19). Marshall ties the political to

institutions of government. Finally, social citizenship is based on the social standards necessary to live a fulfilled life in society (ibid., 11). The institutions most closely linked to social citizenship are education and social services. These strands were previously intertwined, because their corresponding institutions were "amalgamated", according to Marshall (1950: 11, 21), developed chronologically in relation to the political and economic transformations of the time: the eighteenth century brought about civil citizenship, the nineteenth century brought about political, and the twentieth century brought about social citizenship.[13]

I focus on the rise of social citizenship as it coincided with the rise of the welfare state after World War II. Social citizenship is based on the notion that every person in a particular society/polity deserves shared social and economic stability: economic class should not determine one's access to well-being or the ability to live a fulfilling life. Marshall's theory (1950) is a result of a long history of the exclusion of social rights from definitions of citizenship. Access to these resources, under the principles of social citizenship, would be ensured by the state and not be dependent on one's economic class. Social citizenship is the responsibility of the state and took shape most distinctly in the model of the welfare state. As Martha McCluskey (2002:783) outlines, Marshall's notion of "social citizenship" is based on the theory that "public well-being in a democratic society depends on rights to economic security as well as on political and civil rights". Thus, social citizenship is intimately linked to a welfare state logic, whereby the state

---

[13] Central to Marshall's (1950) argument is the development of citizenship alongside capitalism. Whereas citizenship is about rights, access and equality, capitalism necessitates inequality. Marshall argues, however, that despite this, the different types of citizenship became necessary to maintain the inequality required by capitalism (33). However, for the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on Marshall's concept of social citizenship.

promotes policies that enhance ones social and economic well-being, regardless of class status.

I argue, that the revitalization of public housing in Canada contributes to a transformation in the logic of what enables the well-being promoted by social citizenship—while policies were previously framed as supporting the overall well-being of citizens (political, economic and social), there is shrinking of welfare state policies that support a broad and vibrant social citizenry. Although housing once was lauded as the cure for social problems and an inherent responsibility of the (welfare) state, an erosion of policies that promoted social well-being and access to housing narrow one's access to social citizenship and dilute previous messaging around the state's role in promoting social, economic and political well-being through policy. Thus, social policy and housing policy are vital to understanding how the nation and urban revitalization are in fact fused together—this fusion becomes a site for the negotiation of social citizenship, whereby policy and dialogue around housing lay the foundation for a neoliberal reframing of social citizenship. In the following chapters, this neoliberal reframing of social citizenship is cast in terms of the production of an "ideal" citizen-subject.

I begin this chapter by mapping a link between revitalization and nation formation. Next, I explore the history of housing policy in Canada and the Province of Ontario, including the regulation and deregulation of social policies. This history situates the original planning of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights (from 1948-1957) as tied to the rise of the welfare states in Canada and the subsequent neoliberal turn, which can ultimately be defined by two phases of revitalization (Kipfer and Petrunia 2009; Purdy 2005, 2004, 2003a, 2003b; Rose 1958). Building on this history of the two phases of

revitalization, I close this chapter by sketching a history of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights and describe the contemporary revitalization processes as hinged to urban neoliberalism. This provides a backdrop for the ethnographic chapters that will follow (Chapters 2, 3 and 4).

Revitalization and Nation-Formation

The term revitalization, albeit in the form of urban renewal, began popping up all over cities in the United States and Canada in the 1940s and 1950s. Despite the central difference that Canada, unlike the United States, does not have a national housing plan, similar trends emerged because of shared economic and historical contexts (including World War II and the shift to neoliberalism in the 1980s, for example). Urban renewal in Canada and the United States focused on run-down residential neighborhoods in cities; renewal programs centered on physical change in an urban area, marking a post-World War II phase of planning (Roberts and Sykes 2000:18). A response to the increasingly declining conditions in urban slums and impoverished neighborhoods, urban renewal was established as a national initiative in the United States in 1949 (Sanders 1980:105). In Canada, the problem of slums was addressed through the Dominion Housing Act of 1935, and more explicitly in the Urban Renewal Program in 1948—neither of which engrained housing in federal policy (Carter 1991:10). However, in both Canada and the United States, housing was a national concern: renewal, in particular, was a way for government to prioritize neighborhoods that housed the urban poor under the logic of the welfare state. This phase lasted from the late 1930s to the 1970s.

In both the United States and Canada, under urban renewal, low-income neighborhoods were completely torn down (in the U.S. "eminent domain" was used to remove people from housing—the housing act gave local governments full power to remove residents with no guarantee of return; in Canada, this was done through slum clearance, but was not necessarily legally mandated). Slum areas, inhabited by low-income residents living in dilapidated housing, were bulldozed to make way for either new housing, businesses, or public infrastructure (e.g. the Robert Moses highway in New York City and Interstate 95 in Miami). In some cases the land was left empty. Where new housing was built under renewal, it took the form of the notorious concrete towers—such as those in Toronto's Regent Park. Many scholars have explored the uneven effects of slum clearance on poor non-whites—through these insights we can begin to trace the systemic effects of spatial segregation (Goldberg 1993:190-191).

The urban renewal program(s) of the United States marked the first attempt by local governments to negotiate housing with private developers (Hall 1996:22). That is, governments took the initiative to tear down buildings on large plots of urban land and leave it up to developers to decide how to utilize the land for either commercial or residential use (Sanders 1980:105). Urban renewal left many poor residents with few resources to relocate as "the burden of new development rested on the private real estate market, with profit as a central motivating force" (ibid.). Thus, little or no new public or social housing was funded by government; instead, the private market, even before 1980, was deemed responsible for generating new development.

In the 1970s, revitalization was used in central business districts/downtown cores or residential neighborhoods and focused on areas often described as "in decay,"

"deteriorating," "low-income," "blighted," "failed" "substandard" and in need of "renewed vitality." This form of regeneration is a shift from previous renewal efforts in the 1940s and 1950s. Emphasis was placed on the concentration of poverty and non-white people who lived in the area, as well as the lack of services and substandard aesthetic characteristics of these neighborhoods. The various historical "revitalization" programs consistently describe the areas as "problems to be dealt with" or as a strain on the city. In Tom Carter's (1991) history of renewal and revitalization in Canada, this urban transformation is an effort to "arrest decay"; revitalization was the pragmatic solution to a sweeping problem in Canadian cities. What Carter (1991) overlooks is the significance of those impacted by revitalization. While Carter (1991) describes the neighborhoods or areas in need of revitalization, he does not address the fact that these neighborhoods were generally publically managed housing projects inhabited by marginalized populations. Ultimately, what we see is the ramping up of processes of gentrification (Lees et al. 2007).

But this shift is part and parcel of a broader set of processes linked to renewal. In the Canadian context, some urban redevelopment schemes (Africville in Halifax and Chinatown in Toronto, for example) were clearly articulated as strategies of revitalizing spaces racialized as non-White (Anderson 1991; Nelson 2002).[14] While both Cabbagetown and the Regent Park of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were predominantly Euro-Canadian neighborhoods, Regent Park and Lawrence Heights shift demographically in the 1970s to predominately African, Caribbean, Latin American, Asian, and South

---

[14] However, this was not the case for the redevelopment of the old Cabbagetown or the greenfield project of Lawrence Heights.

Asian communities.[15] As a result, the dynamics of territorial stigmatization shift, which ultimately lays the groundwork for redevelopment (Purdy 2002). Curiously, as David Goldberg (1991) highlights, the inner-city fragmented after initial slum clearance policies and the flow of immigrants infiltrated cities and the urban towers that concentrated populations of low-income communities in public housing. Public housing developments ultimately then becomes the appropriate image of "racialized urban space" (Goldberg 1991:188). White flight ensued, where white urban dwellers fled the city to the suburbs, some only to return a decade later and initiate the onset of gentrification/revitalization (ibid).

To counter claims of gentrification and the racialized dimensions of urban planning, contemporary revitalization strategies often explicitly challenge past planning strategies that bulldoze public housing projects and instead propose bringing areas back to life by attending to the social, residential, economic (through job training programs, employment opportunities, etc) and educational needs; this reframing positions contemporary revitalization as a more holistic planning approach. It also ties immigrant communities to a sense of place: by providing communities with a place to call "home." For example, as I will explore in Chapter 4, planning's incorporation of community participation will ensure this sense of belonging. Symbolically, the inclusiveness of low-income and new immigrant residents reflects Canada's national character as a multicultural nation, which I unpack in Chapter 2.

The following section maps how housing and revitalization have long been seen as sites to transmit national ideas about how Canada takes care of its citizens through

---

[15] This change is an example of how difference is historically constructed.

various policies and developments in housing. Yet, revitalization via slum clearance/renewal (1940-1950), rehabilitation (1960), to redevelopment (1980-2000) and contemporary revitalization (2000-present), social housing shifts from a central legislative concern to something relegated better to be managed by public-private partnerships and the private market. Despite the shift from two phases of revitalization, it is still very much a national/ist project that provides a space to promote national agendas of multiculturalism and neoliberalism, something that I map in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. As I will show in the chapters that follow, these two dominant nationalist ideologies and discourses become common-sense frameworks that seem natural and essential to the revitalization projects in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, where both revitalization plans emphasize what it means to be productive and engaged Canadian citizens.

Housing and the Building of a Nation-State in Canada: 1930-1980

Revitalization's first phase began taking shape in the 1930s when there was much debate about producing a federal housing plan. The housing crisis of the 1940s made such a debate more pressing and put housing on the national agenda—housing was a central concern for nation-building under the logic of the welfare state and tied to support for social citizenship where economic rights contribute to a thriving citizenry. The initiation of low-income housing projects was one way in which the government could address the housing needs of the nation's poor alongside a broader ideology around the Canadian welfare state and social citizenship.

During Toronto's 100th Birthday celebration in 1934, Ontario's Lieutenant Governor, Herbert Bruce stated:

> We have a great and beautiful city… It is a city enviably situated, a city of fine residential areas, of beautiful buildings, of high standards of citizenship. That is how we see it; but I fear, in all candor one must confess that this city, in common with every large city, has acquired inevitable 'slum districts.' These areas of misery and degradation exert an unhappy environmental influence upon many of our citizenship (quoted in Rose 1958:37-38).

It is no mistake that Governor Bruce makes direct links between housing and citizenship. Like the City Beautiful movement, born in the late 19th century, architecture and design were understood to affect behavior and civic engagement.[16]

Slum districts, in this case, had a negative effect on the civic character of the city. Social reformists had long made links between housing and the production of good citizens (Purdy 2002). Of course, for reformers the links between housing and citizenship were also tied to the economy: if Canadians had good homes, they would be good citizens and productive workers—these two things went hand in hand (Purdy 2002:135). Thus, "since the home was regarded as the principal site of social organization, it was chosen as the chief site in the battle for thoroughly "Canadianizing" women and workers" (2002:139). Furthermore, homes and housing policy in the mid-twentieth century in North America were often described and legitimized as housing the nation's people and thus allow for the reproduction of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997). In the United States, the protection of the nuclear family through home ownership, was considered a sure way to protect the health and morality of the nation (Garb 2005:2). If people have homes, they can be active and engaged in democracy and the economy. A history of housing policy is thus essential to understanding how housing policy and revitalization is a unique context to explore the articulation of nation-identity and nation formation. Furthermore, because

---

[16] For more on The City Beautiful Movement, see page 63-65.

the "home" played such an important role in the imagining of the nation, it is no surprise that it was a topic of legislation and is tied to the rise of the welfare state in the mid-nineteenth century, where providing adequate housing was a central concern for the success of the state.

Shortly after Lieutenant Governor Herbert Bruce described the squalor of Toronto, the City published the "Bruce Report," which examined housing conditions in Toronto. Surveying over 1,300 dwellings, the report revealed shocking cases of inadequate living conditions around the city (Rose 1958:40). It was used to encourage publicly funded housing for the city's poor populations. The Bruce Report placed special emphasis on the area now known as Regent Park as an example of the lowest standard of living in the City of Toronto (Carver 1946:2). Although the report focused on local housing conditions, for housing advocates it exposed a problem that merited provincial and national attention. With the exception of one provincial housing organization in Nova Scotia, Canada lacked any housing programs (ibid., 41). The ten years following the publication of the Bruce Report saw a flurry of provincial and federal plans, reports, commissions, and conferences on housing. In turn, there was much debate over developing a federal housing plan that would reshape housing for all Canadians and affect loans, mortgages, and subsidized housing units. These debates eventually led to action and the passing of acts that would pave the way for housing legislation in Canada.

Before 1935, financial institutions were not allowed to participate in the mortgage market (Depuis 2003:4). In 1935, the House of Commons passed the Dominion Housing Act (DHA) that established lending and loan programs for both owners and builders. This new Act deregulated the participation of financial institutions. However, the Act failed to

make an impact because most private lending organizations were reluctant to participate in the government's joint-lending process (Oberlander and Fallick 1992: 17). Ultimately this led to a stronger federal commitment to housing in 1938, with the passage of the National Housing Act (NHA), which was more successful than the Dominion Act, primarily because it lowered the income requirement to apply to more moderate borrowers (ibid., 45). With the new NHA, the Government and lending institutions provided between 80-90% of the loans; the NHA also created a special branch within the Finance Department to oversee housing.[17] These administrative changes addressed the problems with the DHA that prevented lenders from wanting to participate due to administrative hurdles and perceived risks. As such, the NHA was much more effective in distributing the loans; all one million dollars of NHA funds were spent (Oberlander and Fallick 1992:17). The NHA would eventually lead to important changes for social housing.

In 1944, the Act was significantly amended and its goals further expanded. The amended National Housing Act of 1944 (NHA) moved beyond lending and funding repair to developing existing housing; it was created in the context of a national housing crisis and the formation of the post-World War II welfare state. Alongside national social policy efforts related to health and employment, two things that are central to the functioning of the welfare state, the amended NHA focused on increasing the number of social housing units, lending/loan programs, and repairs for existing housing. These Acts reflect federal attitudes towards housing and the emphasis placed on homeownership and equitable housing for the nation's poor. The debates and commitment to housing at this

---

[17] For example, under the DHA, the owner or builder making a down-payment of 20%, the government offered 20% of the mortgage and the lending institution 60% of the mortgage (80% of the total mortgage).

63

time, as well as the amended Act, signaled federal recognition of housing as a "national" policy issue. Because of the long neglected housing issues and shortages after the great depression and World War II, housing issues were central to the federal agenda. Albert Rose (1980:28) suggests that the 1944 NHA "appears like a declaration of faith in the nation's future in which housing policies would play a large role in post-war readjustment." This is particularly evident in the government's orientation to housing for low-income families (ibid.). The government's influence and new policy towards housing helped to reorient the hostility of many local governments toward social housing (ibid., 30). Thus, there was a "clear, evident and strong federal role and assumption of responsibility enunciated in legislation and in administrative arrangements" about social housing (ibid.). This occurred in the post-World War II context, where the Canadian government was keenly invested in promoting policies that would care for its citizens returning home from war and those at home, effected by the war during a time when the economy was strained and soldiers were integrating back into society. This approach was part of building the foundation for the welfare state and a philosophy of social citizenship whereby the government would play a central role in facilitating social policies on housing, education and health care to ensure the economic and social well-being of its citizens.

In addition to the changes to the new Act, the inauguration of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) in 1945 significantly altered housing policy and legislation in Canada. The CMHC was developed to address housing issues by increasing employment in construction, expanding building construction, and repairing deteriorating housing (Depuis 2003:2). Supplementary amendments were made in 1949.

These amendments initiated an official Canadian public housing system. They also demonstrated government focus on social housing and creating lending programs with liberal regulations to increase the demand and ability for people to buy homes. Purchasing homes was seen as a signal of the health of the nation and an attempt to give all Canadians opportunities for homeownership. This understanding of property ownership was a shared philosophy in the United States and Canada where families would own their own home as away to address a range of social problems, including poverty (Garb 2005:2)

This Crown Corporation would now administer and facilitate the implementation of the National Housing Act (Bacher 1991:164). While Regent Park would be the first federal public housing project, Lawrence Heights would be the first directly initiated and run by CMHC.[18] The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, now known as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, had several functions. Not only did it administer the NHA and the Home Improvement Loans Guarantee Act, CMHC also offered insurance to loan and mortgage companies to increase homeownership rates. Albert Rose, a well-known Canadian social policy scholar at the time, argued that encouraging and stimulating homeownership, through mortgage monies, interest rate manipulation, and policy, was a central national concern between 1945 and 1964. It was thought that policy would allow low-income families to own a home, and stimulate employment rates and the national economy in the post-war era, something that was central to the growth of the Canadian welfare state and social citizenship in Canada.

---

[18] At the time, Regent Park was run by the MTHA (Metro Toronto Housing Authority). Lawrence Heights, however, was not part of the city of Toronto; it was considered part of North York Township, north of the city center, and was therefore commissioned by CMHC.

(Rose 1980:35). However, the emphasis on homeownership in federal policy also greatly stigmatized low-income renters (ibid., 36). The previous federal-provincial commitment to low-income housing was unsuccessful and deemed a failure because of its focus on homeownership limiting options for renters. New policy would have to be created that could better attend to the needs of low-income renters, and would further attest to the ways in which the nation-state would prioritize those who were economically marginalized and the benefits of social citizenship for addressing inequality and boosting the economy.

This is important for understanding the long history of revitalization. While in the mid-twentieth century housing legislation was frequently debated and reformed at the provincial and federal levels, this is no longer the case—public housing reform is driven by local housing providers and depends on public-private partnerships for funding because of the deterioration of the welfare state (explored in the following section). During the first phase of revitalization, one can see the prevalence of policies contributing to a robust sense of social citizenship.

Further amendments to the NHA in 1964 promoted a federal-provincial partnership and intended to make the management of housing easier for the government. Rose suggests that the new amendments completely transformed the NHA (ibid., 38). The federal government would offer 75% of the funds and the provinces 25%. While housing was municipally administered, it was federally funded (Hulchanski 2002:9). Because housing was no longer federally managed, the provinces created a system whereby individual housing agencies managed and administered public housing. Hulchanski (2002) describes the period from 1964-1983 as informed by the idea that

housing was an essential human need; federal commitment to housing was thus vital for Canada to promote healthy environments for its growing population. This perspective was distinct from the previous 20 years of housing policies, which Hulchanski (2002) argues were more about political appearances and an attempt to make it seem like the government was addressing housing issues (ibid.) illustrated by a shortage of adequate housing for the poor during that time. The small number of public housing units actually built in the 1940s and 1950s (only 12,000 units in total) demonstrate this fact. The majority of the 200,000 public housing units in Canada were built after the 1964 amendment, when more power was given to local housing providers (ibid.). Hulchanski's observation is important for its emphasis on the actual intent of government and their "feelings" about housing, equity and social citizenship; the commitment to social citizenship begins to change.

Alongside these developments in housing policy, there were multiple initiatives that specifically focused on redevelopment and renewal. The Urban Renewal Program, established in 1944, aimed to "improve deteriorating areas of cities" (Carter 1991:10). This program lasted until the end of the 1960's when planning objectives shifted to rehabilitate housing (ibid.). The 1964 NHA amendments offered funds for rehabilitation and redevelopment.

With the introduction of a new initiative in the 1970's, the National Improvement Program's (NIP) emphasis moved away from a single focus approach (just tearing down or just physical brick and mortar) to "a form of neighborhood development that integrates

housing with social, recreational, and infrastructure improvements" (Carter 1991:11).[19]

The main aim of the NIP, along with the Ontario Downtown Revitalization Program, a provincial measure implemented in 1983 that offered municipalities loans to improve neighborhoods, was to "arrest decay" and upgrade neighborhoods (Carter, 1991:19-21). In a report informing the Ontario Downtown Revitalization Program, revitalization would preserve Ontario's downtown districts: "A decline in the downtown will lead to the loss of the city's focal point... [I]n particular the poor and the elderly who typically live near the core will suffer the most" (Bernard and Associates 1975:vi). In the report on "Urban Decline and Disinvestment," the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Company focused explicitly on revitalization as the solution to decaying urban areas. Here, declining neighborhoods described as run-down, low-income, and in need of renewed vitality, become extinct or can be revitalized. Once again we see the language of death (decay) and life (revitalization) to metaphorically signal the role of the nation-state as breathing life back into marginalized communities; revitalization was one way for governments to reinvest in housing and position housing as a central concern of the nation-state. It reinscribed the notion that the state was addressing problems of social inequality and was a way to further spread a sense of Canadian identity and national interests. Because the state was keen on policies of inclusion as part of a national identity, revitalization is easily mobilized to integrate and "take care" of those on the margins (in this case the poor and elderly). The report closes by encouraging "community capacity" in the planning process, again signaling the ways in which the values of democratic participation and civic engagement are key characteristics of Canadian nationalism. According to the

---

[19] This text provides a thorough history of renewal in Canada from 1935-1980s. The author uses the terms rehabilitation, renewal and revitalization interchangeably.

report, community capacity describes the ability of a community to mobilize and promote neighborhood revitalization. However, the report suggests that poor residents "lack the leadership skills and education necessary to advance their interests" (Carter 2006:6). In turn, the report encourages civic participation as part of a framework to engage residents to teach and promote civic pride. The notion that civic pride and democratic engagement can be produced and encouraged by urban planning is not unique to CMHC reports or Canadian trends in planning. In fact, this logic was at the core of the well-known City Beautiful movement that took shape in the late 19th century that drew from both a belief in "natural beauty" and influence from the Greek agora to inspire order, democracy and morality in cities. For example, the Washington Mall in Washington, D.C. was designed as a way to promote civic virtue and democratic engagement at a time when social ills and anti-social behaviors were thought to be sweeping U.S. cities (see Figure 2).
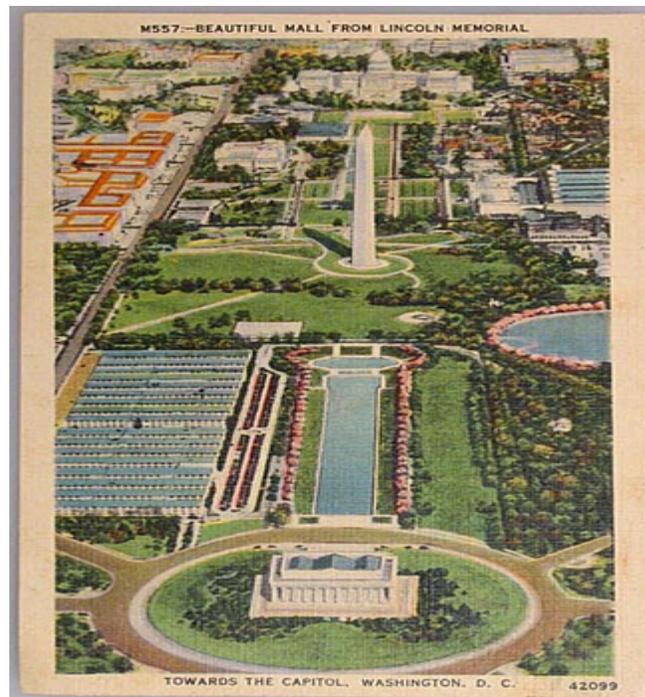
Figure 2: The Washington Mall designed as part of the City Beautiful Movement.

Planners presumed that the environment could shape one's behavior and were distinctly interested in producing a way to encourage an attachment to the nation. Urban design was thought to birth a particular kind of nationalism where residents would have public places to display their commitments to the nation. Thus, the nature of many efforts in the first phase of revitalization, which included altering spaces, building housing and efforts to improve downtown business districts, use the same logic as the City Beautiful Movement and are premised on links between space, behavior, and nationalism (Mitchell 2009). The nature of such interventions in housing however, began to change in the 1980s, paving the way for a second phase of revitalization and a shift in how the state positioned its role in housing policy, leading to a transformation of social citizenship.

Mapping the National in Urban Processes: Shifts in Social Policy 1980-2012

National philosophy about housing and redevelopment for all Canadians shifted drastically in the 1980s and 1990s with significant changes and cuts to funding; during this time we see an overarching assault on the welfare state and social programs. With a rescaling of the welfare state in the 1970s and the influence of neoliberal agendas, the narrative around revitalization and social citizenship changes, ushering in a second phase of revitalization where public housing redevelopment is delivered via gentrification. This rescaling involves a change from previous legislation that promoted and enabled public resources to be allocated to housing as well as an overall transformation of the administration of public housing whereby it now operates as a quasi-private business enterprise; it involves the deregulation of housing that is central to the contemporary

logic of "revitalization." Of course, the dismantling of public housing is facilitated by its temporary character (public housing was always meant to be a stepping stone to purchasing homes/citizenship via private home ownership).

In Canada, this ideology infused each level of government. The federal conservative Mulroney government of the early 1980s initiated budget cuts and reorganized federal-provincial housing relations. In the 1990s the Canadian federal government took social housing off the agenda.[20] They downloaded responsibility to provinces at a time when federal funding was the main source of funds for local service providers. Ontario shortly followed suit and further downloaded housing to local providers. This massive restructuring is an example of how policies relating to social welfare were dismantled because of a shift to neoliberal governance.

By 1993, federal funding for new housing units was literally non-existent (Hulchanski 2002:9). To make matters worse, the 1995 Harris government in Ontario completely transformed housing policy and governance in the province. His aim was to get Ontario "out of the housing business" (Hackworth 2008:81). Mike Harris moved quickly to achieve deregulation and privatization of housing as opposed to working with the federal government to achieve proper funding for housing in Ontario or making it a priority in the provincial budget. Not only did the Harris government cut provincial

---

[20] In Canada, social housing and public housing are often confused as the same thing. Public housing in Canada is government subsidized housing. Social housing however, is housing that is managed by the private sector, but might receive support from government programs, etc. to subsidize rent and supports low-income tenants (co-op housing is an example of social housing). The key difference is therefore that public housing is 100% subsidized and managed by the government, whereas social housing providers often receive funding from various sources including the government but are not managed by the government.

71

funding for social housing, the province downloaded $905 million in social housing costs to the municipalities; the municipalities now had the responsibility of managing housing. Urban neoliberalism was in full swing in Ontario (Hackworth and Moriah 2006; Keil 2002). As Keil asserts, "the neoliberalization of the urban through deliberate policy decisions of a programmatically interventionist but substantively anti-statist, neoliberal government has been present in Ontario since 1995" (Keil 2002:580).

This restructuring was formalized in 2000 through the Social Housing Reform Act (Hackworth and Moriah 2006:515). The main goal of this act and the official restructuring was to ensure that housing providers forged relationships with private investors and the private market. As such, housing providers were expected to perform as a business (ibid.). The provincial government not only encouraged deregulation, but they encouraged housing providers to be entrepreneurial and partner with (and function like) the private housing market (Hackworth 2008:18).

The Social Housing Reform Act (SHRA) also downloaded the administration of social housing to the municipalities. This meant that local property taxes would cover social housing as opposed to government assistance; this is a dramatic shift, as the federal government previously provided 75% of funding. Further, the problem with this restructuring was that housing providers were given more responsibility with less autonomy. Providers had to operate in an environment of increased bureaucratic hurdles and were expected to navigate a more centralized housing system. Thus, paradoxically, even as the responsibilities of providing housing had been shifted to the local level, housing became more centralized, as opposed to less, because of management and administrative issues. This centralization slowed down the entire process: waiting lists

grew, homelessness skyrocketed, and the problems associated with housing in the 1990s were magnified. Because providers were forced to work with private investors and operate more like a business, many obstacles arose for those in need of housing. This massive cut in funding and restructuring created a shortage in social housing in Toronto and produced the largest homeless population per capita in North America (Hackworth and Moriah 2006:516).

Thus, housing in Toronto took a severe neoliberal turn—neoliberalism had completely transformed housing delivery and there was no turning back. Impacted by global shifts to neoliberal models, public housing in Toronto became subject to what would transpire as a very rocky decade that put thousands of housing units at risk of being sold to the private market. There was greater local responsibility, with less control and a simultaneous transformation of public housing to a quasi-private economic enterprise. Under this regime, we can trace an overall transition in the positioning of housing's place on policy agendas. Whereas social housing, in particular, was treated as a central tenet to remedy social inequality under the welfare state, this rescaling reframes social citizenship in much more narrow way. It not only excludes the poor from debates on poverty and housing, but it also removes housing from previous policy discussions around equity and access for marginalized groups. Social citizenship thus fundamentally shifts from encompassing broad social rights and welfare to eliminating basic needs such as housing.

In Toronto, as a direct result of the SHRA changes, the City oversees all social housing providers. Toronto Community Housing was created in 2002 when the City merged City Home, Toronto Metropolitan Housing Corporation and the Toronto Housing

Company. The Metropolitan Housing Corporation (1954) was previously known as the Toronto Housing Authority, which managed Regent Park. These were two of 54 provincial housing providers, governed by the Ontario Housing Corporation. Following the Social Housing Reform Act of 2000, the City merged the housing providers in an attempt to make the management of housing easier and more accessible.[21]

The City of Toronto is Toronto Community Housing's (TCH) sole shareholder.[22] Toronto Community Housing Corporation is the largest public housing organization in Canada and the second largest in North America. TCH provides homes to approximately 164,000 tenants around the city in 58,000 units, including 360 high rise and low rise buildings and approximately 800 houses and duplexes; it is organized into 27 housing areas (referred to officially as "units"). TCH provides low-income, rent geared to income (RGI) housing; i.e. rents are regulated according to residents' income where each household pays 30% of their income towards rent.[23]

Toronto Community Housing holds offices in Regent Park and in Lawrence Heights, where it acts as landlord; it holds sole authority over Regent Park, Lawrence Heights and other low-income housing in the city. TCH offers all services to Regent Park and Lawrence Heights including street cleaning, garbage pickup and maintenance/repairs

---

[21] Hackworth and Moriah argue that it actually made delivery more difficult and waiting lists grew as a result of the SHRA. This is because housing providers were presented with more bureaucratic hurdles and were expected to navigate a more centralized housing system (2006:515).

[22] In relation to revitalization: "The City as the sole shareholder, pursuant to section 6.3.1, must approve the principle of redevelopment before it can proceed. Shareholder approval is also required for the sale or lease of TCH land. TCH also requires the consent of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (MMAH) to proceed with redevelopment of, including the sale and/or lease of land pursuant to the SHRA. These approvals must be sought by the social housing Serve Manager…" (June 8, 2010:7).

[23] According to TCH: "Toronto Community Housing funds its operations from rental and other revenues (51% of revenues) and from operating subsidies (49% of revenues). Housing program subsidies are provided to Toronto Community Housing through the City of Toronto. Toronto Community Housing is one of approximately 230 social housing providers in the City of Toronto funded through these programs" (TCH 2010). TCH's revenue breakdown is as follows: subsidies: 49%, rent-geared-to-income rental income: 37% market rental revenue: 9%, non-rental revenue: 5%.

to units and supervises communities with private security (Sewell 1999:2). As a landlord, among other roles, TCH is the central force overseeing the management of low-income housing communities in Toronto. Despite the neoliberal shifts in housing policies and governance in Toronto, TCH claims it has continued commitment to maintaining and improving the housing stock. Revitalization is TCH's proposed solution. While Toronto's Don Mount Court underwent a small-scale redevelopment that began in 2004, Regent Park is TCH's first large scale revitalization. It particularly emphasizes a commitment to its low-income and newcomer tenants by "celebrating the diversity" of its residents. Despite TCH's attempt to prove its commitment to public housing, it has been repeatedly criticized for questionable management and ridden with scandals involving fraud, kick-backs for contracts, the selling of units and its public-private partnerships that give up public resources and power to private developers.

What is missing from this history of the shifting nature of housing in Ontario, however, is the social struggle involving community leaders and community organizations that paved the way for public housing to be accepted by local and federal governments. Veterans and women's groups joined struggles for adequate housing after World War II and experienced significant wins with the creation of thousands of units. Social struggles continued into the 1970s and 1980s in Toronto, in which time social housing units made up 20% of new rental units. Many contemporary local and provincial community groups including neighborhood health centers, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, Ontario's Advocacy Center for Tenants and CivicAction carry on the work of housing and social justice advocates who fought to raise awareness and change policy at Toronto City Hall. These social justice struggles challenge the ideological shifts of the

second phase of revitalization from the 1980s onward, where social citizenship—the notion that wellbeing is ensured through policy—is transformed as housing is taken off of the social policy agendas and left to the private market, abdicating the state from taking responsibility and providing supports for its citizens.

This brief history of local housing policy provides a contextual framework with which to understand the original development of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, which are shaped by the two phases of redevelopment and revitalization. In the following section, I connect the histories of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights in relation to these phases. Both were built as part of a trend in housing at the time to address an extreme housing shortage and were influenced by federal policy and ideas about the national importance of providing social housing. However, with a turn to neoliberal governance between 1980-2000, housing was removed from state agendas; with this shift we can see the dismantling of the welfare state and its effects on social citizenship—this struggle plays out in the revitalization of both Regent Park and Lawrence Height as the assault on social housing continues (and is framed as revitalization).

Canada's First Housing Project: Regent Park

In 1947, City of Toronto by-law no. 17080 was passed (amending previous by-laws from 1946), putting into motion plans for the first official public housing project in Canada, Regent Park North (City of Toronto 1947). While there was much hostility and opposition towards housing for the poor, the ratepayers of Toronto voted favorably for the $6,000,000 project (Rose 1980:31). Specifically, Regent Park North was built as temporary housing for returning World War II veterans and low-income residents in the

area. In 1948 the first residents moved in, making Regent Park a model community for the future of Canadian low-income housing.

Regent Park was built between 1946 and 1958. In the broader North American context that shaped its construction, post-World War II slum clearance policies encouraged tearing down poor neighborhoods and replacing them with publicly funded housing. Born out of slum clearance, Regent Park was built as part of the Federal Urban Renewal Program. Prior to the construction of the public housing project, the neighborhood was considered one of the worst areas in the city. It was notorious not only for crime, violence, and poverty, but also for the smell of cabbages that residents grew in their front yards.

Regent Park is located just west of Toronto's Don Valley Parkway, one of the city's main highways. It is bordered by Gerard Street to the north, Parliament Street to the west, Queen Street to the south, and River Street to the east. It is just one block south of Toronto's well-known Victorian-style, gentrified neighborhood, Cabbagetown.[24] Regent Park is also in close proximity to Toronto's lakeshore and financial and shopping districts (see Figure 3).

Regent Park is the nation's oldest and largest housing project, and was home to approximately 10,000 residents of primarily Irish and English descent. Comprised of two superblocks, Regent Park North and Regent Park South, under its original design, maintained until 2005, it contained 30 buildings, consisting of both townhouses and apartment style high-rise structures. It is located in close proximity to Toronto's downtown core, sits on a 69-acre lot, housing 2,087 units. While the early design of

---

[24] Cabbagetown used to describe the Regent Park neighborhood. However, the name now categorizes the former Donvale neighborhood to the north. This shift occurred with the gentrification of Donvale in the 1960s (Caufield, 1994:21-22).

Regent Park followed a U.S. model of the garden city era, it was quickly criticized as a design that facilitated the segregation of the urban poor.

In the post-war period, the construction of public housing in Canada was based on the premise that the dwellings constructed were temporary homes, with the aim to move people into the private market through homeownership programs; this approach greatly profited and favored private developers. The temporary public housing would rejuvenate the city's tax-base and support the service-based economy (Purdy 2003:46). The units were "purposely intended to construct low-quality, unattractive public housing that would not compete with private market units" (Fish and Dennis in Purdy 2003:56). Although Regent Park was constructed as a low-income temporary residence, it was legitimized as housing some of Canada's war veterans and promoted as being a type of "heaven" by the *Toronto Star* (Zapparoli 1999:16). A member of City Council gestured to the national valence of the project saying there should be a sign proclaiming "Good Citizens Dwell Here" (Purdy 2003:46).

Figure 3. Aerial image of Regent Park North. Approximate date: 1958. Toronto Archives.

While Regent Park was initially heralded as a success and model for other low-income communities, its reputation quickly shifted and the project was deemed a planning failure and labeled a "ghetto" due to the high poor non-white population, high levels of crime and violence, and its overall isolation from other Toronto neighborhoods. In an article published by *The Globe and Mail*, (1956) a city planner called public housing a "giveaway." He specifically remarked on Toronto's notorious Regent Park Housing Project, commenting that it is in the "wrong place, for the wrong people in an erratic, unplanned manner which cannot stand up to reasonable examination."

In 1968 the management of Regent Park was transferred from the City to the Province when responsibility was moved from Toronto Housing Authority to the Ontario Housing Corporation, which then relied on the Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) to manage Regent Park (ibid., 25) The residents of Regent Park were aware of the changes that this "absentee landlord" would bring for the project. The administrative structure made it extremely difficult for tenants to deal with management. They were forced to go through many bureaucratic procedures to handle everyday problems with plumbing or maintenance. Even if the MTHA tried to responsibly manage the property, every procedure had to be approved by the Province.

Budd and Margaret McCormick were residents of Regent Park for 27 years (from 1953-1980). They described some of the changes that they experienced with the restructuring of management, and their perception of the change of residents. In a 1999 interview with photographer David Zapporoli, Mrs. McCormick stated:

> You know what the problem today is, they don't do what they did years ago. The Housing people are not taking care of the facilities. No wonder they've got what they've got going on down there now. Because that place, God, when we moved up to Gerard Street, I think I was up there 3 years and all of a sudden, cockroaches. Every 3 months we were being sprayed. I was living off of my veranda and I couldn't even get myself

79

back in. I had ants, I had mice, I had spiders and roaches and I never had it for 20 years because things just seemed to have changed. I said, "this is bad" (quoted in Zapparoli 1999:25).

Mrs. McCormick highlights the difficulties that residents experienced with the change of management. When authority transferred to the province, residents faced many hurdles in their request for basic services and housing needs. In the 1970s, all provincial governments had a decreased willingness to provide services. They changed the focus from "fairness" in rents to the economic costs of providing services, including maintenance and operations costs (Purdy 2002:56).

The City of Toronto, however, painted a different picture of Regent Park. In 1972, the Toronto Development Department, Research and Information Division (1972), published a report on Regent Park North, titled "Canada's Premier Housing Redevelopment Project." This city document compared the conditions of Regent Park in the 1930s and 1940s to its condition after the redevelopment. Some of the benefits highlighted include increased green space as well as a decrease in arrests (ibid.). There were reports to the improvement of residents' well-being and "health and welfare," noting, specifically, that children are "cleaner, healthier, happier and doing better scholastically" under the redeveloped conditions (ibid.). As such, there have been ongoing debates over "what to do with Regent?" Rehabilitating and revitalizing Regent Park has been on the city's agenda since not long after its inception.

The most recent revitalization proposal (2002) aims to create a "more typical Toronto neighborhood" (TCH 2003:30). It attempts to connect the "replanned and redeveloped neighborhood seamlessly with surrounding neighborhoods" (ibid.). Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCH) describes Regent Park as in "need of massive capital investment in buildings, improved neighborhood design and integration with

surrounding communities" (TCH 2002:10). According to TCH's annual review in 2004, "[a]fter decades of need and many unsuccessful attempts, renewal is finally coming to Regent Park" (TCH 2004:10).

Figure 4: Sign announcing the initiation of Phase 1. Photo by author. May 9, 2006.

The review outlines that "when the plan is put into action it will help in the effort to create a healthy, strong and vital community" (TCH 2004:10). In 2002, the buildings in Regent Park were described as what may "appear to be structurally sound, but have become dysfunctional...and have increased the sense of isolation in the neighborhood and created spaces for crime and vandalism" (RPRS 2002:8) The many documents describe Regent Park's isolation from its neighboring communities (gentrified Cabbagetown and Corktown). Because Regent Park is described as segregated, by both planners and

residents, revitalization is posited as the solution. By incorporating a holistic approach, revitalization was positioned to provide opportunities to Regent Park's disenfranchised residents. However, what is curious in this holistic approach, and why it is critiqued widely, is that it does not address the systemic nature of inequality experienced in Regent Park. Furthermore, the framework is dependent on a public-private partnership that privileges the private market and requires the selling of public land to the private sector. Thus, while the history of revitalization indicates its attempts to right the wrongs of past planning techniques that often overlooked its negative effect on residents (renewal, rehabilitation, and redevelopment), these critiques highlight some of the darker sides of revitalization.

One planning document describes how "[t]he redevelopment of Regent Park is a priority for the people who live and work there, but it also reflects a widespread commitment to city building and the growth of healthy, sustainable communities across Toronto" (TCH 2007:1). This commitment to city building is one of national significance. Not only is Toronto, posited as the economic hub of Canada, the center of Canadian diversity and growth, but it represents the best of Canadian models of integration and multiculturalism. The Regent Park Revitalization Study (RPRS) draws attention to the holistic aspects of revitalization that also help to build a nation: revitalization will bring vitality to the community by providing housing, businesses, education, recreation, green space, transportation and community services. These are all tied to social well-being and social citizenship—however, the onus of responsibility is removed from the state (unlike in previous models) and, as I will demonstrate in later chapters, despite the intentions of promoting social citizenship, well-being and thriving

community is often signaled without actually having to institute policies that might enable social change and equity. These themes are explored further in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

The history of Regent Park is intimately shaped by housing policy at the federal, provincial, and local levels. It is through this history of redevelopment that we can see the effects of changes to policy—specifically that of downloading and the impact of neoliberal governance. The history of Toronto's Lawrence Heights follows a similar trajectory.

Lawrence Heights

The land that is now home to Lawrence Heights originally belonged to the Moholland family farm. After being sold to developers, this land was thought to be a site to test the new federal-provincial partnership on housing managed by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Company (CMHC) in the late 1950s. Housing projects of this kind, however, were generally located in cities; the rural residents of North York thus met the proposal with great resistance as it was seen as a threat to traditional rural ways of life (Rose 1972:70). The major struggle centered on the responsibility for funding social services for the residents of the proposed Lawrence Heights. Residents of the North York Township saw the potential tax implications of building a low-income housing project— they thought the increase of low-income families would require increased social services in the area without an accompanying increase in taxes (ibid., 1972:71).

Despite this resistance, Lawrence Heights was built in a mere two-year span, between 1955 and 1957, by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It would

also become home to the CMHC headquarters. Lawrence Heights is a low-income housing project and followed in the development style of Regent Park:

> The design and construction of Lawrence Heights followed the apparent success of the development of Regent Park in the east side of Toronto (1947–1955) on a large, multi-block site. Regent Park eradicated slums and provided new, modern housing for the poor. Lawrence Heights was to provide the similar advantages this time on a green field site north of the developed city, modeled after emerging trends in community development based on the "Garden City" model (Sterling and Cappe 2009:4).

Lawrence Heights is located north of downtown Toronto in what was the Township of North York prior to the amalgamation of surrounding regions to the City of Toronto in 2000 (now known as the Greater Toronto Area or GTA). It is surrounded by Lawrence Avenue to the south, Ranee Avenue to the north, Bathurst Street to the east, Dufferin to the west, and straddles both sides of the Allen Road, one of the city's main highways. There are 1,235 rent-geared-to-income units on 60.5 hectares of land. It is home to approximately 3,715 residents and is considered low-density compared to other low-income housing projects.

According to the City, Lawrence Heights was developed by CMHC as a model neighborhood and served to address a severe housing shortage in the city (City of Toronto, 2010:5). Like Regent Park, Lawrence Heights was designed with inward facing buildings that effectively isolate the community from surrounding neighborhoods. Lawrence Heights differs, however, in terms of building height and grid patterns. The design was primarily due to its geographic location north of the city center and its close proximity to the Downsview airport. Lower buildings were designed to ensure visibility for pilots in the area surrounding the airport. Further, the grid patterns were interrupted by the design of the Spadina expressway (the Allen Road) in 1957 and subsequently challenged by Jane Jacobs. The housing project consists of two, three and four story

walk up apartment buildings and townhouses. In a pattern similar to Regent Park, the streets were designed to discourage traffic congestion and blocked the neighborhood off from surrounding areas. Influenced by "garden city" planning styles, Lawrence Heights is designed around a central green space, Flemington Park.

Lawrence Heights is known throughout the city as "The Jungle." It has a reputation, broadcast and promulgated in the local news media, as a center of crime, violence, poverty, racial tensions and teeming with gangs ("Just Desserts Ccase", 1999; "Police see rise of violent interference," 1995; "The lowdown on the Heights," 1994; "Housing authority loses bid," 1988; "Flatten park's hills," 1984; "Racial tension prompts move," 1984; **"**Don't blame me," 1994; "Crime increase worries," 1994; *Lawrence Heights* residents," 1991; "Play on crack hits home," 1990; "Hard keeping lid," 1990; "150 angry blacks crowd meeting," 1986; "Pushers ousted," 1988). "The Jungle" is described as isolated and maze-like (which is where it gets its nickname).[25] In the mid-1990s, the Lawrence Heights community was in the spotlight after a media firestorm ensued following a shooting in Toronto. The criminal case became infamously known as the "Just Desserts" case, named after the location of the shooting where a bystander, 23 year-old Vivi Leimonis, was gunned down in a robbery. All five suspects were from the Lawrence Heights "Jungle." The media coverage of the murder described the neighborhood as a "crack-ridden criminal hotbed."

The complicated histories of both Regent Park and Lawrence Heights reflect the ongoing struggles over public housing in Canada. As public housing projects subjected to a design that facilitated their segregation, both communities face internal, everyday

---

[25] Although some argue that the nickname comes from the 1950s movie "The Asphalt Jungle"

85

struggles as well as constant police surveillance, hostile media coverage and cuts to essential public services. The current revitalization plans in both communities are an attempt to address the failed planning of the 1950s and "reintegrate" the neighborhoods with the city.

In October 2005, Lawrence Heights was designated as a "priority neighborhood" by the City of Toronto as part of the City's "Neighborhood Action Plan." Now replaced with the language of "Neighborhood Improvement Areas" instead of "Priority" by the City's strategy, neighborhoods were targeted for increased investment in infrastructure and community service improvements.[26] Priority neighborhoods were determined based on a set of social risk factors that were measured by the 2001 census data.

According to Toronto Community Housing, Lawrence Heights was selected for revitalization due to poor design, building decay, an increase in crime, and the concentration of low-income housing. In March 2007 the TCH Board of Directors presented a report to Toronto City Council. A May 2007 City of Toronto Staff Report from the Deputy City managers addressed to the Affordable Housing Committee, introduced an initiative to research opportunities to revitalize Lawrence Heights in conjunction with TCH's findings (City of Toronto 2007). The summary of the report

> outlines the opportunities the Lawrence Heights neighborhood revitalization presents, and the corresponding need for a corporate structure to support this initiative and coordinate associated stakeholder partnerships. This potentially presents the City with an opportunity to develop a comprehensive and integrated approach to the Lawrence Heights neighborhood revitalization that will incorporate social, physical, economic, environmental, health-related and community-based supports into a planning framework that will ultimately strengthen the community (ibid., 1).

---

[26] It is important to note that although Regent Park was the first TCH community to be revitalized on such a large scale, Regent Park is not a priority neighborhood. This is primarily because Regent Park has more community service programs per capita than any other neighborhood in the city.

The Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan affects 17,000 residents who live east of Dufferin Street, west of Bathurst Street, north of Lawrence Avenue and south of Highway 401. While at community meetings and planning forums, the Lawrence Allen plan is often referred to in short form as the Lawrence Heights plan although it is part of the larger Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan.

According to official City documents summarizing the preferred plan,

> [t]he plan describes a mixed-income, neighborhood which is park-centered, transit supportive, and well integrated with the broader city. Through public and private reinvestment, it provides for the replacement of all 1,208 existing social housing units along with 5,500 to 6,300 new market units (City of Toronto, 2010:1).

The "Executive Summary" of the Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan introduces the coordinated efforts of the City of Toronto, Toronto Community Housing, and the Toronto District School Board in producing a revitalization plan for the area. The revitalization of Lawrence Heights is thus viewed as the "catalyst" for the broader revitalization. TCH's revitalization of Lawrence Heights "created an opportunity and responsibility to comprehensively examine the Lawrence Heights neighborhood, its relationship to adjacent neighborhoods and their joint connection to the broader city" (June 3, 2010:6; LARP 2010:1)

The "Executive Summary" provides details of the four themes of the plan. "Reinvestment" in the Lawrence-Allen study area will "renew the social housing stock, develop new private housing, construct new public infrastructure, and cultivate a sustainable neighborhood…" (LARP 2010:1). The second theme, "Mobility", focuses on the need for a more integrated transportation system to better connect the area with surrounding neighborhoods and the rest of the city. Theme three, "Liveability", promotes social integration and the fostering of social networks to ensure a high quality of life for

residents. Finally, the last theme, "Place-Making", links the physical infrastructure to "civic and social life" to strengthen "community identity, promote public safety and foster vibrant public activity…" (LARP 2010:2). There is also an emphasis on key liberal notions about integration—through the four themes, reinvestment, mobility, liveability, and place-making, the nation is brought to the forefront as a space that promotes and enables a healthy civic identity as Canadian. While this approach to place-making may seem local, as I will highlight in each ethnographic chapter, they actually draw on distinctly Canadian characteristics that emphasize Canada's cultural identity as inclusive and the promotion of participation in Canadian life.

The revitalization of Lawrence Heights aims to make the area a more "integrated, mixed, and vital urban component of the City" (City of Toronto, May 31, 2007:3). While this is a common aim of the Regent Park plan, the initial Lawrence Heights planning documents also highlight key differences between the two communities. Lawrence Heights faces a different set of challenges because of its location north of the city it has less access to the infrastructure of the inner-city from which Regent Park benefits. As such, one of the biggest infrastructural concerns for the Lawrence Heights revitalization is the transportation network, including the Allen Road, which bisects the neighborhood.

<u>Conclusion</u>

The neoliberalization of social policy in Canada, starting in the 1980s, gained momentum in the 1990s, and in many ways solidified in the beginning of the twenty-first century with the SHRA. These policies transformed how social housing in Canada is administered. Further, they reflect the ideology that necessitates public-private

partnerships in social housing, the privatization of public assets and new ways of understanding the role of policy in ensuring social citizenship and the equal well-being of members of society, regardless of economic class (Hackworth and Moriah 2006:515-517). Instead, with these policies, social citizenship is reformatted as not solely a concern of the state, but something that can be secured through the reformation of housing under the free-market. What becomes clear in this transition, moreover, is that public housing revitalization contributes to a change in the logic of what sustains social citizenship. While previous policies on housing and redevelopment were dependent on public funds that sought to reduce economic inequality (and help low-income families purchase homes by providing them with a stepping stone), this restructuring of the welfare state actually shifts that responsibility onto individual citizens through a narrowing of social citizenship.

Revitalization is a useful site to reflect the best of this new post-welfare state logic. As I argue in the following chapters, with revitalization, the communities can perfectly represent the best of Canadianness: participation, civic pride, opportunities for economic development, entrepreneurialism, community and diversity. It is by no coincidence that social policies are used to shape citizens, or as Sean Purdy (2000:492) argues "social policies have proved a particularly convenient means of shaping the contours of such a national citizenry—of transforming immigrants and native-born workers into Canadian 'citizens.' This thread of citizenship, in its multiple forms builds in the following ethnographic chapters. While citizenship in state and national discourse is often narrowly defined in legal terms, it arises, albeit subtly in various forms, throughout this dissertation.

The following chapter builds on this investigation by tracing how discourses of diversity ambiguously move throughout the plans, drawing on diversity's value as a Canadian characteristic in relation to multiculturalism. In Chapter 2, I explore how discourses of diversity become central to the planning frameworks and shed light on a remaking of the nation-state in the contemporary moment.

Chapter 2

Discourses of Diversity: Managing Difference in Urban Space

> The main theme that links all of the elements of this plan together is the importance of striving for diversity as a key organizing feature of the revitalization process: diversity of building types, designs and heights; diversity of tenures; diversity and mix of incomes; diversity and mix of uses; diversity of builders; and diversity of activities. A successful Toronto neighborhood reflects this type of diversity. It is also what will make Regent Park a successful and special place (Regent Park Revitalization Study 2002:5).

This passage from the Regent Park Revitalization Study seems almost comic in its insistence on the importance of diversity. "Diversity talk" infiltrates official narratives of the city's overarching identity more broadly, however, Toronto's identity as a multicultural and diverse city is claimed to be its defining feature (Valverde 2008; Doucet 2008; Teelucksingh 2006). The Toronto coat of arms displays the city's motto: "Diversity our Strength." While the motto actually refers to the diversity of municipalities (because of the amalgamation of seven municipalities in the late 1990s), the use of the term "diversity" is generally thought, and has since been used, to represent Toronto's "cultural diversity."

The neoliberalization of cities is closely aligned with the promotion of diversity to attract investment; diversity discourses describe communities as "culturally rich" and thus an asset (Anderson 2006; Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005). The privatization of public space, public-private partnerships, decreases in funds to services that support the urban poor, and the link between private property and individual success are often primary characteristics in the continuous rebuilding and transformation of cities and the revitalization of low-income neighborhoods.

This chapter examines the intertwined discourses related to Canadian cultures of neoliberalism and multiculturalism that shape the planning frameworks of two public

housing projects in Toronto, Canada: Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. Both are in different stages of revitalization processes. Phase two of the Regent Park revitalization is started in 2009; the plan to revitalize Lawrence Heights was endorsed by Toronto City Council in 2010; the developers were named in 2013 and the first phase of redevelopment is predicted to begin in the spring/summer of 2014. Before revitalization, Regent Park was made up of 2,083 rent geared to income units. After redevelopment, 1,800 rent geared to income units will be in Regent Park with 266 replaced in new buildings nearby. 5,400 market units will be built in Regent Park. In Lawrence Heights, there are 1,208 rent- geared to income units. All 1,208 units will be rebuilt in Lawrence Heights with the addition of 4,092 market units.

The dynamics between discourses of multiculturalism and neoliberalism are most evident the planning documents' multiple usages of the concept of "diversity" as a vital feature of the planning framework, as well as in the struggle to stabilize the meaning of "diversity." The constant shuffling of codes in the planning documents marks tensions around the management of difference in urban space; in the case of Lawrence Heights and Regent Park these tensions surface in the multiple references to diversity. Both plans are organized around three types of diversity: diversity of use, diversity of income, and diversity of culture. The primary concern of both plans is how to reintegrate the two communities into the broader social fabric of Toronto. In order to make this possible, the approach to revitalization emphasizes the three types of "diversity."

In this chapter, I make two related arguments:

1. I argue that the shifting use of the language of diversity draws on the cachet of multiculturalism, but becomes linked to neoliberal processes; this shifting use of diversity

sheds light on how multiculturalism and neoliberalism converge and collide in curious ways around revitalization. For example, one City of Toronto planner, Amanda, described how well the new residents were getting along with the old residents in terms of cultural mixing and as a response to the planning: "so I think the mixing of the other elements [of use and income] will just sort of naturally play out so that we're going to see that cultural mixing."[27] In this example, a diversity of incomes and diversity of uses will enable further cultural mixing. I suggest that the three types of diversity create a shifting set of meanings around the concept of diversity.

2. The actual term "diversity" is used more explicitly in the Regent Park plans. In Lawrence Heights, however, diversity is generally only used in reference to culture; when discussing use and income, "mix" or "mixing" is the preferred term (and is the more popular term in planning generally). I argue that this difference in vocabulary does not reflect a disjuncture between the planning techniques. Rather, it illuminates how multiculturalism and neoliberalism are linked in the plans, as well as how they are constantly negotiated and how their use effects transformation in different contexts. I argue that the difference in references to "mix" and "diversity" is a highly productive ambiguity. The vague usages are central to the revitalization projects and their perceived national success. The inability of either term to have a fixed meaning—a productive ambiguity—allows them to align to a presupposed success and the promotion of social inclusion and tolerance. However, by shifting back and forth between mix/diversity *and* use/income/culture, the revitalization approach does not have to address inequality or inclusion; instead, the emphasis on mixing and diversity can shift to imply inclusion, for

---

[27] Personal interview with Amanda, July 27, 2010, page 19.

example, but it does not have to implement it. In Lawrence Heights, mix is invoked to mark income and use; diversity is invoked to mark cultural difference. However, "mix" is anchored in its particular invocation of use and income *in relation to* cultural difference and makes indirect reference to culture. For example: "land-use directions supporting a *mix* of uses and building types to facilitate a *diverse* and *mixed* income community" (LARP 2010:1). This is a signaling process—it positions the planning project such that it is aligned with a broader set of cultural values about difference, inclusion, and acceptance of diversity. It aligns because there are expectations about difference, especially in a multicultural society. This includes the expectation that we *should* accept difference (e.g., we should have friends of "different" cultural backgrounds or one should enjoy different cultural meals etc.).[28] Therefore, diversity is named in ambiguous ways—this explains the shift in use, not only between the different types of diversity (use, income, and culture), but also between diversity and mix. In each case, mix and diversity align the revitalization projects with both multiculturalism *and* neoliberalism. I show that the very shift between diversity and mix marks a change in the content of diversity. Diversity simultaneously aligns with its historical attachment to multiculturalism and its emergent association with neoliberal corporate discourses. The use of "mix" in Lawrence Heights is explicitly framed in relation to the success of Regent Park and shares its framework (LARP 2010:9).

In this chapter I argue that the emphasis on entrepreneurial, self-sustaining, and skilled individual subjects in the planning documents and in the planning process, marks a unique understanding of diversity, one that makes reference to "diversity's" cultural

---

[28] However, what is at stake is that it does not allow room for consideration of how difference is structurally produced or created.

association, but expands to include ideas about individual success and productivity. In turn, the different usages provide insight into the management of socio-cultural difference and how diversity is closely tied to an imagining of ideal citizen-subjects. I begin with a review of scholarly literature on multiculturalism, diversity, and cities. I then highlight how "mix" and "diversity" operate as productive ambiguities in the plans. The final section explores each type of diversity and analyzes how they continuously overlap in curious ways.

Discourses of Diversity

Liberal calls for diversity in the urban landscape often frame diversity as a token symbol of culture and the inclusion of difference in a liberal democratic society. For example, Richard Florida's (2003) contemporary theory of the creative class explicitly builds on Jane Jacobs' (1961) emphasis on diversity. Jacobs' (1961) early work on cities made a case for diversity to be considered a central feature of urban planning. Jacobs expanded on traditional notions of racial and cultural diversity to encourage a diversity of incomes and housing types as well. Diversity, for Jacobs (1961), was the organic solution to urban problems that planners attempted to solve. Similarly, in Florida's (2003) creative class thesis, diversity is a defining characteristic of successful cities. Florida (2003) argues that the creative class fuels economic growth and prosperity in cities. For Florida (2003), "the creative class" includes highly educated creative professionals such as professors, scientists, novelists, poets, architects, actors, etc. It is a well-paid segment of the workforce that supports corporations and economic growth. Diversity is painted as

highly valued by the creative class: Florida argues that creative people celebrate and

enjoy diversity—from food to music to people (2003:8). Thus, the

> places that are open and possess low entry barriers for people gain creative advantage from their ability to attract people from a wide range of backgrounds. All else being equal, more open and diverse places are likely to attract greater numbers of talented and creative people—the sort of people who power innovation and growth (Florida 2003:11).

Florida emphasizes the place of marginalized groups, gays and lesbians in particular, but

also the role of immigrants, in their link to diversity and thus investment. Florida's (2003)

Bohemian index, for example, tracks how neighborhoods with higher populations of

gays, lesbians, and artists attract more investment and economic growth. While Florida is

careful not to equate diversity with equity or inclusion, he does not question how growth

and accumulation contribute to exclusion, displacement, further marginalization, and

tokenize difference/diversity with the sole aim to accumulate capital (Florida 2002:80).

Where Florida's (2002, 2003) argument falls short is in his attempt to draw on the term

"diversity" as a marker of economic growth without considering the negative effects of

diversity narratives on marginalized people when a pursuit of diversity involves the

erasure of power relations.

Critiques of liberal framings of diversity and multiculturalism in cities can be

characterized in three overlapping groups: (1) critiques of power and dominance; (2)

critiques of the multiple uses of the concept of diversity; and (3) diversity as synonymous

with inclusion. The first critique has been explored in the Canadian context where

diversity is easily aligned with the prevalence of official multiculturalism policy

(Mackey 2002). However, many scholars have critiqued multiculturalism's neutral

promotion of diversity (Bannerji 2000; Mackey 2002; Teelucksingh 2006) and its re-

inscription of dominant notions of white Canada and racial hierarchy as it attempts to

promote and celebrate diversity and racial difference (Bannerji 2000; Mackey 2002:67). By officially inscribing multiculturalism as a Canadian value, there is an assumption of a Canadian identity and national consciousness that is otherwise not "multicultural." Thus, critical analyses make links between the discourses of diversity and multiculturalism as a tool to neutralize power relations, deepen divisions between groups, and promote a superficial culture of "diversity" as a primary characteristic of Canadian society. In this regard, multiculturalism produces diversity as a defining feature of Canadianness—by making diversity a central way to belong to the state, diversity is rendered as a political and power laden discourse. Multiculturalism in Canada is the federal recognition of cultural difference and promotes the celebration of cultural diversity. While multiculturalism and diversity are understood in dominant liberal discourses as inherent characteristics and strengths of Canadian national identity, there is simultaneously an underlying concern about "too much diversity" produced by unmanaged immigrant populations (Bannerji 2000).

The second critique challenges the assumed stability of the term diversity. It is not particularly novel to assert that diversity is a contested concept; indeed, we know that diversity is constantly shifting and impossible to tie to a particular meaning. Scholars have challenged this assumed stability and taken for granted notion by examining its material use in everyday contexts (Berrey 2005; Valverde 2008). Ellen Berrey, for example, explores the links between equity and the different usages of diversity in the context of the Chicago neighborhood, Rogers Park, while Marianna Valverde examines diversity's use in a socio-legal framework in Toronto. Both highlight the contested nature of diversity and the ways in which its meaning easily shifts in different contexts

because of its malleability; in one sense it challenges inequity and in another sense it supports it. Thus diversity is used in contradictory ways in different contexts. Berrey's conclusion sheds light on how "interest groups draw upon the thinly shared prism of diversity to construct different interpretations of race, class, and social difference as they pursue their polarized political goals" (2005:146). So not only does diversity mean different things across contexts, it is used to different extents (or not all), depending on the group. Berrey's contribution is central because it helps us to see a complex "verbal maneuvering" of a term that has such political and social cachet (2005:146). Berrey tracks its everyday use to challenge taken for granted assumptions about the equal uses, manifestations, or outcomes associated with diversity. These examinations provide insight into how "diversity" can be employed in competing efforts that serve to reproduce *and* eradicate inequality.

Third, in response to Florida (2003), Susan Fainstein's (2005) critique highlights the liberal tenants of Florida's argument that tokenize diversity (as a commodity) and disregard the uneven terrain on which its success is posited. Fainstein argues, "[I]ndeed, by this logic, the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment" (2005:4). For Fainstein, "the questions that deserve analysis are whether there is an inherent connection between physical and social diversity, what sorts of diversity in fact foster economic innovation, and, further, whether social diversity necessarily contributes to equity and a broadly satisfying public realm" (2005:16). These critiques of diversity are crucial for analyzing the ways in which diversity does not

necessarily initiate social inclusion or the promotion of equity and access for "diverse" groups (Berrey 2005; Urciuoli 2003; Valverde 2008).

Fainstein, Berrey, and Valverde shed light on the flexibility of diversity and its multiple meanings. Fainstein highlights the popularity of the term, but insists on a broader shift in housing policy and a challenge to systemic inequality created by planning processes. Berrey and Valverde, on the other hand, use ethnographic data and interviews to carefully trace the use of diversity in different contexts. Berrey argues that interest groups invoke diversity in different ways, with different goals and different ends. In addition to highlighting the uses of diversity in various contexts, Valverde demonstrates how its socio-legal use does not necessarily reflect a change to legal norms. These insights are a starting point from which to begin to explore the relationship between multiculturalism, diversity, and cities. I will build on these investigations to suggest that diversity can be used in various ways across contexts, and I also show how the "diversity" of diversity in the context of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights can provide insight into the shifting content of diversity and the state's imagining of ideal citizens. These modes of diversity and the ways in which they overlap are one way in which the nation-state can manage "diverse" citizen-subjects that have been previously excluded (as low-income, newcomers, and public-housing residents).

How can we discursively map such uses of diversity? Bonnie Urciuoli traces the discursive shift from multiculturalism to diversity in her study of college promotional discourses at a liberal arts college in the United States. She argues that diversity and multiculturalism share the same "pragmatic ground" but the term "multiculturalism" has "faded from use" (2003:385). Diversity and multiculturalism can be used to signal similar

ideas about liberal tolerance and culture, however multiculturalism, as Urciuoli outlines, is the less preferred term *because of its association with race*; Urciuoli suggests that multiculturalism's inception as a way of managing racial differences aligned it with discourses of race. This alignment made multiculturalism a less valuable term for the aims of college promotional discourses in the United States. Urciuoli examines how college promotional discourses that paint the picture of institutional desirability rely on "multicultural" to reflect the school's administrative policies to recruit students of color and reform curriculum. In these discourses, multicultural was generally used to qualify the quantity of students of color on campus—something that was crucial to demonstrate colleges' commitment to inclusiveness in the 1990's affirmative action era. In Urciuoli's investigation, diversity became a dominant term used in a University's Strategic Plan (2003:396). As Urciuoli notes, multiculturalism is almost always used in relation to "racial markedness" while diversity is not (2003:389). While the two were once interchangeable, diversity has become the preferred term. Because "diversity" easily fits in with notions of individual excellence and success that shape promotional discourses by focusing on individual attributes and achievement, "diversity" complements the college's desire to produce students for the corporate world (2003:398). Diversity, then, detaches itself from racial difference by becoming linked with other terms like excellence and success.

Unlike multiculturalism, diversity can focus on the individual. Because multiculturalism is promoted as state recognition of *collective* cultural differences in Canada it recognizes cultural *groups* and understands culture as collective, not individual. Neoliberal logic, on the other hand, encourages the production of "good citizen subjects"

who are autonomous individuals and can support the state by becoming "entrepreneurs of the self" (Ong 2003:9) Aihwa Ong (2003:14) draws on Nikolas Rose to argue that

> neoliberal policies of "shrinking" the state are accompanied by a proliferation of techniques to remake the social and citizen-subjects. Thus, neoliberal logic requires populations to be free, self-managing, and self-enterprising individuals in different spheres of everyday life... The neoliberal subject is therefore not a citizen with claims on the state but a self-enterprising citizen-subject ...

The content of neoliberal diversity is filled with ideas about individual success, entrepreneurialism, citizenship, training, skills, and employability. "The neoliberal logic," as Ong calls it, actually reshapes citizenship and marks the flexibility of the category "citizen." In this logic, citizenship cannot be presumed to be attached to "claims on the state," instead the state frees itself of obligation to these claims by emphasizing an individual's ability to succeed without assistance or protection from the state. It also promotes the notion that these neoliberal citizens should contribute to the state through their skills and entrepreneurialism. An individual's ability to succeed is based on their training and skills; diversity is one skill that can be harnessed and utilized to enrich one's individual potential and success, and to advance the state. I suggest that neoliberal diversity thus recognizes and privileges individual difference; it consolidates the emphasis on the individual and individualized characteristics under the banner of diversity.

Multiculturalism's association with race and collective cultural difference, then, make it less useful as a discursive device that might align it with acceptance and liberal values. Urciuoli writes,

> the rhetorical end is achieved by linking diversity to excellence, leadership and citizenship, a successful example of what Silverstein calls indexical ordering: the

indexical value of certain terms rests on the already established, presupposed indexical value of a previously enregistered set of terms. (2003:400)[29]

Diversity, Urciuoli argues, becomes tied to a "previously enregistered" set of terms that not only have an association with success, but also have value as a desired skill set or are marked as what she calls "skill terms."

Urciuoli further explores the relationship between diversity and neoliberalism by examining "skill" discourses in the "neoliberal imaginary of contemporary capitalism" (2008:213); she traces how "skill terms", such as diversity, are linked to certain ideas about work, employment, and productivity. Urciuoli shows how various skill terms (leadership, training, communication, team) "strategically index" a neoliberal and corporate framework. Indexicality is a gesture, signal, or reference to a particular state of affairs. In this example, the keywords that signal "skills," are often vague; this lack of clarity is central to their ability to align with corporate values (2008:213).

Not only is diversity understood as a skill or an asset, I would add that individual diversity, as opposed to the collective diversity associated with multiculturalism, is an asset in the workforce and becomes associated with ideas about leadership, excellence, skills, productivity, and employability. This is how diversity "aligns" with "corporate values." By emphasizing the individual *and* diversity, there is a "presupposition of its pragmatic value." So, if one references diversity, as linked with the associated set of terms, it *must* have pragmatic value and thus becomes effective and useful.

---

[29] Urciuoli goes on to argue, "... Thus, since the mid-late 1990s, diversity has been taking on indexical value in promotional discourse, becoming the less marked term while multiculturalism, after some years of general usage in promotional discourse, come to seem less amenable to such positioning with excellence, leadership, and so on, and has faded into marked usages. The president's references to leadership, community, excellence and citizenship (echoed continually in college publications) position the school with respect to the business world and the nation state, saying in effect, we are the nation writ small in the ways that count, we have a direct line to elites in business and government..."

Furthermore, neoliberal diversity, contributes to imagining particular kinds of national citizen-subjects. This is especially the case in the Canadian context where "diversity" signifies an important characteristic of "Canadianness." In Ong's and Urciuoli's accounts, we get a sense of how "flexible citizenship" and "skill discourses," respectively, are part of distinctly economic projects. While they are each concerned with the political implications of these economic transformations and strategies, particularly Ong's theorization of citizenship, it seems that there is an implied lessening of the importance of national distinctions. If anything, the theory of flexible citizenship in some ways suggests that these economic logics run counter to nationalism. However, in my account, Canada is chiefly invested in drawing on these strategies; or, more directly, a specifically Canadian subject is imagined by way of "diversity" management. This is why cities, public housing, and immigrant populations become a unique context in which to track these dynamics.

The Diversity of "Diversity" in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights

Similar to *The Regent Park Revitalization Study* and related planning documents, the 20-year vision for the Lawrence Allen area and the Lawrence Heights neighborhood that is at its center, focuses on diversity (2010:1). The vision lists the following as key priorities:

- a mixed-income, mixed-use community with housing, employment, social and recreational opportunities for residents of all ages and backgrounds.
- Renewed social housing, active parks, schools and community facilities and a balanced transportation system which prioritizes pedestrians, cyclists, and transit users
- A community that is at once distinct and culturally diverse while being fully integrated with the broader city.

In Regent Park, diversity refers to more than its usual association with culture; the revitalization plans of both neighborhoods emphasize three types of diversity: diversity of

income and tenure, diversity of use, and diversity of culture. The combination of diversity of incomes, uses, and cultures is what will make the revitalization successful. The cultural diversity of residents is portrayed as the most important "asset" of the neighborhood and as something in need of preservation. In Lawrence Heights, cultural diversity is referenced in relation to the community's isolation from surrounding neighborhoods, but is similarly described as an inherent characteristic of the housing project that must be taken into consideration in the planning process.

While diversity is used throughout the plans, its use regularly shifts in the relationship between the three types of diversity. I explore how the diversity of incomes, uses, and cultures converge and collide and how this confusion over diversity marks tensions surrounding the management of difference in urban space. Building on Berrey and Valverde's analysis of the different ways diversity is employed, I explore "word play" between "mix" and "diversity" in both plans as a productive ambiguity and then examine how each type of diversity interacts with others in the planning documents and interviews.

Mix and Diversity in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights Revitalization Plans

As noted earlier, while in the Regent Park revitalization plans, "diversity" describes use, income, and culture, in the Lawrence Heights revitalization plans, "mix" is generally the preferred term; however, the use varies when referring to culture and the isolation of the community. The interchangeability of mix and diversity jumbles mix, diversity, use, income, and culture into a confusing web in both plans. In Regent Park, for example:

> After decades of planning and organizing on the part of tenants and stakeholders, Regent Park is being rebuilt as a diverse, mixed-income community in an open and integrated neighborhood (Regent Park Social Development Plan 2007:1).

While both diverse and mixed are used to describe the planning framework—by suggesting that Regent Park will be "rebuilt as a diverse, mixed-income community," it is not clear what type of diversity is being described; this exemplifies the productive ambiguity of the terms. In this case, diversity can be either a stand-alone characteristic (as in cultural diversity), or it can describe the diversity of incomes. By articulating the framework as "diverse," it can be associated with the social value of multiculturalism, but also highlights the mixed-income framework. A similar example can be seen in the Lawrence Heights plan:

> The Lawrence-Allen community is a mixed-income, mixed-use community located in central Toronto's urbanizing suburbs. The community is at once distinct, celebrating the area's rich cultural diversity and sense of community, and fully integrated with the broader city (2010: 9).

Unlike Regent Park, where the neighborhood is being "rebuilt" as diverse, Lawrence Heights is characterized as *already* diverse: cultural diversity is what makes it distinct. Yet, unlike Regent Park, Lawrence Heights is described as integrated with the surrounding area and community. Yet, as I will examine in the following chapters, residents do not perceive their neighborhood to be integrated. In this case, diversity, culture and community are used to dilute any focus on the economic isolation of the neighborhood.

This productive shifting also informs planners' claim that mix or diversity would either preserve the social fabric or "integrate" both communities into the surrounding social fabric. Nick and Corinne, two City of Toronto planners, working on both Regent

Park and Lawrence Heights, commented at length about the concept of diversity. For example, Nick argues,

> [S]o, when there are themes of cultural diversity in the plans, it is just a recognition that these are the communities that live there now and a fact of life and it is a fundamental part of the social fabric of those communities that deserves to be preserved … especially when we talk about going through all of this physical change and redevelopment and working hard to preserve the social fabric and build upon the social fabric that is there. You have to start by acknowledging that diversity and valuing it, if you are going to work to preserve it, through the redevelopment process.[30]

And Corinne suggests,

> [S]o you are changing it and knitting it into the surrounding fabric, but you are bringing in infrastructure, you are bringing in businesses, you are doubling the population, essentially, um, making it from an entirely social housing community to one that is mixed-income and mixed tenure.[31]

Nick expresses the idea that the revitalization must preserve the existing "social fabric" and build on the cultural diversity that shapes *that* fabric. Corinne, however, explains that the revitalization will change the current form and integrate Regent Park into the surrounding social fabric. The "integration" into the broader social fabric is dependent on "providing more opportunities and services" and also the mixing of incomes. Nick associates cultural diversity with preservation: cultural diversity should be preserved in the revitalization. Corinne uses the term "mix" and argues that mix will not preserve the social fabric; rather mixing will integrate the communities into the surrounding fabric and economy.

The differences between Nick's and Corinne's perspectives suggest two very distinct and conflicting aims. Nick describes the preservation of cultural diversity; the revitalization will build on this diversity. Corinne emphasizes blending Regent Park into the surrounding fabric through mixing; it is the introduction of new incomes and uses that

---

[30] Personal interview with Nick, August 5, 2010, page 25.
[31] Personal interview with Corinne, September 10, 2010, page 6.

106

will make the neighborhood successful. By unpacking the differing portrayals we can begin to consider how diversity of income, use, and culture are both used to frame the revitalization in various ways, and how they are implemented. Further, the emphasis on the integration/reintegration sheds light on how diversity and mix shape the plans. How are diversity/mix of use, diversity/mix of income, and diversity/mix of cultures linked to multiculturalism and neoliberalism? How do the logics of use, income, and culture shift in this dynamic?

1. Diversity of Use

One entry point to explore the above questions is to consider how the neoliberal characteristics that shape the logic of diversity of use make its relationship with the diversity of income and culture both inevitable and contradictory.[32] Diversity of use, for example, is dependent on making more entrepreneurial and successful communities by introducing an array of building types, services, housing, and employment opportunities (although the redevelopment will still be primarily residential). Employment, services, skill training, and reinvestment are key themes in a mixed-use framework. For example,

---

[32] Further, diversity of use and diversity of incomes, in the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, become fused together as part of a neoliberal financial framework to redevelop social housing in Ontario. Because of a lack of federal and provincial funding, the revitalization of public housing is dependent on private investment where public lands were sold to the private sector. The private sector is then responsible for redeveloping the land and selling pieces of it (including condos) in order to rebuild social housing through a public-private partnership. Toronto Community Housing's financial framework is described as "leveraging social housing" in order to rebuild the housing stock, while also producing private development; the combination of use (private development) and a mix of incomes (leveraging the housing stock requires mixing incomes), is thus the basis of the revitalization. Public-private partnerships will generate revenue for basic maintenance, repair, and related issues. However, there is no mention of the federal government's role in housing and the lack of funding from higher levels of government. This absence neutralizes the power relations and systemic nature of the ongoing marginalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. The portrayal of the opportunities that become available because of the mix, both naturalize and legitimize the financial framework (the selling of the public land and the public-private partnership) by focusing on the "opportunities" and benefits of mix/diversity. Public-private partnerships are a signal of urban neoliberalism (Jessop 2002:446; Miraftab 2004). As Faranak Miraftab argues, public-private partnerships are the "trojan horse of neoliberalism." They serve to obscure power relations between the different stakeholders involved and in some cases offer opposite results to those they claim (Miraftab 2004).

The Regent Park Revitalization Study and The Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan consistently reference the entrepreneurial nature of revitalization; they emphasize employment, training, and job creation (Regent Park Collaborative Team 2002:35, 41, 47-50; LARP).[33] Ideas about skills and employment, moreover, are linked to presumptions about one's worthiness for public housing; this intertwining of economic participation and access to public "goods" is characteristic of neoliberalism. The centrality of employment, promoted and enabled by a diversity of uses, is a prime example of how neoliberalism so intimately shapes the planning process and entrenches Ong's notion of the making of "entrepreneurs of the self" (Ong 2003:9).

The Employment Plan is a supporting document to the Regent Park Revitalization plans. At most meetings I attended there were representatives from the City of Toronto Employment Office that is located in Regent Park. These representatives are linked with many employment programs for immigrants to promote skill training. For example, one representative is a resident of Lawrence Heights, who works at a training center in Regent Park. We continuously crossed paths in both neighborhoods. She was also very active in Lawrence Heights and made presentations on the success of employment and training in Regent Park as a model for Lawrence Heights. Thus, there is a great deal of emphasis on employment and training in both neighborhoods.

It is no surprise that training and skill development programs are described as central to the revitalization and its success in integrating residents. Neoliberal ideology stresses the entrepreneurialism of individual subjects whereby each subject is responsible for their own marketability and ultimate success. Diana, a City of Toronto planner, noted,

---

[33] To be clear, I am not critiquing the importance of increasing employment opportunities for residents. Rather, I question the framing of the emphasis on employment as a means to support the neoliberal framework of the revitalization project.

it is up to the individual to develop their skills; residents should not assume that they will simply be offered employment as a result of the revitalization.[34]

What is different about residents' articulation of employment is that they see the opportunity of employment in revitalization, but desire a "standard" of employment and do not want to settle for jobs in retail or construction. For residents, this expectation of a particular standard of employment was a way to decrease the stigmatization of poverty and increase opportunities, not as a means to support "entrepreneurialism," but to produce a new sustainable community. Further, residents thought that labor participation by itself is only part of the equation; they believed that there must be additional resources and support.[35] This approach by residents runs counter to neoliberal ideology, in which entrepreneurialism by itself guarantees stability.

However, while there is a clear alignment between use, income, and neoliberalism, the principles also bump up against each other in uneven ways. Diversity of use, for example, is sometimes defined by diversity of cultures or diversity of cultures is completely enmeshed in the diversity of use or income. This is not because they easily correlate under the planning framework, as if they are "supposed" to work together. Rather, it is the productive ambiguity—the useful unfixed nature—of these convergences and collisions that is noteworthy. For example, "The Regent Park Strategy for the Provision of Community Facilities" (2005:6) documents the new service facilities needed in the community:

> a survey of agencies in Regent Park found that services for newcomers, a more diverse
> staff, youth programs, employment and skills training, and long-term support for special

---

[34] Personal interview with Diana, October 7, 2011.

[35] This understanding of resources and the support of public services relates to the ideology of social citizenship in Chapter 1—residents embraced this thinking and critiqued the City and State for the lack of support.

needs children and their families are required ... Many residents expressed concern about access to culturally appropriate services and lack of programs in specific languages. Places of worship and space and resources to provide cultural activities were also felt absent.

In this example diversity of culture and use merge to address residents' needs for more culturally appropriate services. Here diversity of use is linked to the cultural makeup of the community; diversity of use is tied to economic sustainability and the ability to capitalize on one's cultural background. As Urciouli (2008) argues, diversity becomes easily aligned with skill discourses under neoliberal agendas. This is illuminated in the example that the revitalization will create economic development through the promotion of a cultural bazaar:

> the vibrant cultural mix and the young, entrepreneurial demographic of Regent Park also offers an opportunity to create a unique market or 'bazaar' where home-based businesses, as exist today, may display and sell their products. Retail space could be rented or owned by collectives or individuals to nurture such activity. The wide linear park along Oak St. is one area that could accommodate kiosks and installations and give the street a festive, pedestrian retail-oriented identity... (RPRS 2002:35).

Here, culture is essential to the economic vitality in Regent Park. If it is accomplished by the plan (even though already existing), through the production of a market or 'bazaar,' then Regent Park can be integrated into the rest of the city. This description overlooks the many businesses and retail spaces that already surround the community. This oversight suggests that what is missing is not "cultural" or bazaar-like spaces, rather it is that these spaces are not managed and do not fit into Toronto's neoliberal landscape. Bannerji (1991) and Mackey (2002) highlight the dominant narratives mobilized by multiculturalism that obscure the racial dynamics that are recreated in a multicultural framework. Taking this one step further, Cheryl Teelucksingh (2006:1)argues that,

> celebrated Canadian markers of racial diversity and racial harmony that are spatially managed through systems of domination are in fact commodified versions of multiculturalism in the forms of "ethnic culture," ethnic neighborhoods, and "ethnic

110

restaurants." Easily consumed and packaged versions of race in Canadian cities have been used to market and strengthen Canada's position in the global economy.

This is an indirect critique of Florida's creative class framework and specifically the commodification of culture on which his thesis is hinged. Teelucksingh's insights shed light on the commodification of culture in ethnically diverse neighborhoods. However, for Teelucksingh, this trend "packages" race in such a way that it can further Canada's economic future, as opposed to naming race to challenge racism and racial segregation. As Arlene Dávila (2004) argues in her exploration of gentrification in Spanish Harlem, the politics of multiculturalism have actually helped "erode" the borders that formerly maintained ethnic enclaves and instead renders their "difference" into attractions or commodities. While Dávila (2004) investigation relates to the case of a specific ethnic enclave, which Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are not, her exploration and argument demonstrate how multiculturalism and neoliberalism shape urban transformations in intense and uneven ways. In the case of Regent Park, several agencies and residents expressed concerns over the gentrification of the community and the closure of local businesses. One resident and agency staff discussed how the gentrification was becoming increasingly visible:

> You are starting to see it around you know. Restaurants that used to serve the folks that are here are gone or closed, that have been moved and replaced by places that have menus that are inaccessible to low income people or won't let them sit there. You know. So you are seeing it around you. You know, I saw it in my backyard before, when they took down the button factory that was behind me and they put [a] Mercedes [showroom] in.[36]

In this example, culture is not being commodified or sold; rather, Chandra notes the closing of businesses on Parliament Street and Gerrard Street and the gentrification of the neighborhood. Here, the diversity of culture, diversity of income, and diversity of use

---

[36] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 18.

111

dramatically changes the landscape of Regent Park. It is not that a diversity of income simply equates to gentrification. Rather, the notion of diversity, when applied to income, use, and culture, links it to processes of gentrification. By diversifying the use of a neighborhood, a restaurant or business that might have formerly anchored a community might no longer do so. Further, gentrification framed as an embracing of diversity actually erodes diversity in the community.

In 2009-2010, several major businesses opened on Parliament Street in Regent Park. Rogers Communications, the Royal Bank of Canada, Sobeys Fresh Co. (an affordable grocery store), and Tim Horton's are four large corporations that signed contracts with the developers to be part of the revitalization. While part of these contracts included a commitment to local hiring, Chandra describes the consequences. This is not a critique of the new employment opportunities made available; rather, it raises important questions about how business and development are understood and at what cost to the existing fabric of the neighborhood. According to Chandra, several local entrepreneurs had to close their businesses. Hence, one might ask if a diversity of use insists on particular uses? How is this tied to culture and income?

My interest in diversity of use is not based on whether retail spaces are needed or provide services for both communities. Rather, I wish to explore how these types of buildings and mix of uses are understood. How are residents understood in relation to these facilities? In the planning documents, residents are first understood as culturally different and thus in need of these two types of facilities both to integrate them into the Canadian economy and to tolerate their cultural difference within the contained spaces of cultural centers. Diversity of uses, then, becomes tied to cultural diversity. Although

diversity of uses is articulated as a way to promote economic growth in the community, an analysis of the documents provides insight into how this slippery usage is reliant on certain understandings of the cultural difference of the residents (as culturally other, in need of training and development). This framing often depends on the inclusion of residents, yet simultaneously frames them as citizen-subjects *in the making* (as not yet ready for full inclusion). It both acknowledges cultural difference in relation to the potential of economic development, and also attempts to manage this difference in and through space with the "diversity" of *certain* uses. More importantly, though, the link between culture and use also illuminates how the production of individualized citizen-subjects might stand apart from multicultural collective diversity. By emphasizing diversity as a skill, a commodity, and an individual characteristic, residents are aligned with the norms of neoliberalism and cultural diversity and thus can properly contribute the nation-state.

In sum, diversity of use (whereby a neighborhood is no longer deemed purely residential, but incorporates businesses) closely aligns with neoliberal ideologies about business development, entrepreneurialism, privatization, and individual success. Furthermore, it is the diversity of use in relation to income and culture that provides insight into the shifting meaning of diversity and its ability to signal both multicultural and neoliberal agendas. In this case, we can trace the *new* ways in which Canadianness is signaled—both through neoliberal economic participation as entrepreneurs *and* by valuing and capitalizing on cultural difference.

2. Diversity of Incomes

How does a diversity of incomes intermix with the two other types of diversity? Does adding to the "diversity of the population" by mixing incomes compete with other forms of diversity? By using diversity to describe income and culture it is ambiguous as to what types of diversity already exist as opposed to what type of diversity planners want to bring into the communities. In particular, a diversity of incomes, is based on a logic of integration—a logic central to liberal democratic practice in Canada. However, while integration should be a desirable outcome (e.g. one should never be excluded from society based on their experiences of poverty), diversity of incomes erases the systematic socioeconomic production of inequality. Here, diversity stands in for disparity and thus renders inequality invisible. Moreover, the focus on diversity of incomes through integration merges an integration of culture *and* income. Integration acts a tool of liberal democratic multiculturalism (integrating cultural difference to make it tolerable).

Mixed-income use was a foundational feature of the revitalization. The financial plan is dependent on the privatization of the land and selling market value units to generate revenue to redevelop and is thus fundamentally neoliberal in character: it relies on liberalization, privatization, de-regulation, and free-competition. The mixed-income framework is thought to add to the diversity of the population by selling homes to middle-income people and income-mixing is supposed to usher in a diversity of people from higher economic status to formerly low-income neighborhoods.[37] However, a

---

[37] One of the key characteristics of both revitalization plans is the incorporation of mixed-income and mixed tenure housing as explored in Chapter 2. Joseph et al. argue that mixed-income housing is a policy response to urban poverty. They argue that the logic of mixed income housing is based on four propositions: the establishment of (middle class) social networks; higher income residents will raise the level of social control; mixed-income frameworks assume that lower-class residents will be influenced by

careful reading of the documents reveals that adding to the diversity of the population stands in opposition to other claims about cultural diversity as an asset; the "diversity of the population" is less of a priority than the revenue that private developers' generate by mixing-incomes. Furthermore, the revitalization would not be possible without this mixed-income/mixed tenure financial framework.

The slippery usage of diversity makes it possible to erase this competing relationship between cultural diversity and a diversity of income. In turn, subtly, the concentration of multiple cultures is no longer framed as a central value of the community. Thus, reading between the lines of the multiple usages of diversity, in terms of not only culture but also income, uncovers the slippages between the two and highlights how diversity and difference are used to negotiate gentrification under neoliberal and multicultural agendas.

In both planning documents and interviews, the phrase "diversity of incomes" was used to describe a diversification of economic status facilitated and legitimized by the revitalization plans. In this case, diversity of cultures was absent in the planning of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. Instead, diversity of incomes is proposed as the solution to the problems of urban isolation in both neighborhoods. For Leroy, a TCH representative in Regent Park, diversity of use and diversity of income are proposed as the solution to making the neighborhood "a far more functional part of the city." [38] He highlighted TCH's ability to integrate their housing in other neighborhoods, because of mix of use; here he linked mix of use to a diversity of incomes and makes no mention of the diversity of culture.

their middle-class neighbors; and middle class residents will attract "greater attention" for business development, etc. ("the political economy of place") (Joseph et al. 2007).

[38] Personal interview with Leroy, August 9, 2010 page 27.

In Lawrence Heights, residents expressed differing ideas about the mixed-income framework. According to the revitalization plan, "social housing buildings will be located on the least desirable development sites. Market and social housing should be mixed, not segregated" (Lawrence Allen Revitalization Study, 2010: Appendix A). At another consultation, planners documented that "residents like the mixed-income nature of the redevelopment" (ibid.). However, Amatrii, a resident of Lawrence Heights expressed concerns about the mixed-income framework. She feared judgment from middle-income people. She argued that there are basic "rights" for all people and that low-income residents need to challenge the stereotypes put on their communities. Amatrii, and other residents' voices, are crucial because they stand in such stark contrast to planners; she emphasizes "rights" while planners emphasize "diversity." She argued that "[P]eople need to know that they have rights and that they have power."[39] Amatrii felt it was imperative that the revitalization did not simply move in new residents without considering the impact of class differences and potential polarizing effects (see also Kleinhans 2004).

I suggest that introducing mixed-incomes in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights fits into the liberal desire for diversity and illustrates how although diversity is not attached to a particular definition (or "type"), in some cases it is mobilized to index inclusion without having to implement it. By referencing diversity and mix, inclusion is the assumed goal and benefit. However, mix and diversity are never defined or attached to a particular meaning and therefore it is unclear what diversity means or aims to do. The shift in use of the term diversity thus creates a mirage about what diversity means. Adding to the

---

[39] Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 2.

"diversity of the population" in terms of income, the emphasis on social inclusion and integrating the neighborhood becomes a priority.[40] Corinne, who works on revitalization for the City of Toronto, alluded to the significance of mixed-use and mixed-income several times:

> So those are the types of the communities that we are trying to build and just essentially to knit into the fabric of the surrounding city and make it a healthy, successful, prosperous environment.[41]

By "those types of communities," she references mixed-use and mixed-income communities. While mixed-use and mixed-income will weave Regent Park and Lawrence Heights into the surrounding communities through the value of cultural diversity is suddenly absent. The absence of cultural diversity positions culture as separate from mix and use. It is not understood as part of the solution, but as a problem or the factor that isolates these communities from the rest of the city. This is evident in city planner Amanda's comments:

> Well I think that's, um, part of the problem. And you know it applies anywhere really: *too much of one thing is not good ...* so it is providing that variety in a community. I think that is important.
>
> You used to come into Regent Park and you know that you were someplace different ... It didn't integrate with the rest of the fabric ... *I just think that you can't have too much of a good thing or then having too much is a bad thing...*and then its looking for creating a mixture that I think that will help.[42] (emphasis added)

Amanda's statement invokes the concern that a concentration of low-income people is "too much" of "one thing." By introducing mix of income and tenure, the neighborhood

---

[40] For Regent Park, this integration is with gentrified neighborhoods to the north (Cabbagetown) and south (Corktown)

[41] Personal interview with Corinne, September 10, 2010, page 4.

[42] Personal interview with Amanda, July 27 2010, page 17-18.

can be integrated into the fabric of the community.[43] When she later states, "I just think that you can't have too much of a good thing or then having too much is a bad thing..." she shifts her language from "too much of one thing is not good" and in turn confuses the different types of diversity; the value of diversity of culture and income is unintelligible. Further, we can see a hierarchy of diversities in this framework; in fact, this hierarchy is dependent on producing "good" and "bad" diversity. Is a middle class neighborhood "too much of a good thing"?

The concern about integration with the surrounding communities and a mixing of incomes calls into question the diversity of cultures. Are Regent Park and Lawrence Heights not diverse enough, yet "too diverse"? If Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are culturally diverse, does cultural diversity fall under the categorization of "too much of a good thing"? Is cultural diversity diminished to usher in a "new" type of diversity—a diversity of incomes? Does the cultural diversity of the neighborhoods become aligned with its low-income status? Or is cultural diversity reduced to a "healthier" level by a diversity of incomes? These questions highlight the slippages of how diversity is utilized in the plans and what exactly it produces.

On the other hand, in Toronto Community Housing's *Social Development Report*,[44] which is one of the central planning documents in Regent Park, multiculturalism and neoliberalism converge through a desire for difference. The report suggests,

---

[43] However, what Amanda also highlights is that the transformation will increase property values. Here, there is no analysis of what this means (and has meant) for low-income residents.

[44] The Social Development Plan came as a response to a community call for the planners to consider the social inclusion of the community. This was organized primarily through the Regent Park Neighborhood Initiative (RPNI), the main tenant organization in Regent Park. RPNI has maintained a primary partnership with TCH throughout the entire planning process.

In July 2003, Toronto City Council approved the plan for revitalization of Regent Park. This approval opened the way to a period of *significant transition and change*. Council gave direction for Toronto Community Housing, with the support of the City's Social Development, Finance and Administration Division, to create a Social Development Plan for Regent Park to help address issues of *transition and social inclusion*. The redevelopment of Regent Park will replace existing housing but will also bring in new market housing. This will add to the existing population of Regent Park. It will also add to the *diversity of the population*, introducing a *broader mix of income and tenure*. This can provide significant advantages to the people now living in Regent Park. The resources of their community grow with the *growing diversity of their neighborhood*, creating the potential for new relationships and *new opportunities* (Social Development Report 2008:1; emphasis added).

While Regent Park is described as culturally diverse, economic diversity and specifically diversity of income is portrayed as lacking. Hence, the social development plan supports mix of incomes, to "broaden" the diversity of the community—the principles converge by referring to diversity generically and emphasizing the opportunities that are ushered in by diversity. Furthermore, in the final sentence, there is no reference to what kind of "diversity" will bring new opportunities, so by referring to diversity generically, it can be attached to multiple meanings. The mixing of incomes, "market-rate real estate" is a code for neoliberal urban transformations and the selling of public land to the private sector; thus, bringing in a broader mix of income and tenure is a code for "diluting" or deconcentrating the population of racialized low-income people. As Ashley Spalding highlights, deconcentration, no doubt, is shaped by neoliberal ideologies about the culture of poverty, ignoring structural causes of poverty and instead focusing on individual merit as the cause of and solution to poverty (2008:17-18). As such, mixed-income frameworks are easily assumed to remedy the ills of urban poverty and the concentration of low-income people by focusing on the widespread concentration of poverty and neighborhood effects, and the promise of the spread of social capital from middle-income people to low-income people (ibid.). Moreover, I argue that the consequence is not a call for

integration, but the introduction of market-rate real estate and the displacement of low-income residents. Thus, the mixing of incomes is a technique of gentrification.

More critically, however, the use of diversity in fact legitimizes an argument that income mixing in and of itself is "good"—an argument that obscures the goal of eradicating poverty. Thus, disparity of incomes is positioned as a diversity of incomes. The language of diversity covers actual income inequality—this diversity is positioned as something to value, not as something to eliminate. It is diversity's social cachet, because of its tie to multiculturalism that makes this possible, and, therefore, gets trapped in the web of productive ambiguities.

There are moments in the plans when diversity or mix of incomes either aligns with or stands apart from diversity of culture, illuminating how the different principles of the plans are constantly shifting. In one sense, "income" and "culture" are disentangled, such that the goal is to change income status while maintaining "culture." Yet, because income diversity is part of the financial framework of the plan, and integration with the surrounding "fabric" is privileged, cultural diversity becomes difficult to manage. While use and income are easily aligned with neoliberalism and culture with multiculturalism, there is actually a shifting correlation between cultural diversity and diversity of incomes that indexes one way in which multiculturalism and neoliberalism are in constant negotiation in the revitalization.

The dynamic of diversity, in relation to income, is therefore tied to a remaking of the nation-state because it calls into question Canada's identity as an "inclusive" and equitable democratic society. In chapters one we see the struggle to remedy poverty and inequality with housing and policy; the dismantling of the welfare state and the neoliberal

turn in Canada that narrows and recasts social citizenship. In this chapter, we see how multiculturalism is drawn into that narrowing and recasting by calling on the cachet of diversity. In this regard, the inclusive nature of Canada and Canadian multiculturalism, are problematized because, promoting a diversity of incomes, in fact, is not inclusive or equitable. In fact, it promotes inequality. However, the inclusive nature of Canadian multiculturalism, makes local discourse of diversity, including the three uses of diversity, socially and economically acceptable. This demonstrates a challenge to the norms and ideas about the "meaning" and making of Canada.

3. Diversity of Culture

Finally, there are many shifting accounts of how the diversity of culture fits into this puzzle of diversity. For example, in Regent Park, culture is approached as something that is central to the life of the community, but at present is lacking vitality. One way to restore this vitality is to introduce different types of diversity. As City of Toronto employee, Corinne, reported:

> You know the research will say that *mixed income communities* are a good approach, because the concentration of low-income people is no longer seen as the best way to plan it. But you have to do it with the appropriate facilities and services and that sort of thing … and we are in a diverse city, so you obviously want to do that ... But it is building on the wealth of opportunity ... I think *we will see lots of things culturally. Cultural celebrations, the sharing of cultural traditions. You probably will see markets and things like that developing over time.* So I think that is sort of inherent within the plan. That is something that everyone desires to see. And the arts and cultural components are very clear, and we will have the Arts and Cultural Center. There'll be a cultural component ... How do you honor the history of a very rich diverse cultural community as it changes and you're bringing in new people? So that is an element that we definitely want to kind of monitor and ensure is understood through consultation processes and that actually comes through in the delivery of services.[45] (emphasis added)

Corinne outlines how cultural diversity can be honored and preserved by creating services and facilities to celebrate the "rich diverse cultural community." Thus, through

---

[45] Personal interview with Corinne, September 10, 2010, page 18.

revitalization, culture can be preserved, yet managed and monitored through its formal incorporation into the plan.

Diversity, for Corinne, is a result of planning rather than a pre-existing condion. But in previous categorizations by residents and as a demographic fact, Regent Park (and Lawrence Heights) has been home to diverse cultures since the 1970s. It is thus curious to consider how the documents characterize "increasing diversity" through diversity of use and diversity of incomes. According to a resident named Chandra, Regent Park has always been diverse.[46] She told me about the many ways that the community promotes and preserves cultural diversity. She also argued that residents do not need urban planners to promote cultural diversity; this is something that is not only inherent in the community, but that the community has been doing for years.

Because of the shifting usage of diversity, it is unclear what kind of diversity in Regent Park should be preserved and what kind of diversity is lacking. Here, residents are portrayed as culturally diverse and entrepreneurial, whereas in previous depictions, residents are described as in need of training and skills. Furthermore, the argument that diversity of uses and incomes will "naturally play out so that we are going to see that cultural mixing" erodes and erases the history of cultural diversity in Regent Park. Instead, through revitalization, cultural diversity is framed as new and in need of management by the revitalization documents.

Alternatively, in the introduction to the Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan, "Lawrence Heights Past and Present", Lawrence Heights is characterized by its cultural diversity, but is lacking in other types of diversity: "while culturally diverse, Lawrence

---

[46] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 20.

Heights has a limited mix of uses and housing types. The neighborhood lacks good access to services, and the quality of the physical infrastructure is poor" (2008:5). Thus, cultural diversity is framed as an asset to Lawrence Heights but is not enough to make the community successful. Rather, with a "mix" of uses and "housing types," Lawrence Heights can fit in with Toronto's other successful neighborhoods. This example of the productive ambiguity between mix and diversity signals the importance of cultural difference, but only in a way that can be managed by the state and becomes diluted by overlapping diversity with mix of use and income. Here, the remaking of the nation-state emerges, once again through the struggle of how to manage Canada's commitment to multiculturalism, while at the same time integrating this difference into "Canadianness."

Finally, what surfaces out of this investigation is a very clear shift in the logic of diversity in each instance. Diversity of incomes is legitimized under a logic that it adds to the economic health of a community. However, what is frequently referenced is that the mixing of incomes will allow for low-income people to climb the economic ladder—a worthy goal, indeed. However, the framing of a diversity of incomes actually favors income disparity as something to value as opposed to eliminate. Further, there is an upper limit on the diversity of wealth included here and concentration of wealth is viewed as unproblematic as compared to concentration of poverty. Finally, in another logic, the mixing of incomes is "good" because it provides funding and profits for the project. Therefore, one cannot oppose the mixed-income logic that ultimately will allow low-income people to transition out of poverty. Certainly, any equitable society would make efforts to eradicate this type of diversity. Under a diversity of use, we have an all-inclusive concept where the community expands beyond just housing. Yet, many small

businesses that were considered part of the community were forced to close and larger grocery chains, private telecommunications companies and popular coffee shops were the businesses of choice (and contracts were signed with the developers to ensure this). Finally, under a diversity of culture, planners and developers embrace the logic of multiculturalism. Planners, however, argue that the cultural diversity of the neighborhoods is lacking, or that it adds value to the revitalization. In some cases, the revitalization is posited to increase the cultural diversity, and in others it will manage it. Finally, culture should be either preserved or revitalized. Thus, in each type of diversity, there are shifting logics. These shifting logics demonstrate reinforcement of "norms" of Canadianness and tensions between and within these norms.

Conclusion

Diversity, in this chapter, is a fundamental feature in the imagining of the nation-state through urban revitalization. I have explored an invocation of diversity in the plans that encourages neoliberal individuality and entrepreneurialism. This neoliberal shift emphasizes the individual over the collective, and also produces citizen-subjects of a particular kind; these are citizen-subjects that can be both "diverse" and properly integrated, and that are either entrepreneurial individual subjects or citizen-subjects in the making. In Aihwa Ong's analysis of the United States, citizenship and neoliberalism are linked, where a "narrow vision of citizenship includes only property owners, privileging an 'individual and egotistical individual' in isolated pursuit of economic self-interest" (2003:2). Ong calls this a reengineering of citizenship—where politically liberal ideas

about freedom and democratic rights are overshadowed by the "neoliberal rationality of individual responsibility and fate" (ibid.).

Eva Mackey, in her investigation of Canadian multiculturalism and national identity, argues,

> to create the nation, internal differentiation and cultural diversity will be managed—whether through assimilation, institutionalisation, appropriation, or erasure—in the service of the construction of that core national culture. The particular ways governments and individuals deal with cultural diversity vary in different social, political and economic contexts, and in response to flexible strategies (2002:152).

The management of cultural diversity is pivotal to the nation-building project. However, in the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, diversity's dual attachment to multiculturalism (cultural diversity) and neoliberalism (through public-private partnerships and encouragement of individual diversity and skills), make it a useful discursive concept. In these contexts, the content of diversity shifts to take on an individualist meaning, yet still allows collective difference through cultural diversity that is preserved. Nation-state projects are linked to this process because of their investment in citizen-subjects of a particular kind. Multicultural diversity is associated with citizen-subjects who prove the success of Canadian multiculturalism and the success of the nation-state to manage collective cultural differences. While diversity is still attached to the value of multiculturalism, its ties to neoliberalism in the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, mark not only a shift in the content of diversity but also a reconstitution of the nation-state. In this example, these neighborhoods are a representation of national spaces that can create productive entrepreneurial citizen-subjects, who also embody diversity *and* the success of multiculturalism.

In the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, diversity is associated with preconceived notions of success because diversity carries with it a certain social value

125

that signals inclusion and inclusiveness; diversity can neatly line up with Toronto's desire to "celebrate diversity" and position itself as a world-class city. Furthermore, the "diversity" of both communities makes each a representation of a "good" national space that produces diverse, entrepreneurial citizen-subjects.

Although diversity is used to describe multiple features of the plan, the three different types of diversity provide insights into how neoliberal and multicultural agendas bump up against each other in the contemporary moment. It is not that diversity is necessarily detached from culture, or that diversity is just based on individualization; rather, it is the flexibility of diversity that provides insights into this dynamic. This demonstrates the flexibility of diversity and how multiculturalism and neoliberalism function as tools for the management of difference. In material terms, this ambiguity leads to an assumption of social inclusion and "tolerance," while in fact, in many ways, low-income residents become more fragmented from their community. As Sandra Bucerius and Sara Thompson argue, young people in Regent Park felt more isolated and at risk of violence because of the revitalization—they refer to this as one of the unintended effects of the revitalization (2013). In the context of this chapter, the diversity of incomes for example, do not necessarily "benefit" low-income residents.

The following chapter builds on this exploration of diversity to examine another management technique: surveillance. While Chapter 2 explored diversity as a management technology that drew on the idiosyncratic Canadian value of multiculturalism, Chapter 3 broadens in scope to examine the widely accepted planning techniques that promote community surveillance. In both examples, we see different techniques that both reinforce and challenge of norms and ideas about Canadianness.

Chapter 3

"Eyes on the Street"

Figure 5. A CCTV sign on a building in Regent Park. Photo by author. Taken April 27, 2010.

In this chapter, I analyze the links between surveillance, revitalization, and urban space. Like diversity, surveillance emerges as a central theme in the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. The Regent Park Revitalization Study, for example, reports that the new design will allow for 'eyes on the street' to increase surveillance:

> The built form of the neighborhood will act as a container of public open space, enclosing streets, highlighting corners, defining parks and providing 'eyes on the street' which increases surveillance and safety with separation between them minimized to maintain continuity both of form and activity (Regent Park Revitalization Study, 2002:2, 31).

Similarly, in Lawrence Heights, planners point to the importance of mid-rise apartment buildings that "contribute to good public spaces by placing activity and people around the

spaces. They provide lots of 'eyes' to help make these spaces safe" (Lawrence Allen Emerging Preferred Plan, 2010). In Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, the planning documents emphasize how the spatial neighborhood will be redesigned to promote safety and encourage spaces where surveillance is a "natural" function of everyday activity. Planners and residents alike casually articulated the role of popular planning trends on material design and security such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) (Newman 1972; Robinson 1996).

In the previous chapter, I focused on what is characteristically Canadian about the revitalization plans: diversity and multiculturalism. Chapter 2 maps uses of "diversity" and the invocation of multiculturalism and neoliberalism to focus on forms of discourse. Chapters 3 and 4 explore broader global trends in urban development: surveillance and community consultations. Building on Chapter 2, I argue that norms around surveillance encourage entrepreneurial, participatory *and* self-governing neoliberal subjects. Chapter 3 shifts to explore the materiality (cameras, infrastructure, optics, etc.), power, and agency that complements the planning documents and ethnographic data by examining a concrete planning practice in relation to which discursive techniques can be analyzed. I explore the use of surveillance discourses and ideologies to construct ideal citizens to consider yet another way in which the nation-state is reconstituted in the contemporary moment: surveillance in the revitalization projects is a technology deployed as a management technique that insists upon the production of model-citizens through self-governance. Here, questions of the nation/national are crucial for urban studies and vice versa because surveillance is described as being a "national" imperative—something generally mobilized by the state in the name of "national security" (through the military

and police). This everyday surveilling positions residents as active participants in the making of the nation-state because being surveilled and surveilling others is described as an essential way to participate and contribute to Canadianness, especially for newcomer residents; the revitalization plans establishes the relationship between security and residents through constant reference to producing "community," a key marker of nationalism.

I argue that the production of "community" and community surveillance through 'eyes on the street' reflects an attempt to produce new kinds of "model" citizens, those who are constantly surveilling their fellow citizens and thus participating in the making of a national security state at the most minute level. Community policing is far from unique to this context—many scholars have investigated the role of "neighborhood watch" programs, as well as the impact of the built environment on policing and crime (Rosenbaum 1987; Schweitzer et al. 1999). However, what is remarkable about surveillance and 'eyes on the street' in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights is that it emerges in tandem with both a redefinition of community, and the emergence of surveillance that properly integrates cultural difference and neoliberal practice. Thus, if residents can learn how to behave and to police one another ("eyes on the street"), they can become ideal citizen-subjects. This brings the nation and the urban into a dynamic whereby both spaces are crucial for the making and shaping of national subjects. However, I argue that this shaping of subjectivity is not straightforward or "top-down."

In this chapter, I introduce two different modes of surveillance: Normalizing surveillance and negotiated surveillance. I analyze these alternate types of surveillance in order to demonstrate the differing modes of surveillance that emerge alongside a

remaking of the nation-state and neighborhood. While typologies often risk romanticizing categories—especially in the case of the production of "community," in this context—these are not rigid categories but analytical tools to examine how the state articulates surveillance and to dissect how surveillance is taken up in a variety of ways by residents. The connections between normalizing and negotiated surveillance are not easily mapped or separated; they are not directly opposing and in fact, the relationship is fraught. Normalizing surveillance emerges as the unquestioned premise that justifies community policing. This refers to the traditional surveillance techniques outlined in the plans and at community meetings, including cameras, increased policing and eyes on the street. While negotiated surveillance defines the pragmatic nature of resident engagement and strategic ways that residents think about security and surveillance. So, for example, in some cases, residents embrace normalizing surveillance, while in others they reject it. On the one hand, this chapter explores a dynamic narrative process whereby the state articulates surveillance in a range of ways and the people take that up in a range of "negotiated" ways; and on the other hand I use the notions of normalizing surveillance and negotiated surveillance to illustrate the various ways that this crystallizes.

In this chapter I argue that: 1) normalizing surveillance reflects how Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are materially designed to facilitate policing and surveillance and how residents are positioned and understood in relation to the need for 'eyes on the street' and; 2) that residents simultaneously understand and define community in relation to these expectations and their own notions of community. Negotiated surveillance indexes when residents engage with questions about surveillance and security in strategic ways and produce what one can call "eyes on the state."

Surveillance and Eyes on the Street

The city streets of Toronto, New York, and London (among others) share more in common than skyscrapers and the hustle and bustle of business. If you look closely, on corners, under streetlights and signs, you'll notice flashing blue lights. Close-circuit television (CCTV) cameras are no longer a unique spectacle in the city but a seemingly mundane urban element promising to increase public safety and serving as a reminder to urbanites that they are not alone while strolling down the sidewalk.

In Toronto, CCTV was first introduced in subways in 2006. In 2007, the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) announced they would invest 21 million dollars toward the supply of approximately 10,000 new CCTVs to increase safety and improve the existing camera system. The CCTV cameras were promoted by a 2009 TTC campaign that encouraged transit riders to look out for and report mischievous behavior to TTC officials. The Toronto Transit Commission website (2009) describes the campaign as an effort to increase public safety:

> We are committed to public safety and have launched a safety campaign aimed at keeping customers and employees alert to safety and security concerns on the TTC. Hundreds of subway posters, billboards and vehicle car cards showing a row of eyes will be staring back at you as a reminder to look around and be aware of your surroundings.

The campaign gained attention when the TTC advertised with posters in transit stations and on buses, streetcars, and subways. The poster shows an image of several people's eyes and reads, "when it comes to transit security, we can always use an extra pair of eyes. Look around. Be aware" (see Figure 6).

Figure 6

Committed to Public Safety

When it comes to transit security, we can always use an extra pair of eyes. Look around. Be aware.

If you have a security concern, report it to police or a TTC uniformed employee.

TORONTO TRANSIT COMMISSION

Your Safety Partner

CRIME STOPPERS

This TTC poster represents what is quintessentially "Canadian"—four different sets of "eyes"/races in multicultural Canada. Although surveillance is easily linked to urban transformations around the world, in this case it takes on Canadian idioms of national identity (e.g. diversity), signaling the place of the "nation" in the urban. But beyond just the representation of racial diversity, participation in surveillance is a signal to Canadianness.

The campaign posters, promoting the patrolling and surveilling of other passengers and CCTV security systems, promised to increase public safety on the transit system. In January 2011 there were three key incidents where passengers reported crimes on the TTC. However, the reported crimes were not made against other passengers. Three Toronto Transit Commission drivers were fired for texting while driving (the use of cell phones while driving any vehicle was prohibited by law in Ontario in 2010).

In each case, not only did concerned passengers report the drivers, but the complaints were also accompanied by photographs taken from the passengers' mobile phones. The eyes campaign, which encouraged passengers to police their surroundings and fellow passengers, were now also policing TTC employees. This is what Steve Mann, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman (2003) call "sousveillance" or surveillance from below. Sousveillance is surveillance by a person who is not necessarily endowed with the traditional "power of authority" as an officer of the state (e.g. in the military, a police officer, etc.). Thus, while we "expect" surveillance by police, government, and the military, "sousveillance" transmits this power to everyday transit riders—and it puts "eyes" not only on one's peers, but also on authorities. In the Canadian context,

sousveillance emerged on the national stage most popularly after the 2011 Stanley Cup Hockey Championships riot in Vancouver. Following the riot, police heavily relied on videos posted by bystanders. In fact, discourses of nationalism were plenty as hockey is defended as Canada's national sport. After the riots, Canadians were distancing themselves from the violence on the street, reporting crimes related to the riot to the police after being called on by the state to "police" their fellow Canadians.

However, surveillance, community policing and eyes on the street do not manifest equally. Many scholars have researched the effects of racial profiling on young black and latino men, in particular (Cashmore, and McLaughlin (1991); Edward-Galabuzi (2006); James (1998); Tator and Henry (2004); Young (2004). The Trayvon Martin and Jordan Davis murders in the United States are contemporary examples of the ways in which race plays a central role in the particular roles defined by the policing and surveillance of our fellow citizens. Surveillance through community watch programs and in these examples, demonstrate the uneven material effects on particular racial groups. Both Martin and Davis were 17 year old black men who were brutally murdered. Martin, was killed by George Zimmerman, who legitimized shooting the teenager who lived in his neighborhood because he looked suspicious and "out of place." Zimmerman, a member of the neighborhood watch, legitimized his crime in the name of surveillance and security. Thus, in this chapter, I understand race to play a central role in ideas about "eyes on the street." Race becomes both a logic to justify surveillance and simultaneously produces racial difference in Lawrence Heights and Regent Park.

"Eyes on the Street"

The police and military are essential institutions for maintaining the sovereignty of the state; they are represented as indispensible protectors of sovereignty. Writing about Los Angeles, Mike Davis has analyzed the links between the state, military, and formations of the nation through what he calls the "militarization of space" (Davis 1990). Davis cites an article published by former Army Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Peters that describes the need for increased security in cities because "the future of warfare lies in the streets, sewers, high-rise buildings, industrial parks, and the sprawl of houses, shacks, and shelters that form the broken cities of our world" (Davis 2006: epilogue). The "war on poverty" and "war on drugs" in the United States target urban areas—such military metaphors and other references to urban warzones frame cities as key sites for military action and the enforcement of national security. Yet, as Stephen Graham (2011) argues, the city has long been a crucial site for the exertion of military ideology and the organization of space around military concerns. The case of suburbanization during the cold war in response to nuclear threats is a clear case of this. But how does the militarization of urban space relate to the nation?

If the nation is an imagined community of subjects—imagined as both limited and sovereign, then, is it possible that the state can call on national affiliations at the most micro levels as a way to ensure security and the protection of nationalism? How do calls for security from the state rely on this national affiliation? Surveillance has a long history of attachment to the nation—policing and militias, for example, are isomorphic emblems of the nation. In both cases, ordinary citizens are called to the duty (or nominate themselves—e.g. George Zimmerman) of protecting both nation and state. Yet, an

important distinction between nation and state is illuminated in these examples. In the case of militias, ordinary citizens see themselves as protectors of nation: in the United States of America, militia men and women do not much seek to protect representatives of the state (e.g. the President), but of the nation (e.g. the second amendment right to bear arms which is seem as emblematically pro-nationalist American). This defense is precisely about the differentiation of nation and state: regardless of the state entity that might animate the nation in any given moment—be it a government official or an economic policy—the nation *must* be able to defend itself against the state. This is the duty of its loyal citizens. Thus, the nation must be able to exist apart from the state and is why they must, in some cases remain distinct. Yet, contemporary urban policy around counter-terrorism frame urban citizens as protectors of the nation-state (Graham 2011; Cowan 2005, 2007) demonstrating that there are different ideologies of surveillance that relate to nation, state or the nation-state. In my investigation, I explore the idea of eyes on the street as a way to think about the link between surveillance and the nation-state in the context of urban revitalization.

It is no surprise that surveillance ideologies have given birth to different tactics and strategies to manage subjects. Eyes on the street is one such strategy made popular by Jane Jacobs to describe the need for better public safety in cities:

> There must be eyes on the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street. The buildings on a street equipped to handle strangers and to insure the safety of both residents and strangers, must be oriented to the street. They cannot turn their backs on blank sides on it and leave it blind. The sidewalk must have users on it fairly continuously, both to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce a sufficient number of people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks. (Jacobs 1992:35)

Jacobs' call for eyes on the street, or "natural" surveillance has left a profound legacy in urban studies. It emphasizes the design of buildings that have street level windows to

increase visibility of the street. She justifies her use of the notion by arguing, "This is something everyone knows: A well-used city street is apt to be a safe street. A deserted city street is apt to be unsafe." Jacobs' "eyes on the street" thus enables good behavior, increased safety, civic participation, and social tolerance (Fennell 1998:202). This type of surveillance, however, is not only tied to the production of a neighborhood or sense of community:

> For Jacobs, proximate *watchfulness* is the most rudimentary technology of citizenship. According to this view, despite the ethnic and economic diversity that constitutes urban America, *everyone* can get behind a safe street. As they do so, they become well rehearsed for formal participation in other seminal institutions of civic life. In point of fact, Jacobs claims that without this basis of watchfulness and casual intimacy among proximate familiars, such institutions will fail. (ibid.)

'Eyes on the street' is a way to practice civic participation in the most mundane of ways. It is an everyday behavior that acts as a technology of citizenship: a technology that teaches individuals to abide by the rules of the state and produces communities that police and watch each other.

Jacobs' concept is closely linked to "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design or CPTED—another urban design strategy or technique of governmentality. The CPTED movement draws connections between the physical environment and crime prevention based on Oscar Newman's theory of defensible space (1972). Newman's theory is motivated by a study of crime rates in low-rise and high-rise residential buildings in New York City. Newman concluded that rates of crime were higher in high-rise buildings because residents felt no attachment or responsibility in the higher density and tall buildings. The notion of defensible space has informed urban planning around the world where safety and crime prevention are increased through the design of buildings and the planning of cityscapes.

In the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, both eyes on the street and CPTED were recognizable concepts among residents. For example, Regent Park resident Greg explained CPTED in an interview, "The acronym is CPTED and is something... (crime prevention) through environmental design. So there is going to be a lot of that."[47] However, what is missing from most explorations of eyes on the street or CPTED is how residents make sense of security and safety in a climate where community is not defined by a set of safety measures, violence, or crime, in the way the state understands. These themes shape the next section, in which I explore safety and eyes on the street in the planning documents *and* from the perspective of residents. The management techniques, an example of strategies of governmentality, are quintessentially neoliberal in that the recruitment of residents to patrol one another is a perfect articulation of individual participation alongside Canadian idioms of difference. So on the one hand, the multicultural 'eyes' incorporated in eyes on the street, is an inclusive practice. With CPTED and the physical urban design changes, eyes, of various racial backgrounds are brought together to produce community by bringing these eyes to a common focus in an effort to actually produce community. But on the other hand, the superficial inclusion actually erases difference, because in fact, it does not much matter whose eyes are on the street as long as they are participating. In fact it much more matters *who* is being watched.

The liberal surveillance narrative argues that the nation is typified by citizens' individual freedoms; in order to maintain these freedoms, citizens should patrol one another's behavior; by patrolling one another's behavior, we construct community and

---

[47] Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, page 10.

thus ensure freedom. Yet, in what ways does militarization and securitization of space construct some spaces/subjects in need of greater surveillance than others? How is this differentiation tied to racialization and multiculturalism in Canada? How is this linked to a construction of national identity? Is it that *these* particular people (marginalized low-income residents) should participate in surveillance because of the ways that their membership to the nation is marked?

The meaning and construction of community here is multiple. Public housing revitalization in Toronto (and certainly Regent Park) has drawn quite extensively on communitarian vocabulary (social cohesion, civics, inclusion, etc.). But exactly what kind of community is meant to be produced by eyes on the street is a central question. Newcomer residents of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are in fact differentially incorporated into this type of community and community security.

In the case of revitalization and eyes on the street, surveillance is woven into planning documents and everyday life, naturalizing security practices that "protect" the nation-state. However, surveillance in this case is not necessarily about a need to secure the identity of the nation because the nation is under threat. Rather, it is about re-defining nation and state by individualizing and normalizing surveillance at the community level.

Eyes "on" Regent Park and Lawrence Heights: "Normalizing surveillance"

Eyes on the Street, CPTED, Neighborhood Watch and other such forms of surveillance are based on a logic of increased security that downloads policing and surveillance to the level of the individual. Premised on the idea that communities are in need of increased policing and surveillance, these forms must be compatible with state

regulated strategies and techniques. Under this rationale, there is a clear recognition of crime and criminality and a presumption that policing and surveillance are the proven solution. What is noteworthy about techniques such as 'eyes on the street' is that it adopts a subcontracting of policing, recruiting residents to partake in surveillance; this engagement is even promoted through the material design of the neighborhood. This is what I call normalizing surveillance.

> As Nick, a City of Toronto Planner noted in an interview:
>
> The spaces need to be designed in a way that people who inhabit that space can apply their well-engrained codes of behavior of how those spaces work. And, when we create spaces that don't let people do that, that is when you start to get problems of crime and other anti-social activities.[48]

The Regent Park Social Development Plan cites academic literature to reinforce the links between surveillance, behavior, safety and space:

> In other examples, authors point out that feelings of safety are related to 'civilities.' People who perceive fewer incivilities (for example, graffiti, garbage or broken windows) on their property have a lower fear of crime and a higher sense of their ability to have a positive effect on their surroundings. They also tend to be more attached to their neighborhood (Brown et al. 2005). In their extensive research on neighborhood cohesion in Chicago, Robert Sampson and Felton Earls (Sampson et al. 1999) found that this phenomenon affected people from all income groups, both homeowners and renters, and that although minor variations occurred across ethno-cultural groups, all groups responded favorably to a reduction of incivilities ... The attractiveness of the neighborhood is a significant factor in the perception of comfort and safety. (Social Development Plan 2007:12)

The connections between safety and space are plentiful and can be traced in documents and interviews with planners. For the Regent Park Revitalization Study, "The [prior] design of the development and the individual buildings has increased the sense of isolation in the neighborhood and created spaces for crime and violence" (RPRS 2002:

---

[48] Personal interview with Nick, August 5, 2010, page 23.

8). As such, the plans make a case for future designs to explicitly address the links between space and safety.

The terms safety, violence, crime, and eyes on the street recur throughout the planning documents and interviews.[49] For example, in the Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan four themes organize the document: reinvestment, mobility, place-making, and livability. While each theme relates to safety and security in Lawrence Heights, "place-making" specifically focuses on the production of place as a way "promote public safety (LARP 2010:2). The question of safety is also addressed in the Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan under the theme of "livability." The plan suggests that many areas in the community are "hidden from surveillance by the surrounding roads and the rest of the community" (LARP 2010:65).

In a report on the Lawrence Heights revitalization, planners describe how "a deteriorated building stock combined with social, physical and income isolation has led to problems such as youth gangs and violent crime. However, the largely immigrant population has a strong sense of community" (Sterling and Cappe 2009:1). This signals not only how crime and isolation have affected the community, but also how the built environment increased crime and violence. However, despite this isolation, residents (who are identified as immigrants) are understood as unified. In turn, unified residents are encouraged by the planning document to use the new plans and building design as an opportunity to police their fellow residents. So for both communities, participating in surveillance is actually a way to produce a stronger community—this type of

---

[49] I outline multiple examples in the following sections. For additional references from planning documents, see Appendix A 1.

participation, endorsed by the state, constructs surveillance as a nation-state building mechanism. "Immigrant population" and ideas about "community" are key signals to Canadian multiculturalism: by normalizing surveillance, while simultaneously celebrating community, security is easily mobilized as a way to participate in common policing practices that are associated with the state security apparatus.

In Regent Park, safety and security are identified as "key issues" and summarized in the Revitalization Plan:

> Safety and security are key issues raised by residents in Regent Park and surrounding communities throughout the planning process. Determined by a complex mix of factors, including design characteristics and social issues, planning for community safety requires a range of policies, plans, and partnerships. (RPRS 2002:44)

The plans highlight residents' concerns about safety that are linked to security specifically through the promotion of 'eyes on the street':

> It would improve safety through more "eyes on the street" and provide opportunities for the community to celebrate and share its diverse cultures (RPRS 2002: 5 and 67).

Here, not only is normalizing surveillance promoted, but it is promoted in relation to cultural diversity. Surveillance will actually open up opportunities for the community to celebrate the cultural diversity of the neighborhood; thus bringing cultural diversity—the signifier of "Canadianness" and surveillance into the dynamic. Eyes on the street was characterized by Nick, a planner who worked on the revitalization plans in both communities:

> Spaces need to be surrounded by streets and buildings that are active and well used, because when people are around, when they are taking their kids to the park to play, when they are walking their dog, when they are walking down the street, when they are driving down the street, those create surveillance of those spaces, and just by virtue of all of the activity that is happening there, and then when those spaces are safe, people will interact with each other and form strong community bonds.[50]

---

[50] Personal Interview with Nick August 5, 2010, page 23-24.

For Nick, surveillance is a part of everyday life leading to an interactive engagement between community members that produces stronger community bonds and echoes Jane Jacobs' call for security at the most minute levels.[51] Surveillance, then, is actually a way to create community. It is not the safe space produced by surveillance, but the actual engagement with the act of "surveilling" that will build the community.

The ties between cultural diversity and surveillance are complex. In some cases, diversity is a challenge to be managed, while in other instances diversity alongside revitalization is a resource to create community. How does it shift from a problem to a resource? This shift is possible by making diversity subject to social management techniques like surveillance and eyes on the street. Of course, this type of surveillance insists on the fact that "some" residents are unevenly surveilled *because* of their perceived "cultural diversity." As critics of multiculturalism argue, multiculturalism, in fact is a regulating technology because it positions those deemed culturally different as manageable under a multicultural framework.

So how exactly is normalizing surveillance tied to a remaking of the nation-state? Eyes on the street reflects the interests of the state by reinforcing security and monitoring in everyday life as normalized. It reflects the interest of the nation by the taken-for-granted notion of community as family. It also projects and reinscribes the production of residents as "in need" of everyday monitoring because of their otherness and the "suspicious" behavior of a stigmatized population (similar to the Trayvon Martin and

---

[51] For example, "and it is when you get neighborhoods that don't have well designed spaces, spaces that are not well used, people feel marginalized and you get these issues. So, you can go down to a detailed perspective and say well we need better lighting here and where are routes of escape if someone is suddenly assaulted in the park how do they get away, you know you can get to that level of detail but fundamentally I think you have to take it up a step and take a broader perspective on it." Personal Interview with Nick, August 5, 2010, page 23-24; and "So you give them a strong sense of community to...those are all things that contribute to safe communities." ibid., page 23.

Jordan Davis example). Finally, building on Chapter 2, it recruits the rhetoric(s) of multiculturalism and neoliberalism: not only are individuality and self-regulation valued, but such practices will actually also allow for a celebration of the diverse cultures in the community. This, in conjunction with negotiated surveillance, demonstrates multiple ways that the nation-state is constantly remade.

Eyes on Community: Negotiated Surveillance

> VR: and a lot of people say that with revitalization, Regent Park will be a safer place. What do you think about that?
> Aliyyah: I never felt that unsafe in Regent Park[52]

In interviews with residents, they often talked about safety and security in different ways from those presented in the plans. The planning documents that reported the findings from community consultation sessions made note of safety concerns, as well as residents' support for increased security. However, in interviews, residents offered a more complex understanding of security and safety, but articulated the role of the community in another way.

This section approaches safety and security from the perspective of residents. While residents don't have a homogenous voice and unified position (something that I will more carefully explore in the following chapter), I found a distinct departure in resident's perspectives from that outlined by planners and planning documents. I focus on four different characteristics residents identified with negotiated surveillance in relation to safety and security: 1) various perspectives of residents, despite their differing views,

---

[52] Personal interview with Aliyyah, December 20, 2010, page 10.

mark a strong sense of community; 2) negotiated surveillance versus normalizing surveillance is a critique of the mixed-income model as a community safety strategy; 3) residents understand formations of community in relation to crime, not despite crime, and; 4) community as an untapped resource. In Regent Park and Lawrence Heights we see a more subtle critique of the state. In the following section I will explore these four characteristics of negotiated surveillance that mark this critique.

Tamia, a Lawrence Heights resident critiqued police engagement with community:

> when the police come in they come in with ideas in the back of their head so when they are dealing with people, they are not dealing with people like people ... we are animals because we are from the jungle, right.[53]

Tamia's account questions how police encounters with residents remove them from the bounds of citizenship. Such encounters, however, simultaneously produce residents as in need of policing. As many scholars have explored, such stereotypes are mobilized to justify racial profiling and violence (Fanon 1967; Flint 2004; Goldberg 2009; McKittrick 2006). Tamia challenges this view by questioning the ways that the police treat residents and reinforce negative stereotypes of a violent and criminal community. For example, Tamia highlighted the close-knit nature of the community:

> it is a fun, close-knit community, you know. People tend to know [other] people. Like the environment it is nice. It is friendly, it is warm … It feels like a community. When I go outside of Lawrence Heights it feels like I am in foreign, you know ... The people here are good. It is close knit. And I like the greenery. It is the jungle. You know it is funny because it has a negative connotation but to me the jungle is like a positive thing...[54]

Tamia identifies Lawrence Heights as her home; she goes so far as to say she feels "foreign" outside of Lawrence Heights, identifying an allegiance and shared identity with

---

[53] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 12.

[54] Ibid., page 1

her neighbors who live within the boundaries of "the jungle." Tamia's comments, among the other interviewees, index negotiated surveillance. By articulating their understandings of community in contrast to that of planners and police, they call into question the attempt to produce a security state at the local level. This is a re-writing of the formal articulation of security and safety in the plans. Thus, it builds on sousveillance, by surveilling the state, but does so in the form of critique and as a challenge to normalizing surveillance.

Responding to the idea that the neighborhood planning could address crime and violence, Tamia said:

> The community is always going to be a community. It is how it is branded. People have this notion right now that this is the hood ... I think things [i.e. violence and crime] are still going to happen. I don't think it is going to change ... I don't think it will make a bit of a difference.[55]

Tamia notes a disjuncture between her perspective as a resident and the pledge to increase security through the revitalization by planners. In the interview, Tamia described the profiling and the stigmatization of the community, calling into question the extent to which crime and violence are "inherent" in the neighborhood. Instead, she highlights the "branding" and reputation of Lawrence Heights and how this is tied to stigma. Thus, she argues that addressing heightened security with cameras without placing "worth" on the neighborhood won't increase security, but instead will leave the neighborhood marginalized. Beyond the stigma and stereotyping ushered in by conceptualizing the neighborhood as a ghetto and "jungle" by police, however, what we must trace is the nature of racialized violence and how the militarization of urban space through security apparatuses legitimizes violence (Flint 2004; Goldberg 2009)

---

[55] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 20.

Negotiating Surveillance Among Residents

In Regent Park, a community activist addressed the links between revitalization and crime. [56] Greg outlined how Regent Park has been portrayed as isolated because of the violence in the community. However, what he highlighted was the emphasis placed on the new middle-class residents and their perceptions of crime. He suggests the middle-class residents will call the police more often than former Regent Park residents for issues that do not necessarily require police attention. Greg acknowledged the role of "through streets" (e.g. streets that pass all the way through the community as opposed to the previous streets that were blocked by cul-de-sacs and cut off the neighborhood) and new buildings to reduce crime, but he does not assume that violence and crime will disappear. In fact, at several points in the interview, he made the argument that crime and drug dealing are not unique to Regent Park. He remarked that it is in fact rampant in Toronto's richest neighborhoods (e.g. Forest Hill and Rosedale), but that it is behind closed doors. Because of class differences, these neighborhoods are not stigmatized in the same way. Greg's comments are provocative for several reasons. First, Greg argued that there is a difference in response to crime based on class differences. He outlined the class differences in two ways: first, he told me that new middle-income residents will call the police, even for activity that does not warrant police involvement. Similarly, he

---

[56] Greg: "a lot of that is going to happen just because the market rent and the condo owners are, are not going to put up with and are not used to some of the things we are used to. So, just by virtue of the fact that I think they will be calling, at least for the first while, they will be calling for certain things whereas residents think it is not worth it, it is too small to be bothered with. So to a certain extent that is going to take care of it. Um, a lot of it is going to be taken care of just by new buildings and through streets. The ever popular...whatever it is called...through environmental design...I forget the actual word." VR: CPTED? Greg: "yes. The acronym is CPTED and is something...through environmental design. So there is going to be a lot of that. There is going to be "eyes on the street," there is not going to be places where somebody can run from one side to the other and not be seen. So, um, I do believe that certain things will be curtailed. Now, if people think that it is going to go away, completely, they have lost their mind because it is all over." Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, page 10-11.

highlighted the stigmatized nature of crime in Regent Park despite the fact that similar crime happens in middle and upper income neighborhoods. Second, Greg agreed with the planning of through streets and new buildings as these strategies are linked to crime prevention. However, Greg contextualized crime prevention and the relationship between occurrences and perceptions of crime by pointing out again that crime "is all over." His critique challenges the traditional discourse about the isolated nature of crime and violence in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights (especially asserted by the media), and also challenges the idea that the presence of the new middle-class residents will increase safety.

Chandra, another resident, questioned received notions of the link between income and the incidence of crime:

> That the inclusion of the middle-income and upper-income [residents] will actually open opportunities and [provide] good role models? There is a perception that there is a linkage between the level of a neighborhood's income and the level of crime.[57]

Her comments point to the ways in which behavior is a direct concern of the planners as revitalization is thought to influence the behavior of residents in Regent Park (through CPTED and 'eyes on the street'). In particular, Chandra speaks to the logic of integration, highlighted in Chapter 2, whereby low-income residents will be influenced by middle-income residents (middle-income residents as role models). So not only is it that the built environment and the encouragement of policing your neighbor increases safety, but also that eventually crime will decrease because of a shift in individual behavior due to the positive impact of middle-income residents. Chandra and Greg firmly challenge the view that crime is a result of psychological "tendencies" that can be

---

[57] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, page 4

addressed by the proximity of "good" role models. Thus, for the state, crime and lack of safety is tied to both individualized and psychologized "tendencies" or behaviors that are not correlated with structural or systemic causes; hence the argument that providing good role models in the form of middle-class residents can re-shape behavior. On the other hand, residents see crime as related to a lack of resources and therefore, structure, and the state. There is also a sense of the propensity of the state to over-diagnose crime in TCH neighborhoods, while ignoring it in whiter, richer neighborhoods.

While the production of normalizing surveillance is encouraged by the promotion of eyes on the street, I argue that residents insist upon differing conceptions of community and safety that actually challenge the technology of state surveillance. Chandra's questioning of behavior being linked to the mixing of incomes and Tamia's emphasis on how the community is viewed by those who do not live in Lawrence Heights as in contrast to her experiences as part of a vibrant community are examples of negotiated surveillance. Thus, it is not that residents reject the idea of a safer community, the use of cameras or better lighting. What they reject is a logic of eyes on the street that is based on racialized and normalized ideas about their communities that do not challenge the status quo, racial profiling or socio-economic inequality. Instead, by naming the assumptions about the links between class and crime, they openly critique these normalized ideas about security and negotiate the terms of revitalization and eyes on the street that includes a challenge to state surveillance technologies. For both residents and planners, revitalization is seen as impacting everyday life and one's experiences.

In planning documents and interviews, no single or coherent definition of community exists, despite the communitarian language of social cohesion used in the

149

plans. These documents largely characterize ideas about community cohesiveness in terms of cultural diversity even as crime and violence are understood as features of the neighborhood that stand in opposition to community. Residents, on the other hand, characterize their communities as vibrant and understand crime and violence primarily in relation to police discrimination.
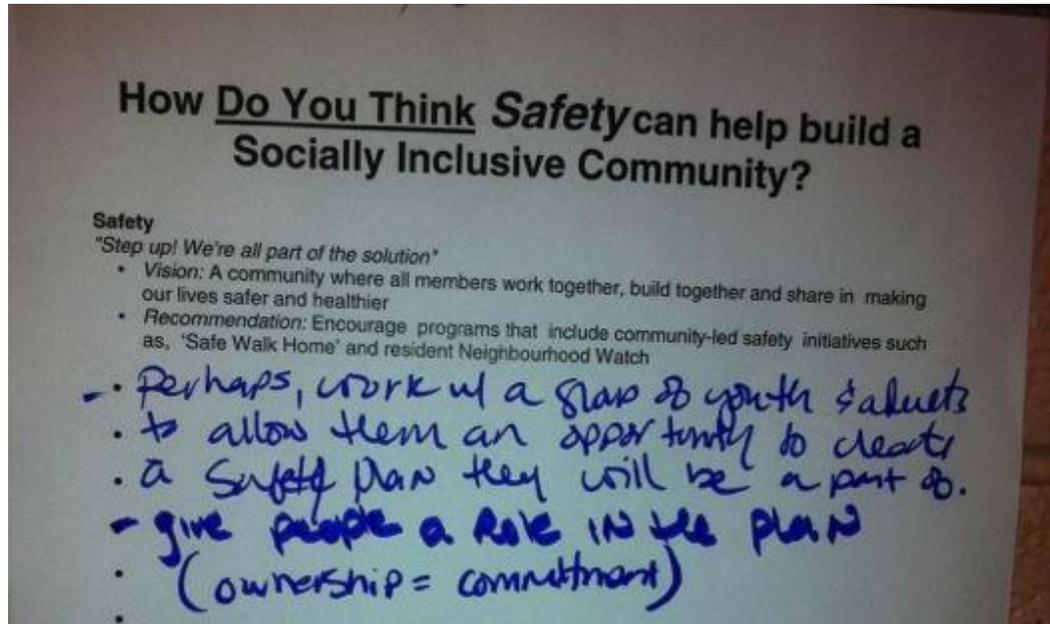
Figure 7. Consultation poster from Lawrence Heights Community Open House, June 2011. Photo taken by author. June 2, 2011

Inclusion on the ground: Crime, Community, and Cops

Resident responses to ideas about crime and violence in their communities produced very real conversations about these issues in their everyday lives. While ideas about policing, eyes on the street, and CPTED further regulate the community and call on ideas about "cleaning up the streets" or ridding the neighborhoods of crime, community responses are much more pragmatic. For example, Eva told me:

you know, you see everything here. My kids seen it all. Yeah, it's sad, my kids seen it, when the drug dealers were doing their pipes in the stairways and sniffing their stuff,

150

burning cocaine on a spoon and all that. They have seen it all. Shooting, everything. But how can you prevent that? All I try to teach my children is don't hang around with them. Mind your own business ... You have to know how to live and survive. Let live for them to let you live.[58]

Another Regent Park resident, Sheila, who was relocated to a TCH neighborhood across the city, similarly characterized how violence affects her family:

Like I said, we've lived in Regent and we know exactly what is going on so we can tell a gunshot from a firecracker now. Me and my two kids we can identify that from being over there, you know. You hear it quite often and then we heard one like a week ago, mind you we were in the house at that time, we were showering for school the next day and my daughter said to me, "mom, there is a ..." I said, "yep, just stay quiet" and the next thing you hear is police cars and things like that.[59]

There is no denial among the residents about violence and crime in their communities. However, despite this acknowledgement, most residents defended the sense of community, the strong community bonds, and the community's desire to stop the violence. While Sheila and Eva had no problem addressing their everyday encounters with violence, they also consistently reminded me of the unique community in Regent Park. Eva noted: "I feel more safe here than everywhere else. I know the people in the community."[60]

In Regent Park, Sheila also called into question state constructed ideas about safety and violence by highlighting the relationships that perceived "criminals" maintained with their neighbors:

Like even though those big guys were doing drugs and everything, they were very good for the kids. They were watchful for the kids, they looked out for the kids and everything.[61]

---

[58] Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 10.

[59] Personal interview with Sheila, September 22, 2010, page 6-7.

[60] Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 1-2, 24

[61] Personal interview with Sheila, September 22, 2010, page 7.

Sheila's perspective must also be contextualized because she was displaced by the revitalization. She was relocated to an isolated TCH community in the west-end of the city. She continuously highlighted the fact that there was crime and violence, like in any neighborhood, but because Regent Park was a tight knit community, she did not fear for the safety of her kids; in fact, she trusted that her neighbors would provide safety and security. For this reason, Sheila was frustrated by her displacement and wanted to return to Regent Park to be reconnected with her neighbors and friends.

Figure 8. Swansea Mews, the TCH community where Sheila was relocated. On the south side of the housing project is Toronto's lakeshore where condo development is booming. This photo was taken at the site of a recent shooting where Sheila and her son had to hide behind a large garbage dumpster.

A Lawrence Heights resident, Kayla, also described the economic dynamics involved in crime. While Kayla, a young mother of a five-year old daughter, didn't agree with the youth she witnessed involved in crime, she did highlight the economic dynamics of the community and the isolation of young people who turn to criminal activity to support themselves. Furthermore, one of the key themes highlighted by Eva, Sheila, and Kayla

was that their main concern was not about the presence of drug use or criminals, but whether or not their children were safe. They didn't see these things in opposition to each other—that because of the drug-use, for example their children wouldn't be safe. Rather, each of these women articulated complex understandings of community safety.

Through negotiated surveillance, residents opt out of both eyes on the street and "traditional policing." In the case of the latter (traditional policing) described in Sheila, Eva, and Tamia's interviews, where police are seen as using heavy-handed tactics to "keep the community safe," residents offer a strong critique and in many cases include "criminals" as community members. Thus residents challenge two typical discourses the state uses in relation to crime: that residents want cops to come in and "clean up" Regent Park and Lawrence Heights and the notion that there are ideal communities (e.g. Greg's reference to Rosedale). But more generally, their critiques highlight the ways in which the approaches to crime reduction and surveillance are simply not practical. Not only is the integration of the middle-class not the solution to crime, but their notions of community are strong and close-knit. For example, Sheila, felt an allegiance to her neighbors who were perceived drug-dealers because they helped her with her kids.

Community as an untapped national resource

As Chandra, a former resident and community advocate argued,

We have been painted like these poor, downtrodden people, you know. So that has kind of bothered me throughout this whole [process]…what can we do for those poor people over there? Well we are not! We are not! I say there is a lot to be learned from the people who have come to live here in Regent Park. They have been through, lived in countries where there have been no government supports and no way, means, what have you and they come here and have a lot to offer Canadian people about you know, community, development, capacity building, fortitude, resiliency; it (the community) is an untapped resource. But painted with this picture, a small group of young people will get in trouble with the law and it paints the whole population. What about the 95% that are successful?

153

And I feel that way about our community. We have been sold off as this, you know, group of people who needs to be fixed. Our community didn't need to be fixed. It needed to be resourced.[62]

"Fixing the community," through revitalization simultaneously involves criminalizing Regent Park and its residents. Chandra challenged the notion of fixing Regent Park to highlight the vibrancy of the community. Chandra paints a very different picture than that of the planning documents and interview transcripts with residents emphasize the ways in which citizenship and subjectivity are constructed by negotiated surveillance. When Chandra mentions the different resources in the community, she is pointing to what the community has to offer to "Canadian people." "Community, development, capacity building, fortitude, resiliency" are all markers of participation and contributions to democratic life. More importantly, Chandra sheds light on the ways in which resident engagement and response simultaneously polices the state and redefines the community. Therefore, the planners' construction of safety and security through design, produces a counter effect—the comments of community members stands in direct contrast to top down understandings of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, and, in fact, the residents understand themselves to be revitalizing Canada. Chandra also directly names the insider/outsider status in the neighborhood. While she talks about the value of multiculturalism (because of all of the cultural resources available in community members), she also denotes its limitations. By taking about "Canadian people," we can see where residents are excluded from "Canadianness." Cultural diversity (according to planners), then, is not much of a value, but a way to position residents as outsiders in need of surveillance and management.

---

[62] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, page 17-18, my emphasis.

In sum, residents challenged the idea that revitalization or "eyes on the street" would make the community safer in several key ways. Aliyah articulated that she never felt unsafe, as did Eva and Sheila, despite their encounters with violence. In fact, Eva noted she felt unsafe and threatened around the police. Tamia similarly argues that there may be crime and violence, but the level of crime won't change because of normalizing surveillance, that instead, must come from a change of perception of planners, police, etc. Chandra, Greg, and Tamia questioned the idea that the new middle-class residents, in particular, would have a positive effect on the security and safety of the neighborhood. Finally, Chandra and Tamia call for a celebration of the communities. Chandra, in particular, sheds light on how much "Canada" has to learn from residents of Regent Park. These are all different aspects of negotiated surveillance. What they reflect is a departure from the idea of model-citizen subjects encouraged and disciplined by normalizing surveillance. Instead, residents reclaim their voices and agency by asserting the limits of surveillance, and insist that they are not uniquely in need of "managing" by the state.

In this case, the nation-state is remade in several key ways. Negotiated surveillance, from the different perspectives of residents, actually reframes authority and official actors (police and TCH). It also challenges the nation-state by resisting criminalization and policing encouraged by the middle-class residents and is a critique of community on the micro-level as the "community" is divided by class inequality. Yet, on the other hand, negotiated surveillance actually reinforces some conceptions of the value of security by highlighting the need for certain technologies of surveillance (e.g. residents *do want* cameras and better lighting). The interactions at the meeting shed light on the multiple ways residents understand surveillance—it was never straightforward. There is

both a strong critique of the state and a resistance to imposed or normalized surveillance, but there is an embrace of certain technologies (e.g. cameras) and even increased policing, if it is seen by residents to not be based on stereotypical (racial) ideas about the crime in the neighborhood.

Negotiated Surveillance meets Normalizing surveillance

Discourses and strategies of negotiated surveillance and Normalizing surveillance were brought into direct contact at a community meeting held by the Toronto Police to solicit support from residents. The community meeting was held on November 4, 2010 at the Regent Park Community Center from 6-9 p.m. Approximately 75 people were in attendance. The meeting was facilitated by the local city councillor, Pam McConnell, and consisted of six presentations by the local police division (51) and TCH representatives (Pam McConnell has been accused of having a conflict of interest because she, along with a large number of other powerful stakeholders, purchased condos in the first private condo building in Regent Park—before a majority of Regent Park residents were relocated back to the community). The meeting was called after several months of heightened violence and three murders in the neighborhood.

One of the presentations focused on the most recent murder in Regent Park that took place barely a week earlier at 3 a.m. on Monday, October 25th. 24 year-old Albert Kiwubeyi was gunned down at close range on the corner of Sackville and Shuter Streets. He was found at 3:03 a.m. on the sidewalk. Kiwubeyi was enrolled in school and worked for the Kiwanis Club in Regent Park. His family used to live in Regent Park, but were relocated as part of the revitalization process.

156

Figure 9. A candlelight vigil held on September 17, 2010 at The Peace Garden in Regent Park. The vigil was held to celebrate the garden, designed as a community space commemorating all of those lost to violence in Regent Park. The Peace Garden was destroyed in the revitalization. It will be relocated in front of 40 Oak Street in Phase Two.

This was the third murder in the neighborhood in October 2010. Sealand White, 15, and Jermaine Derby, 19, were both shot to death October 9th (at Whiteside Place in Regent Park).

The presentation focused on the details of the murder and a request from police for help from the community. The police kept stating that one of the major problems in Regent Park was that residents do not help police by coming forward with information—I argue that this is a direct appeal to discourses of normalizing surveillance. Several times during the meeting, the police solicited the help from residents and alluded to residents' responsibility to make their own communities safer.

Following the presentation on Albert Kiwubeyi's death, there were two other presentations about increased policing in Regent Park. Several major initiatives were being developed to increase security. For example, 10 police officers would be assigned to Regent Park to walk the "beat" from 7 a.m.-2 a.m., as well as an increase in

undercover officers. Also, a new Regent Park hotline was going to be established to encourage residents to give anonymous tips. The police described these efforts as part of a "genuine" attempt at community development and relationship building between police and residents.

The meeting ended with a one-hour question and answer period. While the meeting was organized to discuss the increasing violence, there were several comments made about the state of housing in Regent Park and its connection to the violence. Two comments specifically addressed lighting and its link to community safety. Residents asked why the lights were broken all the time and complained about the long response time from TCH. TCH responded by saying that they fix the lights every two days, but residents kept breaking them. Thus, it was difficult for them to rely on lighting as a safety measure, because it was largely out of their control. Parents expressed an extreme concern about the fact that it was not safe for children to walk home after school and that they were not able to participate in activities like trick-or-treating on Halloween (this is an interesting contrast to the safety and sense of community identified by several interviewees). One resident emphasized that this was not always the case in Regent Park and was a very recent phenomenon. Residents reminisced about the East coast blackout of 2003 where they described the coming together of the community, despite the lack of lighting. One person even argued that people from other TCH neighborhoods wanted to be in Regent Park during that time and celebrated the sense of community that existed in the neighborhood.

During the question and answer period, the revitalization was explicitly mentioned five times. On one occasion, a resident (Eva, whose interview is cited above),

claimed that there is increased security around the new buildings and not the rest of Regent Park; she expressed anger that the new condos had 24-hour security and the rest of the neighborhood did not. TCH refuted this claim and repeatedly stated that Eva's claim was not true. The interaction between Eva and the residents who addressed concerns about lighting is a signal of the overall distrust between residents and TCH. In fact, the issue is not whether Eva's statement is true or false; what is of significance is the overall perception among residents that the new residents in the condo have 24-hour security. Many of TCH residents' general comments made it clear that they associate safety and security with class privilege; privilege that they are denied.

These tensions were marked in several confrontational interactions during the meeting, when a self-identified 22 year-old resident accused the facilitator, Pam McConnell, for being "out of touch" with the audience (the realities being discussed) and not giving people a chance to speak. The resident suggested that Councillor McConnell was "talking too much but not saying anything." The same resident also expressed anger at TCH because of bullet holes in the community center. As a community worker, she walked kids home from programs and explained that they had to walk by the bullet holes. She questioned what message the bullet holes in the wall sends to the children. She stated that TCH intentionally lets the building deteriorate. She ended by proclaiming that "just because residents are poor does not mean they deserve inadequate housing." This statement, along with several other questions and comments, signaled a resentment towards the stigma of Regent Park and the value being placed on the community because of the new middle class residents that erased the experience of older residents.

The main theme of the meeting was distrust. Residents expressed a strong distrust of police and explained that they hesitate to come forward with information because they fear retaliation. This came up in several interviews with residents who described specific incidents that made them feel like they could not trust the police to honor anonymity.[63] Before the meeting ended, one community worker expressed dissatisfaction with the "patronizing tone of the police presentations" that started the meeting. He stated that he felt like he was in school being talked down to, that the presentations were "talking at residents as opposed to engaging with them as participants." He stated "this is not how you engage with a community; if police want residents to cooperate, then they have to treat them like humans."[64] The tone of the meeting was instructive and the hostility could not be missed—there was a clear tension between residents and TCH, Toronto police, and the city councillor. From an outside perspective, the community meeting was an opportunity for residents to speak out about the injustices they experienced. They specifically named the role of the city, TCH, and the police in the injustice. A meeting on safety and surveillance facilitated by the police, resulted in a space where residents mobilized and critiqued the state. This is negotiated surveillance in the most profound sense. Residents engaged in a democratic engagement practice to critique formal notions of surveillance in the plans that encourage residents to police one another. The back and forth between technologies of surveillance and resident critiques are a demonstration of a remaking of the nation-state: while residents accept (and in some cases demand!) modes of surveillance, such as cameras, they reject the top-down security apparatus that

---

[63] See Appendix A 2
[64] Fieldnotes, November 4, 2010.

160

criminalize residents. So the "remaking" occurs in the dynamic between residents and the state.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored: 1) how Regent Park and Lawrence Heights are materially designed to facilitate policing and surveillance; 2) how residents are positioned and understood in relation to the need for 'eyes on the street'; and 3) how residents simultaneously understand and define community, which operates as a critique to eyes on the street and the attempts to mobilize surveillance as a technology of citizenship. This analysis investigates how top-down theories of neighborhood change (CPTED and eyes on the street)—as ways to influence behavior and produce citizen-subjects of a particular kind—are in tension with how citizenship and community are simultaneously produced by residents through negotiated surveillance.

> As Tamia noted,
>
> I don't see changes unless they change up their ground. They change how they do things. Learn how to work from a grassroots model. You know. Learn how to do community policing better. Taking away certain stigma they have. Sometime it is the people "in there" that need change in order to make it better.[65]

Above I argued that residents of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights like Tamia and Chandra offer micro-interventions and commentaries as a mode of turning the "eyes" onto the state, authority, and power inequalities. This is a feature of negotiated surveillance where residents exercise their own agency in speaking back to narratives of community, criminalization, and safety. Eyes on the street and CPTED are just two examples of technologies of citizenship that are implemented through the plan. The

---

[65] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 12.

resident response to these technologies directly calls into question the ways in which the communities are constructed and the ability of eyes on the street and CPTED as normalizing surveillance.

The surveillance of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights attempts to produce citizen subjects of a particular kind. This model citizen actively participates in surveillance, policing, and community governance. Yet, despite the overwhelming power of the technologies and tactics of citizenship, residents simultaneously insist upon particular kinds of community and safety that do not necessarily correspond with the planning aims, and actually produce a critique of surveillance through negotiated surveillance. When asked about safety and security, residents quickly talk about the strength of the community, the failures of the police and the lack of resources from the Canadian state. Also, the tensions between the middle-class homeowners, the police, and the housing authority redefine the neighborhood in other ways. Thus, surveillance is intimately linked to a remaking of the nation-state on several levels: both through perceived state influence on security and surveillance, and also through residents' critiques and views of their vibrant community in relation to the levels of violence. This chapter examines a clear distinction between the claims of the state, that position crime and safety in particular ways and the pragmatic understanding of community articulated by residents. By carefully considering how residents articulate the meaning of community and the everyday nature of violence and crime, as well as critique ideas about CPTED and eyes on the street, we can see how they define their community in relation to their everyday experiences, not despite them.

Furthermore, the topic of security and safety created an opportunity for residents and community leaders to critique the revitalization. Andrea, a well known Executive Director in a Regent Park organization expressed it in clear terms:

> VR: In the plans, they specifically address violence and say that through the physical structures and an increase in these public facilities this will make Regent Park a safer place.
> Andrea: It might. I mean I think you could take that money and give people a reasonable standard of living and you might get a better response. More bang for your buck. Really. I think it's great that the money is being spent on buildings. But those buildings, those public facilities are not for Regent Park. They are for Regent Park and the City of Toronto. So there's lot of concern about "will I be able to access it." We have had to negotiate around making sure that there are not going to be user fees and that they will be accessible to residents. I have no confidence. I have no confidence today that that is going to happen. I'm sure it is going to be an uphill battle for us to go at it and go at it. It may very well, Vanessa, but I don't have anything that tells me from my experience with this that it is for sure. So I'm not trying to be critical, it is just the reality.[66]

Andrea's skepticism is clearly articulated in relation to her overall critique of the revitalization's failure to address other supports and more specifically its failure to address the root causes of poverty (poverty, crime, and violence). By arguing that, "[y]ou could take that money and give people a reasonable standard of living and you might get a better response," she looks beyond revitalization and eyes on the street or CPTED as being the cure to solving the problems of an under-resourced and marginalized community.

---

[66] Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 17-18.

Chapter 4

Community Engagement and Urban Revitalization

For Diana, a City of Toronto planner, engaging with residents was an important

part of the planning process:

> We are a diverse city, and I think it is extremely important to engage newcomers. For one, we have a lot to learn from them. And they have a lot to learn on civic engagement and that they actually have a voice in this process. *And kind of teaching them how to be Canadian.* As a group, you have a really strong voice and you can effect change (emphasis added).[67]

While her use of concepts such as diversity, "newcomers," and civic engagement seem

mundane and ordinary in the Canadian landscape of liberal multiculturalism, I would like

to rethink her comments by analyzing them in relation to political subjectivity and nation-

building in Canada. While Diana's ideas about newcomers and participation are explicit,

similar notions around multicultural engagement and participation surface throughout the

planning documents (especially the Regent Park Engagement Report) and will be

explored in this chapter. Diana's precise choice of words is noteworthy because she links

residents' status as low-income newcomers to the importance of making Canadian

citizens. Civic engagement, participation, and democratic praxis, then, come to take

center stage in the planning process. If we are to welcome newcomers, and include them

in Canadian society, then civic engagement and participation are the active ways to

achieve this end. From the perspective of planners, participation in planning efforts

becomes tied to nation-state formation, as opposed to the legal requirement under the

Ontario Planning Act (1990), since it allows residents to learn how to become good

---

[67] Personal interview with Diana, October 7, 2011, page 11.

164

citizen subjects who are active and engaged in civic matters.[68] This insight explains how Diana understands herself to be part of a broader project beyond just planning a neighborhood.

However, Diana does not clearly describe the type of citizens that are created through participation in revitalization. What kind of Canadian is being produced? A profound contradiction is captured in her remarks: the inclusion of newcomers reproduces their difference. This is the paradox that I outlined in Chapter 1 whereby the grounds on which difference is constituted presuppose modes of exclusion. Residents' difference is constituted through their positioning as culturally other (low-income newcomers) and therefore *not* Canadian. More specifically, newcomers' inclusion in civic engagement is understood in terms of their difference as newcomers. This particular form of consultation teaches newcomers "how to be Canadian" at the same time that it circumscribes the type of Canadianness that is available to them. To be sure, 82.5% of residents in Regent Park *are* Canadian citizens. According to the Social Development Plan in Regent Park

> New residents are increasingly recent immigrants, with 25% of the population arriving in Canada during the past five years. Almost 2,000 new immigrants arrived in and around Regent Park in the last five years, and over 2,000 arrived in the five years before that. (2007:21)

And in Lawrence Heights, 85% of the population is Canadian citizens; 57% of the overall population in the neighborhood is made up of immigrants (2006 census). Thus, it is not necessarily legal citizenship status that is at issue as the majority of both neighborhoods are Canada citizens—rather, it is the reference to their status as immigrants, despite their official Canadian citizenship.

---

[68] According to Part III, 15(d), "at least one public meeting is held for the purpose of giving the public an opportunity to make representations in respect of the current proposed plan." 2006, c. 23, s. 9 (2).

In this way the act of "becoming Canadian" is tied to participation. In the consultations, residents are encouraged to perform Canadianness through modes of participation. Consultations in urban planning are perfect examples of how citizenship is performed; residents are asked to participate in a political performance that emphasizes civic engagement and democratic practice.[69] Certainly, participation and consultation are not unique to Regent Park or Lawrence Heights, rather they are common tools for social integration globally. But this is participation vis-à-vis diversity and difference—as they emerge in Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2, Canadianness emerged as embracing diversity (albeit in ambiguous terms) and multiculturalism and in Chapter 3 it emerged as participation in surveillance alongside diversity—here Canadianness is signaled by a responsibility to participate in surveillance as a way to produce a community of Canadians in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights.

Participation and consultation were central features of the revitalization of Lawrence Heights and Regent Park. City planners characterized the planning and consultation process as initiated,

> [T]hrough an intensive period of community development, building leadership, engagement of tenants regarding revitalization, TCH has supported tenants' involvement with their future. With many community forums, workshops and discussion groups, residents have talked to staff and consultants about their fears and hopes for the future. To obtain as much feedback and participation in the revitalization process, TCH has employed 20 resident "animators" – residents who are interested in consulting with their neighbors and providing detailed feedback for staff and consultants about what they would like to see in the plans for the rebuilt community. Through this process feedback was solicited from 500 or more households every month (Sterling and Cappe 2009:11).

---

[69] I do not use the terms performance or ritual analytically, but to signify the ways in which residents characterize participation as being "insincere" or "empty."

This chapter will explore how participation and consultations were used in Lawrence Heights and Regent Park and what kinds of ties they have to the broader project of nation building that permeates urban planning.

In this chapter, I investigate how revitalization both recruits residents to participate and limits their participation. Consultations and participation were positioned as moral part of the revitalization and symbol of democracy. I explore, however, that the process of participation and its effects are not always straightforward and how this set of processes can ultimately reproduce exclusion and disparity.

I outline two main arguments in this chapter. First, in the realm of consultations, I explore how the way to "be Canadian" is constructed through the performance of civic engagement. To reiterate, while consultations are "community" based, emphasis is on *individual* and active participation—with little focus on the value or intention of that participation. Community consultation from the perspective of the City is actually measured by individual participation: there is an emphasis on the ways that individuals participate, rather than the public more broadly. However, as I will show, the content of this participation does not much matter, as long as individuals are participating. I call this "technical consultation" to mark the popular modes of participation in the consultation. Technical consultation also sheds light on the neoliberal articulation of democracy that is shaped in this process. In technical consultation, not only is emphasis on individuals, despite references to community, but this form of democratic engagement also legitimizes the neoliberal model of revitalization—while residents were consulted about many aspects of the process, one non-negotiable feature was the neoliberal economic model of revitalization (mixed-income sustained by a public-private partnership).

Technical consultation positions engagement as an opportunity to participate in governance (like voting in an election) to build a habit of political engagement and participation. This promotes the Canadian ideals around participation and inclusion, especially in a multicultural framework.

This leads to my second argument: that while consultations encourage a performance of individual participation, they have unintended effects. In the eyes of planners, what makes consultation successful is individual practice even though they describe the importance of "community participation." In contrast to technical consultation, I call this politicized engagement both reinforces and challenges participation's association with the "Canadianness" sought after by technical consultation. While certain residents challenged the technical practices of the consultations and questioned the process, other residents felt empowered by participation, whether it was because they were simply able to participate, or because it was an opportunity to "be" Canadian. Despite the ritual of consultation and participation, many residents felt that they were superfluous and ignored, and they questioned the "promises" made during the planning process. Their motivation to participate, then, is less about making an impact on the plans, per se, but more about being empowered as a community. This is reflected not only by the emphasis on consultations in the planning documents, but by the continued engagement of residents despite their differing perspectives on the role of power in the consultations and their ability to materially influence the revitalization.

This chapter is thus organized in three sections. Part I will examine the history of participatory planning. Part II provides a brief outline of the community consultation

168

process in Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, followed by a careful examination of the community priorities outlined in the consultations. In Part II, I will also highlight the key actors in the consultation process. In the third section of this chapter, I explore two main themes that emerge in my analysis of planning documents, interview transcripts and field notes. Each theme is shaped by several sub-themes. All 21 interviewees referenced the two themes of power and communication as they effect consultations. Of the 21 interviews I conducted, there were strong differences among responses from planners, residents, and agency workers in terms of their opinions of the consultation process. Only two of the 12 residents I interviewed did not critique the consultation process: one male resident from Lawrence Heights and one female resident from Regent Park. Additionally, one male resident and community leader in Regent Park avoided giving me his opinion on the revitalization—he instead described the process without stating whether he agreed with the revitalization or the consultations. I explore these themes as a way to analyze technical consultations and politicized engagement in the revitalization and their links to how we understand participation as a central feature of democratic processes and a remaking of the nation-state.

Democracy and Participation

Democracy requires participation—it serves as a key legitimizing function in democratic societies. Participation as a primary feature of mobilization and organization of groups is a long sought after aim—from labor to anti-colonial movements, participation is a tool and strategy for self-organization and the production of an alternative social vision (Pateman 1975). One strand of relevant participatory planning

theory and practice has its roots in urban and third world development contexts and emphasizes the involvement of local communities in planning their environment and social world and is inspired by democratic principles (Arnstein 1969). In the context of third world development and urban planning, participatory development, formally called "Participatory Reflection and Action" (PRA), is based on the idea of empowering community members by involving them in the development process/project. It emerged as a critique of top-down development policy and PRA frameworks are designed to empower marginalized populations that have previously been excluded from political processes (Chambers 1983, 1994). In some cases, the end goal is to "train" the local community to take over the project's implementation. In other contexts, the community works alongside development agencies or planners as local informants to ensure that the project meets local needs. Inspired by Freirian philosophy, participatory planning acknowledges that marginalized peoples can and should participate in theorizing and planning their lives and communities (Hickey and Mohan 2004:5). In international development, Robert Chambers is often credited as a leader of the movement; he highlights the importance of letting local communities facilitate the process, critical self-reflection (of facilitators and participants), and personal responsibility (Cooke and Kothari 2001:5; Taylor 2001:125).

Participatory frameworks and methodologies in development work are debated for various reasons. For example, one struggle within participatory frameworks is around how "community" is conceptually framed (Cooke and Kothari 2001:6). How is community defined? Who is part of the community? How are differences within communities accounted for? The context of space and place in participatory framework

must therefore be carefully considered. Because of the emphasis on the local and "community" voice, there is a risk of romanticizing and homogenizing communities and approaching the concepts of local and community as "self-evident and unproblematic social categories" (Hickey and Mohan 2004:17) Acknowledging the heterogeneity of communities and social spaces can therefore prevent an essentialist analysis of participation (ibid.).

Participation has been critiqued for many reasons beyond its essentialist tendencies to homogenize communities. Participatory projects have also been labeled as tyrannical and authoritarian, legitimizing rule through produced consensus. These are some of the concerns addressed in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari's *Participation: The New Tyranny*, which also explores power relations in participatory projects. Cooke and Kothari define tyranny as "illegitimate and/or unjust uses of power" (2001:14). In particular, this is a critique of the lack of engagement with how power operates in participatory frameworks. As Harry Taylor's (2001) critique of Chambers suggests, "participatory discourses are utilized in both the development and managerial contexts because they serve essentially the same purpose of giving the 'sense' and warm emotional pull of participation without its substance, and are thus an attempt to placate those without power and obscure the real levers of power inherent in the social relations of global capitalism" (2001:125). Taylor (2001) identifies the often hidden relations of power in participatory frameworks. Furthermore, he refers to the "warm emotional pull" of participatory frameworks—the idea that participatory frameworks are associated with empowering communities and thus something to which practitioners feel emotionally committed.

PRA is deeply invested in the empowerment of local communities in making decisions about governance and is sited to bring democratic practices to contexts where communities have been previously excluded from participation and decision making. In the context of this dissertation, PRA is relevant not only because of the participatory models used in the revitalization frameworks, but because participation is tied to nation-state building. While Diana's words that opened this chapter are striking, they are merely a starting point to think about how participation is linked to "Canadianness." The planning documents also promote participation as a democratic characteristic of the revitalizations and about inclusion and multiculturalism—a defining feature of the Canadian nation-state. Throughout this chapter, I will explore multiple examples to make this connection.

The History of Community Engagement in the Revitalization Projects

In order to gain a full understanding of the processes underway, I trace the long historical trajectories of consultations in both neighborhoods; this section provides a detailed overview of the consultation processes. This history characterizes the nature of the efforts to promote participation and *describes* the multiple ways in which participation and engagement were used throughout the planning process. By setting the context of this chapter with a descriptive historical account of the consultation processes, I offer insight into the connections between consultations, local processes, and the nation-state.

While Regent Park and Lawrence Heights had different consultation processes, both communities outlined key community planning principles that would shape the

revitalization process. Toronto Community Housing lists the Regent Park planning

principles on their website:

> The Regent Park revitalization plan was built on extensive planning and community consultation.
> Based on these efforts, Community Planning Principles have been identified. They are:

1. Renew the Regent Park neighborhood
2. Re-introduce pedestrian friendly streets and park spaces
3. Design a safe and accessible neighborhood
4. Involve the community in the process
5. Build on cultural diversity, youth, skills and energy
6. Create a diverse neighborhood with a mix of uses including a variety of housing, employment, institutions and services
7. Design a clean, healthy and environmentally responsible neighborhood
8. Keep the same number of rent geared to income (RGI) units
9. Minimize disruption for residents during relocation
10. Develop a financially responsible strategy
11. Create a successful Toronto neighborhood
12. Improve the remaining portion of Regent Park during redevelopment

Residents of Lawrence Heights also compiled a list of priorities for revitalization

enumerated in a document titled, "Lawrence Heights Grassroots Community Priorities

for Revitalization" (2008):

1. Support a bottom-up process
2. Zero displacement
3. Environmental health
4. Security
5. Better schools, community, and health programs,
6. Integrated mix
7. Equivalent size and type
8. Concrete employment objectives
9. Green spaces
10. Diverse home ownership housing.

There are many overlapping priorities in both communities including: safety, mix of

income, and community involvement. However, despite involvement from residents to

outline the priorities and participate in consultations, many residents viewed the

revitalization as being imposed by the City despite the consultations. This issue arose

early in my fieldwork, when one community worker implied that while the engagement

process may be thorough, residents were never given an option of whether or not revitalization was something that they wanted.[70] Several community "animators" and residents confirmed this. When I asked Tamia, an animator in Lawrence Heights, "did anyone ask you if you wanted revitalization?" she responded in detail:

> No. That is a question that was never asked. A lot of people would be opposed. Revitalization or no revitalization? A lot of people would be opposed. A lot of people would oppose that in the sense that like, everything is going to change. People say "yes' they want revitalization. We weren't asked that question (if we wanted revitalization). Was that question asked? (Pause) I don't remember it being asked. It was already going to happen, either way. So let's just see what they like in their community and what they don't like. You know? But the actual question was not asked as if we had a choice. It was already in the works. They already planned that. It's prime land. Gentrification and whatever... They already have it planned out before they come in. So it is not like we have a definite choice to move and unmove and stuff. It was already in the works and then you come in and do your community engagement piece to rally people in.[71]

While residents were consulted on preferences about buildings, services, etc., it was not necessarily up to residents to decide if they wanted revitalization or not.[72] Residents explained that revitalization was not proposed as an option to the community; it was already decided as the framework.[73]

There was debate around the genealogy of the revitalization plans in both communities. In each instance, there are, in fact, long histories of community mobilization around redevelopment. In Regent Park, community leaders involved in the current revitalization frequently referenced attempts to lobby the city in the late 1980s. Similarly, one Lawrence Heights resident told me that her neighbor, a long time resident

---

[70] Informal communication, Marcia October 28, 2010. Marcia was the Director of a local engagement organization in Lawrence Heights.

[71] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 15-16. For full interview text, see Appendix B 7; For additional interview data regarding this question, see Appendix B 8.

[72] See Appendix B 9.

[73] Greg: "Well there are a lot of things that they decided on their own. And it had to be that way otherwise we wouldn't be as far along as we are now. I mean trying to get all of regent to agree one way or another on how it should be done or not be done. So the consultations were more about things like the right of return and how long people would be out and who would be responsible for the moving expenses." Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, Page 5.

of Lawrence Heights, recalled community efforts in the 1980's urging the City to revitalize. Yet, in neither community did any one group take responsibility for presenting an idea or proposal to TCH or the City around the current revitalization—while there were certainly histories of advocacy for better housing, revitalization (especially in Lawrence Heights) was acknowledged as a proposal brought forth by TCH and the City, not by residents. Consultations were part of this process after revitalization was proposed.

In Lawrence Heights some planners reported the difficulty of getting residents to participate because of the imposed nature of the plan: it was the City that initiated the idea to revitalize, not the residents. But in Lawrence Heights, Nick, the urban planner who led the revitalization argued, "There was not a history of community activism advocating for redevelopment. It was an idea that was being brought to that community ... ".[74] Nick viewed this history as one of the major obstacles in the Lawrence Heights revitalization planning process. The community was more hesitant than in Regent Park because the idea to revitalize did not necessarily stem from residents; it was imposed by "prioritization criteria" by the City and TCH. In either case, there is no denying that the beginning of the revitalization efforts and the engagement process in Lawrence Heights were met with a great deal of skepticism and resistance. Residents described to me their distrust of TCH, mostly related to maintenance issues.[75] However, over time, many residents stated that their perceptions changed and that slowly they embraced the proposed revitalization.[76]

---

[74] Personal interview with Nick, August 5, 2010, page 13.
[75] Personal interview with Gurmuu, September 13, 2010; Tamia, November 30, 2010.
[76] See 5 and 6 in Appendix B.

While the revitalization would still have to be approved by City Council, residents had a clear understanding that this was the only model (mixed-income) that would allow new housing.[77] Furthermore, as with scholarly critiques, Tamia characterizes the consultations as a way to "rally people in." By stating that the process was "already in the works" and in her view, the gentrification of the community was already planned; consultations were just staged to garner support.

This is a starting point for considering the design and framework of participatory projects. In the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, there were many tensions around how to include residents' voices and encourage empowerment. However, one main concern was the idea that the overall framework was already decided: revitalization was the model and would be achieved through a mix of uses and incomes. This leads to a critical question: How is consultation process presented? What topics are allowed to be "consulted on" and what is not? More importantly, regardless of intention, what is the interpretation of consultations by residents? An analysis of these questions will provide insight into how the nation-state is reconstituted in the contemporary moment. This micro-ethnographic overview of consultation becomes linked to broader questions about the nation-state because it is centers on notions of civic engagement and democratic practice. In the case of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, this dynamic takes shape through interaction between planners, residents, and other stakeholders.

The phases of the consultation process mark the operationalizing of democracy, even as the larger framework of the revitalizations speaks, precisely, to the erosion of democracy and possibilities for participation. The consultation is linked to

---

[77] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 23.

transformations in state practices and neoliberal governance because it mobilizes a particular type of participation that is dependent on residents' diversity, their individual involvement and also participation whereby content of engagement does not much matter; it is only the generic performance of participation in democracy among perceived newcomer residents. Further, as evidenced in the planning documents and interviews, these consultation processes draw on middle-class and racialized notions of "proper" political participation alongside Canadian norms of 'civility,' 'respectability' and 'politeness.'

Regent Park

According to the Regent Park Engagement Report,

> "The Regent Park process was a visibly inclusive, community oriented process focused on revitalizing a community widely known for its troubles (and less widely known for its successes). The positive response from within the community was encouraging" (quoted in Meagher and Boston 2003:32).

The *Revitalization Study* sets the Regent Park revitalization apart from other urban planning frameworks because of resident engagement, and claims community involvement in each step of the process.[78] The second section of the *Regent Park Study* provides a more detailed account of the community consultations. The methodology for the consultations was created by an outside agency called "Public Interest Strategy and Communications," in collaboration with an independent development consultant, hired by the Regent Park Collaborative Team. The hiring of an outside agency was to prevent bias and ensure transparency of process. The consultation process consisted of several

---

[78] The HOPE VI project was widely critiqued due to its failure to consult residents. The Regent Park Collaborative Team's consultation process thus represents progressive and holistic planning practices, using the community as key informants in the research process Regent Park Collaborative Team (2002:1-5).

components. Planners as well as residents who were trained by Public Interest led each component.

Before the initiation of the first phase of consultations, the consultants conducted what they called an "environmental scan" of the community. Consultants did preliminary research with agencies and community leaders. Key stakeholders and informants were identified to help refine the framework "in a participatory manner" and ensure the "most effective access to residents of Regent Park" (2003:15). Upon analysis of the results of the environmental scan, the public engagement team concluded the following:

a. It reinforced many of the Community Engagement Team's assumptions about the current state of resident opinion.
b. Residents saw many positive aspects to living in Regent Park. However, virtually all residents saw the community in need of revitalization. (ibid., 41)

Other themes include maintenance issues, stigma, and safety. The report also documents that "residents expressed a fervent hope that redevelopment include more than just buildings, i.e., that the community be revitalized as well" (ibid.)

Community engagement in Regent Park began in the summer of 2002. While a team of consultants hired by Toronto Community Housing led the engagement process, community animators hired by TCH and Public Interest shaped much of the process. Community animators, also known as community-based workers, were hired to directly engage with residents. This approach, essentially a microcosm of representative democracy, was identified by Public Interest as the "best method of reaching out to residents" (ibid., 11). Residents were recruited from the community as animators and trained to facilitate a consultation process that was "entirely rooted in the community" (ibid.). Because of time constraints, animators were selected by Public Interest; during the environmental scan they reached out to tenant organizations and community agencies

to identify potential animators (ibid., 23). One of the main goals of the environmental scan was to identify potential community animators who were representative of the ethno-cultural demographics of the community.[79] The Engagement Report suggests that the use of animators "signif[ies] that the process was more than outreach. We wanted to convey that this process was about active engagement with the community, and the term 'animator' is a community development term that signifies 'bringing life' to a process" (ibid., 22). The use of animators, under this framing, neatly aligns "animation" with revitalization as a process where a community is "brought back to life." After all, animation is the "state of being alive"—so to animate, in the context of revitalization is to bring life to a process.

Community animators began training on August 27, 2002. Following training, animators were divided into animation teams. The teams developed distinct models to consult with their respective communities and networks. Over the course of three months (September-November), 2,000 residents were consulted (ibid., 26).

The engagement team identified three specific goals of the engagement process:

1. Ensure the community had a distinct voice in the planning process;
2. Strengthen existing and emerging community infrastructure through the consultation process;
3. Assist TCH staff in building new and effective long-term relationships with residents (ibid. 9).

To meet these goals "in a public housing project, required an entirely new approach" (ibid., 16). By hiring and training community animators, and developing a multi-phase consultation plan, the engagement process aimed to encourage participation from residents. The phased approach would help to slowly introduce residents to how the

---

[79] In this model, community members work as democratic representatives on behalf of fellow residents, which mimics the structure of representative – as opposed to direct – democracy.

process would work. The process included 3 phases and was designed to show residents that the engagement team had "accurately absorbed the feedback to date and legitimately sought clarification or detail" (ibid., 12) Following each phase, the engagement team held an open public meeting to report the findings and provide information on the next phase.

In phase one of the engagement process, community animators engaged with the community about general issues and themes (e.g. what do you like/not like about Regent Park?) (ibid.). In this phase they conducted a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis. The Engagement Report summarizes these findings, stating, "these comments highlight the current strengths of the Regent Park community and redevelopment potential" (ibid., 41). [80] Phase two engaged the community on more specific issues regarding the planning of parks, buildings, and streets they liked and disliked (ibid.). Phase two was described as a structured consultation process, soliciting more specific feedback. The results include responses about the residents' desire to remove all buildings, increased lighting and safety precautions, and the location of through streets (ibid., 47-50; RPRS 2002: 19-21). In phase three, animators presented the draft plan to the community based on the information gathered in the previous two phases. Residents were asked to comment on the things they liked and disliked in the plan (ibid., 13).

Each phase consisted of different consultations with various communities within Regent Park. Most specifically, the consultations were organized around different cultural groups and languages (ibid., 18). The engagement report's documentation of engagement with culture and diversity is noteworthy, indeed. This model was tested and adjusted to fit

---

[80] For a full summary of the SWOT Analysis see: *The Regent Park Community Engagement Report* 2003:42-46 and RPRS 2002:15-19.

the needs of the community as it changed during the course of consultations. For example, over time the outreach program expanded to 13 different sub-communities in Regent Park. However, some groups still felt excluded from this process—particularly the French-speaking Congolese community, which expressed concerns over the exclusion of Canada's other official language, French. Aboriginal residents in Regent Park voiced similar concerns around their feelings of exclusion. The report described the team's ability "to defend their methodology and conclusion" and explained that, "the willingness to open up the process to changes in structure involved a modest increase in workload and cost but ensured that the process retained its commitment to openness and inclusion, and was an important test in earning the trust of local residents" (2003:19). Thus, there was a tension between how residents experienced the consultations and how planners and the engagement team understood the success of the consultations.

The Regent Park Community Engagement Report (2003) consistently highlights the difficult nature of hosting consultations in Regent Park. This was difficult because of the many promises made to residents in the past about new housing, services, and facilities. As the engagement team described, "engaging residents would not be easy. Regent Park residents are a deeply impoverished multi-lingual population with a history of disappointments that has resulted in a predominant mood of mistrust and disengagement" (ibid., 5). They also suggested "engaging cynical communities already under stress is nearly impossible. Regent Park was not susceptible to any easy models of community consultation. Real feedback depended on finding a model that informed effectively, rebuilt trust, promoted involvement and got past the cynicism" (declaring the process impossible, before the process had begun) (ibid., 9). Thus, they needed a "fresh

new approach to overcome these obstacles" (ibid., 5). By the end of the process, "residents dropped much of their previous cynicism and delivered a flood of data" (ibid., 26). The planning team worked with community animators and residents through a variety of formats to encourage resident participation and input.[81] Consultations in the community continued throughout the revitalization project and participation from the many stakeholders was encouraged.

However, not all characterizations of the consultation process portray the community as united or understand the approach as valuing the multiple perspectives of residents. In Regent Park, Chandra characterized residents as "extremely polarized" with differing views on revitalization: some supported the project and others viewed it as gentrification.[82] One Regent Park resident, Aliyyah, suggested that the media wanted to portray the community as conflicted and find residents who were against the revitalization as a way to further stigmatize the community and negatively brand it.[83] Another resident thought that the new residents of Regent Park, those who purchased market price condominiums, were going to overpower TCH residents. Eva explained:

> a lot of the people who have been going have been the people in the condominiums because people in Regent Park they don't trust because there are so many promises that aren't kept. They have been failed. Ummm ... people are fed up with it. They say one thing. They ask what you want or what you would like and if your voice is not taken, but other people, but as I have said money talks. So their voices are taken and ours are put aside.[84]

---

[81] One resident, Greg, characterized the consultations by stating, "well, opinions were given, and those opinions and wish lists ... because usually it starts off with: 'If money was no object, what would you want to see?' and people would give them what they want to see and the architects and planners would go away with that and narrow it down and narrow it down and narrow it down until we wind up with what we wind up with." Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, Page 6.

[82] Personal interview with Chandra Interview 10, September 23, 2010, page 4.

[83] Personal interview with Aliyyah, Interview 20, December 20, 2010, page 13.

[84] Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 13.

For Eva, condominium owners had more input into the revitalization because they are middle-class. In her view, TCH residents from Regent Park stopped going to the meetings because of a lack of trust with TCH: "They say one thing. They ask what you want or what you would like and if your voice is not taken ...". Her statement is an example of the performativity of consultation (it is not necessarily about consulting and taking input, but about performing it), as well as the differing roles and positions of planners and residents. In this example, Eva associates valued participation and voice with the middle-class residents. Thus participation is dependent on one's class status and social capital. However, these differences and tensions between communities are an example of how residents and planners interact with engagement processes in differing ways, and also how marginalized residents perceive the consultation process as favoring incoming middle-income residents. More importantly though, Eva's comments help us to consider the power in participation and how those who organize(d) consultations, in Eva's opinion, were inconsistent with facilitating the process.

The Regent Park Community Engagement Report concludes with a section on "Key Learnings" (2003:57). It describes the lessons learned for the planners and engagement team about how to successfully engage with a community. The list includes: "accepting what the team was hearing, testing the team's assumptions, accept guidance from residents about the process, hiring from within the community, following-up with residents" (ibid., 57).

While the Regent Park Community Engagement Report characterizes the success of the revitalization and the importance of the animators (although animators were active in the initial stages of the consultations, they were not used in later consultations in

Regent Park). Chandra, a resident and community agency found the discontinuance of the animation process a serious problem:

> I want my animators back. I feel very strongly that we should have a very visible, very visible and very vocal presence of Regent Park residents that are driving everything that has to do with the redevelopment of their neighborhood. And we need them. Gosh we need them. They are our bridges and that is one of the things … that bridging. It is impossible to try to communicate across all of the languages that we speak in this neighborhood.[85]

From her perspective, animators were a missing piece that the community needed to appropriately disseminate information about the revitalization among residents. Chandra's insights provoke many questions about the ties between participation and representation in democratic processes. For Chandra, participation and direct involvement in the process does not just signal inclusion, practically they facilitate more involvement in a linguistically diverse neighborhood. Thus, animators were not just token representatives from the community, but actual bridges that inspired democratic engagement.

The Regent Park revitalization framework distinguishes itself from other planning frameworks due to its extensive community consultations and democratic engagement processes. Furthermore, the City of Toronto and Toronto Community Housing have adopted this model to engage with other communities:

> the approach used in Regent Park provides a roadmap for creating a consultation model that is truly integrated into the community and reflects not only the many faces of the population, but their cultures, processes, ideas and priorities (2003:5).

Referred to as a model, the Regent Park consultation process became a template for the Lawrence Heights Revitalization.

---

[85] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 21.

Lawrence Heights

> "Over the past two years, there has been an extensive community consultation process that has coordinated efforts between the City, TCH and TDSB to inform the overall plan for this area. The result is the Lawrence-Allen Revitalization Plan…" (Implementation Actions and Social Development Plan, 2010:5).

While the consultation process in Lawrence Heights followed a model similar to Regent Park, the community engagement in Lawrence Heights was organized and facilitated by TCH, not by Public Interest. In Lawrence Heights, the TCH neighborhood representative was responsible for designing a community engagement process. Because of the lessons learned by TCH in Regent Park, and their more collaborative model with the City of Toronto's involvement with the larger planning area (LARP), the consultation process involved more intensive participation with various stakeholders. The City of Toronto hosted dozens of consultations in Lawrence Heights and the surrounding areas. Because the City is responsible for the larger revitalization area outside of Lawrence Heights, they advertised their consultations to over 12,000 residents. Their project team also participated in the TCH consultations. In total the City of Toronto lists 28 consultations between 2008-2010.

> Toronto Community Housing's engagement in Lawrence Heights began in 2008:
>
> Staff has begun a series of community meetings with tenant leaders and representatives. When the selected Consultant Team begins their work, a community engagement consultant, in conjunction with Toronto Community Housing staff, will devise a community engagement plan to provide tenants meaningful involvement throughout the planning and design process. All efforts will be made to coordinate Toronto Community Housing's activities with those of the City of Toronto. (Toronto Community Housing, Revitalization Update, April 28, 2008)

Between 2008-2011, TCH held over 50 meetings (some of these meetings overlap with City of Toronto consultations), events, and workshops to engage with residents and community stakeholders regarding the revitalization:

A key component of this process will involve developing a strategy to collaborate with local residents to identify community needs and priorities ...Toronto Community Housing Corporation staff have begun a community engagement process with the residents of Lawrence Heights to seek their input into the revitalization. This work is designed to identify key community issues and to build community capacity and leadership skills in order to participate in the revitalization initiative. (Affordable Housing Committee, May 31, 2007)

During the introductory stage of the consultations, residents developed key definitions related to social development and revitalization, including definitions for concepts such as social development, social development plan, economic development, and social inclusion. The next step was to compile a document called "what we heard," which documented residents' feedback. In November 2010, the City held an official working meeting, where residents had to pre-register to attendance, to begin to discuss some of the key themes in the plan.

While the consultation efforts were extensive, the number of residents that participated was limited. Residents who did participate often expressed frustration at the low number of residents reached by the consultation efforts.[86] Two Lawrence Heights' community animators had differing accounts of who was attending and being reached in the consultation process. According to resident Hayyuu,

A great deal of people were attending. Number one, animators were attending. They had to attend. Number two, parents association were attending. East African community were attending. There are people called LHION [Lawrence Heights Interorganizational Network] ... But eventually the domestic engineers, some of them come and participate but if they don't come they will get the information.[87]

One Lawrence Manor resident had a different view:

I can't begin to describe the number of times when we were at meetings ... I was in one breakout session when you took out the translators, when you took out the facilitators, when you took out the planning staff, when you took out the transportation staff, the majority of people were not either residents or tenants. I was in a room where there were 35 people in the room. And I said, how many people in the room are parents? How many

---

[86] See Appendix B 1-6 for more related interview data.

[87] Personal interview with Hayuu, September 12, 2010, page 5; See Appendix B 6.

people in the room are area residents? How many people in the room are teachers? Everybody else was a teacher or facilitator. [88]

Hayuu attests to the high number of people who attended meetings and also to the dissemination of information to the mothers (domestic engineers as he called them) in the neighborhood who were busy attending to their families and jobs. Benjamin, from Lawrence Manor, on the other hand, expressed a different opinion. He did not agree that meetings were well attended or that people were receiving necessary information about the revitalization. He repeatedly questioned the process and ability of planners to actually engage residents.

Consultation and community outreach was credited for the shift in attitudes in Lawrence Heights. One community animator described the importance of keeping residents informed and up-to-date with information and resources. Kayla, an animator from Neptune (a TCH neighborhood),[89] summed up the animation and engagement process in general terms:

> yeah so, when this process began to unroll or unfold in the community what became most important was to really inform residents about what is going on, get feedback about things that they consider priorities for their lives, and if this is really going to happen in Lawrence Heights, what are some of the things that they would like to see happen ...[90]

Community animators offered different reasons for wanting to get involved. One did it for money, another who had recently moved to the community saw it as a way to get involved and meet other residents, while yet others did it as a way to effect change or be

---

[88] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 5, 2010, page 6.

[89] Neptune is a TCH property that is considered part of the Lawrence Allen Revitalization. There is no guarantee Neptune will be revitalized with new housing; while it falls in the boundaries of the revitalization area, it is unclear whether Neptune will be torn down and replaced. It is also important to note that there is a history of violence between the two communities. There were multiple efforts made during the revitalization and consultation process to appropriately and safely consider the concerns of residents about attending meetings in different locations, potential tensions between residents at meetings, etc.

[90] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 4.

involved with community planning.[91] When I asked Tamia, a Lawrence Heights resident

and animator if she felt like she made a difference in the process, she laughed and said:

> Tamia: … (hahahaha) That is a good question. Yes and no. Yes in the sense that I love the whole community animation process because it is community residents talking with other community residents. You know, so put a personal spin on it. But at the same time ... at times I get all of this information and this training but at times I just feel like a scapegoat.
> VR: What does that mean?
> Tamia: I am being used. I am on the front line ... but I feel like as a community animator residents trust me because I am putting a personal spin on it because it affects me and it affects them and I am relaying the information from what I am given, but sometimes I feel I am just being used for that purpose.[92]

Tamia's skepticism and feeling of being used in the process is one that strays from the

intended effect of the participation of residents. As an animator, someone who worked as

both a bridge and representative to residents in Lawrence Heights, Tamia believed she

was engaging in a process of democratic practice: engagement, civic participation, and

promoting a space for engagement. However, what Tamia found was discomfort and

skepticism with the process and with the planners. She continued to outline these

dynamics in our conversation:

> Tamia: At first they had a company. Public Opinion ... Public Opinion.
> VR: Public Interest?
> Tamia: Yeah, yeah ... Public Interest… So then at first Public Interest was doing all of this stuff so then it makes it seem like "oh we don't have a part"... It is just a third party doing it… And then where is Public Interest now?... Now it is just TCH running the animation part so the information we are getting is it...is it neutral? You know?
> VR: Yeah. I am confused by the Public Interest involvement. Did they train the animators?
> Tamia: They trained us in terms of how to speak to residents in terms of how not to be biased and use minimal prompts and paraphrasing. [Be]cause, like, for example I go out there and do a survey and it is something that affects me. I don't want to ... they train us not to impose and how to deal with it neutrally. Which was ... it was good. It was interesting. But then they just disappeared. Because even, the animators, we signed over ... we have a new contract. This year we re-signed the animation team, we have some

[91] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010 page 3; Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 5; Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 2; Personal interview with Hayuu, September 30, 2010, page 3; Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 1-2.
[92] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 3.

new members and I re-signed. But they didn't get any training with Public Interest… It was like fronts ... that is how I see it.[93]

Based on her experience, Tamia saw the animation process as part of what she labeled a "front." Later in the interview, she reported her discomfort and conflicting association with the consultations. As an animator, she liked the idea of working with her neighbors and informing residents of the process. However, she also articulated that she felt like she was "being used" and that TCH was influencing the process. A local community newspaper published an article warning of Public Interest's influence on the process, "TCH Tenants: Watch out for Public Interest."[94] They criticize Public Interest's "bogus" consultations and accuse them of "channeling people's opposition into harmless forms of community engagement."

While in Regent Park I heard many differing views on the revitalization, in Lawrence Heights, I heard less about fragmentation among residents within the TCH neighborhood, but more about the conflict between residents of Lawrence Heights and residents of Lawrence Manor. Lawrence Manor is a predominately Jewish community directly east of Lawrence Heights and the two communities are divided by a fence (figure 8). Kayla described these tensions:

> Just based on the general dynamics of community itself: you have Lawrence Manor residents who have been staunchly against this happening or this process, as well. You know is a lot of that comes down to arguments around density. But some of that is a lack of understanding because the revit[alization] means that there is going to be an increase in population in the area. It also means that their assumptions … I noticed a lot of times are "you guys are gonna bring 20,000 welfare people to the community?" So there is a little bit of miscommunication or lack of understanding as well. And you know there's a little bit of a sense of us and them with this conversation … you know … so we don't want "them" here. We don't want them in our schools. We don't want that on our streets. So it is very much attention in that sense.[95]

---

[93] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 8.
[94] Basics News, April 10, 2011.
[95] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 9.

Her discussion of "suspicion" refers to resident's unwillingness to engage due to their feeling that the revitalization was being imposed by outside actors, thus rendering them powerless in the process. By "they" she is referring to non-community members, planners, and other stakeholders who hold particular views of Lawrence Heights. Kayla is skeptical of the participation of residents of Lawrence Manor who, from her point of view, hold assumptions about the community being poor and therefore do not want "them" in their schools or on their streets. The dynamic between Lawrence Heights and Lawrence Manor points to the racialized nature of the participation process and the resistance to the revitalization. TCH residents were quite vocal about their awareness of the racism from the surrounding communities—this perspective particularly came out in the deputations at the June 21, 2010 Council meeting and the responses to that meeting.[96]

Figure 10. Fence and pathway separating Lawrence Heights and Lawrence Manor. Photo taken by author. Date unknown.

---

[96] I attended this meeting and witnessed the racism first-hand.

Residents of Lawrence Manor organized the "Save our Streets" campaign to stop the revitalization. They argued, among other things, that the area could not support such an increase in density. However, as one Lawrence Manor resident recounted, the "us versus them" logic was repeated throughout the consultations; he suggested that this was a result of differing information being presented to each group during consultations.[97] The differing perspectives between these neighboring communities created a great deal of conflict.

Residents expressed a clear understanding of the power dynamic and the different positions among renters, homeowners, and planners. In these examples residents are thinking carefully about the meaning of their participation in relation to other communities involved. Furthermore, they clearly express an acknowledgement of the heterogeneity of their neighborhoods. As Hickey and Mohan argue, because of the emphasis on the local, there is a risk of romanticizing and homogenizing communities and taking the category of local and community as "self-evident and unproblematic social categories" (2004:17). Acknowledging the heterogeneity of communities and social spaces can therefore call into question an essentialist analysis of participation (ibid.). An essentialist analysis of participation portrays communities as homogenous and ignores differences in power relations among residents. The relationship between residents of Lawrence Manor and Lawrence Heights makes this even more evident and brings race, class, and power to the forefront of the debate. Lawrence Heights residents openly acknowledged the race and class dynamic. While residents, for example, often reference

---

[97] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 12, 2010, page 9.

the strong communal ties in their neighborhoods, they also reject essentialist definitions of their communities.

I, however, theorize the local in relation to critical understandings of scale (Howitt 2003; Massey 1994, 2004). Critical definitions of the local examine how, for example, local or urban scale don't simply imply that the "sum" of their parts creates a "larger scale", or that the local is a homogenous site, where there is a distinct and hierarchal link to the national or global. Instead, Howitt (2003), Isin (2008), and Massey (2004)for example, understand the local scale as a site of social action, where change can occur. I theorize the local as a heterogeneous *place*—where social relations constantly shift and reproduce community and identity. In Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, this is most acutely traced through interviews with residents whereby residents critique homogenous characterizations of community, as well as straightforward definitions of participation and empowerment.

In the context of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, residents acknowledge the differences among their neighbors and expressed an understanding of the differences when speaking about the revitalization. Although planners are committed to "difference" in the plan's outline of diversity (Chapter 2), this was not the case in the consultation process. While cultural difference is attended to through literal language translation, residents' difference of views on the revitalization was not always addressed. In particular, this issue is captured in two themes that organize the interviews with residents and planners: power and communication. Power and communication are central to my main argument: how both the content of participation is secondary to the performance and how civic participation often has unintended effects. In the following section, I

explore how ideas about resident's participation signal different aspects of a re-making of the nation-state that include a shift from traditional or direct participation and instead must consider the multiple ways that residents give meaning to democratic practices and "Canadianness" that is so central to conceptions of nation and state.

Themes: Power and Communication

Theme 1: Power and Participation

> To be very honest, anything in a society where you are that powerless one, there is always a certain dose of a realistic fear around what does this mean for me? How much ability do I have to advocate for myself when things are being changed (or when things are changing)? And you know, for the majority of the people, they know that this change is happening above their heads. Regardless if they go and say we want this or we don't want this. To a very large degree it is going to happen. Right? So you get a sense that you don't have much power in this kind of larger society and monopoly of things.[98]

Kayla made this comment in the context of the consultations in Lawrence Heights. In her statement, she references a sense of powerlessness among residents broadly, but also focuses in on the sentiments and feeling of powerlessness in the consultation process. Specifically, she describes how power relations infiltrate the planning process and how change happens out of the reach of residents, despite the consultations. By suggesting that "change is happening above their heads" regardless of what residents ask for, Kayla describes a complex process. From Kayla's standpoint, even though the planners ask residents what they want in their community, regardless of what residents say, revitalization is going to happen anyway. But what does it mean for a community to be powerless?

---

[98] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 9.

In an analysis of the interview documents, there was an overarching thematic link between how residents and planners characterized power in the consultation process. There was no clear-cut description of residents being controlled by the process *or* empowered by it. Instead, powerlessness and empowerment were simultaneously used to describe how power operated around the consultation process. That is, residents used both terms to characterize their views of the consultations. In some cases, they described it as *either* empowering *or* as producing a sense of powerlessness, while in other examples, it was both. Both instances demonstrate the unintended effects of consultation.

a). powerlessness[99]

> Kayla explained how power relations shaped the consultations:
>
> So in that sense it is important, but there is a very healthy or real sense of that at the end of the day, I can demand as much as I want, but the decision does not lie in my hands and I think that that is really … the things are happening above our heads is those decisions don't happen or don't rest in our hands. And I mean it's just generally in a society where things … it's very much a power dynamic. So there are certain bodies in the community that can say this is what we want, and they do have a lot more buying power than others. So at the end of the day we can demand, or we can try to rally ourselves as much as possible, but we know we are always subject to opposition. It is just the nature of the world that we live in. So you realize that you can't do so much ... but there is so much that can be done without you.[100]

Kayla highlights several things here. First, she reiterates that decision-making does not lie in the hands of residents. From her experience, it is the people in the institutions and the surrounding neighborhoods with money that get to make the decisions. As she notes, residents can make demands and collectively organize, but their demands will not always be granted because of the power dynamic.

Eva, a Regent Park resident echoed this frustration and argued that residents weren't "heard." When asked about the setup of the consultations, Eva described

---

[99] See Appendix B 12-15 for more interview data on powerlessness.
[100] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 11-12.

> You know what. They asked so many things "what would you like?" what would you want? And what you didn't like?" A lot of people didn't show up. Like I said, people are fed up of going to meetings and not being heard—being ignored. So a lot of people didn't bother going. They didn't bother going. I went to a few of … well I went to all of them. But like I said a lot of people didn't go because, they are just fed up because there has always been that false ... the promise has not been kept so people don't bother.[101]

Both Kayla and Eva highlight an awareness on behalf of some residents that while participation was encouraged, many felt it was not meaningful participation. In this regard, as Kayla suggests, residents can make demands and requests, but they will always meet "opposition" and face challenges because of their lower socio-economic status.

The failure of the consultations to account for people's voices was echoed by Benjamin, a resident of Lawrence Manor (the neighborhood east of Lawrence Heights and also part of the revitalization) who argued:

> But there is anger out there, there is bitterness out there that we were not consulted ... that the city is not consultative and were looking for ways to express that they were upset and that dissatisfaction. And there were people that were very, very upset and remain so.[102]

Benjamin's thoughts capture the frustration of some residents. Furthermore, Benjamin's frustrations speak to the position of a resident who lives outside of Lawrence Heights (in Lawrence Manor) and is part of the community that Kayla describes as "having more buying power." Thus, while Kayla expresses the sentiment that the surrounding residents had more power or "buy in", Benjamin suggests the City is generally not consultative, regardless of socioeconomic status. His characterization of the anger of residents due to the City's lack of consultation corresponds to a general sentiment of dissatisfaction among the residents that I interviewed. This overwhelmingly shared sentiment among the residents is an indication of how residents understood their positionality in relation to the consultations and TCH/City of Toronto.

---

[101] Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 13.

[102] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 12, 2010, page 5.

b). Empowerment

Amatrii, a resident of Lawrence Heights described the power dynamic in the consultation process from a different perspective:

> VR: I don't know if you remember the first time we talked and you had mentioned that it was like, you described the interactions with the planners and how they engaged with residents at these meetings. Do you remember that conversation?
> Amatrii: Yes I do. It is just like someone ordering and someone taking the order kind of thing. And residents felt that they are going to do whatever they are going to do. Why would we get involved? And um, but, that is not true. People do have voices and people do have power and on that line I think that the residents have realized that they could make an impact on whatever is going to happen in the community. *Even if nothing is done, it is good to know your rights and push for your rights.*[103]

I spoke with Amatrii many times over the course of my fieldwork. We first met at a community meeting. After the meeting I asked if we could meet for an interview, to which she agreed. Amatrii was a medical doctor from Eritrea and moved to Canada with her ex-husband and two children. She was active in the community, where she participated in numerous groups and regularly spoke about her work in the community garden. In the original conversation, she explained to me that the consultation process entailed residents sitting in rooms with planners at the front "instructing" them. She described it as a classroom setting, where residents were "students" and the planners were "teachers."

What was interesting in Amatrii's words and arose in several interviews is the fact that residents were very articulate about the perceived power dynamic with the planners. However, what remains different from the theme of powerlessness is that residents who participated still felt it important to voice concerns and ideas, regardless of how they would be used in the plans, if used at all. The idea is that empowerment does not come

---

[103] Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 2.

from implementation or something that is controlled by the planners. Instead, residents were empowered and motivated by their ability to self-mobilize and participate in the planning process. Amatrii, who described the meetings as being in a classroom and being instructed, was passionate about this idea. During the interview, she did not necessarily want to address implementation or discuss whether voices were "heard." Instead, she consistently emphasized the importance of agency as a community and the fact that neighbors were coming together to organize around issues that affect their everyday life. Her statement: "Even if nothing is done, it is good to know your rights and push for your rights" clarifies that it is not the point that residents necessarily lack decision-making powers, but that the process produces an opportunity for residents to become aware of their rights and to collectively fight for rights. She went on to explain these opportunities further when asked about the impact of her participation:

> I definitely think so. I can't quantify it. But people at the beginning thought, why do you go to those meetings? No change is going to happen. But they do realize now if possible, they do want to participate. Um, people have lots of kids, young kids and it is not easy to...the number of meetings there were...it was too much. I had to stretch myself to do it because I thought there was the need but now people are definitely empowered. Definitely. They voiced ... they have upgraded themselves. In the past they had the "what can I do" kind of attitude. People are upgrading themselves in different ways. And I am happy to see that.[104]

Amatrii explained that even though it was difficult for her to make time in her busy schedule to participate, she was still compelled to do so because she "thought there was the need." Amatrii suggested that "residents are upgrading themselves" by participating, even though she previously told me that "no change is going to happen" or that residents won't necessarily influence the plan. But how do we account for such optimistic accounts in the interviews despite the overwhelming critiques of revitalization? I do not

---

[104] Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 3.

suggest such critiques or support for revitalization are so straightforward. Attempts to homogenize the "community," as unified in support or opposition to the revitalization are misleading in both directions. I do, however, conclude that Tamia and Kayla's remarks shed light on the ways in which some residents have a pragmatic response in light of the challenging everyday realities of being part of this process. But according to Amatrii, residents have a different reason for such optimism: one that values the relationship between participation, rights, and gaining a personal and communal sense of empowerment.

A TCH representative, Marina refers to empowerment in a different way:

> I really respect TCHC as an organization to allow us to go into communities and say, okay, our job is to work with our communities and find out and give them the opportunity to participate to, envisioning what could be here. But, to mean that. Right. So to allow people to have meaningful participation. That it's going to make a difference. And you know I ... You invite people to participate and to be a part of decision-making process. And when they see that that actually happens. That is very empowering. It was empowering for me and I worked in the political process for a while. This is really very, um, meaningful. So it is good that I can say to people let's hear your point of view on things. And know that okay, if I go back and say, people want this, it's really important to them, it is listened to. And I respect the organization for allowing that space to happen. For that dialogue, right. It is great.[105]

Marina emphasized the role of empowerment several times in her interview. She consistently used the terms "meaningful participation," "civic engagement," and "voice," when referencing the consultation process. In this regard, the consultations were described as "empowering" for residents and allowed residents to participate in democratic processes and the planning of their communities and is a result of residents' investment in the 'system.' Empowerment, then, is produced by giving residents the opportunity to engage with decision-makers in order have an impact on the process. What

---

[105] Personal interview with Marina, August 3, 2010, page 13.

Marina does not address is the outcome of the participation. Rather, it is the act of participation that matters and is empowering.

Power in Empowerment?

Robert Chamber's contributions and participatory framework generally understand participation as empowerment. Ilan Kapoor argues that a major danger of equating participation with empowerment is that it often becomes "participation as power" where it reproduces power instead of reducing or eradicating it (2004:1-5). Kapoor carefully names the role of power in participatory frameworks, which often appear as neutral processes or safe spaces. As Cornwall argues, "spaces in which citizens are invited to participate, as well as those they create for themselves, are never neutral. Infused with existing relations of power, interaction within them may come to reproduce rather than challenge hierarchies and inequalities" (quoted in Hickey and Mohan, 2004:81).

In the context of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights, however, there is no clear separation between powerlessness and empowerment. Kayla explained,

> As for me personally, I would prefer, and this is my kind of idealistic way of thinking, I would rather be aware and involved, and in some way voice whatever it is that I think is the right thing to do at that time, so that in the long run I have some bargaining power, *whether it is myself or a group of individuals or the entire community, to say that this is what we want for ourselves.* And hope that that actually counts for something. So I think … what I can sense is that if you don't get involved and you don't say anything, you really have no say, and that is something that I'm learning as well, because I was never the type to go out and vote as much, but I can see how all of these things really, really directly affects everything that you may have or opportunities that you may have living in Toronto and the world in general.[106] (emphasis added)

Kayla captures the essence of powerlessness and empowerment in her thoughts. Her insights, along with the examples from residents and community agency workers, stand

---

[106]Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 10.

in contrast to descriptions given by TCH representatives and City of Toronto employees. While there were numerous consultations, why did residents and agency workers still feel frustrated by the process? The consultation process was intended to empower residents enabling them to voice their ideas about the revitalization, and incorporating their visions into the outcome. Some residents agreed that consultation was successful and some residents disagreed. Those who felt empowered, however, did not necessarily equate their empowerment with meaning that their voice would be heard. Rather, their empowerment comes from participating in a process with their neighbors despite the fact that they did not feel that the consultation process was consultative. While TCH representative Marina emphasized the importance of individuals being invited to participate as a reflection of "meaningful participation," this stands in contrast to how residents expressed a sense of empowerment. Marina's characterization of empowerment, by merely being invited to participate or participating, does not match residents' understanding. Although Marina describes the importance of listening and meaningful participation, residents had strong ideas about whether or not their voices would be heard. To reiterate Amatrii's statement, instead, participation was about community: "[p]eople do have voices and people do have power and on that line I think that the residents have realized that they could make an impact on whatever is going to happen in the community. *Even if nothing is done, it is good to know your rights and push for your rights"* (emphasis added).[107] I asked Amatrii what she meant by rights and instead, she described "rights" as empowerment and something that every human being should have access to. Amatrii's characterization highlights the double bind of participating in a process that seems immune to change or

---

[107] Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 2.

influence. For her the change is about knowing your rights and working collaboratively with your neighbors. This was a recurring theme in my interview and conversations with Amatrii where she articulated the long-standing importance of communal spaces, gardens and parks in Lawrence Heights (e.g. the gardens), where residents could come together and talk about issues that affect the community. Thus, for residents, meaningful participation stands in contrast to the City's characterization of "meaningful participation." Yet, the mainstream use of empowerment should also be problematized. Empowerment, like "participation" or "engagement" is often taken up uncritically in planning processes. "Empowerment" in this context, is a term easily affiliated with state management technologies.

Theme II: Communication and Consultation

The role of power and participation is interwoven with concerns about communication in the consultation process and was something that planners seemed aware of. One planner, Diana, for example, attempted to explain critiques of the revitalization and residents' dissatisfaction:

> No one is ever going to be happy with change and that is basically the bottom line. It takes a lot of time for people to get behind the idea and there is still going to be… you are never going to do anything right. Personally, … this is my job armor: "this is never going to be right, and this is never going to be perfect." I mean that is really the only way … I often have meetings where people are unhappy or frustrated with what is going on and that is okay. It is their home, it is their right. Ideally, constantly that will change. It is all misinformation. So that is my other mechanism, to try to find as many different ways to get the right information out. Because people feel "oh, my neighbor is being pushed out"… okay, there are a few things happening right now …[108]

Diana described her struggles with trying to meet the needs of residents and appropriately communicate the necessary information so that residents could stay informed. She

---

[108] Personal interview with Diana, October 7, 2010, page 2.

characterized her inability to address every resident as being part of her role, which involved having to accept the basic notion that some residents were not going to be happy with the outcome. In her view, there was nothing she could do about that—it was merely part of the process. However, it is also interesting that she addresses residents' concern that people are being pushed out by attempting to explain the overall process ("okay, there are a few things happening right now..."). For her, it is a myth that people are being pushed out and she makes a strong effort to inform residents that it is not true.[109] Diana's reflections are an example of how communication was a central concern in the consultations.

Figure 11. Consultation poster at Lawrence Heights Community Open-House. Photo by author. Taken June 2011.

---

[109] See Appendix B 16 for related interview data from Chandra.
109

Communication was addressed in every interview. Residents, TCH representatives, city planners and representatives, and community stakeholders made reference to communication and consultation. In particular, three sub-themes emerged in relation to communication: circulation of information, transparency, listening, and recording.

a). Circulation of Information

Kayla explained a lack of communication in the consultation process:

And that becomes difficult if you haven't spoken and really communicated with everybody or as many people as possible and then I think just in general with Regent Park, like I can appreciate the consultation process. I really can. Because, yes you are getting feedback, but you have to inform as you're collecting information because you can't get really accurate or relevant information from people if you are not giving them some accurate and relevant information that they need as well.[110]

In this passage, Kayla argues that a lack of overall communication is a problem in the consultation process that led to residents not being able to engage in meaningful participation. Instead of referencing the lack of consultation or the *actual* claim that residents were not consulted, she argues that regardless of the level of consultation, residents were not informed about the details of revitalization and therefore could not be expected to be able to participate. Any communication or participation from residents, therefore, did not have the meaning or the substance it could.

This lack of circulation of information is also tied to the planner's earlier concern over transmitting information and translating in such a way that residents could understand, follow, and become engaged. As Kayla notes, "you have to inform as you're collecting information because you can't get really accurate information..." In this case, many residents informed me that their neighbors were unaware of meetings or

---

[110] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 12. For full text see Appendix B 17.

misinformed about activities that were going on. Although residents admitted that there were written memos and updates distributed throughout the community, they also suggested that Regent Park was an oral community, so people were less likely to follow updates online or through the mail.[111]

An active community leader in Lawrence Heights also confirmed this trend. He suggested that even though he worked in the community center and was the head of a leading youth organization in the neighborhood, he was unaware of the meetings and didn't know of people that were involved or attended. Furthermore, there were basic pieces of information about the revitalization process that were unclear to him.[112]

One community agency Executive Director, Andrea, who was recruited by TCH to help support the consultation efforts in Regent Park, described a shift in the effectiveness of the consultations. In the early stages, she describes them as "effective":

> My experience with TCH was that TCH and the City were, in my view, really effective in making sure that they consulted, in doing the best they could at that time when they were still in the approval process. That they engaged with the agencies and the community residents as best as they could. [113]

However, she then explains a shift in the nature of the consultation process:

> We have had situations, where things don't get communicated. TCH hasn't done thinking about who is going to come to those meetings and it's like they don't understand the community. We have been in situations where we find out about decisions that have been made that ... we find out about it afterwards.[114]

And in the context of the approval of the plan, Andrea explains:

> However, now that it has been approved and it has been rolled out things changed, terribly. Like a lot. And I understand that things change, because opportunities come up

---

[111] Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010; Personal interview with Chandra, Interview 10, September 23, 2010,
[112] Appendix B 3
[113] Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 6; For more, see Appendix B 18-19
[114] Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 12. See Appendix B 20 for full text.

that that were not seen. And all of it is about getting money to set up the resources. So there is not an inclusive approach to that kind of process.[115]

Andrea was precise in giving examples of how there was a breakdown of communication in the process. She even described meetings where residents were not adequately informed, there was not enough space, and there were no translators.[116] In relation to translation, she stated that this was an obvious requirement and long-standing rule of thumb when holding meetings in Regent Park. Translation is an example of how diversity is tied to the participation process—whereby diversity, something that is essential to the plans (Chapter 2), falls off the radar of revitalization. Although it is referenced in theory (e.g. in The Engagement Report), it is not actually valued in practice; the plan does not have to implement inclusion, it can simply signal participation and "diversity."

These examples are a testament to a lack of communication or the frustration among residents. However, as the previous section on power outlined, even though communication was seen as ineffective from the perspective of residents, residents still made meaning of their own subjectivity through formal channels of participation, regardless of how it was received by the planners.

Tamia, an animator in Lawrence Heights, described the difficulties of communicating necessary information to the community:

> I guess, at times it was easy for me because I am a people person, but at times it was challenging in the sense that, like, we are trying, like ... there are how many residents in LH? But I don't really feel like we get to the masses. Like it is the same people over and over again. What about the hidden youth? Like youth that don't really come out. I will talk to them when they come out but you never get these youth. At the same time, I don't feel that we reach, like, who needs to be reached. It is the people that is in the know. But I guess like people see that phase one is going to affect them and they will run out to a meeting and make some noise and stuff like that, but again, it is just the people that is in

---

[115] Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 14.

[116] Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 7-9.

the know. The regular people you will see but there is a lot of people who still don't know.[117]

Regent Park resident and community worker Chandra expressed similar sentiments:

> And we have had a history in the community where the people who were already in support of something, from the powers that be, were called to the meeting and then you see later that the community was consulted and dadadada, but you know that there were 20 people who tend to be ... or they pick people who are already working in that direction or the same people over and over and over again and you miss completely huge groups of populations that weren't even in the meeting and talking about things around young people and the youth with no youth there, you know and looking at the way we do things. You know, are meetings really accessible? And the challenge of having limited resources and high needs. Multi complex, layers upon layers upon layers of vulnerable, marginalized folks.[118]

For Tamia and Chandra, there was an overarching concern that not all residents were being reached in the consultations. In many residents' accounts, this was a result of a lack of circulation of information regarding the revitalization and the consultations. Despite TCH's and the City's claims that they employed many different formats to communicate information to residents, there were still concerns that certain residents were not reached and that information was not adequately circulated. Furthermore, interviewees expressed a concern that it was the same people who were being reached over and over again. In this regard, two agency workers and the residents I interviewed described the process as not being inclusive and blamed a lack of communication for this problem.

Democratic practice relies on the notion of participation and the freedom to be engaged as a citizen. However, there is an assumption that information is distributed in a way that enables people to participate in democratic processes. As Kayla highlighted, regardless of attempts to engage and consult residents, information was not sufficiently circulated and therefore residents could not adequately participate in the consultation

---

[117] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 5.

[118] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 4.

process. This example provides insights into how the planning process framed participation as civic engagement: it did not matter whether residents were informed or not, or whether information circulated to all residents, rather it was the performance of participation that proved a democratic process was underway, evoking civic participation.

b). Transparency

One critique of the revitalization by residents and agency staff was that there was a lack of transparency and open communication throughout the process. Chandra put it:

> I think one of the strongest things laying on my heart right now is around language. What I was saying earlier. That when we are spoken to, when we are given information that it is information that is concrete and understandable and that we can see it in practice. Just don't tell us good news. Be realistic, open, transparent. Transparency is huge to me. That is one of the things, I feel this entire process could have been far more transparent. So even with the communication that we did have, there was always still this sense that there was always something happening that we were not part of.[119]

Several other residents expressed a general mistrust of the consultations and the sense that not all information was being shared. One resident, Sheila, attributed secrecy and even deceit to the meetings:

> I found them very ... they weren't ... not much information. Like you could tell that there were secretly things ... that they didn't want to let out, like they didn't want to let it out to the press or something.[120]

While Sheila only attended one meeting, Chandra was very involved in the process. Regardless of their different positions in relation to the consultations, they both expressed skepticism about the information being distributed.[121] Benjamin recalled specific events during Lawrence Heights' consultations:

> There were consultations where one person spoke and held the podium and people came up with ideas but were not allowed to interact with one another or another where there were small working tables where people didn't get to interact and develop ideas at length.

---

[119] For full text, see Appendix B 21

[120] Personal interview with Sheila, September 22, 2010, page 5

[121] For more interview with data on transparency and communication, see Appendix B 22-27

So the structure of that planning process was flawed. It was top down. It was authoritarian. The minutes were not set by the community. The minutes were set by planning staff and quite frankly, there was an abuse of process. There were two meetings held back to back on consecutive evenings and they resulted in increasing divisiveness between owners and tenants. At the meeting which would be held for people who would most easily be described as independent homeowners, they were told that the laneways between Lawrence Heights and the communities to the east and west would not be opened. That they would be enhanced in terms of bicycle paths but that they would never be opened. The very next night the audience that was primarily comprised of tenants, they heard a different message. A block is being put on those laneways so that at a future time they could be made open. Another problem is that you need to understand is that many of the residents living in Lawrence Heights are a). not familiar with English and b). have two or three jobs, so the number of residents that are attending those meetings, notwithstanding that there were free food and beverages, notwithstanding the fact that there was day-care, was relatively small. A very, very, very small percentage.[122]

The issue with the laneways, described above, is a major point of contention between TCH residents in Lawrence Heights and Lawrence Manor. The redesign of the Lawrence Heights to be connected with the surrounding neighborhoods was was one of the primary requests from residents. However, as this interviewee suggests, differing information was presented to residents of Lawrence Heights and members of the surrounding communities. This difference in information produced increased tensions between the two communities. While residents of Lawrence Heights already felt disconnected from the residents of Lawrence Manor, this description of the circulation of differing information made the residents of both communities wary of the revitalization and their respective involvement/engagement in the consultations.

Thus, lack of transparency produced and furthered residents' skepticism about the consultations. For some residents, the concern over truthful and open information called into question the legitimacy of the consultations. Both a lack of circulation of information and transparency are two of three interconnected sub-themes related to communication in

---

[122] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 12, 2010, page 2.

the consultations. Listening and reporting is the final theme that characterizes ideas about communication in my interviews.
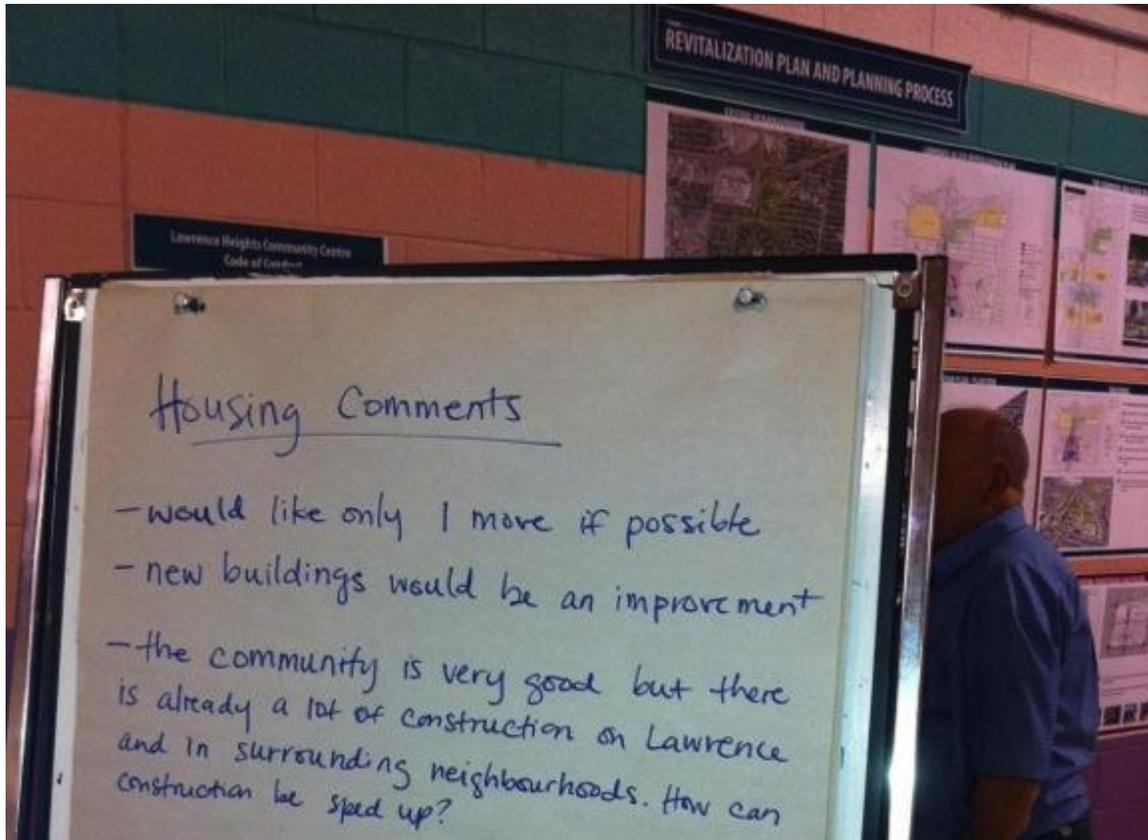
Figure 12. Consultation whiteboard at Lawrence Heights Community Open-House. Photo taken by author. June 2011

c). Listening and Reporting

Residents overwhelmingly told me that their voices were not heard in the planning process. In what ways do residents' views on the lack of substantive democratic engagement reflect a neoliberal incarnation of formalized (or "thin") democracy? Amatrii described her frustration at the reporting of one of the surveys. She helped to construct and distribute 500 surveys to residents in Lawrence Heights. However, when the City reported the findings, she felt discouraged and disheartened by the results. She reported

that many of the findings were not included in the report and that the data were misrepresented.[123] A resident and community activist in Lawrence Manor, Benjamin, also agreed that residents were not listened to: "We had a number of ideas. Would they all have worked? Maybe, maybe not. But they were not listened to."[124] Tamia explained this as well:

> I see a lot of information. Because I have been out there from the first stage, like drafting the original surveys. Like "what do you like about LH?" We talked about the greenery, the open space and stuff like that and people say ... I could go on and on and on ... but when you see the draft plans and stuff ... You can't really meet everybody's needs. *But the stuff that people want is not really taken into consideration…* But then, how do they select the final plan? I don't see how we had input in the final plan. At the end of the day I just think it was just the big wigs, they hear what we have to say but they have something up their sleeve. I don't feel that those meetings were effective.[125]

While Tamia made a strong case for the lack of listening and overall ineffectiveness of the meetings, Kayla, an animator in Lawrence Heights, expressed conflicting sentiments. Although Kayla consistently claimed that decisions were made over resident's heads,[126] she also argued that at times residents were heard:

> I would have to say yes, based on what we've seen so far. Housing has made a real commitment … and Housing more so than the City, has made a real commitment, a real, real commitment to do this work with the community ... So the preferred plan and then how they were going to go about phase one, and phase two, I can see that they really have been listening to what people have been saying to them, but definitely what the animators have been saying to them. So I can see in those kind of small, or different pieces they have been really listening to what people have been saying. But again we won't really know until things start to happen. You know, how much they have actually heard, but for now I would say, yes. They have done a good job. But then again, at the same time, hearing what the other communities who are also informed in this are saying, but I know that is a difficult part. To balance this and essentially try to keep as many people satisfied as possible. Not necessarily happy. But satisfied for the time being, as possible. So, yes, I'd say they've committed to that as well.[127]

---

[123] Personal interview with Amatrii, personal communication, December 2, 2010; The actual report she is referring to is the Draft-Community Priorities Framework-Lawrence Heights.

[124] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 12, 2010, page 5.

[125] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 3; my emphasis. See Appendix B 27 for full text.

[126] Appendix B 17.

[127] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 13.

Kayla suggested that residents were heard and their input was taken into consideration. In her view, TCH and the City made a commitment to effectively consult with residents. However, when read alongside Kayla's other comments, although residents were consulted, and their perspectives were listened to, there were other moments when Kayla described residents as powerless and characterized the decision-making process as happening over residents' heads.[128] There were thus many disjunctures both between residents and in individual residents own thinking about participation.

Greg, a community leader in Regent Park, described the complicated nature of communication, listening, and reporting:

> I think if you wanted to give an opinion, that it would reach the planners and the architects and the city. There were a lot of people who didn't want to give an opinion or didn't believe that it would be heard and therefore did not give an opinion. And those people were not heard. But that is the same as if in an election you don't vote, then you don't vote. That was their choice. Some people I guess were not comfortable in those settings and they might not have been heard. But if they knew somebody that was somewhat involved and you just walk up to them and talk to them and then to a large extent you were heard too.[129]

Greg's response begins with a very straightforward account that residents could provide input and it would be taken into consideration. However, he then describes the hesitation and resistance to participate by some residents who had preconceived ideas that their voices would not be heard. He frames participation as a "choice" by residents and attributes this choice to a lack of feeling of comfort in the official consultation settings. Alternating between residents' ability to offer input and their choice of whether to do so corresponds to a complex relationship between residents and planners in the revitalization. Some residents, in Greg's account, had strong enough conviction *not* to

---

[128] Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 6 and 12.
[129] Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, page 6.

participate because of a belief that they would not be heard. The choice to not participate is directly tied to listening and reporting because many residents, according to Greg, did not participate because their opinion would not be taken into account in the planning process. In the end, however, Greg still maintained that if residents wanted to voice an opinion, planners were willing to listen.

Communication and Participation: "We are often not very good communicators"[130]

Diana, who led the consultations in Lawrence Heights, commented on the struggles of effective communication:

> But I think we are often not very good communicators. And we often wonder why we don't take the time to say um, "I don't know. I'm not sure let me get back to you. Or we don't have an answer" … because we are under a lot of pressure to be really responsive to the community and then we make promises and we can't keep them...and then we should say, let's just be honest, "We can't do this, we tried our best, these are the reasons. We are doing this to mitigate and compensate, but we still have to move forward." We are not that good at that kind of stuff always. I think if we were better communicators, um, at just being…and also having faith to reason with the process, then I think we would save ourselves a lot of headaches. But that goes for everything in general and stuff. So we are trying to come up with solutions when all we have to do is say sorry.[131]

While Diana attempts to account for the obstacles to effective communication, residents like Benjamin questioned the attempt to remedy problems with communication by giving specific examples where there were breakdowns in communication or where the consultation process was not consultative:

> I was at one of the first meetings where they were talking about principles. Three different people stood up and said, "preservation is a principle." The next meeting people said what about that preservation, it is still not in your literature, (they said) "oh, no, no, no. It is here. We are just gathering it together". You will not find that word anywhere in the report. They were not listening. Now maybe that makes for expeditious planning when you have a very strong willed, dominant councillor. But it does not make for community planning. And the notion that there was any kind of legitimate planning, I reject wholly.[132]

---

[130] Personal interview with Diana, October 7, 2010, page 4.

[131] Personal interview with Diana, October 7, 2010, page 4-5.

[132] Personal interview with Benjamin, November 12, 2010, page 6.

Benjamin's comments critique how the planning process ignored certain input. He firmly asserted "you will not find that word [preservation] anywhere in the report" and "they are not listening." Benjamin identifies a breakdown in communication, which he then suggests made the planning process and consultations illegitimate.

Benjamin's account is an example of how consultations reflect the performance of participation. If communication is seen as a barrier to effective consultation on behalf of residents and planners, yet the consultations are continuously described as successful, then it does not much matter what or how ideas are communicated and if they make a difference. These matters are irrelevant if consultations are only evaluated by planners on behalf of individual participation. Residents, however, articulated the success of the consultations not on the grounds of how the information was communicated and received, but because people spoke up about matters that were important to the community and their everyday lives regardless of their belief in being heard or not. Both Kayla and Greg offer contradictory accounts about residents' communication and if their voices were "heard." This struggle over communication is one that demonstrates how residents conceptualized the consultation process and had differing ideas about whether or not to participate based on communication. Residents made meaning in differing ways in order to make sense of the processes at play. Residents' skepticism produced alternate understandings of the revitalization that highlights how citizenship is not just negotiated in terms of "meaningful participation" as characterized by the planners and is another unintended effect of the revitalization. Instead, residents' sense of participating or not, was about their own ideas of participation—regardless of how the planners framed consultations. In this way, participation, as a practice of democracy, can have effects that

empower people in ways that build community in differing ways. Here, residents' senses of empowerment are made meaningful on their own terms and don't necessarily have to do with multiculturalism, inclusion or "learning" how to be Canadian.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter investigates community consultations in the revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights. The emphasis on community engagement and participation make consultations an explicit democratic activity—one that positions residents as subjects vis-à-vis the nation-state. In this Chapter we see the emergence of two types of engagement and consultation that demonstrate a re-making of the nation-state: technical consultation (from the perspective of the planners) and politicized engagement (from the perspective of residents).

For planners, citizenship is equated with democratic participation in the consultation process. In this regard, if participation is performed, then democratic participation is taking place; however, the content of participation is "thin", because there is no specific expectation except that of participation. In fact, under this neoliberal articulation of democracy, consultation emerges as a procedural requirement versus a substantive democratic practice. Here, emphasis is on a ritual of participation that confirms and secures the neoliberal model of revitalization. It also does not necessarily require "listening" to those who participate. In fact, I conclude that residents were essentially ignored because even in examples where residents told me that their participation mattered, except for one case, they also told me that the plans did not take into account residents perspectives. Further, there is no definition of what it means to be

Canadian, except that it is associated with participation. Technical consultation reflects

the state by (a) viewing engagement as a mere opportunity (e.g. voting) and; (b) does not

necessarily require the transfer of decision-making power to participants. So, for

example, Marina, a Lawrence Heights TCH representative argued that civic engagement

and decision making was central to an ideal neighborhood:

> An ideal neighborhood is the people are ... Um that people have good housing, that they
> have adequate levels of the income, they have supports that they need. Um, and then it's a
> place where people are able to ... opportunities for civic engagement, opportunities for
> democratic participation in their lives. They have an opportunity for decision making on
> issues that affect them in their communities.[133]

Consultations are described as a way to promote "civic engagement" and "democratic

participation," similar to Diana's reference to "teaching" residents to be Canadian.

Consultation thus becomes a practice central to the making of democratic subjects

through the opportunity of participation; it does not, however, share power or control

between the state and subjects. It reflects the nation by "teaching" Canadian behavior

(Diana's insights that opened this chapter) and rituals of engagement to newcomer

communities. There is no assumption, however, that the Canadian polity would learn

something from these communities—this is only a one-directional relation.

Yet, participation challenges the nation-state (in theory), by the belief among

planners that the content of engagement and participation actually changes the policies

and planning documents. An analysis of planning documents and the interviews with

planners reflects a true belief (on the part of planners) in the virtues of consultation and

the impact of residents' participation on the plans.

---

[133] Personal interview with Marina, August 3 2010, page 2.

Residents' perspective, although diverse and often opposing, are contrasted to technical consultation as politicized engagement. Under politicized engagement, residents challenge normalizing state practices through cynicism about the likely impact of engagement (e.g. voter apathy) and also critique the process of consultation as democratic engagement. Tamia, however, did not necessarily agree that this participation was useful:

> But yes, they have the process in place, I'm not gonna lie. But at the end of the day is it reflective of what we want? I don't think so.[134]

In Tamia's view, the end product, regardless of the consultation process, was not reflective of residents' input. Beyond residents' cynical reaction, they also had a strong politicized response and reflected a model of empowered micro-politics at the community level, challenging the "normal" nation-state to allow more participation and engagement.

Chandra articulated the multiple levels of politicized engagement through what she called "community ownership:"

> Well, residents believed that we told you stuff and now we want to see it. And if we told you all this stuff and we are not seeing it than you did not really listen, it was just an exercise ... There are some places where residents don't feel that though their voices were provided that they were acknowledged. I will tell you that the community did not want to lose any RGI's and as those numbers change and this progression goes on, and it looks like the end of the build out the RGI population will only be 26% of the total. So, (laugh ...) developing trust and keeping engaged and really feeling that sense of presence that you were involved in the decisions, not just the discussions and then they went off and made the decisions.[135]

Chandra expresses a concern that if residents participated in the consultations, but their views were not listened to, then the consultations were just an "exercise" and did not shape the revitalization plan. Further, her comments about the total percentage of rent geared to income units, is tied to a commentary on the consultation process as a whole.

---

[134] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 10.

[135] Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 4-5.

That is, there were certain aspects of the revitalization that were pre-established and not included in the consultations; primarily this refers to the financial framework (mixed-income). This insight also helps us see how the pieces of the revitalization that were not consulted on (the diversity of incomes) happen to be the same ones that dominate the hierarchy of diversity alluded to in Chapter 2. It is then crucial to look closely at the centralization of state power and technologies of management.

Beyond Chandra's critique of the revitalization, her overall concern is that of community ownership. Consultations imply participation and residents having a voice in the revitalization and design of their community. For Chandra, the concept of community ownership is not solely about participation but involvement in a meaningful way that will actually implement change and allow residents to be actors in the decision making process.

Finally, politicized engagement also critiques a generic sense of belonging to the nation or equality among members of the nation-state. For example, one Lawrence Heights resident spoke at a Council meeting about the surrounding "Canadian neighborhoods." When I asked Hayuu what he meant by "Canadian," he responded,

> Canadian. When I say Canadian, we are all Canadians, but when you are isolated by a fence and you cannot walk to other neighborhoods, that means that you are not Canadian, you are confined and isolated and maybe some people just come from Africa and they are put here and they are still not Canadian even though by paper they have their citizenship, they cannot walk to every direction to other neighborhoods. So they are not integrated. They are not Canadian.[136]

And he also suggested, "If there is a healthy integration there would be participation of meetings together, children could play together. Then that is real participation. That is the

---

[136]Personal interview with Hayyuu, September 30th, 2010, page 6.

Canadian way, really."[137] Hayyuu describes participation and integration as the key to Canadianness and belonging to the nation-state. His comments reflect his acknowledgement of exclusion and the power dynamic between residents and other communities. As such, integration, for Hayyuu, is related to being integrated and not separated from other Canadians by a fence (a literal spatial marker of difference). Thus, for residents, there is a deep meaning to participation—regardless of the material outcome. While for Hayuu, and other residents they believe in the power of their participation in terms of technical consultation, other residents, such as Kayla and Ammatrii, view empowerment in politicized engagement because they can exercise their rights as residents; participation does not necessarily ensure the inclusion of voice, for residents, it is viewed as empowering.

Consultations and participation are tied to democracy and civic duty. However, as I argue, consultations do not necessarily make participation meaningful in the way that planners describe and often have the opposite effect of further marginalizing residents. Further, consultations can have the contradictory effect of empowering residents despite their exclusion. Residents articulate empowerment and a desire to participate whether or not the official consultation process values their participation. So it is through participation that residents can know and understand what is going on in their community, despite the fact that residents question how the City communicates with residents. Residents therefore make meaning of the planning process, in a different way than the City intends through technical consultation. For residents like Tamia, Sheila, Chandra, and Eva, because of politicized engagement, the consultations also give them

---

[137] Personal interview with Hayyuu, September 30th, 2010, page 6-7.

space to critique the overall revitalization process and the ways in which they are excluded on multiple levels. While the City describes the process as transparent, residents question transparency and participate to create their own understanding of the process.

In fact, residents accept that communication is not necessarily straightforward, so they find other ways to make it meaningful. For residents, this is about collaboration. It promotes a certain consciousness of community and the kinds of knowledge that comes out of the collective participation (e.g. community ownership); this is quite different from what is described by planners as empowerment.

Figure 13. "Every Act of Creation is First an Act of Destruction-Picasso
Graffiti on the wall of a parking lot barrier, hidden behind a large dumpster. On the north side of the wall sits "old" Regent Park and on the south side, the construction vehicles tearing down old buildings. Photo taken by author. Exact date unknown, 2010.

I think it is an incredible thing that TCH is doing. And everything has its challenges, right? And I think the community will be better. [But] I think that they have not cracked the problem of what you do when people live in poverty. Because you can dance it up and make it pretty on the outside, but those issues of violence and poverty are still there. So it is hidden better, but it is still there. So I think that is the real problem. I think that TCH is trying, but it takes a bigger thing than just TCH building a building.[138]

The summer of 2012 was filled with negative media attention concerning Regent Park ("Guns in downtown," 2012; If we don't invest," 2012; "Regent Park Revitalization," 2012). Unlike previous coverage of the neighborhood, however, one of the key questions posed by the media was the extent to which the violence in the community was tied to the revitalization. The link between gang violence and revitalization is something that Kayla, a Neptune community member (and animator in the Lawrence Heights revitalization) similarly reported. In both neighborhoods, revitalization undoubtedly caused conflict between TCH communities. In Lawrence Heights, it was a rivalry with Neptune, where a long-standing feud was further fuelled by resentment that Neptune residents were not going to benefit from revitalization. Kayla told me that this was escalating violence between the communities; this also came up at several community meetings I attended in the fall of 2010.[139] In the case of Regent Park, the escalation of violence made headlines when, on Saturday, June 2nd 2012, shots were fired in the busy food court of Canada's well-known shopping mall, the Toronto Eaton Center. The Eaton Centre is just 5 major city blocks from Regent Park and is often a place where youth gather. Six people were injured and one man, Ahmed Hassan—the person targeted by the gunman—was killed. Shortly after the shooting, a local news article reported that "[i]ssues like funding for youth workers, poverty, lack of

---

[138] Personal Interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 25.
[139] Personal interview with Kayla. October, 2010, page 6, 8, and 13.

opportunity, inadequate housing and perceptions of racial and class bias have been largely absent from news coverage."[140] Tied to these systemic causes of violence was the gang war between youth from Alexander Park (another TCH community) and Regent Park. Reports from police and media confirm that the revitalization was in fact catalyzing conflicts between the two neighborhoods because of the relocation process.[141] Because people were being moved to other TCH communities, competing gangs were put into closer contact with one another. A leader of a well-known organization in Regent Park, Andrea, confirmed the heightened violence and told me about the effects of the revitalization on this feud when I interviewed her in 2010—two years prior to the Toronto Eaton Center shooting.[142] While violence has certainly been an ongoing struggle in both Lawrence Heights and Regent Park, the safety issues that have developed as a result of revitalization call into question the idealistic and romanticized narratives around the revitalization of new communities.

These narratives were explored throughout this dissertation: diversity and a promotion of cultural acceptance, "eyes on the street" as a way to produce a sense of community, and community participation through consultation. This dissertation takes up these issues and links them to an overall remaking of the nation-state, bringing a critical lens to the relationship between local transformations and nation-state formation. Chapters 1 and 2 examine the national identity-making processes of revitalization and highlight dominant Canadian ideologies, including social citizenship and

---

[140] Toronto Star. June 9, 2012. *"Eaton Center shooting: Sic Thugs of Regent Park and the allure of gangs."*

[141] The Globe and Mail. June 4, 2012. "Eaton Center shooting suspect makes court appearance."

[142] Personal interview with Andrea. September 30, 2010, page 17. However, Andrea claimed that families were not relocated to Alexander Park in Phase One. She did say that they were located nearby and that contributed to the gun violence and gang turf war. It is unclear, but media reports cited the relocation as a cause of gang conflict in 2012, which means it is possible that residents were relocated there in Phase Two.

multiculturalism. Both are imagined as central markers of Canada's identity as an inclusive and equitable nation. In Chapters 3 and 4, I build from this discussion of national ideologies to investigate broader democratic subject-making practices that are central to revitalization: surveillance and community participation. Surveillance and consultation/participation are by no means solely features of the Canadian nation-state; in fact, they are signals of characteristic features of the modern democratic nation-state across contexts. However, in the revitalization of Lawrence Heights and Regent Park, we can see how they take on unique Canadian characteristics. Specifically, Canadian-oriented notions of diversity and multiculturalism permeate all aspects of the plan, including the mobilization of participation and surveillance. However, contemporary Canadian notions of diversity and multiculturalism are informed by neoliberal processes and privatize 'public' housing revitalization that frame the management of social difference as a matter of individual behaviors (i.e. participation) rather than community and inclusion. At the same time, residents bring meaning to these processes in ways that also transform the nation-state, based on their own understandings of belonging and their critiques of the state's limited vision of participation.

It is not only that ideas about the nation-state are embedded in and through urban processes, but also that both nation and state are reinforced and reshaped by narratives of urban revitalization. The ideological premises of the nation-state that are mapped onto the urban landscape are not coordinated or straightforward—there is much ambiguity in the uses of concepts like diversity, for example. Similarly, practices and concepts conceptualizations of surveillance and consultation shed light on the ways in which ideas about the nation-state are simultaneously reinforced and shifting. So while planners have

a great deal of power and reinforce normative conceptions of how the nation-state functions in the planning documents, residents participate in the process in ways that actually reinterpret some of these functions.

In Chapter 1, I explore the links between the management of urban space and the transformation of social citizenship. I argue that urban space and revitalization are a unique site to trace the reformation of social citizenship, whereby previous ideas about the state's responsibilities to promote social citizenship have transformed and embraced neoliberal principles. In Chapter 2, I explore how diversity, a central characteristic of Canadian identity, is negotiated to signal inclusion in urban space. In my investigation, I shed light on how diversity is mobilized to inscribe both neoliberal and multicultural ideals that center on the individual (e.g. entrepreneurism); I also show how not all types of diversity are deemed as desirable qualities by identifying shifting usages of diversity in the planning documents. In Chapters 3 and 4, I respectively look at surveillance and consultation, two key features of state formation (e.g. security and participation), to explore the complex ways in which they can provide insight into a remaking of the Canadian nation-state. While in Chapter 1 we can see how the nation-state in the mid-twentieth century was built on a promotion of inclusion and social citizenship, current revitalization policies shift to embrace neoliberal policies around housing and social support. In the context of urban revitalization, the privatization of public housing is justified by the role of inclusion through participation and the opportunity to be involved in state surveillance on the most minute of scales. The main point is that both participation and surveillance insist on the role of individuals in building community. However, as I argue, in both examples, residents also bring meaning to notions of

participation that do not necessarily align with how the planners understand surveillance and consultation.

The revitalization of Lawrence Heights is scheduled to begin in the spring of 2014. Regent Park is scheduled to be completed in 2019. In this dissertation, I argue that examining revitalization can shed light on broader transformations of the nation-state; understanding this transformation requires an analysis of the status of the communities prior to revitalization (including the planning process in Lawrence Heights). In both cases, there is no question that the quality of housing was/is in need of repair. In these material terms, revitalization presents a solution to a need for improved housing. However, residents continuously reminded me that neither a sense of community nor cultural diversity was lacking in these neighborhoods. The major shift, then, is the involvement of the City and TCH in redefining community and diversity as part of the revitalization project. By ethnographically documenting these shifting, contested notions of community and diversity, it becomes possible to track the ways that neoliberalism is inscribed into social relations and everyday life. I argue that the nation-state produces new forms of social difference, as is demonstrated by the disputes surrounding the revitalizations discussed above, at the same time that it purports to recognize and respond to that difference. An added layer of complexity is how residents make meaning of their everyday lives in relation to revitalization in complicated and sometimes contradictory ways. For example, in Chapter 4 I explore how a neoliberal model of participation that relies on the individual performance of participation creates a situation in which residents feel empowered to critique inequality and the state more broadly.

Although the way that diversity is articulated in the revitalizations is in an effort to promote inclusion through diversity and various forms of participation, residents claimed that community and diversity were never lacking. Instead, residents suggested that they were lacking access to resources as a means of inclusion. These contrasting notions of community and diversity are linked to conceptions of belonging and citizenship on multiple levels. The state's notion of diversity in fact becomes a way of reproducing marginalization through processes of revitalization. The exclusionary and ambiguous mobilization of diversity, the need to police diversity through surveillance, and the promotion of the value of diversity in participation are examples of how marginalization is reproduced in revitalization. My narrative focuses not only on this powerful redefinition of diversity, but also the processes through which residents rework their ideas about belonging and citizenship in ways that are not dictated by the state.

Beyond this negotiation, I wonder in what ways such transformations might also be crucial sites for the reconstitution of "multiculturalism" and "diversity" more broadly. Has the meaning of multiculturalism been fundamentally transformed in and through revitalization? Multiculturalism in Canada is understood as an inherent feature of Canadian society, but how does this presupposition miss the ways in which multiculturalism continues to evolve and shift alongside neoliberalism and nation-state formation? Future research is needed to explore this development. Additionally, scholarly work on the ways in which the nation-state and the local are reconstituted across time and space would help us to understand the how these processes are tied to everyday life and subjectivity, as well as how discourses and ideologies are transformed through these various interactions. In particular, feminist explorations of the gendered dynamics of

participation in urban politics and their relation to multiculturalism and neoliberalism would yield important insights.

Regent Park, in its original inception was deemed an "experiment" in social housing. The contemporary revitalization of Regent Park and Lawrence Heights demonstrates that social housing continues to be viewed as a site to "test," transmit, and entrench social, political, and economic ideals. As the late Neil Smith argues, revitalization is a contemporary feature of gentrification as an urban strategy that aligns with neoliberalism. He labels these revitalization developments as "landscape compounds" to indicate how housing is integrated with "shopping, restaurants, and cultural facilities (Vine 2001), open space, employment opportunities—whole new complexes of recreation, consumption, production, and pleasure, as well as residence" (Smith 2002: 443). Thus, the wealthy and middle-class colonization of the city involves more than simply housing. Instead, it is a process that brings together a range of actors under public-private partnerships. Indeed, this colonization is part of a "capital accumulation strategy for competing urban economies" where the free-market and competition swallow any efforts for social development and inclusion (Smith 2002:443).

As Tamia, a young single mother in Lawrence Heights articulated,

I want to preserve some of our heritage here ... like preservation. I guess it [revitalization] is going to happen. It has passed at Community Council and stuff like that. So more residents involved in the social planning [process]. But [it is] not just them sitting at a table to say, "oh we did have residents sitting at the table," but to really take their ideas into consideration and make it happen, you know? And stop using residents as pawns, man.[143]

---

[143] Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 14.

Tamia's sentiments echo the frustration some residents had about the revitalization and their treatment in the process. Although planners and city officials clearly saw consultation as one way to pre-empt arguments that the revitalization was top-down and heavily orchestrated by the city, residents' views often challenged this narrative and argued that the consultations were not legitimate forms of communication. As such, not only did they name the power structures at play, but in many cases they expressed an alternate vision, other possibilities, and overall, a general insight into the "reality" of the outcome: better housing is needed and welcome, but the extent to which it will change their everyday lives and experiences of poverty and marginalization are limited at best. These experiences of poverty and marginalization are directly tied to citizenship and belonging. What are the different ways in and levels on which residents can participate in defining and designing their own ideas about how they want to belong and be involved in nation-state formation? Challenging exclusionary models of Canadianness and gentrifying models of revitalization are one step towards responding to residents' needs and the ongoing reproduction of inequality.

Bibliography

"150 angry blacks crowd meeting to denounce treatment by police Community 'in state of siege' after police arrest 10 in sweep." (1986, October 30). *Toronto Star.*

Acrury, Thomas A. and Sara A. Quandt. (1999). "Participant Recruitment for Qualitative Research: A Site-Based Approach to Participant Recruitment in Complex Societies." *Human Organization* 58(2):128-133.

Agamben, Georgio. (2005). *State of Exception.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin. (2000). *After Multiculturalism*. The Foreign Policy Center.

Anderson, Benedict. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* London: Verso.

-------.(1998). *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. London: Verso.

Anderson, Perry. (1974). *Lineages of the Absolutist State.* London: Verso.

Arnstein, Sherry. (1969). "Ladder of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Planners* 5(4): 216–224.

Aristotle. (1996). *The Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Asad, Talal. (1973). *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. Ithaca: Ithaca Press.

August, Martine and Alan Walks. (2009). "From Social Mix to Political Marginalization? The Redevelopment of Toronto's public housing and the Dilution of Tenant Organizational Power" In *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth.* Gary Bridge, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees (eds.). Chicago: The Policy Press

August, Martine. (2008). "Social mix and Canadian public housing redevelopment: Experiences in Toronto.*" Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 22(1): 82-99.

Atkinson, Rowland and Gary Bridge, (eds). (2005). *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism.* London: Routledge.

Bacher, John Christopher. (1991). *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Balibar, Etienne and Immanuel Wallerstein. (1991). *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities.* London: Verso Press.

Bannerji, Himani. (2000). *The Dark Side of the Nation.* Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.

------ (ed.). (1991). *The Writing on the Wall: Essays on Culture and Politics.* Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Barclay, Harold. (2003). *The State*. London: Freedom Press.

Barrow, Clyde W. (1993). *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neomarxist, Postmarxist.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Bartleson, Jens. (2001). *The Critique of the State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benhabib, Seyla (ed). (1995). *Feminist Contentions.* New York: Routledge.

Berrey, Ellen C. (2005). "Divided Over Diversity." *City & Community,* 4, 143-170

Bingman, Amy, Lise Sanders and Rebecca Zorach. (2013). *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change and the Metropolis.* New York and London: Routledge

Bhabha, Homi. (1990). *Nation and Narration.* New York and London: Routledge.

Block, Fred. (197). *The Origins of International Economic Disorder: A Study of United States International Monetary Policy From World War II to the Present.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Braconi, Frank and Lance Freeman. (2004) "Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s." *Journal of the American Planning Association.* 70(1).

Bradford, Neil. (2007). "Placing Social Policy? Reflections on Canada's New Deal for Cities and Communities," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 16(2): 1–26.

Brenner, Neil. (2005). *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood.* New York: Oxford University Press.

-------. (2003). "Metropolitan Institutional Reform and the Rescaling of State Space in Contemporary Western Europe." *European Urban and Regional Studies,* Vol. 10(4): 297-324.

Brenner, Neil and Nik Theodore. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism.'" *Antipode* 34(3): 49-79.

Brubaker, Rogers. (1996). *Nationalism Reframed.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bucerius, Sandra and Sara Thompson. (2013). "What keeps young immigrant adults in Regent Park out of gang and drug-related activity?" Ceris—The Ontario Metropolis Center. http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/BUCERIUS-Regent-Park-FINAL.pdf

Butler, Judith. (2006). *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.

-------. (2010). *Frames of War*. London: Verso.

Carter, Tom. (2006). *Report on Urban Decline and Disinvestment*, Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, January 2006.

-------. (1991)."Neighborhood Improvement: the Canadian Experience" in *Neighborhood Regeneration: An International Evaluation*. Rachelle Alterman and Goran Cars (eds.). London and New York: Mansell Publishing.

Carver, Humphrey. (1946). "Memorandum on the Regent Park Housing Project." Toronto: Toronto Reconstruction Council.

Cashmore, Ernest and Eugene McLaughlin. (1991). *Out of Order: Policing Black People*. London: Routledge.

Castells, Manuel. (2002). "Conclusion: Urban Sociology in the Twenty-first Century." In Ida Susser (ed.), *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Caufield, John. (1994). *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Chatterjee, Partha. (2003). "Anderson's Utopia. In *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*. Pheng Cheah and Jonathan Culler (eds). New York and London: Routledge.

Chambers, Robert. (1994). "The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal". *World Development* 22(7): 953-969.

-------. (1983). "Participation in the farmer-owned Reserve Program: A Discrete Choice Model." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. 65(1):120-124.

Cheah, Pheng. (2003). "Grounds of Comparison." In *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson*. Pheng Cheah and Jonathan Culler(eds). New York and London: Routledge.

-------. (1999). " Spectral Nationality." Boundary2. 26(2): 226-227.

Cicero. (1991). *On Duties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

City of Toronto. (2011). Lawrence Allen Secondary Plan (Official Plan Amendment #162).

-------. (2010). "Lawrence Allen Revitalization Plan."

-------.Neighborhood Profiles. Accessed July 13, 2010. http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/cns_profiles/cns72.htm

-------. (2010). Lawrence Heights Revitalization—Corporate Implementation Actions and Social Development Plan" June 8, 2010. From Executive Director, Social Development, Finance and Administration Division.

-------. (2010). Summary Report—Open House and Workshops February and March 2010. Accessed January 18, 2012. http://www.toronto.ca/planning/pdf/lawrenceallen_meeting_summary_report_Feb Mar2010.pdf

-------. (2012). "Lawrence Heights Redevelopment-Phase 1: 1-29 &111-113 Bagot Court, 1-87 Bredonhill Court, 41-119 Varna Drive, 1-78 Cather Crescent, 1 Leila Lane, 1-11 &15-45 Zachary Court and 215-251 Ranee Avenue. Official Plan Amendment and Rezoning Application—Preliminary Report." From: Director, Community Planning, North York District. To: North York Community Council.

-------.(2008). Lawrence-Allen Revitalization Area Profile, March 2008. Urban Design Profile. Accessed January 18, 2013. http://www.toronto.ca/planning/pdf/lawrence_allen_finalreport_pt2.pdf

-------. (2007) . "Lawrence Heights Revitalization—Initiate Preliminary Planning. From: Affordable Housing Committee." To: Deputy City Managers, Cluster A and B.

-------. (2002). "Regeneration in the King's: Direction and Emerging Trends." Urban Development Services, City Planning Services, November 2002. Accessed December 29, 2007. http://www.toronto.ca/planning/pdf/kingsmonit.pdf.

-------. (1947). By-Law No. 17080: To Confirm the undertaking of Regent Park Housing Project (North Plan). November 10, 1947.

Cooke, Bill and Uma Kothari. (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London: Zed.

Cowen, Debora. (2007). "National Soldiers and the War on Cities." *Theory & Event* 10(2).

-------. (2005). "Welfare Warriors: Towards a Genealogy of the Soldier Citizen in Canada." *Antipode* 37(4): 654-678.

Crenshaw, Kimberle, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller and Kendell Thomas. (1996). *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement.* New York: New Press.

"Crime increase worries public housing authority." (1994, January 18). *Toronto Star.*

Dávila, Arlene. (2004). *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos and the Neoliberal City.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Davis, Mike. (2006). *Planet of the Slums*. New York: Verso.

-------. (1990). *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Vintage Books.

Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic (eds). (2001). *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction.* New York: New York University Press.

Doucet, Michael J. (2001). The Anatomy of an Urban Legend: Toronto's Multicultural Reputation. http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html (accessed September 19, 2009).

"Don't blame me; work with me Black community is not to blame for Just Desserts shooting." 1994, April 19. *Toronto Star,.*

Dupuis, Jean. (2003). *Federal Housing Policy: A Historical perspective*. Ottawa: Parliamentary Research Branch.

Duzsa, Karl. (1989). "Max Weber's Conception of the State." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*. 3(1): 71-105.

"Eaton Center shooting: Sic Thugs of Regent Park and the allure of gangs." (2012, June 9). *Toronto Star.* Accessed January 21, 2013. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/article/1208745--eaton-center-shooting-sic-thugs-of-regent-park-and-the-allure-of-gangs

"Eaton Center shooting suspect makes court appearance. (2012, June 4). *The Globe and Mail*. Accessed January 21, 2013. http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/eaton-center-shooting-suspect-makes-court-appearance/article4228234/?service=mobile

Edward-Galabuzi, Grace. (2006). *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc.

Eldon, Stuart. (2002). "The War of Races and the Constitution of the State: Foucault's *«Il faut défendre la société»* and the Politics of Calculation." *boundary 2*, 29(1): 125-51.

Emerson, Robert, Rachel Fretz, and Linda Shaw. (1995). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Epp, Gayle. (1996). "Emerging strategies for revitalizing public housing communities." *Housing Policy Debate* 7 (3): 563-88.

Fanon. Frantz. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks.* New York: Grove Press.

-------. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove Press.

Fainstein, Susan. (2005). "Cities and Diversity: Should we want it? Can we plan for it?" *Urban Affairs Review* 41(1), 3-19.

Fennell, Catherine K. (2009). "The Last Project Standing: Building an Ethics for the City without Public Housing." Dissertation. University of Chicago.

Fisk, Milton. (2005). "Multiculturalism and Neoliberalism." *Praxis Filosofica,* 21: 21-28.

"Flatten park's hills used as hideouts, Yorkdale group asks." (1984, July 24). *The Globe and Mail*.

Flint, Colin (ed.). (2004). *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.* New York: Routledge.

Florida, Richard. (2003). "Cities and the Creative Class." *City and Community* 2(1), 3-19.

-------. (2002). *The Rise Of The Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure.* New York: Basic Books.

Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power/Knowledge.* New York: Vintage Books.

-------. (1977). *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. D. F. Bouchard and S. Simon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Friedman, Milton. (1990). *Free to Choose.* New York: Harvest Books, Harcourt Inc.

Frisken, Frances. (2002). "The Toronto Story: Sober Reflections on Fifty Years of Experiments with Regional Governance." *Journal of Urban Affairs.* 25(5): 513-541.

"Former Metro Planner Says Public Housing a 'Ridiculous Giveaway,'" (1956, March 2). *The Globe and Mail*.

Fyfe, Nicholas. (2004). "Zero Tolerance, Maximum Surveillance? Deviance, Difference and Crime Control in the Late Modern City." In *The Emancipatory City.* Loretta Lees (ed.) London: Sage.

Garb, Margaret. (2005). *City of American Dreams. A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871-1919.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Gibson, K. (1998). "Social Polarization and the Politics of Difference: Discourses in Collision or Collusion? In *Cities of Difference*. R. Fincher and J.M. Jacobs (eds.). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Giddens, Anthony. (1985). *The Nation-State and Violence.* California: University of California Press.

Gilbert, Felix (ed). (1975). *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goldberg, David Theo. (2009). *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism.* Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

-------. (1993). *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning.* Malden (MA) and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Graham, Stephen. (2010). *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism.* London: Verso.

Gramsci, Antonio. (1971). *Selections form the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Goffrey Nowell Smith. Lawrence and Wishart: London.

Goonewardena, Kanishka and Stefan Kipfer. (2005). "Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(3):670-678.

"Guns in downtown Toronto produce shock; in Regent Park, shrugs." (2012, June 5). *The Globe and Mail*. Accessed June 8, 2012. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/guns-in-downtown-toronto-produce-shock-in-regent-park-shrugs/article4234044/

Hackworth, Jason. (2008). "The durability of roll-out neoliberalism under center-left governance: the case of Ontario's social housing sector." *Studies in Political Economy*, vol. 81.

-------. (2007). *The Neoliberal City: Governance, ideology, and Development in American Urbanism.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Hackworth, Jason and Abigail Moriah. (2006). "Neoliberalism, contingency, and urban policy: the case of social housing in Ontario." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 30(3): 510-527.

Hackworth, Jason and Josephine Rekers. (2005). "Ethnic Packaging and Gentrification" *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(2): 211-236.

Hackworth, Jason and Neil Smith. (2001). The Changing State of Gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie.* 92(4): 464-477.

Halberstam, J. Jack. (1998). *Female Masculinity.* North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Hall, Peter. (1996). *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. 2nd edition. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Hall, Stuart. (2000). 'Conclusion: The Multicultural Question' in B. Hesse (ed) *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms.* London: Zed Books.

-------. (1992). "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power." In *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*. Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson (eds.). Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.

"Hard keeping lid on bold housing experiment Stress, decay, crime frustrate policy to house people in direst need." (1990, November 20). *Toronto Star.*

Hart, Gillian P. (2008). "The Provocations of Neoliberalism: Contesting the Nation and Liberation After Apartheid. *Antipode* 40(4):678-705

------. (2002). *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Los Angeles and Berkley: University of California Press.

Harvey, David. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

-------. (2008). *The Right to the City*. *New Left Review* 53.

Hayek, Friedrich. (2007). *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heynen, Nik, James McCarthy, Scott Prudham, and Paul Robbins. (2007). *Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences.* New York: Routledge.

Heynen. Nik, Maria Kaika and Erick Swyngedouw. (2006). *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism.* New York: Routledge.

Hickey, S. and Mohan, G. (eds.). (2004). *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development*, London: Zed Books.

Hirst, Paul Q. (1994). *The Pluralist Theory of the State: Selected Writings of G.D.H. Cole, J.N Figgis, and H.J. Laski*. London and New York: Routledge.

"Housing authority loses bid to evict drug dealer's mother." (1988, February 12). *The Globe and Mail*.

Howitt, Richard. (1993). "A World in a Grain of Sand': Towards Reconceptualization of Geographical Scale. *Australian Geographer*. 24:33-44.

Hulchanski, J. David. (2006). "What Factors Shape Canadian Housing Policy? The Intergovernmental Role in Canada's Housing System." In Canada: The State of the Federation, Municipal, Federal, Provincial Relations in Canada 2004. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

-------. (2004). "How Did We Get Here? The Evolution of Canada's Exclusionary Housing System, Finding Room: Policy Options for a Canadian Rental Housing Strategy, J.D. Hulchanski and M. Shapcott, (eds.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

-------. (2002). Housing Policy for Tomorrow's Cities. Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN). Discussion Paper F 27.

If we don't invest now, in so-called priority neighborhoods, we will all pay more in the long run." (2012, July 21). *The Globe and Mail*. Accessed July 23, 2012. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/if-we-dont-invest-now-in-so-called-priority-neighborhoods-we-will-all-pay-more-in-the-long-run/article4431971/

Irigaray, Luce. (1993). *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Isin, Engin F. (2008). *Recasting the Social in Citizenship*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

-------. (2005). "Citizenship after orientalism: Ottoman citizenship." In *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. Keyman, Fuat and Icduygu, Ahmet (eds.). UK: Routledge.

Jacobs, Jane M. (1996). *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. New York: Routledge.

Jacobs, Jane. (1992). (originally published 1961). *The Life and Death of Great American Cities.* New York: Vintage Books.

James, Carl. (1998). "Up to no good": Black on the streets and encountering police. In V. Satzewich (ed.). *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada*, pp.157-178. Toronto: Thompson.

Jessop, Bob. (2002). "Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective." *Antipode* 34:452-72.

-------. (2002). The Future of the Capitalist State. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

-------. (1990). *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place*. Cambridge: Polity.

Jorgenson, Marianne and Louise Philips. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method.* London: Sage.

Joseph, Mark L. And Robert J. Chaskin, Henry S. Webber. (2007). "The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty through Mixed-Income Development" *Urban Affairs Review,* 42 (3), 369-409.

"Just Desserts case developed into strange trip for all involved." (1999, May 1). *The Globe and Mail*.

Kapoor, Ilan. (2005). "Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire." *Third World Quarterly*, 26(8): 1203-1220.

-------. (2004). "Hyper-Self-Reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World 'Other'." *Third World Quarterly*, 25(4): 627-647.

-------. (2004). "The Power of Participation," *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 6(2): 1-5.

Keil, Roger and Stefan Kipfer. (2002). "Toronto Inc? Planning the Competitive City in the New Toronto." *Antipode,* 227-264.

Keil, Roger. (2002). ""Common–Sense" Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto, Canada." *Antipode*. 34(3): 578-601.

Kipfer, Stefan and Jason Petrunia. (2009). "Recolonization and Public Housing: A Toronto Case Study". *Studies in Political Economy,* 83:111-139.

Kleinhans, Reinout. (2004). Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: A review of recent literature. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*" 19(4): 367-390.

"Knocking down 'Jungle' walls at Lawrence Heights." (2007, July 15). Accessed July 13, 2010.
http://network.nationalpost.com/np/blogs/toronto/archive/2007/07/15/knocking-down-jungle-walls-at-lawrence-heights.aspx

Kobayashi, Audrey. (1993). "Multiculturalism: representing a Canadian institution" in J. Duncan and D. Ley (eds.), *Place/culture/representation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kuus, Merje and John Agnew. (2008). "Theorizing the State Geographically: Sovereignty, Subjectivity, Territoriality" in *The Sage Handbook of Political Geography*, Kevin R. Cox, Murray Low, Jennifer Robinson (eds). London: Sage Publications.

Kymlicka, Will. (1996). *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

-------. (2000). *Politics in the Vernacular*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will and Christine Straehle. (1999). "Cosmopolitanism, nation-states, and minority nationalism: A critical review of recent literature." *European Journal of Philosophy* 7 (1):65–88

Larner, Wendy. (2000). "Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality." *Studies in Political Economy.* 63:5-21.

Lawrence Heights Grassroots Community Priorities for Revitalization. November 2008. Lawrence Heights Health Centre. BePart.

"*Lawrence Heights residents object to CMHC plan.*" (1991, April 18). *Toronto Star.*

Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly. (2008). *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, Henri. (1992). *The Production of Space.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

Lemke, Thomas. (2000). Foucault, Governmentality and Critique. Paper presented at the Rethinking Marxism Conference, University of Amherst (MA), September 21-24, 2000.

Lipsitz, George. (2006). "Learning from New Orleans: The Social Warrant of Hostile Privatism and Competitive Consumer Citizenship." *Cultural Anthropology 21*(3): 451-468.

Londoño, Johana. (2010). "Latino Design in an Age of Neoliberal Multiculturalism: Contemporary Changes in Latin/o American Urban Cultural Representation.

Identities." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power Journal* 17(5) (Sept.-Oct.): 487-509

Londoño, Johana and Arlene Dávila, ed. (2010). "Race and the Cultural Spaces of Neoliberalism." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power Journal* 17(5) (Sept.-Oct.): 455-457.

"The lowdown on the Heights: Residents of a poor community with a reputation for crime want to lay the stereotypes to rest." (1994, April 26). *The Globe and Mail*.

Machiavelli. (1988). *The Prince*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-------. (1984). *Discourse on Livy*. New York: Penguin Classics.

Mackey, Eva. (2002). *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mackinnon, Catherine. (1996). *Only Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

-------. (1991). *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mann, Steve, Jason Nolan and Barry Wellman. (2003). "Sousveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computer Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments." *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 331-355.

Marshall, T H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"Massive Lawrence Heights redevelopment gets council approval: Mayoral candidate Ford objects to project; Moscoe gets standing ovation after vote." *The Globe and Mail*, July 6, 2010. Accessed July 13, 2010. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/toronto/massive-lawrence-heights-redevelopment-gets-council-approval/article1630783/

Massey, Doreen. (2004). "Geographies of Responsibility." *Geografiska Annaler* 86:5-18.

-------. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press;

Martin, Biddy and Chandra Mohanty. (1986). "Feminist Politics: What's Home Got to do with it?" In *Feminist Studies/Critical Studes*, Teresa de Laurentis (ed.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Meagher, Sean and Tony Boston. (2003). "Community Engagement and the Regent Park Redevelopment. Community Engagement Team Report, July to December 2002." Public Interest Strategy and Communications.

McClintock, Anne. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, Sexuality and the Colonial Conquest.* New York: Routledge.

McCready, A.L. (2009). "Redressing Redress: The Neoliberal Appropriation of Redress in the Anti-Native Backlash at Caledonia." *English Studies in Canada* 35.1 (special issue on "Reconciling Canada" eds. Pauline Wakeham and Jennifer Henderson), Spring 2010.

McClusky, Martha. (2002). "Efficiency and Social Citizenship: Challenging the Neoliberal Attack on the Welfare State." *Indiana Law Journal* 78:799-872.

McKitttrick, Katherine. (2006). *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Miraftab, Faranak. (2004). "Public Private Partnerships: The Trojan Horse of Neoliberal Development." *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* 24(1): 89-101.

Milgrom, Richard. (2003). "Representing Regent: Design and Redesign (and Redesign…) of Canada's First Public Housing Project", *Sustaining Diversity: Participatory Design and the Production of Urban Space.* (PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University).

Mitchell, Don and Lynn Staeheli. (2008). *The People's Property: Power, Politics, and the Public.* London: Routledge.

Modood, Tariq. (2007). *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mongia, Radhika. (2012). "Interrogating Critiques of Methodological Nationalism: Propositions for New Methodologies" in *Beyond Methodological Nationalism* Anna Amelina, Devrimsel D. Negriz, Thomas Faist and Nina Glick Schiller (eds). New York: Routledge

Nelson, Jennifer. (2002). "The Space of Africville: Creating, Regulation, and Remembering the Urban Slum" in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unsettling a White Settler Society,* Sherene Razack (ed.). Toronto: Between the Lines.

Newman, Oscar. (1972). *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan

Nicholls, David. (1994). *The Pluralist State: The Political Ideas*. London: Palgrave McMillan.

Nozick, Richard. (1974). *Anarchy, State, and Utopia.* New York: Basic Books.

Oberlander, H. Peter and Arthur L. Fallick. (1992). *Housing a Nation: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy*. Prepared by Center for Human Settlements, The University of British Columbia *for* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Ong, Aihwa. (2006). *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Ontario Planning Act (1990). Accessed July 13, 2014. http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/statutes/english/elaws_statutes_90p13_e.htm

Oxford English Dictionary and Thesaurus. (2007). 2nd edition.

Panitch, Leo. (2000). "The New Imperial State." *The New Left Review* 2.

Panitch, Leo and Sam Gindin. (2004). *Global Capitalism and American Empire*. London: Merlin Press.

Pateman, Carole. (1975). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peter Barnard Associates and Proctor and Redfern Limited. (1975). *Revitalizing Ontario's Downtowns: Guidelines for a New Program*. Municipal Planning Consultants Co. LTD. September 24, 1975.

Peck, Jaimie, Nic Theodore and Neil Brenner. (2009). "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways." *Antipode* 10(2) 182:222.

Peck, Jaime, and Adam Tickell. (2002). "Neoliberalizing Space," *Antipode*, 34(3): 380-404.

Peters, Ralph. (1996). "Our Soldiers, Their Cities," *Parameters*. Spring, 43.

Pettman, Jan Jindy. (1996). *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. Oxford: Taylor and Francis.

Phillips, Marianne and Louise Jørgensen. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications.

"Play on crack hits home." (1990, July 12). *Toronto Star.*

Pocock, JGA. (2003). *Machiavellian Moment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Poggi, Gianfranco. (1990). *The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

"Police see rise of violent interference in arrests 'It's a sign of the times,' officer says of mob attack in which nine Metro Toronto officers hurt." (1995, November 22). *The Globe and Mail*.

Poulantzas, Nicos Ar. (2000). *State, Power, Socialism*. London: Verso.

Povenelli, Elizabeth. (2002). *The Cunning of Recognition*: *Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Purdy, Sean. (2005). "Framing Regent Park: the National Film Board of Canada and the Construction of Outcast Spaces in the Inner City, 1953 and 1994," *Media, Culture and Society,* 27(4) 523-549.

-------. (2004). "By the People, For the People: Tenant Organizing in Toronto's Regent Park Housing Project   in the 1960's and 1970's," *Journal of Urban History,* (30(45): 519-548.

-------. (2003a). "Ripped off by the System: Housing Policy, Poverty and Territorial Stigmatization in Regent Park Housing Project, 1951-1991.*" Labour*, 53:43-108.

-------. (2003b). *From Place of Hope to Outcast Space: Territorial Regulation and Tenant Resistance in Regent Park Housing Project, 1945-2000.* PhD Dissertation. Department of History, Queen's University.

-------. (1998). "Building homes, building citizens: Housing reform and nation formation in Canada, 1900-20." *Canadian Historical Review*, 79.

"Pushers ousted from public housing 65 families linked to drug dealing." 1988, October 17. *Toronto Star*.

Putnam, Robert. (2001). *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster books.

"Racial tension prompts move." (1984, July 19). *The Globe and Mail*.

Ramos-Zayas, Ana. (2003). *National Performances: The Politics of Class, Race and Space in Puerto Rican Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rapheal, David et. al. (1999). "The Community Quality of Life Project: A Health Promotion Approach to Understanding Communities".

Rawls, John. (2005). *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

-------. (1999). *Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Razack, Sherene, Malinda Smith and Sunera Thobani. (2010). *States of Race: Critical*

Race Feminism for the 21st Century. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Razack, Sherene. (2008). *Casting Out: Race and the Eviction of Muslims From Western Law and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

-------. (2004). *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism*. University of Toronto Press.

-------. (ed). (2002). *Race, Space, and the Law: Unsettling a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

"Regent Park back on the drawing board A Toronto housing experiment 50 years ago that became a social disaster is getting a second chance." (1997, May 22). *The Globe and Mail*.

Regent Park Collaborative Team. (2002). The Regent Park Revitalization Study.

"Regent Park Revitalization: Has it created an us versus them." (2012, June 16). *Toronto Star*. Accessed June 16, 2012. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2012/06/16/regent_park_revitalization_has_it_created_an_us_versus_them_dynamic.html

Roberts, Peter and Hugh Sykes. (2000). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Robinson, Matthew B. (1996). "The Theoretical Development of CPTED" 25 Years of Responses to C. Ray Jeffery". Appears in:*Advances in Criminological Theory, Vol. 8.*

Rose, Albert. (1980). *Canadian Housing Policies, 1935-1980.* Toronto: Butterworths.

-------. (1972). *Governing Metropolitan Toronto: A Social and Political Analysis, 1953-1971.* Berkley: University of California Press.

-------. (1958). *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rose, Nikolas and Peter Miller. (1992). "Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government." *British Journal of Sociology*, 43(2): 173-205.

Rosenbaum, Dennis. (1987). "The Theory and Research Behind Neighborhood Watch: Is it a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy?" *Crime & Delinquency*, 33(1), 103-134.

Sandel, Michael. (1998a). *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-------. (1998b). *Democracy's Discontent*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sandercock, Leonie. (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities*. New York: Continuum.

Sanders, Heywood T. (1980). "Urban Renewal and the Revitalized City: A Reconsideration of Recent History." *Urban Affairs Annual Reviews*, 18, 103-126.

Saunders, Peter. (1985). "Space, the City and Urban Sociology" in Derek Gregory and John Urry (eds). *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*. London: Palgrave McMillan.

Sassen, Saskia. (2003). "Towards post-national and denationalized citizenship," in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (eds.) New York: Sage.

Schweitzer, John, June Woo Kim, and Juliette R. Mackin. (1999). "The Impact of the Built Environment on Crime and Fear of Crime in Urban Neighborhoods" *Journal of Technology* 6(3):59-73.

Sewell, John. (1994). *Houses and Homes: Housing for Canadians*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.

-------.(1993). *The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Shapcott, Michael. (2001). "Made in Ontario Housing Crisis" Technical Paper 12 Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives. Accessed May 15, 2010 http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Ontario_Office_Pubs/housing_crisis.pdf

Sheeran, Patrick. (1987). *Women, Society, the State, and Abortion: A Structuralist Analysis*. New York: Praeger.

Skinner, Quentin. (2012). *Liberty Before Liberalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-------. (1978). *Foundations of Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skocpol, Theda. (1985). "Bringing the State Back In: Current Research" in *Bringing the State Back In*, Peter B. Evans, et. al. (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slater, Tom. (2005). "Gentrification in Canada's Cities: From Social Mix to Social Tectonics". In R. Atkinson and G. Bridge (eds) *Gentrification in a Global Context.* London: Routledge.

------. (2004). Municipally-Managed Gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto. *The Canadian Geographer* 48(3): 303–325.

Smith, Janet. (2002). "HOPE VI and New Urbanism: Eliminating Low-Income Housing to Make Mixed-Income Communities." *Planners Network,* 151: 22-25.

-------. (1999). "Cleaning up Public Housing by Sweeping out the Poor." *Habitat International,* 23(1): 49-62.

Smith, Neil. (2003). "Foreword" in *The Urban Revolution*, Henri Lefebvre. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

-------. (2002). "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy" *Antipode* 34 (3), 427–450.

-------. (1979). "Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People." *Journal of the American Planning Association,* 45(4): 538-548

Smock, Kristina. (2004). *Democracy in Action: Community Organizing and Urban Change.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Spalding, Ashley E. (2008). "Race, Class, and Real Estate: Neoliberal Policies in a Mixed-Income Neighborhood." Dissertation. University of South Florida.

Statistics Canada. (2006). Census Tract Profile 0287.1 http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-597/P3.cfm?CTuid=5350287.01&Lang=E (Lawrence Heights East)

-------. (2006). 2006 Census tract profile 0286.00 (CT), Toronto (CMA) and Ontario; http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-597/P3.cfm?CTuid=5350286.00&Lang=E

Sterling, Mark and Lorne Cappe. (2009). "Lawrence Heights: A Model Neighborhood." A paper presented at "City Futures 2009: An international conference on globalism and urban change" Madrid, Spain, June 2-6, 2009.

Svallfors, Stefan. (2007). *The Political Sociology of the Welfare State: Institutions, Social Cleavages and Orientations.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Tator, Carol and Frances Henry. (2006). *Racial Profiling: Challenging the Myth of 'a few bad apples.'* University of Toronto Press: Buffalo.

Taylor, Harry. (2001). "Introduction into Participation from Critical Management and Labour Process Perspectives. In Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London: Zed.

Taylor, Charles. (1994). *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

-------. (1992). *Sources of the Self*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

"TCH Tenants: Watch out for Public Interest." (April 10, 2011). *Basics News.* Accessed January 15, 2012. http://basicsnews.ca/2011/04/TCH-tenants-watch-out-for-%E2%80%98public-interest%E2%80%99/

Teelucksingh, Cheryl (ed.). (2006). *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier Press.

Thobani, Sunera. (2007). *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Toon, Ian. (2000). "Finding a Place in the Street": CCTV Surveillance and young peoples' use of public space", in D. Bell and A. Haddour (eds). *City Visions*. Harlow: Longman.

Toronto Community Housing Corporation. . Regent Park Community Planning Principles. Accessed January 14, 2013. http://www.torontohousing.ca/about_regent_park_revitalization

-------. Toronto Community Housing Community Management Plan 2010-2012. Accessed January 18, 2013. http://www.torontohousing.ca/webfm_send/6455

-------. "Regent Park Social Development Plan: Executive Summary" September, 2007, Accessed December 29, 2007. http://www.regentpark.ca/documents/RPSummarySept16_000.pdf

-------. "Lawrence Heights Revitalization." Accessed: November 20, 2009. http://torontocommunityhousing.ca/investing_buildings/lawrence_heights_revitalization

-------. "Social Development Plan." Part 1: Context: 2.1 A History of Social and Cultural Change in Regent Park. September, 2007.

-------. *Report on the Regent Park Revitalization Study*. Toronto Community Housing Corporation, no. 200330. April 28, 2003.

-------. *Toronto Community Housing Annual Review, 2002.*

-------. (2004). *Toronto Community Housing Annual Review, 2004.*

Toronto Development Dept., Research and Information Division. (1972). "Canada's Premier Housing Redevelopment Project."

 "Toronto to revitalize Lawrence Heights area." (February 25, 2010). Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.   Accessed March 23, 2010. http://www.cbc.ca/canada/toronto/story/2010/02/25/toronto-lawrence-heights-plan.html

"Toronto's 3 failings According to the OECD." (2009, November 10). Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Accessed March 23, 2010. http://www.cbc.ca/canada/toronto/story/2009/11/10/toronto-oecd-weaknesses.html

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. (2003). *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. (2003). "Excellence, leadership, skills, diversity: marketing liberal arts education." *Language & Communication* 23 (3-4): 385-408

-------. (2008). "Skills and Selves in the New Workplace." *American Ethnologist.* 35(2), 211-228.

Valverde, Mariana. (2008). "The Ethic of Urban Diversity: Urban Law and Local Norms." *Law and Social Inquiry.* 33(4), 895-923.

Van Leeuwen, Theo. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Maanen, John. (1988). *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography.* Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Walks, Alan. (2009). "The Urban in Fragile, Uncertain, Neoliberal Times: Towards New Geographies of Social Justice." *The Canadian Geographer* 53(3): 345-356.

Wallace, Anthony F. (1956). "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 58 no. 2 (1956): 264-281.

Wallerstein. Emmanuel. (1974). "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16(4):387:415.

-------. (1980). *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750.* New York: Academic Press.

Weber, Max. (1968). *Economy and society.* Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (eds). New York: Bedminister Press.

Williams, Kate S. et al. (2000). "CCTV Surveillance in Urban Britain: Beyond the Rhetoric of Crime Prevention" in J.R. Gold and G. Revill (eds)., *Landscapes of Defence*. London: Prentice Hall, 168-187.

Wilson, David. (2004). "Toward a Contingent Urban Neoliberalism." *Urban Geography 25(8): 771-783*.

Wirth, Louis. (1969). "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in, Sennett, Richard. *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*. New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts.

Wolfe, Jeanne M. (2003). "A National Urban Policy for Canada? Prospects and Challenges." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12(1): 1-21

Wyly, Elvin and Daniel J. Hammel. (1999). "Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence of Gentrification." *Housing Policy Debate*. 10(4): 711-771.

Young, Alford. (2004). *The Minds of Marginalized Black Men: Making Sense of Mobility, Opportunity and Future Life Chances*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Yuval-Davis. Nira. (1997). *Gender and Nation.* London: Sage.

Zapparoli, David. (1999). *Regent Park: The Public Experiment in Housing*. Toronto: Hushion House Publishing.

Žižek, Slavoj. (1997). "Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism" *New Left Review* I/225.

Appendix A: Additional data from Chapter 3

1. Additional examples of planning documents reference to "eyes on the street" include:

The Toronto Community Housing Community Management Plan 2010-2012, where there is a section on enhanced community safety that outlines a strategy to promote preventative strategies that discourage anti-social behaviors, community partnerships and TCH maintenance including upkeep, lighting, surveillance and enhancement of buildings and grounds (2012: 8);

"Access to the Yorkdale subway station at the north end of the neighborhood is also uninviting. The closest access for Lawrence-Allen area residents is a secondary entrance on Ranee Avenue. Located in a dark underpass under the Allen Road, the access is relatively concealed, poorly lit, and has few "eyes on the street" (Lawrence Allen Revitalization Profile 2008:14). According to the plan, community consultation will be central to the design of safe and well-designed parks.

In reference to the proposed Community Park: "Its central location and extensive street frontage ensures "eyes on the street" for safety and easy accessibility by the public" (LARP 2010: 72).

"Today the design approach creates significant problems for visitors to find their way through the neighborhood and reduces the sense of personal safety by eliminating the casual overlook and natural surveillance found on typical streets" (LARP 2010: 74).

In the plans description of "mid-rise" blocks it outlines a proposal for "open space could be completely enclosed or left open on one side to be visually accessible from the street"... and "ground floor uses...to promote the personal safety of trail users." All buildings should be designed to promote public use of the space and parks; the design will "provide opportunities for casual surveillance and positive programming" (LARP 2010: 75).

Under section 4.2 Buildings (Key points about buildings and density arising from each workshop are summarized below) "locating mid-rise buildings on streets that face parks provides 'eyes' on the park, making them safer" (Summary Report—Open House and workshops, February/March 2010, 2010:16)

 "There is a need for increased security on streets and pathways. Seniors would like to see security cameras, as well as traffic calming measures, at busy intersections" (Summary Report—Open House and workshops, February/March 2010, 2010:17)

In surveys, focus groups and consultations with Regent Park residents in early 2006, many
participants expressed significant concerns about current community facilities, including the quality and relevance of activities, the attractiveness of the facilities, and the safety of the space (Regent Park Social Development Plan 2007:4).

When creating a healthy mixed-income community, the neighborhood must not only be safe, but must be perceived to be safe (Regent Park Social Development Plan 2007:11)

To address such perceptions, mechanisms need to be put in place to support visible indicators of safety, to demonstrably engage security personnel including police, and to ensure that the neighborhood design has addressed security issues. Areas with blind alleyways and unlit or unclaimed public spaces create more fear among residents. (Regent Park Social Development Plan 2007:11)

2. Residents comments on fear or retaliation if they talked to police:

Gurmuu: A lot of this people in this area are I guess, not comfortable telling police if there is a shooting or some sort of crime. People don't feel comfortable about going to the police.
VR: why is that?
Gurmuu: One reason may be is that they'd feel like they maybe attacked later on, in revenge of the person they are telling on. Or they feel like the police do not take them seriously in this neighborhood. It is because if there is a shooting or there is some sort of incident for what we know is the police come a lot slower over here (Personal interview with Gurmuu, September 13, 2010, page 19)

VR: They say that with the revitalization that Regent Park will be safer because there will be more people around. They call it "eyes on the street." What do you think about that?
Sheila: Like I said, I don't think it is going to change. Like, people are not going to talk; you notice it now in big areas that they are not saying anything because they are more or less scared. Like I tell my kids, "what you see, you don't see." So I don't feel that it is...I don't think it is going to change it (Personal interview with Sheila, September 22, 2010, page 11-12)

Eva: Well, the other issue is regarding the police. That is another issue.
VR: Tell me about this.
Eva: With the police there has never been that good impact. The police, I know they are trying to do their job, but there is a way…I know, we understand we live in Regent Park. And everywhere you hear it "Oh, Regent Park is the worst area." It is not bad! It is like anywhere else. It is just that you have to know how to approach people and how to speak to the residents. And as soon as they see the youth... if they see you walking with three other kids, [they assume] you are in a gang. So as soon as they see three young kids, they stop you. The way they talk to you is not that great. Or if not, they search you right there, frisk you and everything. It is not good. The police say, "why don't you call 911 when you see something." For what? To get treated bad? And then if they see you, oh yeah, "Hi I remember when you called us" [and exposing residents to danger]. Why would you want to call them for? And now with the condominiums, this is condominium, and this is Toronto community housing. If we both call at the same time, who are they going to go to first? The condominium, not us! We have called 911 when there have been things happening, if they do show up. Or you are waiting for a couple of hours.

(Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 10)

Appendix B: Additional data from Chapter 4

1. VR: And what were the meetings like?
   Amatrrii: Some were poor...many of them were poorly attended by tenants from Lawrence Heights but towards the end people started to be conscious and I was happy to see some, you know, involvement and people felt that their voices did matter and did come out. So that was a big change that I have seen. There was a lot of attendance from the nearby neighborhoods from tenants living at Bathurst and Lawrence area. The city meetings were... they had pretty good turnout in many of the meetings held by the city (Personal interview with Amatrii, December 2, 2010, page 1).

2. Chandra: And that is why it is important to consult and really hear the wide breadth of people in this neighborhood because the 20 people that came to the meeting are not the community (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010 page 51).

3. VR: Did you hear anything about these consultations? Did you know that they were going on?
   Gurmuu: I think might have heard, but I am not sure. I do not know anybody who took part.
   VR: you don't know anybody who took part?
   Gurmuu: no I don't.
   VR: because the claims are that there were wide spread consultations and everybody was invited. What do you know about that?
   Gurmuu: um the, the thing is some people maybe would know and some people are not interested, I believe. And other people feel like we can't make a difference anyway so... They are going to go on with what they want to do so, what is the point? I feel this impression for some people. VR: so why was OCAYA not involved in the consultations?
   Gurmuu: we did not get to a direct invite. Because, I don't know. Maybe because we are just an organization and not all of our members are living in this area. But I don't think that I have heard a single member say that they were invited to... to the consultations .
   VR: so you don't know anybody that hasn't part of the consultations?
   Gurmuu: no I have just seen maybe papers that they have sent out. Or maybe different fliers and stuff like that, but I don't know if people are really taking those serious.
   VR: and what about to door to door or people around the community from the city or from TCH? Have you seen anything like that?
   Gurmuu: no. Nothing door to door. They might just drop you a flier in your mail but that is it.
   VR: but there is not a whole lot of the information circulating?
   Gurmuu: no. Unless you read the flyers. Unless you go to a meeting, you are not to finding out anything (Personal interview with Gurmuu, September 13, 2010, page 6).
   ...
   VR: They say that one of the reasons that this is taking so long is because of the extensive consultations that they are doing in the community?
   Gurmuu: I don't see that happening. I may be mistaken, but I know from within my organization, I have never heard any of that kids say or speaking to their parents that they took part. And when I go to the meetings I see more people from outside of the

253

neighborhood than in the neighborhood attending the meetings. So if the residents are not taking part, they are not consulting us. They are consulting the people that live right outside or people who have other interests in this area. And it is not to put blame on the people who are leading the revitalization. I think people in the neighborhood are not taking this more seriously to the point that they should be at the meetings, they should be asking questions. They should be finding out who is in charge. They should find out how much say they have in this and pushing that to the limit. But they are not the same time. So it is hard to blame the people who are doing it and say "Oh, you're bad, bad, bad..."

VR: But like used said before you didn't even know about the meetings or that there's a lack of circulation of information?

Gurmuu: They can improve with that too. But, I know they are, just dropping fliers and unfortunately people don't look at those fliers. Sometimes if you see a newsletter or something you just put it in with your flyer from Fortinos or from Zellers. Then you put it in the garbage and you move on with your day. But there is also time when people do know about it and they just don't come. That is a problem. They can do a better job of promoting it... So it goes both ways. You can't just blame one side and assume the other side is innocent (Personal interview with Gurmuu, September 13, 2010, page 21).

4. VR: So what changed over time if it started and people were more reluctant to participate how did you, in your role make that happen?
Marina: ... The simplest way I can answer that is to say to ask people how you want to be engaged and involved and then we did it that way. So instead of saying that this is what we are going to do. Some of that we had to because we needed planning information. So that's why I was saying, you work with the framework of the planning milestones and planning imperatives, but you take a community development approach. And you're working at a community that is going through changes so you ask them: How do you want to be engaged? What do you want to do? And then it was just sort of getting better and better as time went on (Personal interview with Marina, August3, 2010, page 16).

5. VR: so tell me a little bit about your participation in the consultations for revitalization.
Hayyuu: Okay. I have a story for you. First when the revitalization came here in Lawrence Heights, none of us knew about revitalization, so people were... some of them were scared. Some of them thought that there house was going to be demolished and other people were going to take over. And we were all sceptical about what the life was going to be like. I was one of the few people who was against the revitalization. I have some writings that I have that I would tell to people: don't accept it. But you know, we don't have trust. But because the housing has some grassroots people, good people, with expertise and other people... so in the long run, having consecutive meetings [with them] you trust each other. So the people we were meeting, most of them were nice, [they were] grassroots. So they explained to us everything and eventually we learned it and we got some books and references on what was going to happen. It is not new here, revitalization happened in different places. After reading and talking to different people, then we realized this was going to be better housing for us, better opportunities, better integration. So that is why we worked with them. And eventually we succeeded (Personal interview with Hayuu, September 30, 2010, page 4).

254

6. Hayyuu: Usually people who live here are low-income people. They have so many things to do. There are struggling with their children, they have to go to school, they have to bring their children, they have to go to market, they have to do many things. Most of the people, are domestic engineers. I call them domestic engineers. Those ladies who work in the house. Some people call them housewives or single mothers...

VR: I like your title better...

Hayyuu: But I call them domestic engineers because their hands are full. They run after children...they have so many things to do. Their child can be sick, they have to go to the clinic, they have to go to emergency. So those type of people don't have much time to participate. There was a group called animators which the housing people formed. Those animators with the planners and the experts would meet together and the animators would spread the word to other people, to domestic engineers so that way they were informed. They were updated every time.

VR: So were a lot of people attending the meetings? Who was attending the meetings?

Hayyuu: A great deal of people were attending. Number one animators was attending. They had to attend. Number two, the parents association was attending. The East African community was attending. There are people called LHION. They don't live here, but they work and serve this community. They also were there. But eventually the domestic engineers, some of them came and participated but if they don't come they will get the information (Personal interview with Hayyuu, September 12, 2010, page 5).

7. Tamia: 'Cuz at the beginning I wasn't with this. I saw the plan and then "okay, I guess. I could live with that". And a lot of residents are like that. Trust me. Because I see residents that were out there since day one. "No revitalization. No this. No that." And then now, they are calm. It has soaked in so much that it is going to happen. But a question wasn't proposed in the beginning. If you want it or if you don't want it. It was proposed and it was going to happen. If you ask a lot of people they will say no. Um, they will talk about the maintenance and stuff like that and if you talk about the revitalization and stuff like "oh, you will get new homes" so people kind of feel okay because they want better quality housing and if that is what is going to bring better quality housing then people can settle with that. But a lot of people want better quality housing. So I guess the revitalization they will go for it now because it is drilled...drilled [into them]. And we are going to have minimal disruption. That is a big thing. People do not want to move out of their community even if dust is blowing, noise is making over there, they want to stay here. They don't want to go anywhere else. That is something that was proposed and people calmed down. Because the story from Regent Park where people had to move, and they say people had to move all the way to Hamilton, I don't know if that is true. But the big thing in Lawrence Heights is that they want minimal...they don't want to move out of their community and I guess now we can get that and now they are like "they can live with that". I don't know if that answered your question (Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page, 17).

8. VR: In any of the meetings did they ask you if you wanted revitalization?

255

Amartii: No. There is no mention of asking whether, we as residents want revitalization or not, but there was a real effort from housing to get involved. The...it was inevitable, that is how it was put and there is no money that the city has to build subsidized housing so the option was, um, make it a mixed community, have market houses and the revenue from that would help build the new subsidized housing and it would be a mixed, instead of low-income people segregated. it would be a mixed income neighborhood (Personal interview with Amartii December 2nd, 2010, page 2; original conversation November 14, 2010).

9. Greg: By the time I got back with, what was it...the RPRC [Regent Park Resident Council]...the resident council and they brought it up again they were pretty much figuring out how to do it not if they were going to do it. So it was basically set.
VR: Basically set by?
Greg: By housing. Housing had decided they were going to do it. And the organization, RPRC had started up and they had agreed. They were working out the best way to do a project of this size (Personal interview with Greg, December 16, 2010, page 4).

Power and Participation
10. Tamia: I am just remembering back to a meeting when Kieko [the head of TCH] came and a lot of residents wanted to ask questions in an open forum where people could hear and draw from that, they feel that when a resident may say something it may seem like, I want to say...like they are obsessed. There tone of voice might not be the nicest, how it comes across. So the person giving the presentation might feel defensive or you know maybe they are not equipped to answer the question. Because if you have the CEO coming and talking. Really and truly she doesn't know the knitty gritty. Basically Carmen who is, my boss as a community animator, she is the one who would know more. But at the same time, she should come equipped knowing. You know...She should be able to answer questions. But at the same time...it wasn't open. When I say run from, I guess defensive in a sense because they feel the resident is irate and they don't want to boil up other residents. Because trust me, once one person starts, you know. But then I like a forum like that. It is not like people are going to get so aggravated that people are going to start throwing stuff. Because they always have police at these meetings or some form of security...I guess that is how they go about doing things (Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 8).

11. Chandra: The thing is nothing stopped while this started. There were no new resources provided to do all of this work. Um, organizations have been stretched. They have such a challenge anyway meeting the needs of the people that they are trying to serve now so then you add on top of that the complexities of redevelopment or revitalization and the roles that organizations are expected to play at the table. They are expected to sit at. When you look at some of the organizations, they are very small, they don't have a lot of stuff to provide at all of these different tables even the larger organizations with more staff still have so much work that already existed to take on all of this new work and keep all of the other work going has been a real real difficult experience. So do more with less, you know...

VR: Right.

Chandra: And being tugged in many, many directions. Um, the voice and power and presence of the residents, and the engagement and full participation has been a challenge in this entire process (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 5).

12. VR: Would you participate in the consultations going forward? Because there is going to be a whole other round of consultations coming up... starting this fall going until about June on something called a social development plan.... so to see how it will affect the community... would you participate in something like that?

Gurmuu: Honestly. I probably don't think so.

VR: Why not?

Gurmuu: Because I honestly don't think it will make a difference

VR: Why?

Gurmuu: Because they are going to go ahead with their plan anyway. So my opinion or a couple more people thinking the same way as me is not going to make a difference. They will build the same way they want to build... And like you said, in 15 or 20 years, this neighborhood is not going to look the same (Personal interview with Gurmuu, September 13, 2010, page 7).

13. VR: Tell me more about that.

Eva: Well, Nelson Mandela [Public School] and the community center [are] going to be attached. There is going to be a path. They are going to use it [the community center] too, the kids at school. But at the same time, you know accidents happen in a matter of seconds. You know, they say there are going to be cameras and stuff there, but when somebody wants to go in, they are not looking at that. Things happen just like this (snap). So, that is the only issue I have there. That is the only problem. But we have gone to meetings about the park, there were a lot of the condominium people [there]. Yeah, I understand they need the money, but what happened to our ideas before the condominium people came? And I wasn't one of them from the beginning about the park. All of our ideas were gone. All of a sudden all of these rich people come and who gives a hoot about you guys. Let's take their ideas and yours "goodbye" (Personal interview with Eva, September 21, 2010, page 4).

14. Hayyuu: But most with the surrounding area—they participate. All of them will come...

VR: why?

Hayyuu: because there must be an interest which is hidden from us. They were all coming. And when it is there time....we used to meet in Bathurst school and that place was full (Personal interview with Hayyuu, September 30th, 2010, page 12).

15. Kayla: The diversity in the community and concerns around it would only come from one side of people some who say that know we don't is necessarily want to be mixed with those ones over there. So then it becomes us versus them conversation, really. Somebody that has no money does not have any concerns about living next to other people. I really don't think so. Unless it is more of "I personally don't feel that I am

worthy of living next to somebody else. How will they look at me? And how will they view me is as being beneath them?" But based on just what I have seen and what I have heard, the conversations for diversity are coming from the people in the group of the community who feel that they have... who feels like they are above the other side of the community. And that's basically what it comes down to and they're the ones that are concerned about too many people. Or potentially too many welfare people and really wants to keep that kind of separation between themselves and the others.

VR: Is this in reference to Lawrence manor?

Kayla: Yes generally. Yes that's basically it. And that's basically when we're having a conversation. When we had to actually listen at council to the deputations that were coming from both our communities. [It was] Lawrence Heights community versus what was coming from Lawrence Manor. The Lawrence Heights [folks] seemed generally a lot more willing to say that we want to break down some of the walls and the barriers that have been created between our communities. We really would like to see that happen. On the other hand, it was well "we don't want them in our schools, right? I don't necessarily want these people mixing with my children. I don't want them on my street." At the same time it was like what are we going to do with all these extra people , but realistically it was more like we don't want them around and you could hear that constantly coming out in very subtle and not so subtle ways (Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 16).

16. Chandra, addressed this concern: There are members who openly feel that there are people who are not being invited back to Regent Park that have been relocated, that are not getting the option to come back to Regent Park. And if you think about it everybody couldn't possibly, even though there is a condition that people had a 100% right of return, the tricky language as I call it, here it is again: they had 100% right of return to an RGI unit that was a result of the redevelopment. Three of those now are in buildings that are off of the footprint. So that is still…you see, it still fulfills what it said but that is not what people expected. People, in their minds when they heard that, "100% right of return," they thought in Regent Park. On the footprint. In an RGI unit.

VR: it meant 100% right of return to an RGI unit

Chandra: in the Regent Park Redevelopment

VR: Which includes Carleton, Adelaide, and Richmond.

Chandra: yes.

VR: my wheels are turning right now

Chandra: So you know…it is in double speak. (Laugh….) But some of it is interpretation and translation. When I say that, it is English, to speak clear English please....sifting through the rhetoric. Trying to get the fixes can be a challenge. And of course information is power. And it is one of the pieces of power that the residents need to make a clear choice. And when I did that survey I talked about, lack of information, misinformation, changed information, all of that was things that was raised in the survey as one of the impacts, negative impacts of the redevelopment, was people did not feel that they were on top of the news of what was going on. And that was a challenge when it started. It was addressed at the Social Development Planning Table around TCH's table to address TCH's ability to communicate equitably, clearly…reaching all the residents. So they did redevelopment updates and newsletters. So that is one attempt... not that

attempts have not been made. You know they work with Regent Park focus which has all the communication vehicles for youth. But it is an ongoing struggle and I still say it is a challenge because we have an oral community that needs the word of mouth. They need engagement they need to know what is going on by speaking and hearing and being involved. (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010). Regent Park focus is a youth media arts program. This is an interesting elaboration on the importance of participation – the notion that participating means knowing and understanding the process.

17. VR: You mentioned that the changes are above people's heads in terms of where the decision are being made. What is the point of a consultation if some of the decisions already made? Kayla: I look at it like this: ... all of that parties that are involved in that process, so the city, the developers, politicians that are involved, who can build their platforms around these things, housing [TCH] in a sense also realizing that there may be a certain amount of profit involved in this as well for them and an opportunity for them to improve a number of homes and an number of communities that have fallen to absolute disrepair. So there are a number of different huge bodies of people that are involved in this. And then there are all of these masses that are affected, right? But I realize that from some of those larger entities involved, if they want to make their work easier in the long run, they have to, they have to talk to the people. They have to talk to the masses. We are living in a time now that you cannot do things in the same models that have been done in past without huge repercussions. So in a way it is like a security for them while they are doing their work to take into consideration very seriously what people have to say about what it is they want to their living but. And then in the process of what it is that you are trying to do or want to do with the people, essentially with their entire lives, it is not only homes. It is schools, it is facilities, it is resources. But what do we do when we have to leave and come back? But what is going to happen when a hole you're digging in a road and fixing the sewers across the street? So if they don't really take into consideration how people are feeling and what people are saying, it makes it very difficult in the long run and when you are looking at a 20 year project, you would hope that you can secure and guarantee as much as you can. And that becomes difficult if you haven't spoken and really communicated with everybody or is many people as possible and then I think just in general with Regent Park.. I can appreciate the consultation process. I really can. Because, yes you are getting feedback, but you have to inform as you're collecting information because you can't get really accurate or relevant information from people if you are not giving them some accurate and relevant information that they need as well. So in that sense it is important, but there is a very healthy or real sense of that at the end of today, I can demand is much as I want, but the decision does not lie in my hands and I think that that is really… the things are happening above our heads is those decisions don't happen or don't rest in our hands. And I means it's just generally in a society where things… it's very much a power dynamic. So there are certain bodies in the community that can say this is what we want, and they do have a lot of buying power than others. So at the end of the day weakened demand, or we can try to rally ourselves as much as possible but we know we are always subject to opposition. It is just the nature of this the world that we live in. So you realize that you can do so much, but there so much that can be done without you

(Personal interview with Kayla, October 5, 2010, page 12).

Communication

18. VR: you mention a struggle around implementation. Is that in reference to the social development plan?
Andrea: Yes. Which sort of reflects the whole thing, right? And I guess the decision-making thing. One thing I haven't talked about, Vanessa, is that there is another partner in this process and that is Daniels, the private developer. And at some point with the SDP [Social Development Plan] planning part, Daniels was not there. And now with the implementation Daniels is there, but they are not at the stakeholders table so decisions are made with Daniels and TCH and the city. Or I think there's more decision-making in partnership with Daniels and TCH then with the three of them. And TCH is the only, I shouldn't say that. Mitchell of Daniels does not come to the SDP stakeholder meetings they don't see that that is part of their business. So what we get is one side. We hear about things that have already been decided and they are moving forward. I understand why this is, it just is not great. It does not create trust, it just creates other things (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 9).

19. So for instance, the whole thing around the learning center that is in the first building on Dundas, that came out to us by a presentation that one of the senior TCH people did, who is responsible for buildings, and he just talked about well there's going to be a University of Toronto learning center here. And there were six of us around the table who provide literacy and adult ed courses and nobody had been consulted or anything. We didn't know anything about it (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 12).

20. VR: tell me a little bit more about this breakdown of communication with TCH. Around what?
Andrea: That is an interesting question. When we were involved in writing the Social Development Plan we had monthly meetings and those were meetings that were important so you would make an effort to go. There was a core group of about 12 people that represented agencies and it was hard to have the resident voice there, but the Regent Park Neighborhood Initiative was there and they represent the residents. And a number of people who work at the agencies also have lived in Regent Park or live outside and consider themselves residents. So with monthly meetings, you all are sort of up to date with what is going on and have a chance to hear that. The pressure points at that point were around decision-making, meaning that we were making decisions or we were making recommendations. We weren't a decision-making table but we were making recommendations about things to do in the redevelopment that would impact later. Since then the stakeholders table has a responsibility to oversee implementation of the plan. And what I experience as a breakdown of communication is that we're hearing about the things with such a short turnaround time that there is no way that we can engage as an agency with a resident or residents to support them for what is coming up or prepare them

for what is coming up. So you know we would be hearing from the City or Parks and Rec[reation] that there is going to be a consultation about the park and they are meeting with us in November and then one (meeting) in December, you know that kind of stuff and I would think "you are crazy." **So it felt as if the ability to communicate about decisions and implementing them had just sort of disappeared.** And I don't know whether it's because they became shared between the city and TCH or whether it was a joint thing. I am not sure what it is. **But it is around this is what is going to happen. How we communicate to the residents and how can you support it.** Whenever it is that might be. In the relocation process, when they first started that, they had a whole group of people that they came and brought in and it seemed like the relocation process for phase one was more effectively managed then the relocation process for phase two. They brought in a whole brand new a group of people for phase two. So I don't know why they didn't keep the same folks because you would have had some learning's and then you know there has been some bumps like holding a meeting for people to talk about what is going to happen. And the meeting space isn't big enough for all the families to come. You know there is no child care, there are no translators. There is that sort of stuff. You don't do anything in Regent Park without knowing that you his have to be able to provide translation. TCH regularly send out their written material in several languages. Because that's who lives there. **So it seems to break down when it comes to actually on the ground, communicating to tenants.** And maybe it is because, and now I just thinking about it, it is a different role. It is not a landlord role (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 12, my emphasis)

21. Chandra: I think one of the strongest things laying on my heart right now is around language. What I was saying earlier. That when we are spoken to, when we are given information that it is information that is concrete and understandable and that we can see it in practice. Just don't tell us good news. Be realistic, open, transparent. Transparency is huge to me. That is one of the things I feel this entire process could have been far more transparent. So even with the communication that we did have. There was always still this sense that there was always something happening that we were not part of that, you know...as a community development worker, it has always been intriguing for me to hear what you are saying to my community but to go somewhere where you are not...where it is not my community and hear what you are saying and whether or not it is the same thing. You know, are you talking to the same way to the residents as you are talking to the real estate magnets? Are you sharing the same information and talking about the community the same way? That is very important to me because there are so many different investors in this process and people who weigh in with opinions and we don't know who they are and we don't see them. Is it our people? Are they directly affected? People who are directly affected have to live with the decision they made that is why it is important to me that we have leaders in the community and sitting in decision making positions and sitting at tables where decisions are made because, decisions that they make are more realistic, are more humane. They are implementable and they know immediately if the result is different than what was intended and if they want to make a change. But if I make a decision and then I go off to my own neighborhood over there and you know, it is a whole different...it weighs differently and your ability to identify whether or not what you had hoped for is distanced. So the farther and the farther...and it seems like the more

serious the decision the farther away from being directly affected the people who make the decisions actually are. So we need to stop and bridge that...I think it will be good for everybody. It is a win-win to me. Nobody wants to be, you know they don't want to sit there and make decisions that are not realistic or decisions that don't have positive benefit for the people. But they have recognized that people know what they need and the expert is often the person most directly affected. Not...it does not matter what your portfolio is or what your position is or how many letters you have behind your name or what you have done or where you have been. You (they) don't live the life...so that is my... I say, about the table, and I talk about the table... I say it is not enough to bring another seat to the table so that the people directly affected can sit at the table. You need to get up and give them the chair (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 23).

22. VR: You mentioned in the beginning that the consultations were quite effective and that there was a lot of engagement but that over time that changed. Did I hear that correctly?
Andrea: Uh huh.
VR: Can you tell me a little bit about that?
Andrea: What I experienced when I first got here it was that Regent Park Neighborhood Initiative set up structures where there was consultation and the different areas such as employment diversity, settlements, health services. There was something called a revitalization committee which was primarily organized and staffed by RPNI folks. And Derek Ballantine, he was the CEO [of TCH], would come to those meetings. And there would be a regular monthly meeting, and you hear about everything that was going on. And sometimes Derek would come and use that as a place to float an idea out or a decision out and get feedback or give advanced warning and be happy to get feedback. But those things do not go on anymore. It has become more bureaucratic, within the SDP stakeholders table (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, page 9-10).

23. Andrea: That was an interesting process because there was an intent on behalf of TCH to engage the residents but when we actually started to talk about how to do it, it became bigger and bigger and bigger thing and more and more important. So we went through the process of ensuring, well if we're going to spend time writing this plan, let's make sure that it's something that has to be approved and the city has to commit to it. Because we knew that there would need to be a resourcing to support to the residents and responding to the changes that would happen to them. Once we got into it, communication became more of a challenge for TCH. And I don't know what that is about. I don't know if it's because they are going through some internal changes. Because it is always more exciting to plan something and try to get approval and then now you have to implement it (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 7-9).

24. Andrea: But the relocation mess, that meeting that I am sure you have heard about where they had this meeting and there was not enough space for people there. I mean they came to the SDP stakeholders table and they told us what the process was. But I

never thought to ask them the question, will you be sure you have it in a place that is big enough and will have translators? Because if you know the community it is like a given [to have translators]. And so you know, there are some things set in place, but just because it is different you just never know what is going to be a problem. One of the problems is that, there isn't..., there are communication methods that are used, so TCH and the city would be upset if I said they have not communicated effectively because they will rhyme of all of the things that they do, which I have told you. You know they have their written materials translated, and they have an update they send out all the time, it is on their website and that sort of thing. But we know that all of those things are not being effective in engaging with the residents but that's what they know and what they do, so that's what you get. But we have not been effective in getting a strong resident voice to make a change that way. So we have let them down too (Personal interview with Andrea, September 30, 2010, page 15-16).

25. Chandra: Not fully informed! There is the piece! Full information!
VR: So what about the consultation for the revit[alization] by TCH?
Chandra: Well people came out to those consultations. You know, I find with Regent Park that it is not that they won't come forward and talk to you. Sometimes there are problems with information. Finding out when things [are], communication systems. A lot of our community is an oral community, so flyers, posters, and email… so you know the cultural clash of the new technology and peoples access to it so… We also need child care and translation to make the meetings accessible to people, and turn-around time to organize a meeting or to make sure that you have all those pieces in place so that you make sure that people feel supported and informed before they attend the meetings. Like all of those things and when the pace is going [snap, snap, snap] as fast as it possible can, that those are the kind of things that when not addressed has an impact on who is at the table or who would come out to the meeting.
VR: How was this a factor in the consultations on revitalization? The official consultations…you said, access to information, make meetings accessible, childcare... ?
Chandra: Coming to a meeting and being engaged in a meeting are two different things.
VR: Okay. So let's talk about them separately then.
Chandra: So how fully informed and engaged were the people sitting in the meetings? How much information was given in such a way that people really understood the information. There has always been a challenge in the language with regards to the replacement of housing they speak about social housing which is not rent geared to income housing. So, it contains the portfolio of rent geared to income housing but it also contains a portion of housing stock that is just slightly below market. You know so, when you say we are going to put X amount of social housing back, and people can't get the fix on how much of that is RGI and how much of that isn't… so that is what I mean by fully informed and clear language and I give credit to a number of the Executive Directors who have been meeting… they have an executive directors table, there is also a community services table. They have done interfacing through staff, to staff at front line and to executive directors and the CEO of Toronto Community Housing. Trying to smooth out some of these relocation challenges of the folks who have been relocated off the footprint or you know the meeting, how those people were informed about that... whether or not they honestly knew that that was a permanent move or that it wasn't in Regent Park. On-

263

going dialogue. This can never stop... the dialogues have never stopped. You have to keep your eyes on all of the elements because it is not just about building buildings. It is about building opportunities; so making sure are the residents really getting jobs in the revitalization and watching the economic development sector. Watching education and arts and are the organizations being relocated able to do this? Will they be able to meet the expectations? You know, moving into a city building, rent is now different from what it was when you were sitting in housing stock. And what posed challenges on that? That is an organization that doesn't have grand resources and is barely making it now (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 8-10).

26. Chandra: But there tends to be some people in the community that tend to sit or be involved in a lot of things. So, and I'm not... and my history goes back [for 20 years] right, so I have seen a lot of things. And depending on who we are talking about. Who has called the meeting? Who organized this meeting? Who made the invitations? How did people find out about the meetings? How did people get at the table? You know those are the…you know in times past meetings would be called and you know that people in the room are rubber stamping (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 4).

27. Chandra: There has been challenges like families that need housing stock that need larger units that are not available that have no choice but to go somewhere else that does not give them the choice to come back. They stopped right… now filling vacant units was a problem there. There were people on medical emergency transfer list that want to be transferred in the community. They are waiting on that transfer outside of whether or not they are in the phase of being redeveloped or not. Now [they are] being told that if they do get an emergency transfer it will not be in their community. That is not a choice. So there are things. There are members who openly feel that there are people who are not being invited back to Regent Park that have been relocated, that are not getting the option to come back to Regent Park. And if you think about it everybody couldn't possibly, even though there is a condition that people had a 100% right of return, the tricky language as I call it, here it is again: they had 100% right of return to an RGI unit that was a result of the redevelopment. Three of those now are in buildings that are off of the footprint. So that is still… you see, it still fulfills what it said but that is not what people expected. People, in their minds when they heard that: "100% right of return." They thought in Regent Park. On the footprint. In an RGI unit.
VR: It meant 100% right of return to an RGI unit.
Chandra: in the Regent Park Redevelopment
VR: Which includes Carleton, Adelaide, and Richmond.
Chandra: Yes. (laugh)
VR: My wheels are turning right now...
Chandra: So you know… it is in double speak. (Laugh….) But some of it is interpretation and translation. When I say that., it is English to clear English please. Sifting through the rhetoric. Trying to get the fixes can be a challenge. And of course information is power. And it is one of the pieces of power that the residents need to make a clear choice. And when I did that survey I talked about lack of information, misinformation, changed

information, all of that was things that was raised in the survey as one of the impacts, negative impacts of the redevelopment, was people did not feel that they were on top of the news of what was going on. And that was a challenge when it started. It was addressed at the Social Development Planning Table around TCH's table to address TCH's ability to communicate equitably, clearly…reaching all the residents. So they did redevelopment updates and newsletters. So that is one attempt. Not that attempts have not been made (Personal interview with Chandra, September 23, 2010, page 14-16).

28. For example, the way the meeting was set up they will come, they will show us the plan and then afterwards they have different areas where people go and talk and then as soon as people break off "maintenance"... you know "my bathroom needs...I have pests"...So they are not really getting to the core areas. I understand, the deterioration of the building is a big thing and a lot of people and as soon as you go to a meeting, like maintenance is a big thing. But like, we weren't really getting to the core of revitalization and I feel that they did that purposefully. But what I like, or what I would've liked...and it didn't just fall on deaf ears because a lot of residents have questioned if they could ask that question in an open forum, other people would hear that question and feedback but I know, *TCH will run from that so they break off into groups. You know...so that is interesting. It was okay. But it could have been much better.* (Personal interview with Tamia, November 30, 2010, page 3