

**‘ALL OF A SUDDEN, IT’S BECOMING TORONTO’: COMMUNITY IDENTITY
AND BELONGING IN THE BEACHES’ ANTI-CONDOMINIUM ACTIVISM**

Emilija Vasic

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

Faculty of Environmental Studies
York University,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

July 31, 2014

Emilija Vasic, MES Candidate

Dr. Jin Haritaworn, Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the intersections of identity, community, and belonging in the context of anti-condominium activism in Toronto's Ward 32 Beaches-East, York. Using local newspaper articles, archival research, and face-to-face interactions with residents from neighbourhood associations, it investigates the hatred of condominiums and the threat they pose to collective 'Beacher' identity. It moves past simplistic NIMBY (not-in-my-backyard) explanations and complicates political motivations beyond typical concerns of traffic, property values, and noise. Through a broad theoretical archive including affect and nostalgia, NIMBYism, anti-urbanism, and critical accounts of settler colonialism, the paper examines how the affective relations of hate, fear, and threat are produced and experienced in the neighbourhood and come to be constructed and upheld by examining the opinions of residents in light of these literatures. The paper proposes that a framework of urban planning that considers affect, settler colonialism, and intersectionality would better accommodate bodies and communities with various relationships to power and difference.

FOREWORD

My Plan of Study was born out of the work I did for my Graduate Assistant position as part of the Condominium Boom in Toronto project under Dr. Ute Lehrer. The project gave me the space to bring together my initial research interests of activism, identity, and space in a practical way. The final product that is my Major Research Paper is a synthesis of the three components of my Area of Concentration: social divisions and space, neoliberal planning and development, and social movements and activism. The neoliberal restructuring of Toronto's landscape is best exemplified by the market-driven, profit-maximizing, speculative and foreign-invested construction of high-rise condominium towers in the downtown core. More than any other city in North America, Toronto is targeted by global capital to varying local effects. The various community groups across the city who have mobilized to oppose condominium development in their neighbourhoods represent a shared rally of efforts against unfavourable social and political conditions. When taking into account the intersecting privileges and oppressions that make up the lives of people according to social markers, the white and well-off neighbourhood of The Beaches, along with its long history of community activism, become complicated. As condominiums come to represent a contemporary threat to 'Beacher' identity and survival such citizens' initiatives can be discerned as defensive middle-class based, quality-of-life movements rather than based on social justice orientations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express gratitude to those who have helped make the writing process a less isolating one: My advisor and supervisor, Jin Haritaworn, for their patience, guidance, and encouragement. My family, and a special thanks to my sister Nikolina for help with editing at a pivotal time. My friend and library partner Estelle for keeping me motivated. Kula Annex for providing me the space to explore being a feeling rather than a thinking body. Camus for waking me up every morning with his meowing. All cafes in Roncesvalles that are open past 6:00 p.m. And finally, Jay.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
FOREWORD
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION | A VILLAGE WITHIN THE CITY

- 2 From Cottage Country to NIMBY Fortress
- 7 Condominium Boom in Toronto
- 8 The Application and The Appeal
- 10 Methods and Methodology

CHAPTER ONE | THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

- 21 A Neighbourhood in Danger: Strangers or Neighbours?
- 23 Affect, Nostalgia, and the Fear of Change
- 26 The Limits of NIMBY Rhetoric
- 32 Small-Town Desires as Anti-Urbanism
- 36 Settler Colonial Imaginaries

CHAPTER TWO | RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES

- 45 'I'll Stack My Beachness Up Against Anyone's'
- 50 'This is a Stable Place, My Neighbourhood is Not Going to Change'
- 52 'All of a Sudden, It's Becoming Toronto'
- 59 Alien Structures
- 61 'As Much State of Mind as Geography'

CONCLUSION | AFFECTIVE PLANNING

- 64 Considering the Affective in Planning

EPILOGUE
APPENDICES
REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION | A VILLAGE WITHIN THE CITY

The area of the Beaches, or the Beach,¹ consists of four beaches (Balmy, Scarboro, Kew, and Woodbine), multiple parks, iconic landmarks including a boardwalk and a lighthouse, small low-rise, independent specialty shops, and single-family, cottage-like homes. The area has as its borders: Kingston Road to the north, Victoria Park Avenue to the east, Lake Ontario to the south, and Coxwell Avenue to the west (see Appendix 1 for official boundaries in the City of Toronto Ward Profile map). The Beaches as it is known today began as an isolated farming community of small-scale resource-based activity in the early 1800s until the subdivision of land into parcels began in 1876 (Luka 2006, 22). The area's unique proximity to the lake and reasonable distance from the city made it a popular cottage destination and summer resort for city residents which led to the first wave of construction of privately-owned parks and weekend summer homes and cottages that began to appear in the late 1890s (Luka 2006, 23). Interest in the area as a “cottage colony” spiked and a building boom that lasted until the First World War brought development and leisure activities for the cottagers: the Greenwood Raceway opened in 1875 (and would remain open for almost 120 years until its close in 1993), the Boardwalk was constructed in the 1850s (first private to local residents then opened to the general public), Victoria Park opened in 1878, Kew Gardens in 1879, Munro Park in 1986, in 1880 Queen Street was extended east to the racetrack, a waterfront park in 1932, as well as hotels, campgrounds, amusement parks, boarding houses, tennis courts, and cabins (Luka 2006, 23-25). By the 1920s the area became a distinctly middle-class

¹ I will use the Beaches for the remainder of the paper as it is the name used for the area by the City of Toronto in their Ward Profile and Neighbourhoods List.

suburb of Toronto when it was subdivided for year-round residential development as the city expanded eastward (Luka 2006, 19). Remnants of this history remain today through the Boardwalk, the Kew Beach Lawn Bowling Club, the Kew Gardens Tennis Club, the Ashbridges Bay Yacht Club, but also in the small-town feel of the main street, and the tight-knit community. Real estate rhetoric for the area has remained unchanged: a 1926 newspaper advertisement for a new semi-detached house proclaimed “have your city home and summer home all in one,” while a current advertisement from a real estate website notes the slow pace of the area, “[f]or those who like the small town feel without leaving the big city, the Toronto Beaches are an ideal residence” (Luka 2006, 18; My Real Estate Girls n.d.).

From Cottage Country to NIMBY Fortress

Described as “part Santa Monica and part New England” (Keenan 2013), the area’s history of leisure is still evident. We can trace back this transformation from a summer second-home setting into a metropolitan suburb dominated by the middle classes beginning in the 1890s and over four decades beyond that (Luka 2006). Writing in a journal of Canadian urban history, author Nik Luka chalks this remodeling up to three motivations: pre-Second World War suburban growth, user-led sorting of metropolitan social geographies, and the area’s role as a summer leisure destination for the middle-classes. The last-mentioned motivation for this shift accounts for the area’s emergence as a middle-class district in Toronto in the 1920s and later for its role in “imbuing it with particular qualities that enhanced or (ensured) its desirability” (Luka 2006, 18). It wasn’t long before “mobile professional households ‘escaped’ from the crowded, noisy city to leafy green suburbs” (Luka 2006, 19). Rather than the “mail-

order and self-built,” ubiquitous middle-class subdivisions (Harris 2004), or streetcar build-out suburbs (Hayden 2003) that other writers have characterized North American metropolitan suburbanization, Luka classifies the Beaches as “the ‘affluent’ or ‘picturesque’ enclave, a suburban type marked by comprehensive design, rigorously governed by protective covenants, and mainly geared to a wealthy clientele” (Luka 2006, 20). Even the now-public boardwalk was made with exclusivity in mind: “Sir Adam Wilson set up Balmy Beach Park as a ‘private promenade’ for residents of the new properties” (Luka 2006, 22).

Today the area’s desirability as a sought-after neighbourhood with an upper-middle-income population stems from its quiet, tree-lined streets. It is considered family-friendly and a good place to raise children due to the large selection of reputable elementary schools, low crime rate, dog-friendly parks, and convenient location on a main streetcar line that links the neighbourhood to downtown employment and services (Friesen and Rajagopalan 2011). And many residents associations have been formed to keep it that way: Save Queen Street, the Greater Beach Neighbourhood Association, the Beach Triangle Residents’ Association, and the Beach Lakefront Neighbourhood Association, to name a few. The 1980s brought gentrification to the neighbourhood, but since then the area has remained largely unchanged due to minimal development leaving the character of Queen Street east of Woodbine more or less the same.

According to the 2006 profile for the neighbourhood, the area has much lower rates of recent immigrants, people of Aboriginal origin, non-Official (English or French) home languages, and visible minorities than other areas in Toronto (City of Toronto 2006). This makes it one of, if not *the*, least diverse areas in the city. This is particularly surprising in light of its location geographically on Toronto’s east end, an area with a

long history of organizing for the unemployed, homeless, and working poor, and its proximity to ethnically-diverse Scarborough, an area just further east which has not flourished in real estate terms in the same way (see Appendix 2 for a visual representation of the white enclave and surrounding area). Of those included in the census, 9.4% of those living in the Beaches identify themselves as a visible minority (compared with 42.8% in the rest of Toronto, Allen 2012). According to Linguistic Diversity Index calculations, only 3% of respondents to the city's most current language survey (2006) reported speaking anything other than English (90%) or French (7%, City of Toronto Ward Profiles). Moreover, the majority of families in the area are in the top income group, earning more than \$100,000 per year (Keenan 2013).

Roots of a collective history are found in narratives of the settling process (a “who was there first”) that serves as the basis for the Beach versus Beaches debate, a long-standing dispute with loyalists claiming each name as more historically valid than the other. This is also reflected in amateur local historians providing walking tours in the area and the existence of a neighbourhood popular history section in the local library devoted to detailing the “constant struggle to preserve the place against the city-building ambitions of Toronto at large” (Keenan 2013). In addition, there are books published by local historians which contribute to this neighbourhood lore: Lorraine O'Donnell Williams' (2010) *Memories of the Beach: Reflections on a Toronto Childhood*, Glenn and Jean Cochrane's (2009) *The Beach: An Illustrated History from the Lake to Kingston Road* (2009) and *The Beach in Pictures, 1793 – 1932*, and Mary Campbell and Barbara Myrvold's (1995) *Historical Walking Tour of Kew Beach*. I want to acknowledge here how the oral and written traditions illustrated above perform a whitewashing of historical narratives in which history is mobilized in a type of strategic

nostalgia. The uncritically celebratory presentation of Anglo-Saxon history becomes a part of the problem of (rather than a real) representation of the area, a point I will expand on later in the paper.

The area has a long history of community activism and involvement in matters concerning urban planning and design: in 1907, residents stopped the Grand Trunk Railway from building tracks into where the boardwalk now is (Keenan 2013); in the 1950s and 1960s, they protested the extension of the Gardiner Expressway along Kingston Road (Keenan 2013); in 1978, residents took to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) to oppose a proposed Gardiner Expressway extension into Scarborough (Jefferson 1978); in 1979 they fought against the proliferation of liquor licences in the area (Logan 1979) and protested “a subway brand of commercialism” in bus shelter advertising by arguing that the advertisements are not “aesthetically pleasing, will become hangouts, will not be maintained adequately, and will run down the neighbourhood” (The Globe and Mail 1979b, 4); in 1986, they fought for by-laws prohibiting the creation of an eating establishment within 75 metres of an existing restaurant (in response to complaints from homeowners about noise, traffic congestion, and the behavior of some restaurant patrons, Baker 1986); in 1986, the city's neighborhoods committee had decided to keep mobile vendors out of the area (Toronto Star 1986); in 1987, the Coalition of Beach Residents' Associations (COBRA), an umbrella group for residents' associations in the Beaches (including Friends of Queen Street, the Friends of Glen Davis Ravine, the Kew Beach Neighbourhood Association, the Toronto Beach East Residents Association, the Beach Triangle Residents Association, the Beach Lakefront Neighbourhood Association and the Norwood Park Residents Association,) argued for a slow-down of development (DiManno 1987). Not-

in-my-backyard (NIMBY) activism thus reflects at a fundamental level how the collective identities have been forged in the area. As I will explore throughout the paper, in the face of a city driven by profits, private property, free markets, and capital-privileging development, condominiums would come to stand for the loss of community identity in the way that railroads and expressways have in the past.

In the case of the Beaches, the mobilization of residents' associations is ultimately exclusionary and individualistically motivated. The construction and reconstruction of 'Beacher' identity is in part formed by the historically committed citizen activism that takes place in the area in the interest of preservation, oftentimes around land-use issues as I outlined in the previous section. This enthusiasm has not always fallen on the "good" side of civil society as Janet Abu-Lughod (1998) sees it: empowering, participatory, responsible, and dependent on a functioning democratic system compared to "bad" versions which are exclusive, rejecting, and undermine the equity and non-discriminatory values of the wider society (236). It is why the efforts of some groups in the area end up coming off as defensive in trying to save existing quality-of-life or privileges, which can and have ended up selfish, anti-immigrant, or racist. For example, the area has a dark history of anti-Semitism in the early 1930s leading up to the Second World War where the Balmy Beach Swastika Club formed in 1933. It seems that the focus on aesthetics to mask deeper rooted hate is not unfamiliar to the area: the club's original objective to "stop 'undesirables' – recent immigrants in general, but mainly Jews – from using the eastern beaches" was later changed to the goal of the "beautification of the Beaches" (Gladstone 2013). Neighbourhood associations come to represent particularist interests and a defense of privileged conditions which finds them labeled as a middle-class based, quality-of-life movement, as illustrated by Sara

Ahmed's (2000) conception of 'stranger danger' or with Abu-Lughod's (1998) case of 'White Circle Leagues to Gated Communities' in which "territorially organized communities composed of (primarily) white (ethnic or Anglo) homeowners who seek to defend their neighbourhoods from an 'invasion' of outsiders whom they define as 'undesirable'" (234). Similarly, fear is mobilized when downtown or the symbol of the condominium come to represent a realm of degenerate, immoral, and corrupt behavior that runs opposite to small-town and rural ideals (Razack 2002). In a sense it is tradition itself that becomes or is threatened to become corrupted.

Condominium Boom in Toronto

The Beaches' anti-condominium atmosphere comes up against a pro-condominium Toronto. The transformation of Toronto's skyline according to neoliberal and market-oriented policy is illustrated in Toronto's high-rise condominium tower boom of more than a decade. The attraction of foreign and real estate investments, speculative investments, and a conservative political climate characterized by tax cuts, coupled with cuts to social assistance and the privatization of public companies and services, all came together toward the creation of global city status. It was during the "Common Sense Revolution" of 2001 advocated by Mike Harris, the Progressive Conservative premier of Ontario from 1995 to 2002, that the province "downloaded" \$250 million a year's worth of provincial income assistance programs to municipalities (Warson 2001, 80). As a result, the burden on municipal tax bases, whose largest source of revenue is Property tax, was intensified (City of Toronto Revenue). Through a variety of factors including these, by 2008, there were 287 condominium projects in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA); in 2009, this number increased to 335 active

condominium development sites, for a total of 20,029 unit sales in the GTA (Warson 2009, 70-1), more high-rises under construction than any other city in North America (Warson 2009, 70-1). This upsurge originally took place in the downtown core but eventually started spreading throughout the city. The condominium boom differs from traditional modes of gentrification in that it is led by capital (and facilitated by the state) and not by individual homeowners, what Neil Smith saw as revitalization or gentrification through redevelopment (Smith in Kern 2007, 664). Butler and Lees (2006) call this ‘super-gentrification:’ the gentrification of already gentrified neighbourhoods through planned, market-driven strategies of global corporate developers rather than “an agency-led process of place construction” carried out by individual residents (Dirksmeier 2012, 79). This restructuring is not going without protest. Numerous community groups have formed in resistance to condominium development in their neighbourhood: at Yonge and Eglinton (Capannelli 2001), St. Lawrence (Kuitenbrouwer 2001), Forest Hill (Duncanson 2002), Yorkville (Gillespie 2002), St. Nicholas (Vincent 2009), High Park (Spurr 2012), Liberty Village (Bateman 2012), Ossington (Contenta 2012), and Cottingham (Ballingall 2013), and Bloor West Village (Kilkenny 2014).

The Application and the Appeal

I am focusing on condominium resistance by neighbourhood associations within the east-centre district of the Beaches. The property in question, 1884 Queen Street East, is on the northeast corner of Queen Street East and Woodbine Avenue on the site of a former Shell gas station and Coffee Time doughnut shop (see Appendix 3 for artistic renderings of the proposed development). On February 25th, 2013, the owner of the

property (Queen EMPC Six Limited) appealed its zoning amendment application to the Ontario Municipal Board. This act is in accordance with subsection 34(11) of the *Planning Act*, which permits an appeal if Council fails to make a decision within the timeframe of 120 days after receiving a completed application. The desired zoning amendment would change the city's as-of-right zoning by-laws to allow the construction of a new six-storey mixed-use building with 70 residential units and 626 square metres of retail use on the ground floor. A variety of planning policies are in effect: the area had Urban Design Guidelines (UDG) for Queen Street East dating back to 1987 (the Queen Street East/Coxwell Part II Plan was amended in 1991 to add Design Guidelines). In 2012, new UDG were established to update the out-of-date guidelines to better reflect the policies of the current Official Plan while protecting the "small-town scale and character" and "traditional patterns" common to the area (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). Although the Toronto East York Community Council and City Council unanimously approved the new Guidelines a few weeks after the application appeared, the 2012 Visioning Study for Queen Street East that led to the new UDG did not have the weight of Official Plan policy for the street. Other planning issues at hand include conformity with the province of Ontario's Places to Grow Act, 2005 (where the city of Toronto is designated an Urban Growth Centre), consistency with Provincial Policy Statements (the area is a brownfield site), and respect to Municipal Policies and Regulations such as Toronto's 2010 Avenue or Mid-Rise Guidelines (where Queen Street East is designated an avenue and therefore targeted for intensification).

Residents organized to claim that the proposed development would kill the character of the east-end neighbourhood and that roads, transit, and other infrastructure, which are already at their limit in the area, would be overloaded. The

area, which at present consists largely of semi-detached and large-scale Victorian, Edwardian, and master-planned New Urbanist houses, has become attractive to developers looking to expand the city's condominium boom eastward, especially after the global urban strategy to revitalize waterfronts became widespread. Their claims comprise the most typical NIMBY concerns: the decline in property values, quality of life and the image of the community, and aesthetic and quality objections (Schively 2007, 257). Ultimately, a decision was made by the Board on December 11th, 2013 to allow the appeal. The size and structure of the building now sets a precedent for the area and residents are left speculating about the future of the low-rise, park-rich area. This paper unpacks the events surrounding the hearing.

Methods and Methodology

Foundational work for this paper emanated from my Graduate Assistant position in the Condominium Boom in Toronto research project. The objective to investigate community activism in response to condominium development in Toronto led me to encounter various neighbourhood associations around the city. I eventually narrowed my scope to solely focus on the Beaches. This research is based on my review of archival materials from the City of Toronto Archives as well as the Local History Collection at the Beaches Public Library, which specifically focuses on the Beaches community and its surrounding east-end neighbourhoods. I also reviewed current newspaper articles and analyzed the online comment sections of local community newspapers such as the Beach Metro Community News, a non-profit community newspaper established in 1972, to analyze the opinions of residents. In the City's archive, I examined black and white photographs of the area, looked at city records and municipal planning documents such

as site plans for the property in question, and read early newspaper articles about the area.

Besides archival work, and documentary and media analysis, another important component of my research has been critical observation. I attended a ten-day OMB hearing from October 7th to October 21st, 2013 and took notes. The Board's main role relates to presiding over land use planning and development hearings; here the appeal was related to zoning. The parties in the hearing included: Queen EMPC Six Limited, the City of Toronto, the Greater Beaches Neighbourhood Association (GBNA), and 1409620 Ontario Limited (a neighbour who lives on 140 Woodbine Avenue). Participants included: the East Beach Community Association Hans Looije of the Beach Triangle Residents' Association, Darrin Miles, S. Giblon, Sanvor Weinjacht, R. Gold, Allan Munro, Scott Bullock, Brian Graff, and Adam Smith of the Beach B.I.A. Parties differ from participants in that they have full rights of participation; they can advance expert witnesses, give witness statements, and the party's agent or lawyer has the ability to cross examine witnesses. Participants are more commonly neighbour or ratepayers' groups and represent a group of people.

The first day of the hearing saw an overwhelming presence of community members so much so that the Board, here member Blair S. Taylor, called a break to move to a larger room. From that point on, about 15 people consistently attended the hearing. In keeping with what is suggested by the NIMBY literature that I will discuss in chapter two, the attendees represented the area well because white, middle-class, and university-educated people dominated. Dennis Wood of Wood Bull LLP, representing the GBNA, requested that the Board consider community input, which is unusual in hearings. The request was accorded on the sixth day, October 15, 2013, when 11

residents formally took to the stand to state their position on the appeal and on the application more generally. The day proved to be particularly fruitful for my research in gaining insights in the shape of residents' opinions of the matter. In addition to the hearing, I had many face-to-face interactions with residents from these neighbourhood associations and other resident groups at annual general meetings, provincially mandated neighbourhood consultations, fundraisers, and pre-OMB hearing meetings.

A concept that has helped me make sense of the accounts observed during the hearing is positionality. Donna Haraway's (1988) influential text highlights the importance of positioning in the formation of "situated knowledges," in that knowledge is embodied, localized, personal and therefore always partial (581). Without being reductionist or totalizing, we can consider the points of intersection among these knowledges in order to arrive at a mode of analysis that attempts to untangle the relationships and networks in which we are enmeshed. The unfinished nature of knowledge has helped me understand the perspectives shared as partial and imperfect as well in that the residents took for granted that the area should remain white. Critical whiteness literature has argued the same thing: that whiteness takes itself as the universal and invisible norm (Frye 1992; Dyer 1993). Fredric Jameson (1991) echoes this spatially in his account of cognitive mapping: "a situational representation on the part of the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a whole" (51). Ideological processes then sort out these *Real* and *Imaginary* conditions in a geographical process of physical positioning in one's mind (Jameson 1991, 51). As a result, the data generated represents multiple perspectives that reflect particular standpoints, and therefore particular "truths." In keeping with Jameson's and Haraway's insights, I interpreted these

methods of observation, along with media and documentary analysis, as generating particular perspectives on and mappings of the Beaches that reflect specific standpoints: white, middle-class, settler, as well as “Beacher.” In addition, I analyzed my archive in light of the following literatures: affect and nostalgia, NIMBYism, anti-urbanism, and critical accounts of settler colonialism.

The paper is organized in two parts. The first chapter critically evaluates the aforementioned literatures. I begin by reviewing the valuable contribution Sara Ahmed has made to analyzing conceptions of the stranger through the mobilization of affects like fear and hate. I turn to her work in *Strange Encounters*, my key referent, to consider how “the stranger” is already “re-cognized” as unbelonging and out of place, and to establish what that means for neighbourhood associations as border controls (Ahmed 2000). She expands on this idea in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* by exploring the connections between love for the community (here the neighbourhood) as really hate for anything that doesn’t belong to the same. I will explore the way in which affective narratives cause bodies that are raced, classed, and gendered, among other things, to “stick together” or away from others. To explore the basis of this “sticking together” I will turn to Svetlana Boym’s (2007) work on nostalgia. Here, the fantasy of a shared past that never was becomes the basis of narratives of the loss of personal or collective history.

I then turn to NIMBY literature and evaluate its limitations when taking into consideration affect and nostalgia. Common to the field of planning, NIMBYism is expressed through individual or group action motivated by an ideology of protecting one’s own territory or “backyard” from undesirable land-uses and is often discredited as

a blatant pursuit of narrow self-interest. While typical LULUs (locally unwanted land-uses) more commonly include airports, wind turbines, women's shelters and halfway houses, immigrant services, nuclear plants, or incinerators, for example, condominiums also follow the definition of LULUs in that what is being opposed is agreed to be useful, necessary, and important, yet it is nevertheless not wanted in one's own vicinity. This is true in inner-city Toronto and the surrounding suburbs due to the provincially passed Greenbelt Act of 2005, legislation designed to protect "green space" by limiting exurban development and encouraging intensification in the core areas of the cities of the GTA. The search to understand the motivations of NIMBY groups and to curb their influence began in the 1970s. Since then the incorporation of network analysis (Shemtov 2003), economic cost-benefit analysis (Feinerman et al. 2004), behavioral psychology in relation to risk perception (Thornton and Tizard 2010), and subsequent ethical considerations (Hermansson 2007; Feldman and Turner 2010), to name a few, have widened the scope and confines of its definition. As van der Horst (2007) argues, "[t]he best way to protest against a project but avoid being seen as self-interested, is obviously to stress other, seemingly more legitimate, reasons for opposition. This does not necessarily imply that these people are deliberately lying or being deceptive. They do something that many of us do in our daily lives; seeking an acceptable post-justification for going along with our initial 'gut feeling'" (2711). While NIMBY rhetoric is largely used to discredit groups, criticism is rarely rooted in explaining this supposed "gut feeling" as racially motivated, among other things (notable exceptions include Wilton 2002; Davis and Bali 2008). Further, what NIMBY literature is missing is a lack of analysis of the way in which space is constituted and a view of emotions that assumes the inside/out construction that Ahmed argues against.

I further draw on the literature on anti-urbanism to explore how the roots of the “Beacher” fantasy as small-town and natural are constructed in contrast to, and apart from, the city at large. Specifically, I argue that the insistence on maintaining a physical and psychological division from the city could be viewed as anti-urban. This analysis was inspired by comments that I read that suggest the Beaches are not Toronto. In particular, I am inspired by Tom Slater’s (2002) writings on the fear of the city in imagery and rhetoric that underline pro-rural sentiments. I apply this reading to make sense of the Beaches’ appeal to tradition as a smaller-sized community which is set in contrast to Toronto, an urban environment representing less social contact between neighbours, and less helpfulness and consideration shown toward strangers. I trace how tradition is invoked in ways that are inherently conservative and so we must be suspicious of its advocacy. The framework of anti-urbanism is further helpful in that it allows us to observe how the perpetuation of private/public divisions (in emotion, in space) replicates the social constructions of race, gender, and class, and how the maintenance of these divisions can rely on strategic social reproduction through the built form.

Because this land-use related case study takes place in Canada, any analysis would be incomplete without considering the effects of the nation’s history of white supremacy, genocide, and settler colonialism on the area, and failing to acknowledge from whom this land was stolen. In Toronto, this would mean recognizing the sovereignty of the Wendats (Hurons), Tionnontati (Petuns), Senecas, and Mississaugas (Ojibwa, Chippewa, Anishinaabeg, Freeman 2010, 21). The colonial context of the land makes us complicit in particular geographies of power that privilege the settler subject. As I will argue, even the power of naming (which is seen in the ‘Beach’ versus ‘Beaches’

name debate) reflects a colonial state of mind that revolves around an erroneous binary of rightful ‘settlers’/‘pioneers’ confronting illegitimate ‘newcomers’ that makes invisible not only the more recent displacement in the area through gentrification, but also the historical and continued erasure and denial of indigenous presence in Canada. Naming thus works to reflect particular bodies, one that is based on the “cottage colony” or bodies of leisure that originally “settled” and “put down roots in” the area. Resistance against the “displacement” that is thought to go hand in hand with condominium development comes to mean a “return” to a traditional neighbourhood that never existed. For this I rely heavily on Lorenzo Veracini’s (2012) paper that relates suburban and settler colonial imaginaries.

The second chapter will examine the case study of condominium development in the Beaches in light of these literatures. In doing so, I aim to prove how, despite the interest and focus on the fire hall and clock tower as the gateway and icons to the area and the insistence on respecting their heritage character (as expressed during the hearing and in the Queen Street East UDG), there is more at play here than protecting the view of an old building. For this reason NIMBY literature thus far, which posits that property values and aesthetics are the real and only concerns, is limited in explaining the case. Accordingly, I want to build on NIMBY literature by incorporating theories of affect and nostalgia, anti-urbanism, and critical accounts of settler colonialism. I explore how the production and maintenance of sameness and spatial identities in the Beaches is informed by past histories and remaining white, middle-class consciousness which come to construct and uphold the affective relations and experiences in the neighbourhood. Moreover, I consider how the social position of residents in the area, given its history and current demographics as affluent, white, and middle-class, reflect

the very atmosphere that they feel is being threatened. The maintenance of this atmosphere depends on the spatial and social exclusion of those who do belong, here illustrated in the need to live in a homogenous and isolated space where condominiums represent an alternative to its tradition. In that sense, I suggest, anti-urbanism is in play where condominiums come to represent the “non-places” within cities as a whole: impersonal, isolating, full of superficial human interactions, and places of overcrowding and disorder, suggesting “pro-rural, small-town suspicions of the modern metropolis” (Slater 2002). In contrast to village life invoked in ‘small-town’ Beaches, which offers connectedness and a sense of community, the city is devoid of compassion, care and community, or is even considered socially dangerous (Slater 2002). This division from the city at large remains from the area’s cottage history. Just like the cottagers in the past who wanted to temporarily get away from the alienating and unwholesome effects of industrial society in the city by escaping into a landscape of recreation, Beachers are threatened by the city encroaching on their “harmonious” territory, as one resident described it (OMB Hearing, October 19, 2013).

Not all neighbourhood groups that aim to protect their version of harmony display NIMBY attitudes. However, the two share much in common: the typical NIMBY advocate is white, a college graduate and home owner, married, and employed full-time (Kitts 1999, 561-562). Similarly, successful communities, in terms of exerting power over the location of sites, tend to be the wealthier, whiter, suburban single-family residential neighbourhoods of cities; indeed, as Aaron A. Moore’s (2013) book on planning politics in Toronto reveals, the number of upper-middle-class residents in a given neighbourhood directly influences the presence of active neighbourhood associations (130). Thus a vocal but skewed demographic of an area comes to present

their concerns as representing collective interests, in effect drowning out other voices. In terms of settler colonial imaginaries, I suggest that the expressed victimhood and displacement works to conceal the actual displacement of First Nations through a fantasy of whiteness in the indigenization of cottagers as “first settlers,” where whites become native to the place. I will conclude by advocating for greater attention to the affective in planning.

In short, Chapter one introduces the theoretical foundations that underpin my analysis. With Chapter two I analyze the comments of residents about the proposed development by way of newspapers articles and observations during hearings in light of these frameworks in order to contribute to NIMBY literature. In an Epilogue, I take a step back and reflect on the role of the planner in relation to affect. Questions of reason and irrationality, something I tried to avoid tackling by way of affect, became unavoidable. For this reason, the last section tries to alleviate the tensions of the paper: namely, between rationality/irrationality, emotions/logic, and planners/citizens.

CHAPTER ONE | THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

I begin my attempt to contextualize the recent condominium boom in the Beaches within wider development processes of the neighbourhood by exploring relevant analytical frameworks that discuss the relationship between subjectivity and space in order to give insight into the deeper historical and philosophical roots of the NIMBY phenomenon at play. First, I will draw on Sara Ahmed's (2004) theory of affect, which argues that affect is relational and accumulates over time. Ahmed argues that affect 'sticks' to objects, and orients bodies toward or away from other bodies. Following this, I revisit the NIMBY literature through a lens of affect. The question then becomes: how do we make sense of the "gut feeling" associated with protectionist activism without reducing emotions to the sphere of the irrational, which has been the basis of understanding and contesting NIMBYism (and emotions in general) thus far? As we will explore with Ahmed, rather than being unintentional and arbitrary, the object of fear is over-determined or pre-constructed, in that the stranger is already recognized as threatening before the encounter (Ahmed 2004, 62). In other words, certain feelings and emotions 'stick' onto particular bodies that have been constructed as their 'natural' bearers. In the remainder of this section, I plan to probe issues of identity and belonging through constructions of individual and collective affects as expressions of suburban residential segregation.

I will examine the connection between such suburban imaginaries first to anti-urbanism (or fear of the city) and second to settler colonialism and, to a lesser extent, the white supremacy and heteronormativity inherent in both. This chapter illuminates the ways in which 'Beacher' identity and belonging rest on territorial control and

collective identity through moral-based principles of family-centeredness, self-sufficiency, closeness to nature, and a hostility to change, which are exhibited by residents. Such principles are the roots of traditional, small-town life, which is viewed as incompatible with the inhospitable, indifferent, and competitive city where high-rise condominium living and lifestyles are common. As might be expected, NIMBYism is not known for passivity and apathy. As the Beaches' extensive history of community activism illustrates, matters concerning the built environment deeply inform and reform the ways in which bodies and selves are produced and understood in the area. This is encapsulated in the area's reputation for being "famously adverse to new development" and for having residents that are fiercely protective (D'Cruz 2013, 58).

Before I begin I want to make it clear that I am well aware that the Beaches are not a suburb and are very much a part of the city of Toronto. What I suggest is an imagined spatiality of everyday life that creates a unique mental and physical distinction and distance from the downtown core that is not expressed in other neighbourhoods so close to downtown (Pile 1996, 34). Of course historically Woodbine and Gerrard was quite the journey out of the city until the invention of the automobile and this idea of escape has lent to the area's image as a leisure destination. What I am more concerned with is the way in which this distance and isolation let the area breed and "nurture its particularities," as one reporter in the 1980s described it (Whiteson 1981). The 'Beacher' identity is one that is based on exceptionalism, currently expressed through the sentiment that the area is somehow unaffected by capital or through the presumed right to determine the landscape, a right not afforded to others in similar situations around the city. I use NIMBYism as a framework because the residents in these vocal neighbourhood associations make it clear that neither are they against development in

general, or condominiums per se, nor are they in favour of scrapping the developer-friendly Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) to be replaced by a local appeal body in regards to land use planning and development hearings which would give all neighbourhoods and communities potentially more decision-making power in land-use matters that concern them. More generally, what is at stake here is a right to determine who deserves to be in a city or neighbourhood, how we live in a city, which activities can occur there, who is able to define themselves in urban spaces, who is allowed in a space and gets to feel safe and welcome, and who gets to have a voice and exert power in making urban spaces their own and reflect their history.

A Neighbourhood in Danger: Strangers or Neighbours?

In *Strange Encounters*, Ahmed (2000) examines “stranger danger” discourse articulated by neighbourhood watch and crime prevention programs in the United Kingdom. The “stranger” in this framework is already marked as “out of place” or “not belonging.” He or she further is constructed as the origin and embodiment of what is felt: fear, anxiety, uncertainty, danger, and threat (Ahmed 2000, 15). The interdependence and mutual construction of subject and object rests on marking some bodies as strange against the antithetical ‘we’ of a community who do belong through techniques of differentiation. Similarly, the ‘this place’ in the boundaries of the neighbourhood becomes enforced. As Ahmed notes, “[t]his differentiation between others is central to the constitution of the subject”, or in other words, the subject can be posited only by being opposed by the object of the stranger (2000, 23). According to Michael Dillon, “with the delimitation of any place of dwelling, the constitution of a people, a nation, a state, or a democracy necessarily specifies who is *estranged from*

that identity, place or regime” (Dillon in Ahmed 24, emphasis in original). Without this distinction, the subject and their (social and physical) boundaries disintegrate. What is visible is very important in our knowledge of the other: the embodied experience of encountering the other through one’s own body enforces the familiar/stranger dualism according to ways of seeing and living in the world and thus shapes social space (Ahmed 2000, 22). The neighbourhood itself becomes a body as well, in that it is contained and sealed off from that which doesn’t belong. In this sense, neighbourhoods with ‘ideal character’ become imagined as organic and pure spaces through the social perception of the danger posed by outsiders to the collective moral and social health or well-being of that body-(Ahmed 2000, 26).

Ahmed highlights the importance of narratives of crisis and the embedded discourse of survival that makes the neighbourhood appear in danger and justifies a “return” to values and traditions: “[i]t is the very potential of the community to fail which is required for the constitution of the community” (2000, 26, emphasis in original). The stranger disrupts “our” world as an alien figure that threatens property and person and, for that reason, “must be expelled from the purified space of the community, the purified life of the good citizen, and the purified body of ‘the child’” (Ahmed 2000, 22). Defensive Neighbourhood programs such as these are common in middle-class areas where there is valuable property to protect, and this social privilege conceals the exclusive and inherent violence that is legitimized when enforcing and defending social boundaries (Ahmed 2000, 27).

Ahmed’s “stranger danger” theory provides a theoretical framework through which community identity can be viewed as a space of belonging and unbelonging. What is central to the formation of communal identity is the differentiation of the

subjective community as a whole, which is in direct opposition to the “other,” a figure that comes to symbolize feelings of danger or fear, feelings which ultimately bind the community together as a single entity. In fact, as Dillon notes, the very definition of a collective group implies the existence of an “estranged counterpart” to that group (Ahmed 2000). Given that it is also physically separated from its surroundings, the community itself becomes a body that is implicated within this subject/object dualism. Most crucial to Ahmed’s theory is that the formation of a community identity based on the threat of the “stranger” figure creates a dualistic struggle in which the moral and pure communal entity justifies the acts of purging the unwanted bodies of “strangers” and of maintaining its boundaries, traditions, and thus, identity by any means necessary. It is precisely the closing in of threatening bodies or figures that is the basis for Ahmed’s notion of affect.

Affect, Nostalgia, and the Fear of Change

Ahmed’s notion of affect proposes that it is through proximity and relation that bodies constitute other bodies, and that affects construct and are a product of the way we live in and view the world. In particular, I am interested in Ahmed’s argument that the spatial and conceptual boundaries of the collective are threatened by the passing by or proximity of the unbelonging. While some have argued for the physicality or agentic qualities of buildings as living bodies in and of themselves, I am more concerned with their role in the politics of (un)belonging and the affective boundaries produced by fear, love/hate, and threat through nostalgia and a resistance to the future (Guyau in Seyfert 2012). Affect works to both connect and disconnect individuals to larger social experiences. In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Ahmed (2004) challenges models of

emotion that presume feelings originate in individuals and then move out into the world ('inside out'), and also those that assume feelings exist out there in the crowd and then individuals take them in as their own ('outside in') (8-9). In both models, emotions become something that one could 'have.' Instead, her model of the sociality of emotions argues that "it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others... [Emotions] produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects" (2004, 10). In this sense emotions are relational and it is through this contact that orientations of 'towardness' or 'awayness' occurs (Ahmed 2004, 8). Haraway argues that it is through social interaction that the boundaries of bodies materialize: "[b]oundaries are drawn by mapping practices; 'objects' do not preexist as such. Objects are boundary projects. But boundaries shift from within; boundaries are very tricky. What boundaries provisionally contain remains generative, productive of meanings and bodies" (Haraway 1988, 595).

Ahmed interrogates the place of emotion in the world in the way in which particular emotions, of fear, threat, hate/love, alarm, and so on, are mobilized to orient people toward some and away from others. Fear, in particular, is at play: "emotions work to align bodily space with social space" in that "fear works to restrict some bodies through the movement or expansion of others" (Ahmed 2004, 69). Because bodies are already entangled in relations, the encounter does not precede the affect. Or as Anderson (2006) explains it, it is not an event first and then an affective effect of such an event second (736). Instead, Ahmed resists the gendered public/private, mind/body divide, arguing instead that emotion is not separated from the body. Affect, then, comes

before and after: before in the sense that bodies are already marked, and after as reactions to these already established narratives and contextual cues through our relations with others. Emotions surface individuals and collectives, not by being internally felt and then moving out in the world but by aligning some subjects with others against other others. Further, Ahmed also draws attention to the importance of proximity in arguing that there is no actual division beside inside and outside, just experiences of it.

A second strand of affect that is relevant for this investigation is nostalgia. In an essay adapted from her book *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001), Svetlana Boym (2007) defines nostalgia as “a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one’s own fantasy” (7). Unlike historical accounts that conceptualized nostalgia as an individual, patriotic “sickness” that could be “cured” through a trip to the motherland, she distinguishes the term as “a symptom of our age, an historical emotion” (Boym 2007, 8). More precisely, as opposed to being a longing for a place it is a yearning for a different time, for example of our childhood or a slower pace of time more generally (Boym 2007, 13). It is thus a rebellion against the modern idea of time, specifically the “time-space compression” of globalization that Harvey (1990) first conceptualized. These processes of homogenization and individualization that have led to a loss of community and cohesion have been countered with a desire for stronger local attachments, a community with a collective memory, and social cohesion and tradition (Boym 2007, 14). Nostalgia then “offers a comforting collective script for individual longing” based on the biography and collective memory of groups (Boym 2007, 15). Restorative nostalgia, in particular, thinks of itself as truth and tradition and its rhetoric is not so much rooted in a past as in “universal values, family, nature, homeland, truth”

(Boym 2007, 15). Tensions between objective tradition and subjective history merge in two paradoxes: “the more rapid and sweeping the pace and scale of modernization, the more conservative and unchangeable the new traditions tend to be,” and “the stronger the rhetoric of continuity with the historical past and emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is usually presented” (Boym 2001, 15).

Affect becomes a crucial part of my analysis especially as it pertains to nostalgia, a theme throughout my paper. Resistance, or perhaps more appropriately, the fear of change and of the future is not only inherent in maintaining a stable, definable communal identity, but it is also fundamental to understanding Ahmed’s theory of affect for the purpose of this paper. Boym’s definition of nostalgia provides yet another contextual framework, which suggests that community identity is formed through our desires to share collective memories and ties. The fact that this desire is born out of the rejection of modernization could help explain anti-condominium NIMBY groups where condominiums come to stand for the modernization of the neighbourhood.

The Limits of NIMBY Rhetoric

Literature on NIMBYism began by discussing the phenomenon as a syndrome to “diagnose” or “cure” (Wolf 1987). Wolf (1987) identified three linked causes for the NIMBY syndrome: the loss of control, the loss of community, and equity concerns (218). This combination of powerlessness, weakening social support and networks, and perceived low benefits is then used as the yardstick to measure a community’s risk acceptance and their resilience in meeting and mitigating potential concerns. He concludes that the answer is then to reaffirm the need for community-based approaches to risk assessment and management as a way to inform communities (Wolf 1987, 222).

To this, Wolf notes that planners can gain community acceptance through monetary and nonmonetary incentives to mitigate any concerns by the community. Another earlier piece by Michael Dear (1992) attempts to make sense of the then recent phenomenon of community opposition through the lens of human services planning. First, the obvious but nonetheless important factor of geographical proximity is identified, in that the closer the proximity to the undesired site the more likely residents are to oppose. Dear (1992) examined factors determining community attitudes and argued that public attitudes toward “difference” tend to be organized hierarchically through the three tiers of acceptability in terms of acceptable services for a host community: most welcome (schools, day care centres, hospitals), mixed reviews (group homes, homeless shelters, alcohol rehabilitation centres), and absolutely unwelcome (shopping malls, factories, prisons) (292). Dear notes that inner cities are seen as more tolerant and accepting, as they exhibit more neighborhood heterogeneity: they exhibit high density, feature mixed land-uses of industrial, commercial, and residential, and a variety of social groups (owners, renters, singles, families), social classes, and ethnic groups (Dear 1992, 293). In contrast, suburban jurisdictions are socially and physically homogenous, comprised of single-family homes in low densities, anything other is perceived as a threat.

Kate Burningham (2000) separates the NIMBY syndrome into three distinct perspectives: an ignorant or irrational response to a baseless, perceived risk (in which the role of the planner becomes one of, at best, educating an uninformed public or, at worst, overruling them for the same); a selfish response, mostly concerned with property value, which is at once rational, as it fits within the model of a self-maximizing individual in the free-market system (in which, seeing as project proponents also act in their own interest, the role of the planner becomes one of mediating a sort of game

theory which relies on trade-offs or compensation); and finally a prudent response in which the experientially knowledgeable citizen's well-grounded concerns with a new development stand in contrast to the evidence of experts (in which, in view of the fact that NIMBYism is defined as limited, selfish, or irrational, the protesters would not be NIMBYs and thus shouldn't be handled as such from a planner's perspective) (Burningham 2000, 56-58).

Using the case study of temporary housing siting, Davis and Bali (2008) examine the role of race when factoring the approval process for undesirable projects. The findings reveal that the racial composition of a neighbourhood had a significant effect on the consideration stage wherein potential locations are considered and on the approval stage where the importance of gaining approval on the part of local politicians is key. The authors draw three explanations from economic theory to explain the siting decisions of many types of agents (including governmental agencies): pure racial discrimination, Coasean compensation theory (that firms are profit maximizers and aim to limit the cost of externalities), and collective action theory (Davis and Bali 2008, 1177). For the latter two, firms acting as siting agents are driven to maximize profits and minimize the cost of negative externalities, this includes evaluating a site for possible negative externalities such as demographic and physical characteristics of a neighbourhood, or the ability of residents to participate in the political process by voicing concerns. This last point, they argue, mirrors the environmental racism literature that suggests that racialized communities typically exhibit lower levels of civic engagement and are thus targeted for the placement of undesirable facilities.

Drawing on social and environmental psychological theory on place, Devine-Wright (2009) proposes an alternative framework to explain local opposition. He

argues that opposition can be viewed as a form of place-protective action, which comes about when new developments disturb pre-existing emotional attachments and threaten place-related identity processes. He proposes a framework of place change through a social constructivist and social representation perspective that encompasses stages of becoming aware, interpreting, evaluating, coping and acting when individuals are striving to make sense of change. These include factors like positive distinctiveness, continuity over time, and self-efficacy. This allows us to rethink NIMBY responses as place-protective actions where place attachment, place identity, and place disruption produce evaluative, behavioural, or emotional responses, including physical or psychological anxiety, in individuals that are threatened.

Maney and Abraham (2008) illustrate how physical and discursive forms of boundary making are used by neighbourhood groups in order to police physical and symbolic boundaries, and maintain places of domination and control. To achieve this immigrants are portrayed as criminals, dangerous, and underserving of sympathy or services in order to foster a discourse of victimization of opponent groups. In effect their opposition is legitimized while immigrants are presented as oppressive or oppressed persons whose status victimizes residents. Four forms of boundary making are highlighted: labeling, metaphors, concretization, and commonplaces. Highly visible markers such as race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and class are drawn upon (some more subtly than others) in order to construct threat-filled discourses that place a “we” in opposition to a negatively represented “other.” The authors note that this inversion of social inequalities leaves NIMBY groups as encouraging beliefs that legitimate the status quo and posit the dominant group members as disempowered, disenfranchised, and sympathy-worthy victims of the state as part of a “vulnerable group.”

Arguing against the casual naming of all self-defense-based social rejections of sitings as NIMBY, Pol et al. (2009) deem such a reaction “normal” insofar as it is related to a social perception of risk and inequity. What is at stake, they argue, is an issue or alteration of (objective and subjective) quality of life and people’s well-being which could easily be managed through a closer inspection of the conflict-management perspectives of classical social psychology theories. In comparing various articles on the NIMBY phenomenon from psychological, psycho-spatial, or psycho-environmental perspectives, the authors find common themes: implied cognitive dissonance and “overcompensation bounce effect dimension,” group self image, identity and cohesion, and finally the favouring of in-group interests to the disadvantage of out-group ones. As a result, the combination of social movement theory and conflict resolution mediation works to debunk perceived interests and risks.

Wilton (2002) looks at the role of ‘race’ and racialization in NIMBY conflicts and argues that such reactions work to facilitate the reproduction of white privilege. In his example of ‘special needs’ housing in San Pedro, California, he finds that appeals to a nostalgic, romanticized, and ‘whitened’ construction of community (which runs against material and symbolic privileges of the dominant group) worked to defend socio-spatial privileges of whiteness that ran in opposition to out of place-marked ‘special needs’ clients (for example, those using welfare and other forms of social assistance). The changing demographic makeup of the area was linked to the client population and the declining property values and character of the community, and personal safety concerns. Non-white and substandard white (in terms of middle-class respectability) residents were then constructed as ‘special needs’ clients and therefore different and undesirable in this racialization (or racial reproduction) of place and defense of a

naturalized and Eurocentric privileged whiteness based on race and class. This whiteness has three linked dimensions: a location of structural advantage, a standpoint from which white people look at the world, and a set of cultural practices that are often unmarked and unnamed. Socio-spatial exclusion then offered residents the means to protect privileges in the face of changing social conditions through the dual processes of the racialization of clients and the reproduction of whiteness and heteronormativity.

Buckman (2011) investigates the role of neighbourhood activism in the development process in Phoenix, Arizona. Through the use of interviews, surveys, and archival data, he finds that action was rallied around a common cause of maintaining community empowerment that is based on a strong sense of place through slow growth and/or antidevelopment campaigns. Giving support to the strong influence of strong-willed and empowered (in short, wealthy) neighbourhood coalitions, Buckman concludes by arguing for the need for collaboration between developers and communities when it comes to major development projects, maintaining that community support holds the potential of reducing common NIMBY roads blocks for development. A strong aversion to change seemed to be the guiding reason for the community activism against such projects, which were found in comments that the plans altered the quality and integrity of the area. The high-rise, mixed-use developments seemed at odds with the single-family ranch homes common to the area, resulting in a radicalism that is based on property rights and community aesthetics under the guise of environmentalism or, in other words, on issue of wealth.

Gibson (2005) pushes conventional conceptions of the NIMBY syndrome, which reduce land-use disputes to one of a moral struggle between rational/civic-minded planners and irrational/self-interested opponents. The author argues that such a

construction is inadequate to capture the political and ethical complexities of sitings (or the municipal realpolitik of such controversies), as well as the corresponding political-economic power imbalances among the differing and multiple “centers” of interests within the body politic. Using the case study of homeless services in Seattle, Gibson examines the complicated manifestations of the general “civil interest” and the narrow “self-interest” in the ways that local politicians, non-profit groups, and the media have acted on and tried to represent the rational-civic-good and universalize their particular perspectives. By focusing on local opposition to human service facilities, Gibson shows how the conventional perspective on NIMBYism fails as an analytical framework (which upholds detrimental dichotomies between civil interest and special interest and the experts and citizens who represent each) and as a strategic tool for community nonprofit advocates (who hope the negative label could be used against opponents as a political strategy). Shedding a light on the importance of process, he is able to distinguish unequal distributions of economic and social power that take place when land-use decisions get made.

In contrast to the emphases provided by the literature on NIMBYism, my concern will not be with traffic, parking, or transit issues (even if they are the most vocal concerns in The Beaches). I suggest that it is useful to deploy affect alongside NIMBY in order to move beyond this limiting viewpoint and avoid reducing such complex fears and emotional responses to individual phenomenon.

Small-Town Desires as Anti-Urbanism

Another strand of writings that I engage with to make sense of protectionism is the literature on anti-urbanism. In order to understand the persistence of romantic

small-town ideals of the area, we could explore the bourgeois, romantic, anti-urban, and anti-industrial impulses behind them. The establishment of a middle-class (and implicitly white and heteronormative) enclave through the participation of certain social classes and occupational groups speaks to the spatiality of race as a sociospatial process constitutive of the city and produced by it (Pulido 2000). Environmental justice literature has identified the discriminatory relationship between race and space as environmental racism. In the urban context, spatial patterns associated with this have been mass retreats from the inner city known as 'white flight' and the clearance of marginalized neighbourhoods known as 'urban renewal' (Slater 2002). Outlying areas like residential (metropolitan) suburbs follow bourgeois ideologies of nature: the conventional tendency to see nature and society as two separates, where nature is organic and balanced and is thus disturbed or derailed through human interaction, in effect attributing transcendent meaning to "Nature" (Swyngedouw 1996). The fetishization of the past as a more 'pure' existence with nature creates a division between a rural (moral/just/right) past and urban (immoral/unjust/wrong) present. Expressions of this come in the form of a sentimental love or romanticization of nature and, when coupled with an alienation from the city, produce an urgent need for the protection of "natural" landscapes against "artificial and unhealthy" built environments urgent.

Tom Slater (2002) explores how this bias against or hostility towards the city went hand in hand with industrialization. Extending Kazin's (1983) work on the fear of the city, Slater defines anomie, a term popularized by sociologist Emile Durkheim in 1897, as "a condition in individuals characterized by an absence or diminution of standards or values (referred to as 'normalness'), and an associated feeling of

alienation... [that is] common when the surrounding society has undergone significant changes in its economic fortunes, whether for good or for worse and, more generally, when there is a significant discrepancy between the ideological theories and values commonly professed and what was actually achievable in everyday life” (Slater 2002). Anti-urban sentiments such as calls to tradition or small-town values, then, become comforting for those struggling to make sense of the transforming world around them.

Another taken on what I term the anti-urbanism is Peter Dirksmeier’s (2012) work, which brings together Tim Butler’s (2002) concepts of metropolitan habitus and Pierre Bourdieu’s (1990) habitual urbanity to make sense of the disparities between differences in responding and coping to the challenges of strangeness and otherness between habitants of villages compared to those in the metropolis. Dirksmeier examines the attraction and choice of living in a particular part of a city as a form of social distinction or, in another way, “the wish to live in areas with ‘people like us’ with common characteristics” (Dirksmeier 2012, 78). This resonates with Ahmed when she quotes Hallman in arguing that “neighbourhoods are more likely to be successful as communities when people live near ‘like people’: ‘people with similarities tend to achieve closer neighbor relationships’” (2000, 25). The ability to live with ‘like people’ is more difficult in the globalized city where contact with strangers is common, and coping with this is where rural and urban dwellers differ. Habitual urbanity is interpreted as the ability to integrate new social conditions into daily routines, to embrace strangeness, and to deal with annoyances (Dirksmeier 2012, 85). Dirksmeier concludes that for the urbanites this presence of and constant contact with strangers in urban space extends their own scope of action through increased anonymity and therefore freedom. The city is then celebrated, optimistic, and revolutionary. In contrast, the rural population is

“more involved in modifying strangeness in the direction of their own traditions. This practice is conducive to the preservation of the value of their residential capital, traditions and local identity” and results in a caution towards newness (Dirksmeier 2012, 87). Small-town aspirations of neighbours knowing neighbours in the traditional way create a dislike and distrust of the opposite: city life.

Desires for sameness in habits, attitudes, and lifestyles could also serve as a form of social reproduction. As Ahmed has suggested, homogeneity pacifies the fear of contamination with the Other and so harmful toxic bodies are contained and separated from dominant populations. Social construction can also be linked to leisure, an atmosphere the Beaches are known for: Luka notes that countless theorists who have linked social class and space through leisure “as both social practice and symbolic system of activity for maintaining and manipulating status to personal advantage” (Luka 2006, 29). As a set of qualities that accumulate privileges, “residential capital also consists of the social capital which can be acquired through residence in a particular location” (Dirksmeier 2012, 80).

While Ahmed’s theories of affect and stranger danger reveal the ways in which threatening “other” bodies create protectionist tendencies in a community, anti-urbanism reveals one of the ways in which communities learn to cope with these threats. In short, the threat of changing and alienating cities has resulted in the romanticization of nature, rural spaces, and the past – something hopelessly absent in the city. This effectively creates a duality between nature/rural/past spaces as pure versus the modern/urban/present. In an effort to understand protectionist activism, the ideas of a romanticized past that create anti-urban sentiments is crucial. Since an idealized past

and small-town lifestyles play such a large role in this paper, it would be equally important to critically examine the very past that is being idealized.

Settler Colonial Imaginaries

I begin this section by exploring the power of naming. The area had a heated debate about its name in the late 1980s when the city installed street signs identifying the neighbourhood as "The Beaches," and later again during an official referendum in the early 2000s where residents voted in favour of naming it "The Beach" once and for all (or for now, at least, York 1985). It was thought that only newcomers and outsiders refer to the neighbourhood as "The Beaches." What seems like an innocuous conflict over the name of a neighbourhood actually reveals a form of colonialism's continuous maintenance through the rewriting of peoples and history by pushing white stories to the forefront and erasing of indigenous presence. By producing and reproducing the dominant narrative about white ownership, the determination/establishment of rightful "founders" becomes one between early cottagers or early gentrifiers, with barely a mention of the district's location as straddling the ancient shoreline of glacial Lake Iroquois, or presence and ongoing displacement of the Wendats (Hurons), Tionnontati (Petuns), Senecas, and Mississaugas (Ojibwa, Chippewa, Anishinaabeg) more generally in Toronto and what that would mean for claims to land (Freeman 2010, 21). The rightful "founder" constitutes the lawful subject or "the one who has the right to dwell" on one side and the stranger on the other (Ahmed 2000, 23). Moreover, such claims to space naturalize an inherent ownership. McLaren et al. (2004) highlight the importance of private property to the colonial imagination and experience by calling attention to the work of critical geographers in "drawing important connections between the processes

of visioning and regulating land and exercising political and legal power” (3) which meant “involving judgments over which ‘rights’ deserved consideration and which did not” (4). Planning in British settler societies becomes private property management on land that is not Canada’s to manage. This “elective” or imagined form of belonging to place such as a “new” place “enables a comprehensive disavowal of indigenous ‘dwellers’” (Veracini 2012, 353). Narratives of nostalgia and elective belonging preclude narratives of attachment or “the realization that one’s place of residence has ‘lost its magic’” (Veracini 2012, 353), the magic being whatever is felt to be threatened. This resonates with Boym who would interpret this lost ‘magic’ as nostalgia or “the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an ‘enchanted world’ with clear borders and values” (Boym 2007, 13). As Ahmed reminds us, multiple past histories are tied to current relations: “hate ‘slides’ sideways between figures, as well as backward, by reopening past associations that allow some bodies to be read as the cause of ‘our hate,’ or as ‘being’ hateful (Ahmed 2004, 120). At the same time the labour of others becomes concealed in a fantasy that it is the white subject who “built this land:” “the white subjects claim the place of hosts (“our shores”) at the same time as they claim the position of the victim, as the ones who are damaged by an ‘unmerciful government’” (Ahmed 2004, 118). The implicit assertion of white supremacy manifests itself in constructing ignorance as another way of knowing or the desire not to know. The ignorance required in maintaining a traditional community with disregard to past and current colonization or even more recently gentrification is evidence for the way in which settler subjects produce and sustain their own subject positions. This is done by institutionalizing nostalgia through heritage foundations, memorials or, in the case of the Beaches, devoting a section of the local library to popular history, which works to

“produc[e] subjective visions of afflicted imagination that tend to colonize the realm of politics, history, and everyday perception” (Boym 2007, 9). By establishing Beacher legitimacy through folklore and popular history of (re)settlers (re)colonizing in the area, whiteness is upheld as dominant and settler colonialism manifests and reinforces itself.

A helpful framework is Veracini’s notion that settler consciousness and subjectivity is rooted in a state of constant fear (Veracini 2010). Ongoing legacies of settler colonial violence are reflected in the settler mentality of needing the continued disappearance of indigenous bodies for legitimate claims to land. This mentality and feelings of threat are what allows communities to assert their identity as a neighbourhood by means of physical and mental territories and distance. The neighbourhood then uses this boundary of respectability and degeneracy for protection from the undesirables and the immoral, and from the problems of the core/motherland (Razack 2002). Veracini compares colonial core and peripheral states to the way in which suburban imaginaries become diasporic and dependent on a (liberal) subjectivity of liberation through movement (or “a conception of freedom as the ability to move away” (Veracini 2012, 342). As opposed to seeing home as stable and finding solutions through changes within it, suburbanism reveals a “settlerism” in leaving home for better untouched worlds: “the unprecedented notion that migrating to a settler frontier far away was actually better than remaining in corrupting circumstances” (James Bleich in Veracini 2012, 343).

Lorenzo Veracini’s (2012) *Suburbia, Settler Colonialism and the World Turned Inside Out* traces the ways in which white settler structures like suburban and settler colonial imaginaries are intrinsically linked. Specifically, in that “all settler societies are characterized by suburban phenomena in their anti-urban reenactment of settlement in

pre-emptively seceding from the metropole/metropolis in the face of increasing tensions and contradictions that accompanied the onset of ‘modernity’” (Veracini 2012, 339). This escape is “premised on an anxious escape that comprehensively rejects environments that are perceived as increasingly threatening” (Veracini 2012, 340). His focus is on Australia, which has links to Canada due to similar histories as settler states, but he states that suburbia (as a British-induced cultural dislike of cities) was “an attempt to re-enact an idealized vision of a long lost ‘merry England’” (Veracini 2012, 341).

The battle for local control over local affairs (and the social and economic environment by extension) is common to suburbs. We must see this “loss of control” as “a desire to reinstitute (that is, to re-enact) a particular condition and the anxiety that is associated to its perceived loss that produce a determination to pre-emptively move” (Veracini 2012, 350), be it a return to nature against city/urban or not. Self-determination through claims of sovereign capacity marks settler migration in that “settlers routinely imagine their movement through space as a ‘return’ that settler colonial projects are premised on an anxious pattern of perception” (Veracini 2012, 339-340). This is especially true for the risk-averse middle class. The following description by Veracini might as well sum up the Beaches when confronting condominium development: “spacious, affluent, clean, decent, permanent, predictable, and homogenous – and violated by the great city – congested, impoverished, filthy, immoral, transient, uncertain and heterogeneous” (Veracini 2012, 341). Later, Veracini, drawing on Robert Reich, labels this type of residential suburbs “the secession of the successful” (Veracini 2012, 344). This is highly relevant for the Beaches, whose residents commonly evoke a past that needs to be maintained or returned to. The anxious escape provided

for the Beaches residents is the mental separation from the city. Traditional imagery and values maintain the connection yet distance from the metropole (as a point of reference to define themselves against) in that it is this distance which defines and makes enviable their area, and the fact that condominiums are over there and not here (and only become threatening as they pass through the traditional space). Veracini notes the performativity of the reenactment of settlement: it “is about acting again and about enacting again ... [and] should be seen as pertaining to both performance and enforcement/compliance” (Veracini 2012, 342). To achieve this, first a foundational displacement is necessary, here it is the escape from the city to the cottage colony. It is then that “the reproduction of lost worlds wiped out by crisis” can occur to bring things back to how they “used to be” (Veracini 2012, 342), done through a “recurring disavowal of original presences” (Veracini 2012, 343). This spatial and conceptual distinction rests on an Old World vs. New World dichotomy where the former signifies “racial mixing, violence, crime, congestion, gender confusion, and filth” (Veracini 2012, 346), just as the city does in similar city/nature constructions.

Suburbanism, like colonialism, is also deeply tied to patriarchy and white supremacy, as both confuse actual home and imaginary ones (Boym 2007). Suburbia as separate from the city is based on ideals of “the single-family house, the nuclear family, the separation between work and home, and the separation between gendered spaces” (Veracini 2012, 340). This resonates with Jackson’s description of single family living as “function (non-form residential), class (middle and upper status), separation (a daily journey-to-work), and density (low relative to older sections)” (Jackson 1985, 340). Like settler colonialism, a certain type of social organization is prevalent: this middle-class landscape is to appear as a classless and ethnically homogenous space “where

contradictions must remain unseen” (Baumgartner 1988 quoted in Veracini 2012, 340) and unacceptable Others are invisible, thus “exercising moral control and assuag[ing] particular anxieties” (Veracini 2012, 345). Splitting off from the city (into self-contained homes as “the symbol of being released from the bonds of urban society” (Bauregard in Veracini 2012, 351) provides residents with greater control, stability, and self-determination (sentiments expressed during the OMB hearing). Processes of fear produced by the city as “the site of crisis and ‘transition’” prompt displacement and distancing (a psychoanalytic term that “refers to processes that produce emotional estrangement and alienation,” Veracini 2012, 340). The distance marks “locales characterized by unresolved contradictions (i.e. “the city”, the “Old World”) and newly imagined sites of putative virtuous social organization” (Veracini 2012, 343).

Veracini’s account can be applied to neighbourhood associations where residents feel powerless because they believe they have the right and capacity to control their locale at least insofar as they are not Toronto but their own village/area, or “an entrenched conviction of white supremacy” that comes from removing an area away from contradictions and tension (Veracini 2012, 346). “The expansion of homeownership that accompanied suburbanization was meant to reproduce small-town America” and its racial and sexual barriers (Veracini 2012, 346): “Creating a space for a return to normalcy, the postwar suburban boom offered a setting in which to restore traditional divisions between the races and the sexes (Avila 2004a: 3 in Veracini 2012, 346).

Moreover, domesticity also reasserts traditional gender roles and patriarchal orders through distinct separate gendered spheres. The built form of single-family detached homes is inherently gendered as well: “they reproduce in the house and the

house is surrounded by a lot – the symbolic representation at once of their independence and of their capacity to isolate their women” (Veracini 2012, 345). It is in cities that the nuclear family was perceived as challenged: “population was arrayed around production rather than biological units” so “the suburbs re-enacted the separation between male and female worlds that industrialization processes had been undermining, a separation that the settler homestead had similarly also reasserted” (Veracini 2012, 345).

As Veracini reminds us: “if a social project is premised on a determination to ‘return’, a recollection is always bound to be better than the real thing” (2012, 351). Distanciation constitutes a “deliberate attempt at social engineering” and specific social orders in “securing” all-white subdivisions (Veracini 2012, 347), a point I will elaborate on in the next section on anti-urbanism. Accordingly, suburbanization was primarily about “sorting out of families by income and color” and “exclusive in terms of class, ethnicity, and reproductive choices” (where upper-class followed by middle-class residents search for sameness, status, and security, Veracini 2012, 348). He draws similar conclusions to Ahmed: “inclusion within the polity is premised on the systematic exclusion of others” in an effort to curb threat through “attempts to isolate the very social body from the crisis” (Veracini 2012, 349). As Veracini notes, suburbia as “pure and unfettered and bathed by sunlight and fresh air, offered the exciting prospect that disorder, prostitution and mayhem could be kept at a distance,” immunized society from the city by providing an alternative (Jackson 1985, 70 in Veracini 2012, 349). In sum, suburbia is where civilized life and traditional social values lie and therefore must be kept safely distant from the corruption of the city. As such, it is inherently exclusionary in its desires and homogenous communities provide this retreat into a sense of security.

What contemporary neighbourhood associations in the Beaches provide us with is an example of the relation between affect and social movements and, more specifically, between collective identity and the mobilization of (particular) emotions. The example of the Beaches illustrates how affects like fear, love/hate, and threat work to create, intensify, and sustain hegemonic ideals and social formations. I argue that attachments to such idealized desires are sustained through a “possessive investment in whiteness” (Pulido 2000, 6) and its payoffs. In this sense, despite being cloaked in the rhetoric of love (for the neighbourhood, for tradition, for a small-town feel), NIMBY neighbourhood associations become a manifestation of Abu-Lughod’s (1998) prediction of middle-class based, quality-of-life civil society movements that operate on singular notions of collective rootedness and action based the preservation and defense of a particular past and the status quo. By normalizing whiteness on a racial hierarchy, white privilege manifests itself in positive and negative freedom, or the freedom from considering the ways in which particular bodies (queer, trans, and people of colour) would experience that space. The groups in the Beaches do not represent the neighbourhood as a whole but they are determined, vocal, as well as well-organized, the latter in which is partially afforded through their social status (in the time and money to organize, as well as access to a lawyer from the neighbourhood who is willing to take the case on pro-bono). In any case, we can discern how particular affects mobilize people in such active ways. For the Beaches, mobilizing affects is tied to the politics of place making (and the social/political dimensions of urban design) but they also demonstrate the workings of nostalgia: we should ask: why is the presence (or proximity) of condominiums is so identity-establishing and identity-threatening?

My review of the literature has generated several themes that will be explored with regard to anti-condominium organizing in the Beaches: Firstly, the literature on NIMBYism has usefully revealed a certain kind of urban, protectionist activism. However, NIMBYism alone falls short of painting the full picture of why protectionist activism materializes in the city. For this reason, Ahmed and Boyd's inclusion of emotions and sentiments in their theories of affect and nostalgia, respectively, further explain urban activist motives and fill in the gaps that NIMBYism leaves behind. The idea that sentiments and negative emotions such as fear play into the mobilization of protectionist activism could prove valuable in understanding the emotional complexities of anti-condominium activism in the Beaches. In a similar sense, anti-urbanism is of particular importance to my paper as the small-town sentiments of the Beaches comprise a large part of the arguments used by condominium opponents and the area's history in general. The emotional complexities present in the Beaches contribute to anti-urban and anti-modern ideals that are embodied by the invasive condominium boom. It is important to note that, while the attack of condominiums in the Beaches neighbourhood led to protectionist activism that is present in the area today, these claims to space ultimately depend on indigenous displacement.

CHAPTER TWO | RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter, I will analyze the Beaches' view of itself and its local history in light of the literatures considered above: affect, nostalgia, NIMBYism, anti-urbanism, and settler colonialism. I will discuss my observations at OMB hearings as well as the comment sections of online versions of local newspapers, and data collected from historical newspaper articles. Based on my reading of the local history literature I argue that the production process of the real built environment is set simultaneously alongside the (re)production process of the imaginary: the manipulation of histories through the construction of new ones in the endorsement of comforting images that fit into the image of the (nuclear) family-friendly, crime-free, and picturesque space that is the idyll of the Beaches.

The material presented in this chapter is in tension with other accounts of Toronto, most notably Jane Jacobs' description of Toronto as a city of neighbourhoods. Of course, aesthetically and spatially marked divisions are commonplace to achieve such differentiation between areas. At the same time, the reality is that, whether such groups like to admit it or not, "villages" in the city similar to the Beaches are still part of the city as a whole and cannot stay removed from its overall (perceived or real) issues.

'I'll Stack My Beachness Up Against Anyone's'

As with the neighbourhood watch programs that Ahmed scrutinizes, neighbourhood associations too act as or consent to regulatory mechanisms in which the improvement of life for those protected within the space of the neighbourhood is achieved through the recognition and expulsion of anything that doesn't 'belong' or is

‘undesirable.’ NIMBY groups like these illustrate her point that recognition of the stranger requires differentiation. Such processes of differentiation are found even within the community, where one can be more ‘Beacher’ than another resident – a sentiment that is commonly expressed in terms of who has lived there longer, or who loves the neighbourhood more. The suspicion of “*some-thing* out of the ordinary” makes it so that even fellow residents could be suspect (Ahmed 2000, 28). One is left out and questioned if one disagrees with the common sense that condominiums are bad, and through that the (un)common is constructed: “[c]ommon sense not only defines what ‘we’ should take for granted (that is, what is normalized and already known as ‘the given’), but it also involves the normalization of ways of ‘sensing’ the difference between common and uncommon” (Ahmed 2000, 29). The comment section of one particular article in the Beach Metro Community News which concludes the OMB hearing best illustrates this through the back and forth arguments between comment section regular and despised antagonist, *Joe McNulty* (pseudonym), and another commenter, *Kippendavie*:

I frankly, doubt very much that you live in the beach. Perhaps you used to and hold resentment for those of us who do and hope to bring up our kids in a family focused environment. (Kippendavie October 26, 2013 in Hudson 2013)

This reflected a frequently expressed resentment for not able to feel the exclusivity that residents do. The response defended this claim of un-‘Beacher’ness:

Nope, born raised and lived my entire life in the Beach. Raised my family here. Still here. Intensely passionate about the Beach and deeply involved in the community. Shocking isn't it that I am not obstinately anti-development and in fact would encourage the modernization of Queen Street, perhaps the most moribund commercial strip in the city, littered with run down, decrepit buildings. (*Joe McNulty* October 27, 2013 in Hudson 2013)

A similar defense was required from *Joe McNulty* in another article the previous year in which the physical boundaries of the neighbourhood came into question:

As a life long Beach resident with roots in the community going back to the turn of the century currently living in Woodbine Park, I take particularly strong exception to the statement that people in the area west of Woodbine Avenue 'aren't really Beachers.' I'll stack my 'Beachness' up against anyone's any day of the week! (*Joe McNulty* June 27, 2012 in *Lameira* 2012)

This defensiveness and protective attitude not only reflects NIMBYism, but also demonstrates the techniques of differentiation necessary for boundary protection. Moreover, it points to the strong sense of community identity that is to be protected as well as the new community spirit that is created through the belief in the community's ability to tackle problems (Ahmed 2000, 28).

The above-cited exchange resonates with Ahmed's (2000) point, discussed in chapter one, that notes the importance of a state of crisis to border fortification. This panic also emerged from the submission of the development application, which produced instant alarm. In its wake, and with the anticipation of similar proposals, the city's council approved that the Urban Design Guidelines for the Beaches would be updated. While the guidelines lack mechanisms for enforcement unless they are passed as official policies, as we would come to see during the OMB hearing, comments in the guidelines and those vocalized during the hearing expressed the need to maintain or preserve the small town ambience of the Beaches (UDG, 34 and OMB Hearing, October 17, 2013). It was the threat of other applications and development proposals that made the residents scramble to define the area and fight to keep the sameness. The mission statement on the website of the Friends of Queen Street sees "new development as intrusive" signalling the agentic qualities of buildings as encroaching on the

neighbourhood but also the necessity for such neighbourhood groups to ‘watch’ and ‘keep an eye’ on them; the group formed at the initial community consultation regarding the development application (Friends of Queen Street n.d.).

The addition of condominiums to the neighbourhood is tied to the fate and livability of the entire community, its heritage, and sense of place, as stated by resident Jason Self at the OMB Hearing (October 15, 2013). The reference to the “fate” or “death” of the community was raised multiple times: during the hearing, resident and local artist Jennifer Cline expressed that Queen Street is an important “artery” of the neighbourhood when asked about her view of the application (OMB Hearing, October 15, 2013). Similarly, residents described their mobilization in terms of their distrust of local government and developers: feelings of powerlessness in the planning process like Dave Lucky, disrespect as with Jason Self, and distrust (or greed and overdevelopment more generally) as with Jeffery Smith (OMB Hearing, October 15, 2013). If corporatist and technocratic developers are allowed in and given a say in determining the space as outsiders then the livability of neighbourhood is accordingly threatened by their incompatible values.

Residents frequently expressed that they felt they were a part of a collective effort designed to encourage safety, community, and harmony. This feeling of protection and care was demonstrated when the Greater Beaches Neighbourhood Association (GBNA) representative, who moved to the area in 1973, gave his deputation stating the “human scale of Queen Street is cherished greatly” (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). He choked up on the word “cherish” and, following this statement, began to apologize for such a display saying he “just love[s] the place” (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013).

As members of a resident association and the community at large, the residents felt they could have a say in decision-making, continue the history of fiercely protecting the neighbourhood, and stand up to developers. The importance of these associations for establishing community generated a sense of belonging for individual residents and allowed them to redeem the social capital that the area generated insofar as the community became a source of power. As Ahmed suggested, what appears to be action incited by love for the neighbourhood or for the community could also be viewed as reactions to an anticipated future threat to their mobility in the loss of what the neighbourhood is now: safe, white, and so on.

The foundational displacement which sets (re)settlers or suburbanites up as “escapees” also makes them “returnees” in yet another displacement: “they undertake a movement in space that is meant to bring about a movement in time, a return to a social order that is perceived as compromised” like “family life, domesticity, safety, and the innocence of childhood” (Veracini 2012, 346). In accounts of the Beaches, this is echoed by residents recounting their family’s lineage in the area, or in memories of their childhood growing up there, which they are now able to pass on to their own children, what Lee Edelman (2004) describes as repro-futurity. Many people who participated in the hearing highlighted the multigenerational nature of living there: how their grandparents or parents had lived there, and how they too decided to stay and raise their own families. Even if unintentional, “[l]iving in an area with homogenous social backgrounds of similar tastes and lifestyles can then be viewed as a spatially-based form (or even strategy) of social and cultural production” (Dirksmeier 2012, 78). As we saw in the paragraph above, to ensure their own reproduction, social inclusion, social

integration, and social exclusivity “form a significant component in the narrative of settlement” (Dirksmeier 2012, 79).

Recalling an ideal childhood or emphasizing the family-friendly environment proves right Ahmed’s figure of the child which is “both nostalgic (returning to an imagined past) and fearful (projecting an unimaginable future), all that could be stolen or lost by the proximity of strangers” (Ahmed 2000, 35). The processes of differentiation in marking degrees of ‘Beachness’ masks the inherent violence in the process and, as we will explore later in the chapter, the violent uprooting and displacement of the area’s previous indigenous populations. As the next section highlights, the differentiation is further made possible by a strong sense of established community ‘Beacher’ identity.

‘This is a Stable Place, My Neighbourhood is Not Going to Change’

I have suggested that it is past times and places that are thought to be weakened through transformation in the Beaches. A further response that emerged strongly from my study of current newspapers articles is the fear of change. As the headline on the local, weekly newspaper *The Grid* states, “The more Toronto changes, the more The Beach stays the same” (Keenan 2013). As one resident interviewed for the article sums up: “One thing I hear [about] why people might move here is they think, “This is a stable place. There’s not a lot of room for a whole lot more growth... My neighbourhood is not going to change too much” (Keenan 2013). Even talk of including diversity in the area concerns another type of change, where a “dose of downtown” could bring new shops, galleries, and restaurants into the area: “Why not have some single young professionals? Maybe a hipster or two — not too many,” as one resident is quoted in an article (Allen

2012a). Or as Barry Watson, of the research group Environics, is quoted in an article during a community consultation saying: “For the young urban types who could bring diversity... the Beach is just too expensive” (Allen 2012a). A contrasting view was expressed by Shelley Fenton, president of Reserve Properties Ltd., again coming from a business perspective, during an open house organized by the ward’s councilor: “without change, the community will die” (Allen 2012a). While the city is subject to constant change, the desire for sameness in the Beaches is heightened. On the stand at the hearing, after stating her love for living in the Beach, the community neighbourhood and its character, Linda Gregory said the development makes her “scared it will change things,” or as Jennifer Cline said on the stand during the hearing, change is upsetting and she wants to “not see Queen Street change too much” (OMB Hearing, October 15, 2013) (see Appendix 4 for an artistic rendering that she presented at the hearing of what a building on Queen Street East and Woodbine Avenue could look like if it complied with the 2012 Urban Design Guidelines).

As the attorney for Reserve Properties Ltd. argued during the hearing, the neighbourhood is “not frozen in time” (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). According to current demographics, one could take issue with this statement. I want to expand on the notion that critiques of condominiums rest upon nostalgic rhetoric and a long-lasting history: “It’s a unique part of Toronto that’s lasted a hundred years” (Brian Graff in Dart 2012). As I will discuss later in the chapter, by masking processes of settler colonialism in nostalgia, nostalgia becomes “history without guilt” and the past becomes knowable as a collective mythology or as “heritage that suffuses us with pride rather than shame” (Boym 2007, 9). The distance provided by initial cottage development allowed for a retreat from the ills of the city and to a literal retreat, as Luka describes in

the development of the Beaches as a cottage country in the late nineteenth century, to a metropolitan suburb in the early twentieth century. That is, the move from recreational second-homes to a permanent resident population saw such cottages as an “escape” from hostile forces in society to cottages as a space where it was possible to engage in “resistant” practices, such as, I suggest, resisting modernization through small-town ideals (Luka 2006). More than that, nature/industry and individual cottager/state power binaries remain perpetuated through small-town sentiments. As Luka (2006) proves, the area remains a very white and affluent place and remains highly homogenous while being in the bounds of one of the “most multicultural cities in the world” (Brenner and Keil 2006, 4).

In sum, the Beaches here emerge and remain a middle class enclave as illustrated by the lack of nuance and diversity among the population with respect to their lifestyles, dispositions, and educational backgrounds. Appeals to keep the area ‘small-town’ demonstrate how the threat of change becomes a threat to the identity and very (fixed) definitions of themselves as a community.

‘All of a Sudden, It’s Becoming Toronto’

Another theme that emerged from my analysis of comments during the hearing and local newspaper articles is anti-urbanism by means of the city/nature divide. The Beaches’ changes over the years into a predominantly middle class area were due to its distinctive qualities of landscape and place. The area’s residential capital rests on its exclusive and exclusionary nature by virtue of location on the lake. For the Beaches, this means increased social capital through the division of people based on affluence and class and a sense of identity that is essentially rooted in taste: symbolic capital

attributed to place increase the social capital in the vicinity. If, as Dirksmeier (2012) argues, “[t]he symbolic capital of a place depends on the social class and status of its inhabitants,” then the establishment of The Beaches as a notably white, middle-class enclave should be explored, particularly in relation to its resort and summer-cottage era (80). On that account, The Beaches are socially and spatially detached from the city. It is not the city, it is nature: it is the boardwalk with water and sand, numerous parks, and mature trees. Such idealization of rural life or small-town is also found in the area’s folksy art and local history which give prominence to these distinctive features.

Consistently brought up in promotional material for resident associations and other representations of the Beaches is the image of the Beaches as a village-within-the-city. The creation and sustainment of a separation from the city persists from its cottage past. It also highlights a suburban imagination in that the reasoning for why the area is so sacred and treasured is due to it not being Toronto (and its ills). Even Toronto Tourism’s promotional material features the phrase “Urban pleasures, natural beauty” and the fact that the area “offers [the] best features of a small resort town just 15 minutes from downtown” (Toronto Tourism). Or as one resident is quoted in a newspaper article stating during an early open house with the developer, “[i]t has a village atmosphere... all of a sudden, it’s becoming Toronto” (Allen 2012). The area is indeed picturesque and made up by calm and quiet tree-lined streets, and nineteenth century beach houses and cottages but it still is Toronto.

The separate, small-town character of the Beaches was a very important reason for many residents in moving to the area: Roland Bauregard, a resident of 30 years, said the area was “very much a suburb in the 80s” and that condominiums are inappropriate to the character and nature of the Beach, taking away from the quality of life in

neighbourhood (OMB Hearing, October 15, 2013). Or Karen Michelazzi who said that the cottage country history of the area was the main reason she moved there (OMB Hearing, October 15, 2013).

When testifying, the representative for the GBNA described the area as vibrant and extremely desirable, and argued for the stabilizing view of the fire hall and its clock tower as an icon through the community's history. Further, as a symbol of security and community, the view of the clock tower represented a "psychological source of comfort" and "of home, and safe surrounding" (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). Adam Smith from the area's Business Improvement Area (BIA) agreed during the hearing stating that without the view of the clock tower (that could be obstructed by the condominium on the corner), the Beach is "not the historical neighbourhood it is" (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). Its visibility stands out in the landscape, he says, in that you "feel it as you come in" and that you "hit something different" (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). These statements bear strong resonances with Slater's framework of anti-urbanism: the fear of the city as expressed in the social and psychological effects of rampant urbanization, and the "difference" between commercial Toronto and homey Beaches once you move through the gateway of Queen Street East and Woodbine Avenue.

Historically, it was industrialization that triggered anti-urban feelings, where "rampant, unchecked urbanization that characterized the industrial city was widely perceived to be a profound moral upheaval, an unwelcome disruption to traditional values, and the intensification of urban malaise" (Slater 2002). Such sentiments were expressed during the OMB Hearing where the GBNA witness testified that the primary objective of the association was to restore certainty to the planning regime in the area

(OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). It reveals the longing to bring certainty to an uncertain world in the face of what he perceived as rampant and unchecked development, characteristic of responses to modernization. As he put it: “redevelopment decisions seemed to be made in planning climate of confusion” (OMB Hearing, October 18, 2013). Capitalism’s affective capture through skyscrapers, as representative of encroaching, unwelcome, rampant, and erosive modernity and its material consequences, and high-rise condominium towers work against the livable and stable neighbourhood or “otherwise harmonious community,” as the GBNA representative stated during his deputation (Slater 2002; OMB Hearing, October 19, 2013). If the neighbourhood is harmonious, polite, and safe, then, conversely, the opposite must be true: modernism is not livable, immoral, and dangerous. The implied segregation or spatial arrangement of good and polite people and others is implied in the division of rural tranquility and urban hostility, where the impersonal city clashes with the “old, dense social networks in the villages which arose out of long-lasting personal relationships” (Dirksmeier 2012, 85). Participants at the OMB Hearing thus expressed a suspicion of modernity and greed that is usefully described as anti-urban.

Anti-urban sentiments expressed in the Beaches also stem from tensions found in the everyday and the perceived virtues of rural life. In particular, it is found in the romanticized celebration of rural ‘small-town’ kinship and community, a kinship that is extended even to the canine community in that “every dog gets along” as one resident is quoted in a newspaper profile of the unchanging neighbourhood (Keenan 2013). It is this fantasy of the everyday that is threatened to change as a result of the deviant behavior (and bodies) that might accompany the social isolation that condominium living brings. This is why residents also treat condominiums, and by an extension

developers and other city officials, with suspicion. Brining back “certainty,” then, is resolved through an idealized version of self-sufficient and self-governing group of villages similar to the relationship of suburban imaginaries and settler colonialism as I outlined above.

What became evident to me early on was that this was not about landscapes (as in the emphasis on the view of the clock tower) but the role of built environments as “part of a system of social regulation and reproduction due to their dual properties of material form and discursive sign” (White and White in Slater 2002). For better or for worse, low density, single-family detached homes, picket fences, small and modest businesses, human-scale architecture, and manicured lawns are not just the embodiment of the American Dream but are part of a ‘way of seeing’ or even ‘way of being’ in the world or city and what is expected and accepted in it based on middle-class sensibilities. In other words, the landscape and urban form structure “the everyday organization of space, time, meaning, and communication” (Luka 2006, 21). And this dream does not persist without a fight.

Some comments from residents exhibit pure NIMBY sentiments: “Putting condos in is just inviting snobby people, in my opinion. The Beach is the Beach, it’s not downtown Toronto,” in the words of the owner of 1878 Queen St. E. who is refusing to sell her home to developers (Allen 2012a). Some do so inadvertently as with another resident who explains, “[t]his is not NIMBYism. If it’s in our backyard, we want to get it right,” or another resident who is quoted in a newspaper article and maintains that “[m]any of us understand and appreciate the need to intensify,” meaning just not here (Allen 2012; Kuitenbrouwer 2011). Another resident is quoted sharing a similar

attitude: “Graff still wonders if there aren’t more appropriate places for development in Toronto, such as Eglinton or Lawrence Avenues” (Kienapple 2012).

For some residents there is no more explanation for the opposition necessary than a clear fear of change: "I've been to all the meetings," states Ruth Pooran in an article, who lives at the intersection of Woodbine Avenue and Queen Street East at Rainsford Road. According to her, she has been approached by the many times to sell her family’s house that built in 1901 but her father refuses. When depicting the scene at community meetings, Ruth describes fellow residents: "They are all against all the condos because it is ruining the entire Beach. This has always been this way and it shouldn't change" (Kuitenbrouwer 2011).

The fear of change or what the city brings, which is the fear of the unknown, comes to be embodied by the stranger. Without doubt, the maintenance of a “family-friendly”, crime-free, school and park-rich area depends on the exclusion of those who are unfamiliar, those who protection is needed against: the racialized, sexualized, and gendered other. Jason Self, a participant in the OMB hearing, member of Friends of Queen Street, and speaker at the pre-OMB hearing, defends against this claim:

The references to xenophobia and NIMBY are not warranted and disrespectful. What is stopping any citizen from buying a home today? We just want to ensure that new development enhances and doesn't detract from what makes the Beach such a pleasant place to live. (Jason Self May 29, 2012 in Skopek 2012)

Several residents argued that what makes the Beaches pleasant and what they are is that it is a place where people are neighbours in the old-fashioned sense. As Leanne Rapley states in her interview with a journalist, “I know my neighbours and they know me. People say hello to you while you’re walking to work” (Keenan 2013). She goes on to say: “It’s a calm place, it’s peaceful, and quiet and safe. People here look out for each

other” (Keenan 2013). Such sentiments echo Ahmed’s reference to successful homogenous communities where “neighbourhoods are understood as arising from the ‘natural human trait’ of being neighbourly, which combines a concern with others and a concern for self” (2000, 25). They are also in keeping with the link that she establishes between safety (property), ‘good neighbourliness’ in “looking out for each other,” and purified space (purified lives of good citizens in quiet and space places, Ahmed 2000, 28). Anonymous internet comments to the initial announcement of the application include defensiveness of this space: Resonating with Jason Self’s defense against xenophobia, one commentator suggests the colourblindness that the presumed normativity of whiteness affords:

Firstly, I care as much about ethnic diversification as do the residents of Brampton and Markham. It is an insult to the residents of the Beach to suggest that because they are largely white, that they are not ethnically sufficient to be a valid neighbourhood. Being caucasian is NOT A DISEASE. What a ridiculous way to define a neighbourhood... The Beaches is a gem because the residents strongly value the small-town feel of it and have historically fought to preserve this. It's a great neighbourhood to live in and a great neighbourhood to visit. We will fight the greedy developers who want to ruin it by turning us into Party Palace Central just so they can make their millions and move on to destroying other desirable neighbourhoods. This is our home. (Newsflash, emphasis in original)

Besides being racialized, strangers become those outside of the reproductive cis-hetero-mono-normative family norm, as evidenced by references to “Party Palace Central” and an impression that young, single, and immoral people are coming in. Another resident shares similar sentiments:

Every condo project is advertised with retail, no food shops, on the bottom and *private cabana parties on the top*. This does not help our neighbourhood... Despite 6 projects surrounding a large elementary school, *all of the condos are geared for singles*. *With little for singles to do here*, the TDSB must plan to bring night school courses to Kew Beach School. Surely the TDSB will accommodate the neighbourhood, since they may want to sell off the school play ground for

condos. Short term gain for long term obesity rates in children. No planning at all. (Dorothia Mac, emphasis mine)

Comments like these could be viewed as anti-urban in that the city, as “a world of strangers,” brings about random encounters with strangers while the idea of personally knowing neighbours is important to the identity of the Beaches (Lofland in Ahmed 2000). Moreover, the presumed normativity of whiteness find such groups reproducing existing power relations that fail to interrupt and even reinforce regimes of heteronormativity, gentrification, white supremacy, and border fortification. The possessiveness of the land as something dear to cherish and protect is also exhibited by one resident: "I didn't think they would put a condo in the Beaches," Carl is quoted saying in an article, "I thought this was sacred" (Kuitenbrouwer 2011).

Alien Structures

A final theme that emerged from the data combines ‘stranger danger’ discourse and anti-urbanism in the view of condominiums as non-native. Brian Graff is undeniably the most active member of the community, a self-described “community activist on planning and municipal issues” and “policy wonk” (according to his personal website), and created his own neighbourhood group, Beach Residents of Toronto, or BRAT for short. He is also a member of The Beaches & East Toronto Historical Society (BETHS) as part of the Ontario Historical Society, and his personal website features a 10-slide “Downtown Relief Line: Alternative ‘Short DRL’” proposal or copies of his 2,500+ word emails he sends to city planning staff. His unapologetically anti-immigrant stance could be found in his Letters to the Editor submissions, whose titles include ‘Finding a Way Forward for Canada’ (Toronto Star, December 23, 2013); ‘Slow

down population growth in the GTA' (Toronto Star, April 3, 2014); 'Seniors, Youth Cut Out of Economic Pie' (Toronto Star, March 31, 2014) or 'Addressing Chronic Labour Crisis (Toronto Star, March 17, 2014).

Brian addresses the urban design of the structure as out of place and even alien:

Light grey brick is a drab cliché that all trendy architects use - it is on about 80% of the condos being built and it is out of place here even more than elsewhere... why bother taking pictures in colour if there is no colour? It is like living in an area surrounded by Borg cubes! (Brian October 24, 2013 in Hudson 2013)

Borg cubes are the primary vessel of the Borg Collective in popular television show Star Trek. This is reminiscent of Ahmed's conception of the stranger as alien. In addition to their alien appearance, the buildings are described as suspicious:

I've lived in The Beach for 25 years, and I've noticed that nobody strolls the section of Queen west of Woodbine on the south side where the racetrack condos are. And most of the stores that set up there have closed. There's a TD bank machine, a place that sells swimsuits, and not much else. However, the north side of the street has a very vibrant life – there's a Starbucks, a couple of restaurants, and a great butcher shop. Why the difference? The north side has low rise, older, mixed style buildings. Just like the real Beach east of Queen – that type of mixed streetscape attracts people. Big condos are a destroyer. Years from now, Torontonians will lament the presence of *those Orwellian concrete and glass canyons downtown*. But those of us in the Beach will still have liveability, unless the OMB destroys it. (Charlieman September 20, 2013 in Keenan 2013, emphasis mine)

Again, anti-urban sentiments are expressed where condominiums come to represent Big Brother. The Beaches is immune from this potential reality because, oddly enough, even in a dystopian future there still exists some sort of separation from the city at large that leaves the neighbourhood unaffected.

As I have illustrated, efforts to preserve the traditional against the modern in the Beaches are commonly discerned aesthetically, but this is not the whole story. As we will explore in the next section, institutionalized and structural racism by means of

environmental racism, racial exclusions, and racial hierarchies are upheld and work to effectively erase the subjectivities of people of colour, and low-income and indigenous communities.

‘As Much State of Mind as Geography’

In the same way that the new settler “frontier” was former cottage country, which became permanent and then under threat and in need of protection, the differentiation of the Beaches and Toronto at large is based on similar core/periphery tensions that hinge on city/nature and Toronto/Beaches divides, yet also finds such dependence on the city as characteristic of colonial rule, or reminiscent of it. The allusion to a summer cottage “colony” is common (Luka 2006, 18). One newspaper article from 1981 that profiles the area describes it as such: “Most of the *pioneers* to the Beach, as it was originally called, were British or of British decent. They brought with them the traditional values of the old country, including an appreciation for the class system and a deep-seated loyalty to the Crown. In fact, the British influence is still evident. One need only look as far as streets named Kenilworth, Lee or Scarborough Beach, or restaurants named the Balmy Arms or Griffith’s, to determine just how devoted to England the *settlers* were” (Darwen 1981, 3, emphasis mine).

The area is colonial not just in its street names or architectural styles (Late Georgian, Victorian, Edwardian, Queen Anne, Art Deco and Style Moderne, and Modern Brick Vernacular) that follow a formation of the main street of an English country village (Queen Street East Urban Design Guidelines 2012, 46). What is more, traditionalism, conservatism, and puritanism are reflected in the push for heritage status to parts of the neighbourhood and the desire to protect the area from

development and preserve its legacy: as one resident put it, “We have to uphold the grand traditions” (The Beach Times, summer 1995, 9).

A newspaper article from the early 1980s proclaimed “A bit of Toronto is forever England” when profiling the puritanical and Anglo-Saxon homogeneity of the neighbourhood: “This colonial state of mind was, and to some extent still is, a crucial quality of Beach life. It was always deeply British, a little outpost of Empire, a sort of far-flung Godalming. The street names reveal the Old Country nostalgia” (Whiteson 1981). Its history as Toronto’s earliest cottage country and later year-round suburb shows its beginnings “as a kind of colony of Toronto, and of the Crown” where its “geography, its separation from the vigorous ethnic vulgarities of Metro, breeds a special sort of very Anglo self-righteousness” (Whiteson 1981). The author Whiteson noted that the boundaries of the area are “as much state of mind as geography” which “define their residents in their own heads as well as in the prejudices of outsiders” (Whiteson 1981). The article quotes a previous newspaper article from the 1940s where the area is described as a “closed, deadening, WASP world, a suspicious and narrow and cliquish little compartment” and where Jews and such were unwanted as neighbours (Whiteson 1981). Evidence remains that it is still a WASP world: the Ward 32 city councillor Mary-Margaret McMahon, who represents the area, even dubbed the visioning study (or Urban Design Guidelines) a “Beach Bible” (Allen 2012a), where “neighbouring councillor Paula Fletcher is already developing something similar (“The New Testament”) for Leslieville” (Keenan 2013). The built environment (single-detached homes, suburban mansions even) did and do “epitomize the era when the mock-British class system still defined the street you live in and how you were supposed to behave” (Whiteson 1981).

Critical perspectives of settler colonialism in these cases are lacking. True anti-gentrification work, as this is claimed to be, would be part of a larger and continuous project of decolonization and the recognition of indigenous sovereignty and agency, an awareness that would diminish claims to or protection of “this” or “our” land.

CONCLUSION | AFFECTIVE PLANNING

Considering the Affective in Planning

In this paper, I have explored anti-condominium activism in the Beaches. I have contextualized this activism with the area's view of itself and its local history through archival work and critical observations. I have brought into conversation literatures on affect, nostalgia, NIMBYism, anti-urbanism, and critical accounts of settler colonialism. This paper helps clarify how land use planning research, in this case on the unavoidable presence of NIMBYism, can benefit from affect literature that challenges prevailing conceptual approaches to the politics of planning and affective experiences, to get to the core of the way we live and feel in the city. In particular, I argue that affect is a useful lens for moving emotions and feelings from the previously relegated domain of the private and individual into the public and collective, as well as for understanding the role of emotions and feelings in creating and sustaining social formations. I have suggested a reading of the Beaches as anti-urbanist in that sentimental attachments to a historical past rests on a division of the area apart from Toronto at large and city life in general through the promotion of "small-town" outlook. I have urged that nostalgic yearnings for a non-violent past that never was, as well as claims to space, neglect to reveal the continued indigenous displacement necessary to make it so. Finally, I propose that we consider the affective in planning in order to make out the affective relations and interactions that are constructed by and experienced in the city. This paper presents us with a case study through which we can examine how such factors intersect in the Beaches, which produce and sustain protective, particularist, and

exclusive quality-of-life rights for groups of privileged residents in the emergence of urban fears along with pro-tradition sentiment.

EPILOGUE

With an emphasis on top-down tradition and an unceasing loyalty to reason, it is understandable why many residents are skeptical of the planning process and suspicious of planners and the state more generally. After all, currently public consultations are merely part of a mandatory practice that yields questionable output. It seems important to ask however, if it is possible to reconcile the tensions of affect, emotions, and irrationality with my sympathy toward the anti-condominium stance? As much as I tried to avoid perpetuating the inside/outside or emotion/reason binaries, both topics of NIMBYism and affect necessarily bring up these conversations: NIMBYism for its supposed irrationality and affect for its unquantifiable nature. In the end we must ask ourselves: what is the role of the planner who takes affect into account? To answer this we must consider the various dualisms at play: rational planners/emotional citizens, outsider/insider, us/them, professional/experiential knowledge, rationalist and technical/unjustifiable, expert/non-expert, and the technical and detached language/knowledge of planners in contrast to the experiential and personal language/knowledge of citizens.

The differences lie in their epistemological underpinnings: scientific method and truth in favour of multiple knowledges and a plurality of truths. As a product of professional and expert discourses, the current rational-comprehensive approach to planning favours a fixed, stable, and clearly definable line of reasoning. The result is a “truth” which claims objectivity, neutrality, and universality. However, grounding the production and legitimacy of knowledge within an intrinsically knowable world is problematic because it is only through scientific methods, such as empirical investigation

towards the aim of verifiable hypothesis, that explanations to real phenomena could be realized. The result is a silencing of non-verifiable claims and ways of knowing, which in effect omits valuable insights. For example, the discursive formation of communities is messy, subjective, and constantly changing and, for this reason, planning as it is now does not always adequately address the way one identifies oneself with a community and defines oneself in regards to being a member of that community.

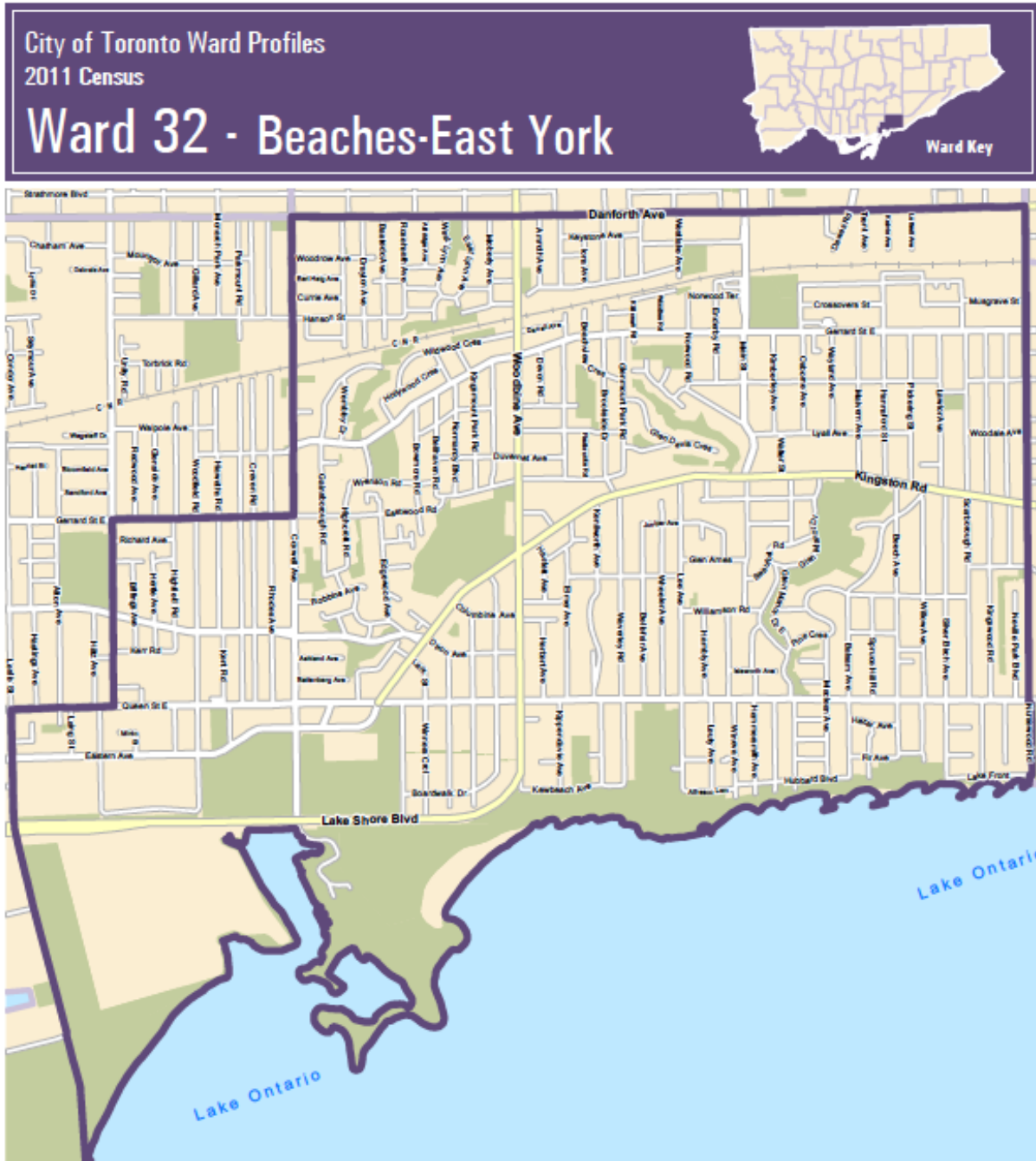
I believe affect could build on John Friedmann's vision of insurgent planning. In *Insurgencies* (2011), he critiques a state and science-centric tradition of planning and instead makes the argument for the positioning of the planner between the state and the public as advocate and mediator. Friedmann's promotion of continuous learning and human experience lays in contrast to scientific claims of ahistorical and objective rules determining all phenomena. What this would allow for is the reimagining of the world and a conceptualizing of the self that lives alongside and relies on others. After critiquing traditional planning, Friedmann offers his own counter-tradition remedy: radical and transactive planning. The main difference being a focus on power: by targeting social oppression, radical planning examines the structural challenges to a community and works to identify and challenge existing power relations within, hopefully resulting in radical personal and institutional change through social transformation. As in the case of the radical planner, Friedmann pushes for the recognition of local knowledge, a focus on collective agency, and the inclusion of marginalized community members to promote more equitable development.

By unveiling the complexities and dynamics of communities, for instance internal struggles of power, radical planning can shift the way issues are approached and problems are solved in recognizing that problems are intersected rather than isolated.

Affect provides a strong claim for the place of the subjective imagination in the social construction of urban life and offers one way to approach and include it. Affect rightfully takes for granted the rational individual actor. Moreover, it gets to the root of the philosophical neglect of the emotional dimension of human experience in spatial analysis. For this, Friedmann highlights the principle of dialogue: “[i]f the parties to a conflict seek to reach agreement their pains, passions, and grievances, he argues, must first be publicly acknowledged” (2011, 214). Recognizing “pains, passions, and grievances” by way of affect would mean planning with people not for people and a version of planning that is experience-driven. Moreover, as the case of anti-condominium activism in the Beaches proves, a planner needs to be a (critical) historian and trained in naturalizing stranger danger.

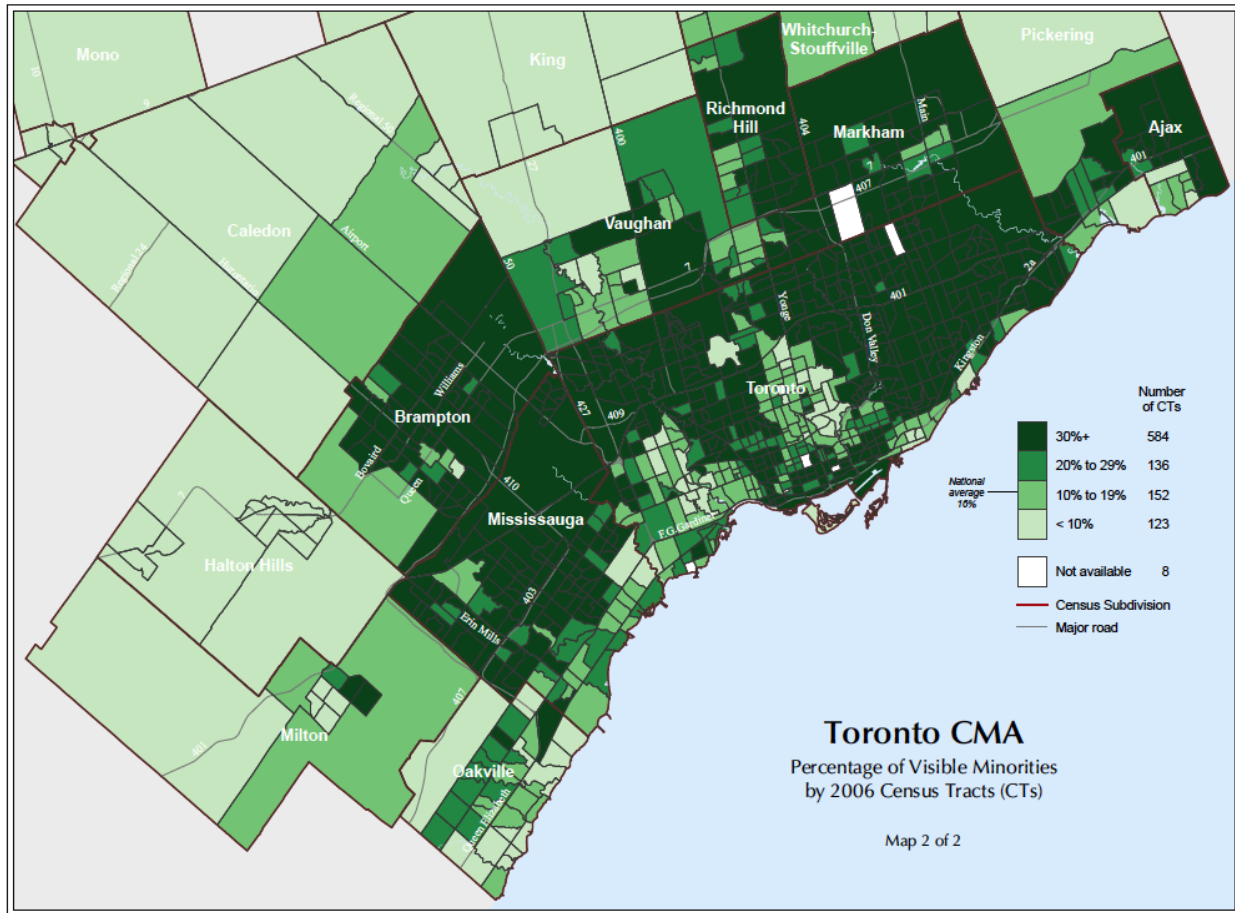
APPENDIX 1

The City of Toronto Ward Profile (Ward 32 – Beaches-East York)



APPENDIX 2

Statistics Canada's map of the percentage of visible minorities (Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 2006)



APPENDIX 3

Artistic renderings of the proposed development on 1884 Queen Street East (Hudson 2013)



APPENDIX 4

Artistic rendering of a building that does comply with the Urban Design Guidelines, created and presented to the Board by Jennifer Cline (Looije n.d.)



REFERENCES

- Abu-Lughod, Janet. "Civil/Uncivil Society: Confusing Form with Content." In *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, edited by Mike Douglass and John Friedmann. Chichester, England: J. Wiley, 1998. 227-237.
- Ahmed, Sara. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Allen, Kate. "The Beach: Would you turn down more than \$1 million?" *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, May 4, 2012a.
- Allen, Kate. "The Beach: Will the condo boom kill it or save it?" *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, May 4, 2012b.
- Anderson, Ben (2006), 'Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24: 733-752.
- Baker, Alden. "Limits on cafes urged," *The Globe and Mail (Toronto)*, February 13, 1986.
- Ballingall, Alex. "Nine-storey condo project on Robertson Davies Park faces local ire over size and lost trees." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, February 26, 2013.
- Bateman, Chris. "Residents rally to save Liberty Village from new condo." *blogTO (Toronto)*, October 25, 2012.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Boym, Svetlana (2007), 'Nostalgia and Its Discontents,' *The Hedgehog Review* 9(2): 7-18.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Brenner, Neil, and Roger Keil. *The Global Cities Reader*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Buckman, Stephen T. (2011), 'Upper Middle Class NIMBY in Phoenix: The Community Dynamics of the Development Process in the Arcadia Neighborhood,' *Journal of Community Practice* 19(3): 308-325.
- Burningham, Kate (2000), 'Using the language of NIMBY: a topic for research, not an activity for researchers,' *Local Environment* 5(1): 55-68.

- Butler, Tim (2002), 'Thinking global but acting local: The middle classes in the city,' *Sociological Research Online* 7 (3).
- Capannelli, Heather. "Condo towers draw anger of residents; Yonge-Eglinton proposal exceeds density, they say." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, June 7, 2001.
- City of Toronto, Budget Summary (Revenue) (2012).
http://www.toronto.ca/budget2012/2012_budget_summary/pdf/revenues.pdf
- City of Toronto. City of Toronto: The Beaches neighbourhood profile. Retrieved from http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/cns_profiles/cns63.htm, 2006.
- Contenta, Sandro. "Battle over Ossington Ave. condo among several in city." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, July 7, 2012.
- D'Cruz, Andrew. "The Best Places to Live in the City: A (Mostly) Scientific Ranking of All 140 Neighbourhoods in Toronto." *Toronto Life (Toronto)*, August 14, 2013.
- Dart, Chris. "Development ahead: Queen Street is experiencing growing pains in both the east and west ends." *National Post (Toronto)*, June 2, 2012.
- Darwen, Leonard. "Beloved Beaches," *The Globe and Mail (Toronto)*, October 31, 1981.
- Davis, Belinda Creel and Bali, Valentina A. (2008), 'Examining the Role of Race, NIMBY, and Local Politics in FEMA Trailer Park Placement,' *Science Quarterly* 89(5): 1175-1194.
- Dear, Michael J. (1992), 'Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome,' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 58(3): 288-300.
- Devine-Wright, Patrick (2009), 'Rethinking NIMBYism: The Role of Place Attachment and Place Identity in Explaining Place-Protective Action,' *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19(6): 426-441.
- DiManno, Rosie. "Enough! This is a war!' The Beaches vs. developers," *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, April 22, 1987.
- Dirksmeier, Peter (2012), 'The wish to live in areas with 'people like us': metropolitan habitus, habitual urbanity and the visibility of urban-rural differences in South Bavaria, Germany,' *Visual Studies* 27(1): 76-89.
- Duncanson, John. "Forest Hill residents fight condo plans; Parking authority brokered secret deal: Ratepayers." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, July 22, 2002.
- Dyer, Richard. *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations*. London: Routledge, 1993.

- Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Feinerman, Eli, Finkelshtain, Israel, and Kan, Iddo (2004), 'On A Political Solution to the NIMBY Conflict,' *The American Economic Review* 94(1): 369-381.
- Feldman, Simon and Turner, Derek (2010), 'Why Not NIMBY?' *Ethics, Place and Environment* 13(3): 251-266.
- Freeman, Victoria (2010), "'Toronto Has No History!': Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City,' *Urban History Review* 38(2): 21-35.
- Friedmann, John. *Insurgencies: Essays in Planning Theory*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Friends of Queen Street (n.d.), "Contact Us & Our Mission."
<http://www.foqs.ca/contact-us--our-mission.html>
- Friesen, Dwight and Pras Rajagopalan. "Toronto Crime by Neighbourhood (Crime Maps)." *CBC Toronto (Toronto)*, 2011.
- Frye, Marilyn. *Willful Virgin: Essays in Feminism, 1976-1992*. Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1992.
- Gibson, Timothy A. (2005), 'NIMBY and the Civic Good,' *City & Community* 4(4): 381-401.
- Gillespie, Kerry. "Condominium passes its first test." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, November 13, 2002.
- Gladstone, Martin. "Lessons from dark Beach history still apply." *Beach Metro Community News (Toronto)*, August 27, 2013.
- Haraway, Donna (1988), 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,' *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 575-599.
- Harris, Richard. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford England: Blackwell, 1990.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2003.

- Hermansson, H el ene (2007), 'The ethics of NIMBY conflicts,' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 10(1): 23-34.
- Hudson, Andrew. "OMB hearing wraps up, waiting begins." *Beach Metro Community News (Toronto)*, October 22, 2013.
- Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Jefferson, James. "Scarboro corridor opponents foresee road link Cass paper on Gardiner extension is filed with OMB." *The Globe and Mail (Toronto)*, January 24, 1978.
- Kienapple, Bronwyn. "Beach Residents Face Off Against Condo Developers." *Torontoist (Toronto)*, May, 24, 2012.
- Keenan, Edward. "The more Toronto changes, the more the Beaches stays the same." *BlogTO (Toronto)*, September 18, 2013.
- Kern, Leslie (2007), 'Reshaping the Boundaries of Public and Private Life: Gender, Condominium Development, and the Neoliberalization of Urban Living,' *Urban Geography* 28(7): 657-681.
- Kilkenny, Carmel. "Toronto condo-craze invades neighbourhoods." *Radio Canada International*, July 16, 2014.
- Kitts, J A. (1999), 'Not in our backyard: Solidarity, social networks, and the ecology of environmental mobilization,' *Sociological Inquiry* 69(4): 551-574.
- Kuitenbrouwer, Peter. "Burgers make way for condos on the Beaches." *National Post (Toronto)*, June 11, 2011.
- Kuitenbrouwer, Peter. "Council vetoes market area condo project: Residents of Performing Arts Lodge orchestrate opposition to condos next to St. Lawrence Market: OMB hearing pending." *National Post (Toronto)*, June 13, 2001.
- Lameira, Phil. "Visioning study gets underway." *Beach Metro Community News (Toronto)*, June 27, 2012.
- Logan, David. "Liquor licences increasing in Beaches Sewell asks temperance group's Help." *The Globe and Mail (Toronto)*, March 13, 1979.
- Looije, Hans (n.d.). " Ontario Municipal Board Hearings: Condominiums at Queen and Woodbine." Beach Triangle Residents Association Website. <http://www.beachtriangle.com/OMB-Condos-at-Queen-and-Woodbine.php>

- Luka, Nik (2006), 'From Summer Cottage Colony to Metropolitan Suburb: Toronto's Beach District, 1889-1929,' *Urban History Review* 35(1): 18-31.
- Maney, Gregory M. and Abraham, Margaret (2008/2009), 'Whose Backyard? Boundary Making in NIMBY Opposition to Immigrant Services,' *Social Justice* 35(4): 66-82.
- McClymount, Katie and O'Hare Paul (2008), "'We're not NIMBYs!' Contrasting local protest groups with idealized conceptions of sustainable communities,' *Local Environment* 13(4): 321-335.
- McLaren, John, A. R. Buck, and Nancy E. Wright. "Property Rights in the Colonial Imagination and Experience." In *Despotic Dominion: Property Rights in British Settler Societies*, 1-21. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.
- Moore, Aaron A. *Planning Politics in Toronto: The Ontario Municipal Board and Urban Development*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Pile, Steve. *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Pol, E, DiMasso, A, Castrechini, A, Bonet, M R, and Vidal, T (2009), 'Psychological parameters to understand and manage the NIMBY effect,' *European Review of Applied Psychology* 56(1): 43-51.
- Pulido, Laura (2000), 'Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 12-40.
- Razack, Sherene. *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002.
- Schively, Carissa (2007), 'Understanding the NIMBY and LULU Phenomena: Reassessing Our Knowledge Base and Informing Future Research,' *Journal of Planning Literature* 21(3): 255-266.
- Seyfert, Robert (2012), 'Beyond Personal Feelings and Collective Emotions: Toward a Theory of Social Affect,' *Theory, Culture & Society* 29(6): 27-46.
- Shemtov, Ronit (2003), 'Social networks and sustained activism in local NIMBY campaigns,' *Sociological forum* (Randolph, N.J.) 18(2): 215-244.
- Skopek, Simone. "Taming Queen Developments." *Beach Metro Community News (Toronto)*, April 5, 2012.
- Slater, Tom. (2002), "Fear of the city 1882-1967: Edward Hopper and the discourse of anti-urbanism," *Social and Cultural Geography* 3: 135-154.

- Spurr, Ben. "What's too high for High Park?" *NOW Magazine (Toronto)*, March 8, 2012.
- Swyngedouw, Erik (1996), 'The City as Hybrid: On Nature, Society and Cyborg Urbanization,' *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 7(2): 65-80.
- Thornton, Bill and Tizard, Hayley J. (2010), 'Not in my back yard: Evidence for arousal moderating vested interest and oppositional behavior to proposed change,' *Social Psychology* 41(4): 255-262.
- Thrift, Nigel (2004), 'Intensities of feeling: Towards a spatial politics of affect,' *Geografiska Annaler* 86(1): 57-78.
- Urban Design Guidelines (2012), "Queen Street East: Coxwell Avenue to Nursewood Road," City of Toronto Planning, 1-68.
- van der Horst, Dan (2007), 'NIMBY or not? Exploring the relevance of location and the politics of voiced opinions in renewable energy siting controversies,' *Energy Policy* 35(5): 2705-2714.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010.
- Veracini, Lorenzo (2012), 'Suburbia, Settler Colonialism and the World Turned Inside Out,' *Housing, Theory and Society* 29(4): 339-357.
- Vincent, Donovan. "Despite objections, Yonge-Bloor area condo gets green light." *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, October 13, 2009.
- York, Geoffrey. "'Beaches' residents inflamed by dispute over 2 names of area," *The Globe and Mail (Toronto)*, October 9, 1985.
- Whiteson, Leon. "A bit of Toronto is forever England," *Toronto Star (Toronto)*, April 25, 1981.
- Wilton, Robert D. (2002), 'Colouring Special Needs: Locating Whiteness in NIMBY Conflicts,' *Social & Cultural Geography* 3(3): 303-321.
- Wolf, C P. (1987), 'The NIMBY syndrome: its cause and cure,' *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 502: 216-229.