

# **'The public' and planning in Toronto**

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## ABSTRACT

As both a science and an art, planning is regulated by public policy, concerned with shaping and guiding the physical growth and arrangement of natural and built environments. Within these environments what is considered ‘public’ and how ‘the public’ is used in planning discourses and planning tools is based on constantly changing, socio-political contexts. Shaped by planning decisions, ‘the public’ often learns about transformations of urban space through stories in the media. These planning stories help ‘the public’ understand and relate to their physical environments by ascribing meaning to space.

Through a case study of the Mirvish + Gehry development, this research substantiates the importance of telling a good story about ‘the public’ and ‘the public good’ in relation to development. Mirvish + Gehry invested heavily in telling their version of a planning story. By funding and staging numerous appearances, centred on the benefits of his development, Mirvish embodied his story and his development’s brand by exercising his social leverage, capital, power and privilege, all of which afforded him the attention of the media and therefore ‘the public.’ In a Toronto context, place-based psychological ties to the community – like the Mirvish family history – are often found in discourses of *legacy*, *art* and *the future*. These ties have become useful tools for private and public development to build emotional connection to spatial environments.

Both theoretically and in practice, planning stories help to build support and ‘common-sense’ application of future, public spaces, by leveraging current place-based attachments through neoliberal narratives in the media. Developers and politicians have realized the potential of partnering with arts communities, through growth coalitions, to tell more persuasive and poignant stories. As MP Adam Vaughan stated (Galati 2015c), it is the “coolness factor” that arts and culture bring to development that helps it stand out in a fiercely competitive global market.

## FOREWORD

This Major Paper is the final piece needed to satisfy the requirements of the Plan of Study for the Master of Environmental Studies (Planning) Program in York University's Faculty of Environmental Studies. The paper brings together a literature review and case study that examines impacts of the discourses of 'the public' and 'the public good' found in planning stories in the media. The body of work draws on the three components of my Plan of Study: 1) Planning, an Equity-seeking, Participatory Practice; 2) Planning, Public Space and the Impacts of Power and Participation; and 3) Creative Placemaking through Art, Access and Creative Organizations.

Component 1, 'Planning, an Equity-seeking, Participatory Practice,' focuses on the exploration of equitable strategies to redistribute power and increase community participation and decision-making in planning. Through an analysis of power, privilege, lobbying and access to influence, I add-value to each learning objective in Component 1 of my Plan of Study: first, to understand and acknowledge, as a planner, how privilege and power have historically formed the basis of the planning profession, as well as planning processes, formal and informal to gain an appreciation for the power of 'being consulted; and secondly, to understand the kinds of arts and culture participation initiatives that developers undertake in Toronto.

Component 2, 'Planning, Public Space and the Impacts of Power and Participation' is concerned with the legislative and policy frameworks and governance that can affect public space and arts and culture communities through regulation. This component also reflects on public space and equity in environments that have been *planned*. Through my engagement with planning and development actors in my major paper, I contribute to each Learning Objective for Component 2 of my Plan of Study: first, to understand how Toronto planning and development processes perform in practice; and second, to understand the ways in which developers frame public space through social and loss led action that helps obtain development approval.

Component 3, 'Creative Placemaking through Art, Access and Creative Organizations,' connects my interest and experience in exploring opportunities that give rise to equitable public space and engagement through arts and culture, by working with community practitioners who have participated in Section 37 agreements and other informal planning negotiations for 'the public good.' My major paper is valuable to my Learning Objective in Component 3 of my Plan of Study primarily, to understand the factors – policies and governance – that frame the processes of many arts and culture communities in Toronto, to explore the links between these communities and development.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

Planning is a complex web of relationships with multiple languages and various ways of approaching planning. One way of approaching planning is through stories told about ‘the public’ in planning. Through media reports in newspapers, magazines, blogs, films and videos, various publics come to understand planning and development taking place in their cities through strategically placed discourses.

Discourses are the abstract constructs that allow “signs,” such as *legacy*, to assign and communicate specific, repeatable relations/connotations to, between, and among objects, subjects and statements (Foucault 1969). Discourses of ‘the public’ have been strategically used in planning media stories in Toronto developments such as the Mirvish + Gehry mega-condo development in downtown Toronto. To do so, the developers crafted and presented the media with a persuasive, newsworthy story through the repetition of their emotional public legacy narratives connected to the Mirvish legacy via branding. The Mirvish + Gehry brand intertwines an urban, neoliberal ‘common-sense’ of attracting economic activity to a globally competitive city, together with place-based public attachments, which helped build broad public consensus around what was considered a controversial development.

By consuming specific 'public' discourses in planning stories, the public formulates personal points of view on planning and development in their cities. Therefore what are the potential impacts of the public relying on various media for planning information? What is the media's effect on public motivation to participate, agree, challenge or resist a planning issue – specifically the Mirvish + Gehry development?

Since the early 1960s, the Mirvish family of Toronto has been central to the development of the historical west-end core of the city, the Spadina and King Street neighbourhood. 'Honest' Ed Mirvish helped the locale evolve from an industrial railway corridor into an arts, culture and entertainment district. Patriarch, Ed Mirvish, had early keen foresight into Toronto's arts and culture economic prosperity – even when his theatres were losing money. With major investments via theatre in the 1990s, Ed Mirvish, along with son David, raised the City's profile as a pre-eminent creative city. While building their legacy, the Mirvish family accumulated numerous large central Toronto properties drenched in place-based attachments.

Fifty years later, David Mirvish inherited the family fortune. And in late 2012, David Mirvish presented the City of Toronto with a Zoning By-law Amendment application to permit a mixed-use redevelopment of the families' five properties located at the north side of King Street West, east of John Street, known



municipally as 266 – 322 King Street West (the “Mirvish + Gehry”). Initially the development was deemed controversial by Toronto’s city planning department due to the loss of theatrical heritage and massive density. However, in the end, the density was approved and the Princess of Wales theatre was saved. Through this process Mirvish entrusted his redevelopment vision to world-famous architect, Frank Gehry, a self-described artist whose medium is architecture.

Mirvish junior’s proposal resubmission was approved by Toronto’s City Council on July 14, 2014. With its approval Toronto will see the induction of a new mixed-use development consisting of 2 mega-condo towers – one 80-plus-storey and the other 90-plus-storey. The first 6 storeys of each tower are set for luxury retail and new public cultural uses via a strategic partnership with OCAD University, which is a result of a density bonusing agreement known colloquially as Section 37. OCAD University, a public art and design school, will receive new institutional space for use in the buildings, not ownership (Galati 2015b). Density bonusing is commonly used in North American cities and usually focuses on one type of benefit and involves a systematic and predetermined value that is secured via a municipality.

The ramifications of this colossal development vision remain speculative. When Chief Planner, Jennifer Keesmaat asked the City of Toronto’s Director of Engineering about the final loads on below-grade systems, he could only

guarantee the first tower but could not predict the outcome when the second tower is built. Equipped with this provisional knowledge, as indicated, the second iteration of the project was approved with modest effect on the private returns for David Mirvish but with huge impact on final returns for the public. There has been an 85% decrease in the amount of new public space, the section 37 benefits, in the second development proposal. In the beginning this is what Mirvish said he was trying to create for Toronto – an elevated sense of community and public space through art and design. But in practice the public has lost out. Mirvish's extensive and noteworthy private art collection was going to become a free, 60,000sq.ft. art gallery. In the final approved plan the gallery space will only be a fraction of the size at 9,200sq.ft. This represents a deficit for the health and well being of Toronto's arts and culture scene but not for Mirvish's pocketbook. Through this process, how did the discourses and narratives of 'the public' garner public support but fail to follow-up with which 'public' actually benefits in the end and who seems to lose out?

David Mirvish has dedicated his life's work to art and culture, and when coupled with his privileged and powerful position in Toronto, this has resulted in high financial/personal returns. By forming a strategic growth coalition, through a Section 37 agreement with OCAD University, Mirvish + Gehry has managed to mask the public and private interests at stake through expansive public storytelling and branding. Key to this storytelling process was an empathic

Toronto media, which has repeatedly invoked narratives of the Mirvish family *legacy* while telling the world of the development's benevolence investing in desperately needed public art and culture space. And it is precisely this repetitive conditioning of the human/neurological transition, between a signified thing/object, in this case *legacy*, and its connotation – *benevolent development* – that the advertising world calls branding.

With Toronto City Council's approval of zoning amendments for Mirvish + Gehry, a classic case of growth coalition is evident (Molotch, 1976; Stoker 1995; Irazabal 2009) whereby different interests come together to appeal to the public interest through storytelling. By not researching Mirvish + Gehry through a lens of affordability, green energy, vertical communities, and so on, but rather, by analyzing the development through the use of storytelling in print and digital formal media, as well as through local politicians, the City, the developer and the community, another story emerges. A story of 'the public,' how it is portrayed, used, included in the process or not, and how the notion of 'the public' can change over the lifespan of a development. Often discourses of *the* 'public' become the important element used by all actors engaged in telling a planning and development story.

## **Methodology/Conceptual Framework**

Through this research, I explored the theoretical relationship between power and social capital on defining what constitutes ‘good planning’ for the public interest and how power and social capital have clear and direct impacts on the stories told about and to ‘the public’ in planning and development. This research will provide direct links between power and social capital as the essential elements needed to participate to the fullest extent in the planning system. Through this line of thinking, power and social capital are the necessary mechanisms to influence significant change on urban environments.

Through 30 minute interviews with OCAD University President Sara Diamond and Member of Parliament Adam Vaughan – both integral to the Mirvish + Gehry development – my research explored how social capital and power are necessary to activate planning policy and regulation, and have real affect on a ‘public interest’ through direct access to decision-makers. Additionally, by conducting a media analysis on planning stories told in public reports, I explored whether media is a neutral third-party or rather an additional planning actor that builds public resistance or public consensus, by telling planning and development stories, or rather helping to framing public perceptions.

The principal research question of this work is: How do social capital and power affect the stories told to the public about planning and development, and thus

how do these planning stories impact the ways that Torontonians embrace their changing urban landscape? The intent is to gain practical knowledge for planners and engaged community members to consider how the stories told about planning and development impact the 'common-sense' of Torontonians and their motivations to accept, challenge and/or resist planning controversies.

### **Organization of this Major Research Paper**

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 through Chapter 4 conducts a literature review of the foundational concepts and theories necessary to analyze and understand the Mirvish + Gehry case study. Chapter 2 explores the public versus private domains in planning and development growth coalitions. Then, in Chapter 3, literature concerned with power and social capital is explored through its impacts on the discreet, decision-making forum of political lobbying. Following this, Chapter 4 discusses the politics of participation and the benefits of strategic partnerships in planning.

Afterward, Chapter 5 in great detail presents a historical analysis of the Mirvish + Gehry neighbourhood. Chapter 6 depicts the key actors and influencers of the story, David Mirvish and Frank Gehry. And Chapter 7 explains how Ontario planning policy is the regulatory framework that facilitates the transition of persuasive planning stories into realities. Finally, in Chapter 8, the Mirvish +

Gehry story is used as a case study for the art of storytelling in planning by conducting an analysis of 32 media reports on the development. This work helps to illustrate the usefulness of specific narratives – *the public* and the *public good* – in planning and development stories. Discussion of the analysis results bring together the core frameworks of this research in the conclusions found in Chapter 9.

## CHAPTER 2

### Public versus Private Domains

The notion of citizenship, or rather in the case of Toronto, being a Torontonian, is indistinguishably connected to the public domain – public space – and what is thought of as ‘public interest’ is inextricably linked to a collection of citizens considered as public beneficiaries, the ‘public interest.’ Therefore what is public and what is private can be defined in very different ways, as there exists a strong belief in the sanctity of private property and individual enterprise as a paradigm of citizenship that has come to be tied to property ownership in both Canadian and American contexts (Roy 2003 p.464).

Land, a limited good in the capitalist model, is based on the understanding that all land can be partitioned off and turned into a commodity, a direct response to the capitalist sentiment of supply and demand (Lehrer and Winkler 2006 p.143). But as was aforementioned, public space, linked to a collection of citizens, a group of public beneficiaries, is not directly associated with the capitalist ‘common-sense’ of private-held land value. Within the contemporary and socially constructed neoliberal mindset, public space and public interest – *the public* – is increasingly understood as a commodity and has a clear exchange value for the private domain.

Much that we do from day-to-day and minute-to-minute is based on applying 'common-sense' to the countless simple routines through high-level discourses that frame legal, land decisions and formal state planning actions. In his *Prison Notebooks*, the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, illustrated that 'common-sense' is the uncritical and mostly unconscious way in which an individual approaches the world. This means that 'common-sense' develops out of an existing society's ideology in its attempt to locate its own connection to the world (Simon 1982 p.24). Gramsci explained that it is this societal positioning which leads to contradictions within individual consciousness and establishes societal ideologies. And in this case, hegemony is a process that leads to the success of dominant classes in presenting their meaning and view of reality, in such a way that it is acknowledged by other, non-dominant classes, as 'common-sense' and therefore a general consensus emerges that it is the dominant and only way of defining the world:

"the supremacy of a social group manifest itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership...the 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent" (Gramsci 1971 p.215 in Storey 1994).

In this way *hegemony*, unlike coercion, is not forceful or intimidating, rather it is the act of convincing another through 'common-sense' applications that it is in their best interest to do what you want them to do (Palmer 2012). Hegemonic views and processes related to land are based in a political theory of oppression, consent and resistance (counter hegemony).



In global economic ideology, what is considered 'public' does not have a static history. Technological and political common-sense has changed and has re-shaped our understanding and boundaries of what constitutes 'the public.' Perhaps the biggest change, as Baumann (2000) argues, is a shift from the public as participants to the public as consumers. In this sense, the public, the community, is a commodity that can be traded and therefore has a use value in the global market economy.

The notion of 'public as commodity' has been socially constructed, requiring the cooperation of political actors and institutions to enforce and reproduce it (Lehrer and Winkler 2006). In the City of Toronto's Official Plan (2010) public space has been defined as a key element in creating community:

Beautiful, comfortable, safe and accessible streets, parks, open spaces and public buildings are a key shared asset. These public spaces draw people together, creating strong social bonds at the neighbourhood, city and regional level. They convey our public image to the world and unite us as a city. They set the stage for our festivals, parades and civic life as well as for daily casual contact. Public space creates communities (City of Toronto 2010 p.3-2).

Although the majority of this passage from Toronto's Official Plan has referred to communal built and natural resources as the basis for public space, there is a direct connection to the City's world image. Why would political documents and therefore political actors and institutions be interested in discussing the benefits of our world image in the same breath as describing community well being? Through formal state mechanisms such as statements about the public

and public space in Official Plans, political actors and institutions slowly contribute to the social construction of space, property rights and power that build support for planning decisions that align with the global economy. These benefits could take the form of tourism, increased value of real estate as per price escalation or other to emerge uses. Lehrer (1998) has argued that changes have taken place in the way in which space is produced, perceived and lived and that these changes seem to have less to do with the specificities of actual places than with the impact of a global economy on the articulation of public and private space.

### **Welfare and 'the public'**

In North America, changes in 'common-sense' suggest that popular feelings about governance have shifted significantly since the 1970s in regards to the state, redistribution of wealth and its connection to a global economy (Harvey 1989). The Great Depression of the 1930s exposed many flaws of capitalism. During this period, the concept of the Welfare State gained attention and was developed in North America as a compromise to protect the capitalist system from a socialist revolution. The Welfare State originated in Germany in the 1840s and is a distinctive combination of democracy, welfare and capitalism (Marshall 1950). It was created by Otto von Bismarck, with backing from German industry, to win the support of the working class for the German Empire and reduce the

outflow of immigrants to the United States, where wages were higher but welfare did not exist (Boundless 2014). There are various types of welfarism under a Welfare State such as: eligibility testing; selective security versus universality; cash benefits (ex. social assistance); citizen contributions (specific funds rather than general taxation – such as Canadian Pension Plan (CPP) or Employment Insurance (EI)); direct services (ex. health care); subsidized services (ex. housing and daycare), etcetera. Asa Briggs (1961) argued that there are three key elements by which Welfare States act:

“First by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work, or their property. Second by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain “social contingencies” (for example sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual or family crisis, and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services” (Briggs p.228).

Although Briggs in this passage referred to ‘families’ and ‘individuals’ several times, the Welfare State he is describing was envisioned from a collectivist perspective. Briggs’ understanding was that certain services were enhanced through collective action by government serving its citizenship – the public good - and that government should try to build basic universal standards as best as possible.

Other scholars have explained that there are different elements of the Welfare State that can be decommodified and universalized more than others and that there are several Welfare Regimes. First, there are Liberal Welfare States, such

as is found in the United States of America, Canada and Australia, where eligibility and means are tested for assistance as there are limits and restrictions to universal services. Second, there are Corporatist Welfare States, such as France, Germany and Italy, where there is less of a liberal obsession with the market and the granting of social rights is less stigmatized through a general social insurance backing. And finally, there are Social Democratic Welfare States, such as is found in Scandinavian countries where there are universal social rights based on citizenship rather than working life (Esping-Anderson 1990).

The journey to Toronto's Liberal Welfare State was largely initiated by urban dwellers through voluntary organizations and local governments. From the early 1600s, the British colonized the lands of the Mississauga peoples (what is now considered Toronto) and imported the Elizabethan Poor Laws to the settlements of Upper Canada (Lemon 1993). These laws placed responsibility for the disabled, destitute and unemployed onto the urban 'public.' Lemon has indicated that around 1850, Canadian municipalities began to create public services such as free and compulsory education, public health measures, hospitals, libraries and public places such as parks, as the burgeoning middle class came to appreciate the value of these public services. At that time, financial responsibility for 'the public' fell disproportionately on Canadian municipalities. It wasn't until the late 1930s that an established and more lasting base for collective social

action and planning became a Canadian reality as pressures of gross unemployment receded and the provincial and federal governments assumed a larger share of public interest expenditures (Lemon 1993 p.271-276).

However, since the early 1970s and rapidly taking speed in the 1980s, throughout the world there has been hasty neoliberalization and thus an increase in popular support and 'common-sense' application for the reduction in government programs and spending. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, before the formal institutionalization of the planning profession, urban growth and governance decisions were handled by the economic marketplace, the political arena and/or the two mechanisms combined (Hodge and Gordon 2014 p.355). With the rise of neoliberalism, the economic marketplace mechanism in land-use decisions has argued that the most favourable development of a community's land is most likely to occur through the efforts of buyers and sellers, who most fully appreciate their own, private interests. This is the so-called neoclassical economic model. In Canada, the economic marketplace is not regulated or controlled by a central state mechanism and participation in the marketplace is open to anyone who has financial means to do so.

A modernist variation of the neoclassical economic model is called the neoliberal model, neoliberalism or the neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism promotes a stronger association between the economic arena and private interests over the

political arena in mediating growth and development decisions (Harvey 2005). In the late 1970s, corporate Canada – private interests – enlisted pseudo-academic “institutes” and an active empathetic conservative media, dominated by a few corporate entities. As a result of doing so, fiscal conservatism and neoliberalism up to the present has persuaded the majority of Canadians, including Torontonians, that our Welfare State has damaged the country’s economic capability (Finkel 2011). As was mentioned, there has been a dramatic increase in popular support, ‘common sense’ application for the reduction in government programs and government spending in ‘the public,’ ‘public space’ and ‘public good’ as a whole.

Neoliberal Canadian governments, in keeping with global neoliberal expectations, have set agendas since the 1990s, which have had implications on public opinions and values. Brodie (1999) notes that Canadian society and political foci have shifted from collective agendas to individual programs through the privatization of the public sector and the decentralization of power. Since then, what is left of the public sector has shifted the sector’s ‘common-sense’ and work processes that call for the individualization of social responsibility, thus keeping in line with neoliberal ideology. Whose interests and criteria have produced these ‘common-sense’ applications? Whose interests are best served through public sector planning decisions influenced by the marketplace and therefore those who have the economic means to participate in it? Whose interests are left out?

Which 'public' is represented and dominates the use of current Canadian public planning policies? Whose criteria has defined the value of 'the public?'

Planning represents the interdisciplinary approach to the use of land, resources, facilities and services that secure our communities through built-forms, economic structures and our social wellbeing. In this way planning is concerned with community and 'the public' attaining a preferred future condition. A community's predilection, the public's best interest, is therefore the main objective and consideration when seeking planning solutions and making plans. However, when making a plan and planning it is impossible to separate certain basic elements – land and land-use. Land and land-use are the central materiality of space and place, which in the neoliberal world are intrinsically linked to the market economy. The market, as it was established earlier, is an exclusive venue for wealth, social elites and people who may have an interest in urban settlement as political economy.

As was aforementioned, the economic marketplace, the political arena and/or the two venues combined, handle urban growth and development. However under the neoliberal equation, socially constructed popular support inequitably favours the marketplace. Therefore the social elites of Toronto who have wealth and power to engage in the marketplace are arguably the victors of growth. Growth success is indicated by a rising urban-area population, which is "a symptom of a

pattern ordinarily comprising: 1) initial expansion of basic industries; 2) expanded labour force; 3) rising sale of retail and wholesale commerce; 4) increasing land development; 5) higher population density; and 6) increased financial activity” (Molotch 1976 p.312). In Toronto, with the reality of land scarcity in the downtown core, the sky has become an essential ingredient to the development industry’s political economy. Raising questions of the wisdom of growth, but specifically height and density, is to potentially threaten the interests and increasing wealth of a local elite whose profits lay in the development of Toronto’s scarce land and sky.

Any given parcel of land represents an interest, either for a landowner, who has in mind a future for that land, which is linked to their private well being, or for a given locality, a community and a ‘public interest’ that is thus an aggregate of land-based interests (Molotch 1976 p.322). Molotch’s point indicates that a parcel of land is a site of competing land interests – private and public – which contend with one another and can sit on opposite sides of a planning table. In spite of that, competing land interests are capable of strategic alliance and action – a growth coalition – when private and public interests can foresee that a given parcel’s future is bound to another’s interest and therefore they can work together to advance both private and public good.



It can be argued that a 'strategic growth coalition' implies that both private and public interests come to planning negotiation tables as equals. This is of course paradoxical. A private interest is tied to wealth and therefore a source of power in a neoliberal world. To have equitable coalitions, you cannot have gross inequalities of wealth (Marcuse 2013). As the propertied owner, the private interest, in growth coalitions sited in neoliberal societies like Toronto, controls the market commodity and therefore power in neoliberal-based planning processes, which inequitably favour wealth. To limit gross inequalities of wealth, you need to have more democratic public spaces, including the economic marketplace. This is very difficult and seems impractical, as the necessary ingredient for entry into the marketplace is privilege, wealth and risk, all of which not every citizen can equitably possess.

For the propertyless and those with limited or nonexistent wealth, a historical diminished investment in universality (the Welfare State) and therefore general 'public interest' is a result of our contemporary and socially constructed, neoliberal mindset, which has influenced public policy and regulation. This has resulted in 'common-sense' applications for public interest keepers leveraging 'the public' to enter growth coalitions with private interests to obtain resources to satisfy 'public' needs. Through this contemporary model, 'the public' is increasingly understood as a commodity, which under capitalism has a profitable exchange value in the private sector. In order to get ahead and attain benefits

and resources for the public good, 'the public' must practice good neoliberal citizenship and operate under neoliberal applications of 'common-sense' in order to gain public benefits through space and place (Changfoot 2007).

## CHAPTER 3

### **Social Capital and Power**

Social capital is different from monetary capital, which is commonly associated with the global marketplace. Unlike monetary forms of capital, social capital is not depleted by use but rather is depleted by nonuse (Bollier 2001). The more strategically social capital is sited and utilized in privileged spaces, the more it can grow. It is based on social interactions such as those found in communities of geography, lineage, identity and all forms of civil society in which culture operates, including the organizations, political spectrums, cultural associations, bars we frequent, the bus routes we take, etcetera. It is our personal and professional networks. Therefore social capital is anything that facilitates social or collective action, generated by networks of relationships and social norms (Coleman 1988). These community and cultural spaces provide opportunity for personal exchanges and thus social capital to develop and be sustained.

Popular theories of social capital argue that the seal of a vibrant community is more active participation by a greater number of community members (Evans and Advokaat 2001 p.74). This is the language of governance through community, which assumes that it is through activated membership, that stronger communities are built with a positive sense of belonging and connection to society. The work of Robert Putnam asserts this notion, suggesting that the

existence of active social networks is critical to a community's success. The network need not be political in the broad sense but rather, through connection to others there could exist the possibility to form a power-bloc and influence decision-making (Evans and Advokaat 2001). In *Making Democracy Work*, Putnam (1993) considered the impact of the arts and observed that the number of regional choral societies could gauge the responsiveness of Italian regional governments per capita. Choral members weren't singing to improve government efficacy but simply because they loved to sing and as a result, by associating with one another, they created vital social capital that was a power-bloc, a coalition, with measured influence on decision makers.

A progressive perspective then on social capital would indicate that power engenders power in all social networks, including those found in economically depressed communities, communities that often face other forms of shared oppression. *Oppression* is the systemic devaluing, undermining, marginalizing, and disadvantaging of certain social identities – a certain 'public' – in contrast to privilege and dominant norms. It is when some people are denied something of value, while others have ready access to it (WPC 2013). Privilege and dominance refers to white ancestry, and other privileges, which are the accumulated and interrelated advantages of white privilege. White privilege is reflected in racial/ethnic inequities in health outcomes like life expectancy, wealth

outcomes, and in part through different access to opportunities and resources accessible through one's social capital (Butler, Leiderman and Potapchuk 2012).

Communities can be acutely affected by oppression and discrimination. However, oppression or power against a group is not always a negative influence.

Opposing force can help those within a group to find common cause and build social capital through opposition. A good example is the LGBTQ community. The LGBTQ community started out as individual people. The transition from individuals to community took place through the action of seeking each other out and by doing so, the community formed out of their shared oppression. In this way, it can be argued that oppression pulls people in and makes them connect and in connecting, people build social capital for their own good and sometimes for the sake of survival. In this vein, political theorist Ernesto Laclau (1985) argued that oppression-based connection is precisely how coalitions, which can actually create change, ultimately form. Laclau has said that it becomes possible to create a 'counter-hegemonic bloc' when various oppressed groups and citizens join together.

In a similar fashion, Paulo Freire (1970/2012) in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* introduced a democratic and anti-authoritarian approach to participation in education – Popular Education. Freire argued that social connection and dialogue are instrumental “to free the colonized”. And through anti-oppressive techniques,

Freire's work encouraged the use of cooperation and cultural synthesis to overcome social problems and liberate the oppressed. His work suggests that dialogue and social connection can act as opportunity for *critical connections*, through shared experiences, which can develop into knowledge and networks. Critical connection between non-dominant citizens, with less power and less established social capital, theoretically allows community to find common cause, and if needed, contest dominant hegemonic powers. However, if separated, these interests are kept silent and powerless.

Like power, oppression is never the same amongst groups and individual people of a given locality. Oppression is always multiple, shifting and constantly changing, and manifesting differently in different situations, as it is intersectional. Intersectional oppression or as it is more commonly referred to, intersectionalism, is the study of intersections between forms or systems of oppression, domination and/or discrimination (Crenshaw 1989). As an example, consider Crenshaw's (1989) analysis of black feminism, in which she argues that the experience of being a black female cannot be understood in terms of being black, and or being female, and or being queer, each considered independently, but must include the interactions, which frequently reinforce each other. Therefore, how many layers of oppression are there? How many needs and interests are never talked about and lose out as a result of oppression? How many interests might planning be

missing? How many 'publics' are missing from a planning story, project and decision?

According to Freire (1970/2012), there needs to be a pedagogy of the oppressed, which is to say, non-dominant citizens with less power and less social capital, teaching each other how to understand the ways in which each is oppressed and together, build group power and individual social capital, through connection to the group's network. Today, many are exploited in one-way or another by global capitalism. Systems of dominance hold their power through many means of 'divide and conquer.' On a micro scale, discourse production and the manufacturing of consent of non-dominant groups takes place through published 'knowledge and truths,' in media reports that help shape various communities' internal compasses, or rather as was discussed in Chapter Two, a community's 'common-sense' (Chomsky 1982, Foucault 1980). A 'common-sense' that could help influence an individual and/or a community to act, resist or do nothing.

Communities are constituted of individuals who tacitly or explicitly express shared values and characteristics. However, stating that a group of persons can share a common set of traits, implies that outsiders or non-members also exist. Therefore while communities are defined by what members have in common, they are similarly defined by what makes them different from non-members, or more clearly defined by the very fact of exclusion (Evans and Advokaat 2001 p.56).

Whether explicitly acknowledged or not, barriers to memberships often always exist, both in public forums and the public spaces where ‘the public’ and general ‘public good’ are the moral compass of decision-making. Not everyone based on intersectional oppression can be a member of the community, or a specific ‘public’ of one’s choosing. Hence not all people have the capacity and ability to form the most powerful forms of social capital in today’s global, neoliberal economic world system.

In this regard, it is important to highlight the work of James DeFilippis. DeFilippis (2001) argued that all theories of social capital are flawed because they fail to understand issues of power within the social construction of ‘community and communities’ and because they divorce social capital from economic capital. He called on Pierre Bourdieu’s (1985) development theory to discuss how the concept of ‘social capital’ is an attempt to understand the production of classes and class divisions. As discussed earlier, social capital is constituted by the development of social networks and relationships. For DeFilippis and Bourdieu these forms of social capital are never disconnected from monetary capital. Bourdieu (1985) argued that concurrently, capital is both economic and a set of power relations active in social interactions, which typically are not thought of as economic – such as the social interactions of the LGBTQ community and Paulo Freire’s anti-oppression work with Popular Education. What this means for communities and social networks is that they are not monolithic but rather in



every environment, community and social network there are preexisting power dynamics at play based on class, race, ethnicity, age, ability, gender and other socio-economic factors.

DeFilippis argued that there are two key components of Bourdieu's (1985) work that are lost in current discussions of social capital:

“First, (that) the production and reproduction of capital is a process that is inherently about power....he almost conceives of capital and power as synonymous. Second, since his interest is in the social production of classes, he distinguishes between the social networks that an individual is embedded in, and out of which social capital precipitates (or emerges), and the outcomes of those social relationships...social networks that might be very dense but nonetheless unable to generate resources because of lack of access” (DeFilippis 2001 p.781).

Thus power is about the function of one's social capital to facilitate certain actions of specific actors. An individual or a group can have a robust social network and therefore active social capital, but if they do not have the means necessary to widely tell their stories to the right people and have an impact on the actions of decision makers, then they have less power when compared to the function of other persons or groups that can activate the actions of decision makers.

### **Social capital and lobbying**

Social capital is therefore a mechanism, a thing and an outcome combined (Coleman 1988). In cities like Toronto, non-dominant and dominant groups can have an equally active social network, but to thrive on a macro power level they

must operate in the realities of a global political economy, in which robustness does not matter as much as who you know and how you can get them to act. This is why Painter (1992) argued that is important to distinguish between potential power and actual power. The Ontario planning system's policies and regulations are based in neoliberalism and its principle of advancing private, free-market interests. Therefore, power in development lies with the economically wealthy – those who can actually develop. To develop new environments, public spaces, and landscapes, a developer must publicly frame their stories for both planning actors and the media, both of which can be lobbied to strategically advance interests. In lobbying, it is the efficacy of one's social capital that is important for influencing decision-making. Through lobbying, power is illustrated as having the ability to penetrate all contexts and relations in a way that distorts the operation of rationalities and the strategies for power that planning adopts (Brownill and Carpenter 2007).

In Ontario, the land-use planning regime is conceptualized into three categories: 1) procedural; 2) substantive; and 3) political (Hare 2013). In this regime, ultimate and formal decision-making power rests with publicly elected decision makers. However, an assertion that genuine participation in decision making is achieved by having power to serve in or elect members to public office, ignores a range of benefits which can be associated with being consulted throughout other more private stages in public planning policy and decision making. When considering

the Ontarian context of the political category, Hare (2013) explained that the first action is discretion in which the regime's principal utility is also concerned with informal policy making arenas.

Dialogue and information exchange, which theorists like Arnstein (1969) asserted as tokenistic, prejudged the outcome of such social, and potentially private interactions. The politically discreet and statutorily regulated act of political lobbying is largely based on social, dialogic interactions and information exchange between public decision makers and people or groups with special interests. In Toronto, lobbying is enshrined in the *Lobbyist Registration Act*, (1998) and the *Toronto Municipal Code, Chapter 140* (2014). Both substantive policies define lobbying in essentially the same way. Under Section 1 of the *Lobbyist Registration Act*, lobbying is defined as:

“grass-roots communication”....appeals to members of the public through the mass media or by direct communication that seek to persuade members of the public to communicate directly with a public office holder in an attempt to place pressure on the public office holder to endorse a particular opinion...

“lobby” means,...(a)in relation to a consultant lobbyist referred to in section 5 or 6, to communicate with a public office holder in an attempt to influence.”

Therefore, people who lobby, lobbyists, serve either their own interests or their client's interests by attempting to influence the decisions made by officials in government such as legislators, planners and members of regulatory agencies, among others.

Lobbying is often spoken of with disdain, under the assumption that dominant members of society, with powerful social capital, have the ability to serve their own interests under this covert informal system of public participation. In doing so, it is assumed that those with powerful social capital are the only community members who can persuade elected officials to shape decisions in their favour by offering something to a public figure in exchange, such as monetary election support. But the ethics of lobbying are double-sided. There are also registered and regulated lobbyists who are working to make sure that non-dominant interests are defended and that non-dominant groups have influence as well. For example, a public health association may lobby a legislature about increasing the restrictions on smoking prevention laws on outdoor patios, arguing that smoking is injurious to health. At the same time, a restaurateur's association may lobby to reduce smoking prevention laws on outdoor patios, arguing that it is part of the freedom of choice and a part of good business practice. Lobbyists can therefore serve their own private interests, their clients' interests and/or those of the public. These interests can either be deemed benevolent and far-reaching or can represent a single party with private, capital interest gain at stake.

Thus, the significant link between social capital and power is easiest to 'see' or rather illustrate through lobbying. Through this act of influence, individuals are an embodied resource for action. And it is one's social capital that lobbyists, either kindly towards the public good or kindly towards a private agenda, utilize to get

others, in decision making roles, to help solve problems, seize opportunities on the table or accomplish other aims that matter to them. Lobbyists call on their social leverage, which is another way of referring to social capital. These embodied resources are about access to power and influence that help one 'get ahead' or change one's current situation through access to information and people whose actions can change the course of decisions (Boissevain 1974).

Earlier in this chapter it was understood that oppression does not allow for everyone to choose which community and which 'public' they belong to. Many communities are faced with socio-economic challenges, which are the results of privilege and oppression. For this reason, not all people have the capacity to form the most powerful forms of social capital and power needed in development to advance any interest. In Ontario development, power lies with the economically wealthy that can actually develop their own story and their interests. However, to develop new environments, public spaces and landscapes, a developer must frame their version of development for planning departments – whose decisions lie in the interests of 'the public good' – and for the media – who pitch messages to specific 'publics.' Therefore one can argue that working with both could be a key element in lobbying practices to effectively utilize and advance specific interests, both public and private.

## CHAPTER 4

### The Politics of Participation

Cities are not static objects, rather cities are living beings. They are composed of people, structures and institutions that are constantly changing, evolving, forming and adapting to natural and built environments. The urban form is a continuous succession of phases, processes and plans through which the modification of urban form (natural environments and built structure) is based on the evolving nature of socially constructed human needs (Lynch 1960). Therefore the urban form is related to *perceived* needs and outcomes, which can be problematic.

What is perceived is not always the case for ‘the public’/urban dwellers whose neighbourhoods and communities may be in processes of planning assessments or evaluations for land use change. Participation in land use planning matters is ‘the public’s’ opportunity to have input and offer its case(s) to a planning process and a development story.

Theoretically, in an Ontario context, public participation is a forum where any public interest can and must be heard if they choose to participate. Public participation and consultation is the dedicated space where communities’ needs are voiced in relation to land use planning projects. It is space where planning actors, such as developers, planners and politicians, must be physically present to consume and document public interests in relation to planning projects. Then

again, *it is the decision of whether or not to do something* about the interests voiced during public participation, which is the point of disadvantage for the community, the public. Statutorily, this means that public consultation must take place. However, the needs and concerns of the public raised during the consultation do not require action, only consumption. However, unlike the unregulated public participation of the past, consultation today must be facilitated with the general public. From this perspective then there is a basic element of accountability that did not exist prior to the late 1960s.

Over the past century, power in planning has by and large belonged to state sanctioned institutions, the experts, or rather, the technocrats (Day 1997). In this early professional equation, the community was left out unless the citizen was being 'treated' and taught to live like citizens 'should', or 'consulted' through manipulative participation (Arnstein 1969). It was not until the 1960s' social and civil rights era that there was a reconsideration of the redistribution of power in planning. During this period there was progressive change in planning discourse through which, participation and the redistribution of power and wealth, were considered important elements of planning, basic democracy and equity (Krumholz 1982). Cities had come to be viewed as ecosystems, in which each city element has an affect on the other. Together, this means that a city is composed of living organisms, communities that interact with non-living environments. And a community is made up of physical, economic and ethical

processes active at any given time between a city and its close ‘dependencies,’ the people (Jacob 1961).

It is imperative to acknowledge that in Western societies, specifically Canada and the United States, ‘dependency’ discourses are embedded in racial and gender distinctions, which have directly impacted public policy and planning outcomes since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, as is the case with all language, the connotation of ‘dependency’ is not static. Rather it has a semantic history of change that is reflective of major socio-historical developments (Fraser and Gordon 1994). For example, before the rise of capitalism, Fraser and Gordon illustrated that all forms of work were woven into a net of dependencies – social hierarchies that valued the work of subordinated classes. Dependency was overtly acknowledged as both top-down and bottom-up, and dependency relationships were deemed necessary for progress. With the emergence of industrial capitalism and neoliberalism there came a contrapositive relationship between economic independence and dependence. Dependency was redefined alongside the devaluation of women’s labour and the rise of cheap wage labour. The need for cheap labour has been a constant factor since the rise of capitalism. And power over the masses has been the necessary tool to satisfy another dependency relationship – the market’s need. Through this line of thinking, public participation and consultation in planning matters could be seen as a threat to the ‘right’



choice for society as the market's 'common-sense' has historically not been interested in the needs of the people, and even less so, poor people.

With the rise of neoliberalism in the 1970s came the decentralization of government and the downloading of collective interests to the individual and locality alongside a dramatic rise in discourses of participation and community engagement in planning. What does this mean for citizen participation in planning decisions and what is its relationship to the social imperatives of Toronto?

In Canada, the evolving role of public participation in the planning process can be traced to the post-war, Canadian government planning agenda, set out in its 1944 subcommittee report, '*Housing and Community Planning: Final Report.*' Prior to its publication, there were numerous citizen movements that lobbied for civic needs in public health, housing, local government organization, beautification and ratepayers groups, which manifested in public movements that protested various planning measures (Hodge and Gordon 2014). These public movements – a form of public participation – played a continuing role within the planning process. However, it was not until much later that these communities were formalized as a 'stakeholder,' which had to be formally consulted prior to decision-making in planning and development. Not until the recommendations of the *Housing and Community Planning* report were embodied in legislation – the *National Housing Act, 1944* – was public interest in planning regulated through

the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's (CMHC) formation of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC). For approximately thirty years, CPAC was the only space made for public participation in planning. CPAC meetings were the site where citizens, planners and politicians met to discuss the public interest and the needs of communities in relation to growth. A clear benefit of formalizing the public participation step in the planning process, is as Arnstein (1969) has noted, a means by which the have-not citizens, the dependents, can induce significant social reform that enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society, which can be read as a reframing of societal 'common-sense.'

### **Participation and Planning Policy**

In Ontario, land use planning is a provincial policy-led system with a legal hierarchy of land use planning policies and instruments (Planning Act, s.3(5), 27, 24). The highest piece of legislation that sets all frameworks for procedural requirements is the *Planning Act, 1990*. Public participation, in the *Planning Act*, is a substantive policy and legal requirement – a procedural requirement for municipal planning decisions and private planning applications. Under section 16, clause (15) participation is established as an obligatory step in the planning process for all Ontario municipalities:

- (15) Consultation and public meeting – In the course of the preparation of a plan, the council shall ensure that,
  - (a) the appropriate approval authority is consulted on the preparation of the plan and given an opportunity to review all supporting information

- and material and any other prescribed information and material, even if the plan is exempt from approval;
- (b) the prescribed public bodies are consulted on the preparation of the plan and given an opportunity to review all supporting information and material and any other prescribed information and material;
- (c) adequate information and material, including a copy of the current proposed plan, is made available to the public, in the prescribed manner, if any; and
- (d) at least one public meeting is held for the purpose of giving the public an opportunity to make representations in respect of the current proposed plan.

Under this statutory requirement of consultation and public meeting, citizen participation in the planning process is established as a categorical position of citizen power. Second in line in the legal hierarchy of planning is the Provincial Policy Statement (2015) followed by the Provincial Plans. Under section 16-27 of the *Planning Act*, Ontario municipalities must implement provincial policies and plans through the establishment of Official Plans and Zoning By-laws. Official Plans are required to reflect provincial interests (*Planning Act*, s.2), be consistent with the policies of the Provincial Policy Statement and conform to provincial plans where applicable (*Planning Act*, s.3(5)(a)). It is a municipality's zoning by-laws that are the finer and more technical pieces of regulation, which are used to implement the municipality's Official Plan policies. Municipal zoning powers are granted through section 34 of the *Planning Act*.

The City of Toronto's Official Plan is a policy document that expresses the long-term visions for physical land use, social and economic matters in the community and the municipal processes with public and community input – all reflective of

and consistent with the standards of the Provincial Policy Statement and Provincial Plans.

The first chapter of the City of Toronto's Official Plan, *Making Choices*, is reminiscent of Henri Lefebvre's (1968) 'right to the city' which has been summed up as a "demand...(for) a transformed and renewed access to urban life" (Lefebvre 1996). Under the City of Toronto's Official Plan's chapter, *Principles for a Successful Toronto*, there is a subsection called, *A City of Leaders and Stewards*, which the City sees as "fundamental (for the city's) success." It calls on Toronto citizens as "individuals and communities (to) actively participate in decisions affecting them (and) share responsibility" (City of Toronto 2010, p.1-5). Earlier in the chapter, under *A City of Diversity and Opportunity*, the City expresses its ethics by classifying future success through an "enviable quality of life (that) is diverse, inclusive and equitable...(a) mixture of opportunities for everyone to live, work, learn and play" (City of Toronto 2010, 1-3). These principles suggest that the City of Toronto is committed to a socially just city through the promotion of equitable and accessible public participation in land use planning decisions that support the creation of apt urban public spaces for 'the public good.' However, here we also notice that Toronto does not substantively describe any technical requirements for public engagement and participation but instead offers blanket statements of aspiration and encouragement. Here the City's use of 'the public' creates a mirage of public power in planning without

actually taking the necessary steps, the technical breakdown, and the actual 'how-to's' for implementing participation and public interest in the planning process through substantive regulation.

As indicated earlier, the change in discourse surrounding public participation in planning emerged at the same time as the rise to power of neoliberalism in Western cities. As is found in the City of Toronto's current Official Plan, without substantive planning policy – clearly indicating how a city ought to equitably act to include its population in the creation of fair and appropriate urban space – visioning statements remain impartial to the status quo and neoliberal ideology. Therefore, by embedding statements and sections reminiscent of the 'right to the city' allows cities, like Toronto, to respond to neoliberal urbanism and better empower urban dwellers, but the policy remains theoretically and politically underdeveloped (Purcell 2002). Lefebvre's (1968) 'right to the city' is more radical and he would have demanded a clearer directive to address current problems of disenfranchisement.

In *Planning the Ideology of Planning*, David Harvey (1985 p.194) makes an interesting statement when he describes how the "mystification of (planning) lies in the presupposition of harmony at the still point of the turning capitalist world." Harvey is challenging the deeply rooted notion of the benevolent planner and the socially just claims surrounding the roots of planning policy. Progressive

planning, and the 'right to the city' within a state sanctioned system, is intrinsically rooted in the hierarchy of the capitalist social order of society. Regardless of how 'progressively' focused on social justice a planner and a city may be, there are clear boundaries to social balance or social harmony. State planners cannot break the confines of societal arrangements, based on control, social capital and power over the masses, which are needed to advanced capitalist societies. Instead, Lefebvre's 'right to the city' is more aligned with John Friedmann's (1987) analysis of the Radical Planner – the planner that acts as a mediator of theory and practice in social transformations outside the scope and power of the state. Operating in such realms, the planner is concerned with life beyond 'growth' and 'production' and the expected capitalist social order. Instead, Friedmann's radical planner seeks to expand the social opportunity and political activity of non-dominant groups, which are systemically disadvantaged in the hierarchy of social order: ethnic minorities; labourers; women; the poor, etcetera. Thus the goal of the radical planner is to shift the balance of power in capitalism's hierarchy. Working with frontline non-dominant actors of a specific 'public,' the radical planner can strategize self-empowerment practices that are prepared for resistance from, for example, developers against an inner suburban community.

Friedmann (1987) notes that the radical planner acts to mediate the strategy production, by giving primary jurisdiction to the action – the power of community action – as the basis of the social learning. Radical planners achieve social

learning, the foundations needed to inform their practice, through dialectical interactions with households, social movements, etc.

In a similar fashion, Yiftachel (1998) challenges the notion of the benevolent planner when he argues that the accepted view of planners as benevolent balancers of the 'public good' is too narrow and idealistic of the reality of planning "as an arm of the modern nation-state." Yiftachel explains that historically, land use planning tools such as zoning and development policies have systemically socially isolated minorities, such as blacks in America. Planning tools can be oppressive by manipulating ethnic spatial relations via social controls exercised through state-sanctioned policy. This notion is rooted in the idea of the non-negotiable role of the modern planner, and any human being for that matter, as we are all capitalist growth participants.

Advanced capitalist societies, such as Canada and the United States, have experienced a shift in urban governance towards creating and supporting local conditions, which enhance a city's global image and appeal to a corporate class of citizens and consequently facilitate growth. David Harvey's (1989) work on the shift to entrepreneurialism in urban governance describes the following traits as indicators: support for smaller firms; close links between the public and private sectors; and the promotion of local areas to attract business. A key difference in the entrepreneurial governance model is the process and power found in various

forms of public participation. In it, local government actors perform as the facilitators of the objectification of a city in efforts to nurture growth that appeals to a new climate, a highly mobile business elite, not rooted but instead modify location based on the right mix of factors supporting their needs.

Citizen power and public participation in the new model of “governance” rather than “government” resides in the coalitions formed through politics and class partnerships (Harvey 1989). In this model, since the bulk of power is held in the hands of a few, whose interests often align with corporate interests, the goal is simple; increase profit through growth, revitalization, and expansion of business. Local interests, citizen power and public participation that keep in line with this model stand to benefit. Whereas those that do not, perish because of a lack of wealth, power, state support and therefore access to affect decisions.

### **Impacts of lobbying on the state**

When accounting for citizen participation in planning decisions, and the public participation relationship to social imperatives of Toronto, it is regime theory that provides a framework for understanding urban governance, issues of power, and the casual relationships and behaviours of public participation in urban politics, which often are the largest winners of growth (Stoker 1995). Growth is not a function of economic necessity but a target of political action in cities. Therefore,



state intervention in land use planning through a planning system – *Planning Act, Provincial Policy Statement, Provincial Plans, Official Plans, Zoning Bylaws* – supports and facilitates growth through the regulation of growth. In Toronto, city bureaucrats and politicians act as facilitators, both objectifying the city as the right-mix of factors to support a corporate climate, while supporting local public needs and interests. Attracting business is to attract growth. And further, by attracting business this helps to support the stability of city revenues without increasing base taxes, which can in turn help a local politician keep their job. Therefore actors with self-interest in growth will promote growth. To raise questions of the wisdom of growth is to potentially threaten wealth transfer and interest of local powerful elites who profit by it (Molotch 1976).

Everyone in a global city has a role as a neoliberal subject, in which corporate ideals hold a privileged position in ‘common-sense’ applications. That being said, by enacting regime theory, state actors can foster some benefits for non-dominant publics through their social leverage and participation in land use planning forums like lobbying. Stoker (1995) explains that regime theory accepts the privileged position of wealth, concerns itself with the limits of effective and equitable democratic politics and finally, focuses on fragmentation and complexity of governmental decision-making. Through regime theory, the politics of power and social capital, in complex urban systems like Toronto, can be seen as a coordinator and mobilizer of disparate publics with competing societal claims

and interests. Regime theory states that local state actors like City Councillors, can bring disparate publics together to meet their needs through a shared purpose in a planning project. The point here is that the state actor has heard and collected the issues and ideas of various publics, corporate and community publics through lobbying, and can act as the matchmaker through their governing power to bring disparate publics together, not necessarily as equal claimants, but often as contributors to a shared purpose (Stoker 1995).

Ultimately, in Ontario's planning system, public participation is a statutory, and necessary step in the process of development, growth and socio-built change. Anyone can participate, but whether or not a public's needs and interests are served is left up to the state actors involved in the planning process to actually act upon. However, through growth coalitions – matched through state actors – powerful private interests can find alliance with 'public' interests found at the site of a land-based planning project. Public needs and interests that actually stand to gain from development are those that are flexible in accordance with the planning system's leniency towards growth, accept the system's inequity and instead, resolve to take as much as possible from the system. Therefore, without a complete overhaul of the substantive procedural requirements of a municipal participation process – that clearly dictate *how* equitable public participation and public interest are to be served or through an incremental shift in the cultural

'common-sense' applications of growth – cities will continue to inequitably serve their constituents in order to stay afloat in the global neoliberal world.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Socio-historical analysis of Mirvish + Gehry**

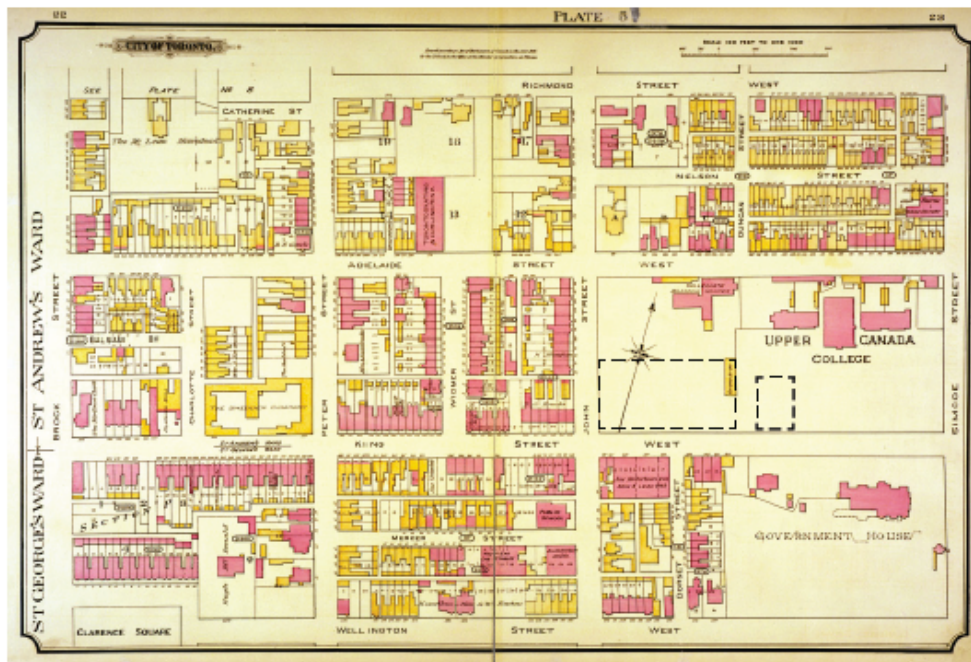
The Mirvish + Gehry development is located between 266 – 322 King Street West in downtown Toronto. Before continuing to tell the Mirvish + Gehry story, it is important to highlight the ancestry of the neighbourhood.

### **King Street West, Pre-Industry**

The area of the Mirvish + Gehry development was part of the 1797 New Town extension of the Town of York (former name of the City of Toronto) from Jarvis Street to Peter Street (ERA Architects 2012). When the neighbourhood was first built, it was settled as an exclusive upper-class residential and institutional section of the budding city. The Mirvish + Gehry development site was once a part of the lands where the elite private school for boys, Upper Canada College, located its first buildings on the block bound by Adelaide, Simcoe, King and John Streets.

Today, across the street from the development site, on the south side of King Street West, we find Metro Hall (a municipal government building) and Roy Thomson Hall (an artistic performance space). Pre-industry, in 1798, an estate was built on these lands for John Elmsley, the first resident Chief Justice of Upper Canada (ERA Architects 2012). In 1813, the provincial government

purchased the Elmsley property for use as the Government House. It was the official residence of the provincial Lieutenant-Governor. In 1862, the residence was destroyed by fire and a new Government House was built on the same site, completed in 1870 (ERA Architects 2012). Historically speaking, the Mirvish + Gehry development site as well as the block south of it, bound by King, Simcoe, Wellington and John Streets, has been lavish, upper class and exclusive, or rather, a neighbourhood inaccessible to every city dweller. By 1884, the Queen, Simcoe, King, and John Street city-block surrounding the Mirvish + Gehry development, and the Metro Hall-Roy Thompson Hall-block was a rowhouse, residential neighbourhood.



**Figure 1: 1884 Goads Fire Insurance Plan – Mirvish + Gehry (dotted lines) is located on the historic grounds of Upper Canada College (ERA Architects 2012).**

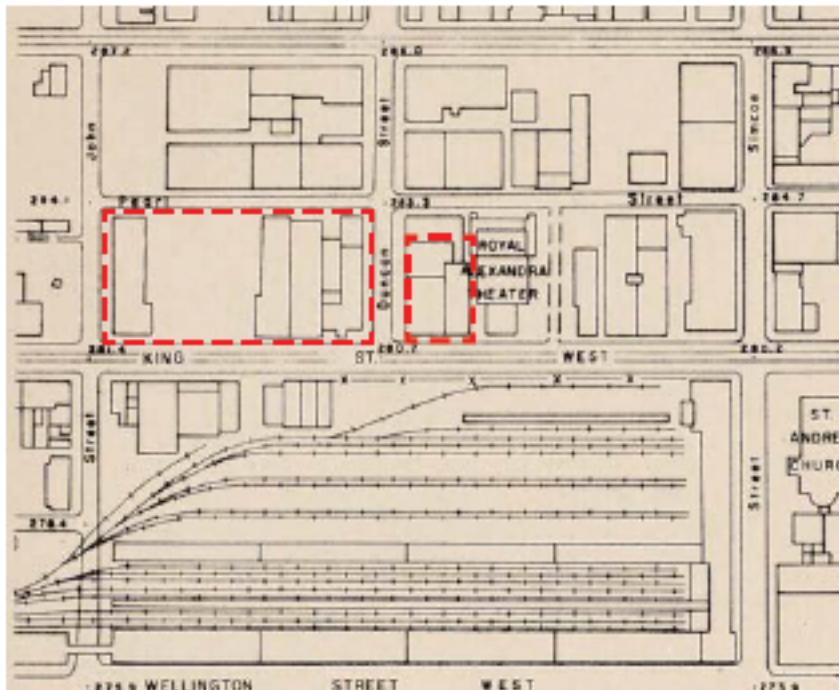
## **The Emergence of the Railway Industry**

In and around the 1850s the residential quality of the surrounding area began to change as railways were expanded from the waterfront, south of the site (ERA Architects 2012). In 1904, Toronto experienced its first Great Fire, which destroyed a large portion of the city, including much of what remained of the surrounding residential neighbourhood. The Great Fire made way for a new industrial and commercial characterization of the area (Star Talks 2014). In 1906, when the neighbourhood was in transition, 27 year-old Cawthra Mulock, “Toronto’s youngest millionaire,” commissioned a famous architect, John Lyle, to build the Royal Alexandra Theatre in a Beaux-Arts style of architecture, directly across King Street from the exclusive Government House (Heritage Toronto 2007). Shortly thereafter, in 1912, the government sold the land to the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) who demolished the Government House and replaced it with freight yards (ERA Architects 2012). In the 1970s, the CPR cited a property surplus and offered the site to the City of Toronto for the construction of a new concert hall, Roy Thomson Hall (opened in 1982), which was part of a future planning agenda to redevelop the King, Simcoe, Wellington and the John Streets block (ERA Architects 2012).

## **The Area Post Railway Industry**

Brockhouse (2007) has noted that by the 1960s the neighbourhood was not a pleasant place for pedestrian life as the railway marshalling yards still occupied

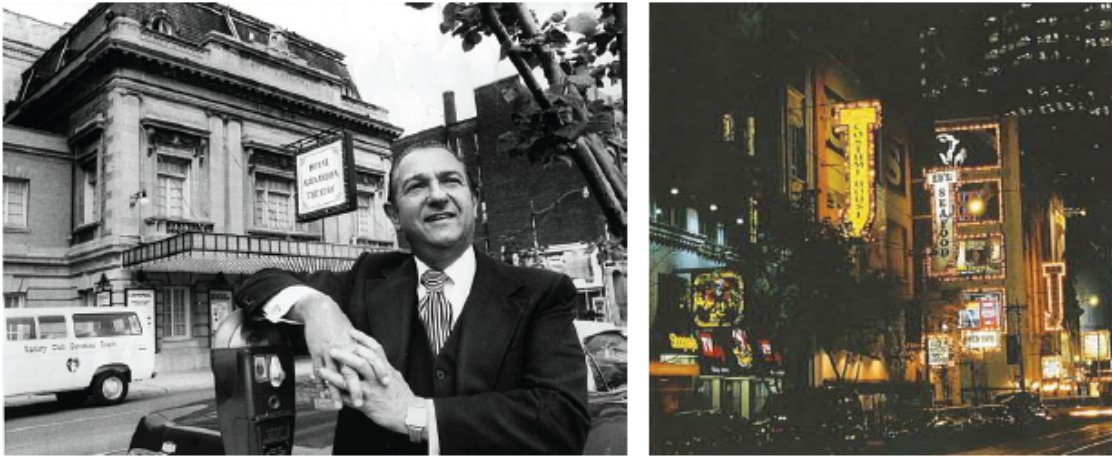
the south side of King Street West and the former lavish Upper Canada College buildings had been replaced with brick factories, printing plants and many other industrial uses throughout the various neighbourhood warehouses.



**Figure 2: 1950 City of Toronto survey. The Government House replaced with CPR's freight yards. The site that later became the Princess of Wales Theatre is vacant (ERA Architects 2012).**

In 1963 when “Honest” Ed Mirvish purchased the Royal Alexandra Theatre, which then and today is considered as one of the oldest theatres in North America, he saved the site from demolition (Heritage Toronto 2007). Mirvish was the lowest bidder on the property but won the bidding war, as he was the only hopeful purchaser who intended to keep its use for theatre. Over time, Ed Mirvish transformed this stretch of King Street West by purchasing all the warehouse buildings on the block between Duncan and John Streets. Once purchased, he changed their use from industrial to commercial and entertainment, with a special

focus on the pedestrian scale and destination restaurant spaces for pre and post theatre shows – Ed’s Warehouse, Ed’s Seafood, Ed’s Folly, Ed’s Chinese, Ed’s Italian Restaurant and Old Ed’s.



**Figure 3: Ed Mirvish in front of the Royal Alexandra Theatre.**

**Figure 4: Ed’s Warehouse Restaurants along King Street West (ERA Architects 2012)**

The Mirvish family, but most specifically, Ed Mirvish has had a large affect on Toronto’s collective, place-based attachment history. The family’s roots began in the city shortly before the Great Depression of the 1930s in what was then considered Toronto’s Jewish neighbourhood – roughly speaking, this neighbourhood was located from Queen Street north to Harbord Street and University Ave east to Grace Street (ERA Architects 2012). During this time, ERA Architects have noted that Ed helped his father run their family grocery store until 1929 when he dropped out of high school to care full-time for his family when his father died. Ed worked in the frontlines of food and retail until he and his wife, artist Anne Lazar Macklin, between 1944-1948 purchased a block of stores (581



Bloor Street West and the extension at 760 Bloor Street West which is connected by a walkway crossing “Honest’ Ed’s Alley”) and turned them into the massive, Honest Ed’s discount department store and subsequently Mirvish Village (Wikipedia 2014a).



**Figure 5: Honest Ed’s department store at the South West corner of Bathurst and Bloor Streets (Wikipedia 2014a).**

In Toronto, ‘Honest’ Ed Mirvish is heralded as a businessman for the poor. Personally speaking, my family’s past and current roots are in the Annex – the Honest Ed’s neighbourhood. I grew up listening to stories about Ed Mirvish, raised in a working class family and rising to riches through his discount department store, theatrical productions and theatre restaurants. As his legacy goes, Ed never forgot his past and would often give back to Toronto. He and his wife would hand out free turkeys every year, in the late fall, and for decades the

family has offered reduced market-rent spaces to small businesses and artisans in Mirvish Village, which is located on Markham Street, just west of Bathurst Street. When Ed Mirvish died in 2007, Toronto's then-mayor David Miller, spoke about Mirvish's love for the city, culture, and revitalization – his legacy – when he was quoted in the Toronto Star stating:

Whether it was his iconic landmark retail store that was responsible for breathing new life into the Bloor and Bathurst neighbourhood or his commitment to the performing arts, Ed's passion for his city was second to none...he gave birth to the Entertainment District and helped revitalize the city's love for theatre industry, bringing with it thousands of jobs and busloads of tourists...the light's may have dimmed on Ed's life, but his spirit and legacy have been indelibly burned into the fabric of Toronto (Ouzounain 2007).

As seen here, the Mirvish legacy in Toronto is afforded a deep civic appreciation felt in many public spaces: artistic, community hubs, municipal, and so on. Over the course of 65 years, the Mirvish family has contributed to Toronto's collective community memory and global profile, all the while accumulating massive wealth through real estate – physical built structures that are seeping in collective, place-based attachment power.

## CHAPTER 6

### The Main Actors



Figure 6: David Mirvish sitting atop of 276 King St.W. (McLaren 2014).

### David Mirvish

David Mirvish is the son of “Honest” Ed Mirvish and Anne Lazar Macklin. David Mirvish is also a Canadian art collector, art dealer and theatre producer. David is very different from his father. Ed was quite ostentatious and could be described as a bit of a showman. For example, a relative recalled an experience had as a young teenager in the 1960s. In it, they turned the corner north on Markham Street, coming eastbound on Lennox Street (Mirvish Village) and saw Ed Mirvish in a huge colourful hat riding a pink (probably painted) elephant, riding south on Markham Street, perhaps for publicity. In very opposite fashion, son David is known for being a rather serious and sophisticated man who was not interested in his father’s kitschy glitz. Unlike his father, David Mirvish grew up very wealthy

and with access to vast social capital drenched in both economic and cultural power. He grew up on Vesta Drive in Forest Hill, which in Toronto's history has always been a wealthy and exclusive community (McLaren 2014).

In 1963, the year Ed Mirvish purchased the Royal Alexandra theatre, McLaren noted that 18 year-old David announced to his parents that he was not going to university but rather was going to rent a storefront from his father on Markham Street. His plan was to sell high art, meaning works produced by some of the most famous artists of the times – Francis Bacon, Willem de Kooning, Hans Hofmann, and other colour field artists and abstract expressionists – on consignment from Manhattan's most well-established and famous gallerist/art dealer, Leo Castelli (McLaren 2014).

David Mirvish accomplished his goal. That being said, it is important to point out how improbable of an accomplishment this would have been without his embodied privilege and social capital based in his father's capital as insurance. As previously illustrated, not everyone based on intersectional oppression can be a member of the community of their choice both today and in the 1960s. Therefore not all people have the capacity to form the most powerful forms of social capital needed in our neoliberal world system to push their career forward, as quickly as David Mirvish did in the high-art dealer community. Even today, Toronto's high-art community is inaccessible to many Torontonians based on social location, social capital, race, class and one's overall geohistorical position.

David Mirvish was able to use his privilege, social capital and economic power to jump the line of what Toronto's creative communities refer to as 'paying your dues.' Paying your dues, such as interning – for free – doing gallery admin work, etc. are just some of the junior steps considered necessary in the gallery circuit before, if ever, representing famous artists whose works sell in the millions. Also it is important to ask why did David Mirvish not use his social capital and ability to secure a storefront gallery space to promote local, Toronto abstract expressionists, therefore highlighting Toronto's homebred creative community? Instead Mirvish was interested in art that was exclusive and sought after globally. In reality, selling one Hofmann paid the bills for quite some time.

By the late 1970s, colour field art and abstract expressionism was not as popular and David Mirvish decided to close his Mirvish Village gallery and take on a more active role in his father's theatre work (McLaren 2014). By 1987, McLaren indicated that David took over the Royal Alexandra theatre and together, father and son, built the Princess of Wales theatre (300 King Street West), which houses the family's commissioned series of Frank Stella (famous American minimalist and abstract painter and printmaker) murals. Over time, the Princess of Wales became Mirvish Productions' most profitable venture through mega-musicals like *The Lion King*, *Les Miserables* and *Miss Saigon* selling thousands of seats per year (McLaren 2014).

After his mother's death in 2013, David Mirvish officially inherited his family's fortune, properties and continues to be a very powerful Torontonian. Today, he is well respected in high-level, high-art circles and has served on the Board of Trustees for established art institutions such as the Royal Ontario Museum and the National Gallery of Canada.

### **Frank Gehry**

David Mirvish's visioning partner, Frank Gehry, is a Canadian-American Pritzker Prize-winning architect (architecture's Nobel Prize) and is a global icon based in Los Angeles. A number of his buildings, including his private residence, have become world renowned tourist attractions – some of his best-known works include the titanium-clad Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain; the Louis Vuitton Foundation in Paris, France; the MIT Ray and Maria Stata Centre in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as well as many others (Wikipedia 2014b).

At 86 years young, Gehry still runs a global practice and as of June 25, 2015 he had 10 active projects, each with 7-8 year lifecycles on the go (CBC 2015). Such success affords Gehry the choice of which projects to take on. He has indicated that it is never about the finished product but rather "the process arriving there." For Gehry, "Toronto like many global cities has been made by many nameless buildings." And he feels that Toronto's planning track record is out of line with

arguments ascribed to Mirvish + Gehry. For example, the new Toronto city hall pays no regard for its predecessor to its northeast, at the corner of Bay and Queen Streets. He feels that with architecture you don't have to produce replicas but you can find and design commonalities, which are respectful of the relationship of the buildings sited beside one another (CBC 2015).

For many, Frank Gehry is considered the most important living architect, a 'starchitect,' of our times (Azure 2014). However, Gehry and his work are not without criticism. Art historian Hal Foster (2001) has labeled Gehry's work as the physical manifestation of corporate civic branding. Critics have deemed his work as a waste of structural resources to create functionless forms, not seeming to belong to the local climate and surrounding communities (Favermann 2007).

Frank Gehry is not bothered about this criticism and is not concerned with organically formed community – its desires, its power, its participation or its knowledge. On Thursday October 24, 2014, Gehry arrived in Oviedo, Spain to receive the Principe De Asturias 2014 art award from King Felipe. When a Spanish reporter asked him about the various criticisms that his work is 'showy,' Gehry responded by raising his middle finger to the reporter (The Globe and Mail 2014). After pausing for a moment with his middle finger raised, Gehry made the following statement,

Let me tell you one thing. In this world we are living in, 98% of everything that is built and designed today is pure shit. There's no sense of design, no respect for humanity or for anything else. They are damn buildings that's it. Once in while, however, there's a small group of people who does

something special. Very few. But good god, leave us alone! We are dedicated to our work. I don't ask for work. I don't have a publicist. I'm not waiting for anyone to call me. I work with clients who respect the art of architecture. Therefore, please don't ask questions as stupid as that one. (The Globe and Mail 2014).



Figure 7: Frank Gehry at the press conference in Spain (The Globe and Mail 2014).

When Anna Maria Tremonti of the CBC's *The Current* (2015), asked Gehry about the apparent tantrum, he framed the incident as misrepresented in the media.

From Gehry's perspective the middle finger was pseudo-joke, intended to get a point across by asking reporters why "they aren't asking boring architecture to stop" as boring architecture "makes humanity more difficult." Gehry argues that his work is not 'high design' but rather *good design* and points out that good design can be built for the same cost, but the difference is that "good design must be demanded." For example, Bilbao was built for \$300/square foot, a comparable cost to other more modest seeming developments. And Bilbao gives people "more things that make us all happy" (CBC 2015).



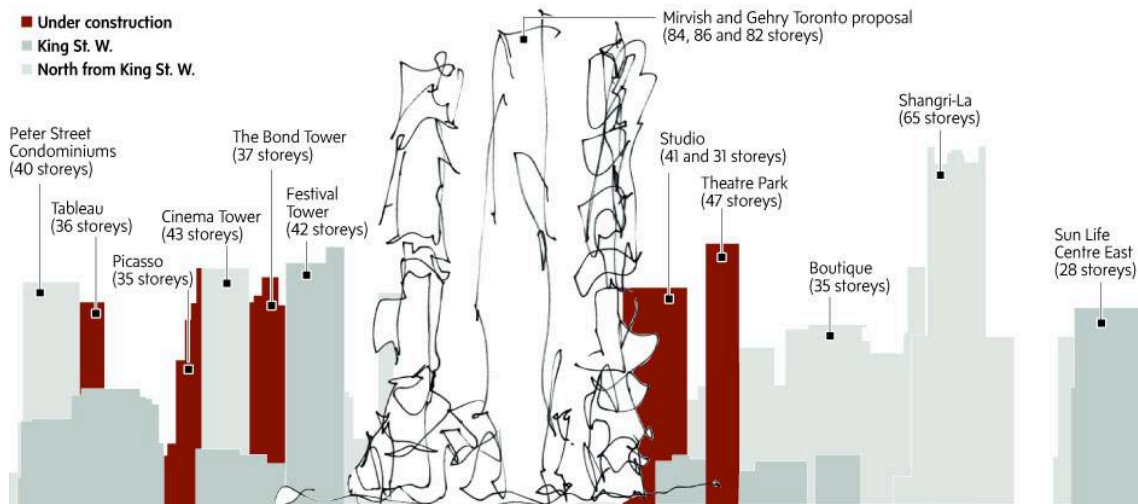
From another angle, it can be argued that what separates Gehry as an architect, from other architects, is his status as an artist. His work is considered by many, as legendary (*legacy*) art entwined with architecture (Perez 2010). For cities and private developers, like David Mirvish, this equates to tourism and revenue (Foster 2001). Foster has highlighted that in the global marketplace Gehry's work plays a part in culture as spectacle and brand recognition. And in today's neoliberal world system, with mega-cities like Toronto competing on a global scale to attract economic activity, Gehry's work is often sought out not only for its artistic brilliance but also for its return on investment, its city/arts marketing. Architecture as spectacle and urban planning as form first, and function second.

As discussed, David Mirvish is an avid art collector with a profound knowledge of abstract expressionism. In 1971, at a dinner party, Mirvish and Gehry first met, and bonded over their adoration of abstract expressionism (McLaren 2014). Since then, McLaren has noted that the two men have remained in close contact with Mirvish visiting major pieces of Gehry's work while under construction, such as the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles in the 1990s.

### **The Development**

In late 2012, David Mirvish and Frank Gehry entered into a sub contractual partnership with sights on a 'Mirvish + Gehry' complex at King and John Streets

in downtown Toronto. Since its beginnings, the famous partnership has openly embraced physical built change as an essential ingredient for Toronto’s cultural and business vitality (Lucas 2013). Their initial development proposal consisted of three residential skyscrapers, all over 80 stories, which totaled 2,700 units and was surrounded by acres of high-end retail, free, extensive public art gallery of Mirvish’s private international art collection, as well as a satellite campus for OCAD University, a public and provincially funded art and design school in Toronto (Azure 2014).



**Figure 8: Mirvish + Gehry in context along King St. W. Source: Cockburn 2013**

In this initial proposal, built change meant the demolition of the Princess of Wales Theatre and heritage warehouse buildings at the expense of growth. In the proposal, Mirvish + Gehry claimed that the primary intention for the revitalization of 266-322 King Street West was to develop a premier cultural destination for Toronto (Bousfields 2012 p.73). In order to do so, they thought that it was necessary to demolish natural heritage sites that hold place-based attachments,

the embodied stories of previous Torontonians, as well as some of the city's early beginnings as noted in the socio-historical section of this paper.

After David Mirvish presented the City of Toronto with his development proposal, he and his team met with Toronto's Chief Planner Jennifer Keesmaat and other senior planning staff many times, over several months, for negotiations in the fall of 2012 (McLaren 2014). City planning had several arguments against the proposal. The department was concerned about over-densification and feared that the development would cripple public transportation when the estimated 2,700 residents moved in. Additionally, city planning worried that the design significantly exceeded the 49-storey zoning restriction and would set a precedent for towers this tall. As well, in order to give Mirvish what he wanted, the city would have allowed the demolition of five designated heritage sites (Azure 2014).

During these discussions Keesmaat publicly objected to the luxury shopping mall component of the plan. Keesmaat thought it was not appropriate for the neighbourhood and argued that its inclusion contradicted Mirvish's claim that he was primarily building a cultural destination (McLaren 2014). As discussed by Motolch (1989) and Stoker (1976), to challenge the growth machine is to call into question the wealth and power of a few dominant elites. However, in follow-up to this criticism, Keesmaat did not actually argue for a specific 'public.' Simply put, she raised concerns about such luxury running adjacent to the John Street

Cultural Corridor, which is slated to become a pedestrian-scale cultural destination. Keesmaat never really argued for who may be left out of this future public space.

The second iteration of the project was approved by Toronto's City Council on July 14 2014. The approved development plan has modest effects on the private returns for David Mirvish but huge impact on final returns for the public good.

There has been an 85% decrease in the amount of new public space in the second approved version of the project. In the beginning this is what Mirvish said he was trying to give Toronto – an elevated sense of community and public space through art and design. Mirvish's extensive and noteworthy private art collection, was going to become a free, 60,000sq.ft. art gallery. In the final approved plan the gallery space will only be a fraction of the size at 9,200sq.ft.

This represents a loss for the health and well being of Toronto's arts and culture scene but not for David Mirvish's pocketbook. With its approval Toronto will see the induction of a new mixed-use development, which will include 2 mega-condo towers – one 80-plus-storey and the other 90-plus-storey. The first 6 storeys of each tower will house the luxury retail that Keesmaat protested in addition to the OCAD University space – the result of a density bonusing agreement known colloquially as Section 37.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Mirvish + Gehry Policy Framework

#### Urban Coalitions, Lobbying and Section 37

Coalitions in urban governance and planning, such as the OCAD University-Mirvish + Gehry-City of Toronto coalition, are the result of policy that relies on lobbying and social capital to positively affect community development. The politically discreet and statutorily regulated act of political lobbying is largely based on social, dialogic interactions and information exchange between public decision makers and people or groups with special interests and robust social capital. In this process there can be a lack of transparency, due to the private nature of lobbying, which can leave many unknowns regarding exactly who benefits from this process and who loses out.

In Toronto, lobbying is enshrined in the *Lobbyist Registration Act, 1998*, and the *Toronto Municipal Code, Chapter 140*. Therefore not all decision-making elements in politics and planning are made overtly public. For this reason, it is important to highlight the backroom work, the coalitions which helped to craft the Mirvish + Gehry planning story.

	<b>Councillor Adam Vaughan</b>	<b>Adam Vaughan staff member Jennifer Chan</b>	<b>Councillor Ana Bailão</b>	<b>Councillor Norman Kelly</b>	<b>Councillor Peter Milczyn</b>	<b>Councillor Michael Thompson</b>
<b>2012</b>	In person meetings: 1	In person meetings: 1				
<b>2013</b>	Phone Meetings: 8	Phone Meetings: 3		In person meetings: 1		
	In person Meetings: 7	In person Meetings: 5				
<b>2014</b>	In person meetings: 3		In person meetings: 1		In person meetings: 1	In person meetings: 1
<b>Total Meetings</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

**Figure 9: David Mirvish and City of Toronto lobbyist meetings**

**Source: Toronto Lobbyist Registry**

When reviewing David Mirvish’s lobbyist profile on the *Toronto Lobbyist Registry*, Figure 9 indicates that between December 2012 and May 2014, then-City Councillor Adam Vaughan and his staff of Ward 20, Trinity-Spadina, (the Ward that Mirvish + Gehry is part of) met with Mirvish on 28 separate occasions (City of Toronto 2015). Additionally, during the same period and shortly thereafter, Mirvish also met with City Councillor Ana Bailão, Norman Kelly, Peter Milczyn and Michael Thompson.

As was implied earlier, I am a member of Ward 20-Trinity Spadina. Adam Vaughan was my Ward Councillor and is now my Federal Member of Parliament (MP). As a constituent and planning scholar, I was able to schedule a meeting with Mr. Vaughan to discuss the Mirvish + Gehry development and the role of lobbying in planning. However, it was a very difficult and an extremely lengthy

process to navigate. Through this experience it is easy to ‘see’ the important link between social capital and power in lobbying for planning and development.

Lobbyists, like David Mirvish, call on their social leverage, which is another way of referring to social capital. These embodied resources is about access to clout and influence that help one meet many times with decision-makers like Adam Vaughan, and his colleagues at the City of Toronto, to ‘get ahead’ or change one’s current situation through access to information and people whose actions can change the course of decisions (Boissevain 1974).

In a tele-interview with Adam Vaughan on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2015, Vaughan confirmed what regime theory suggests – local political actors are those who are the necessary links to build growth coalitions by identifying and linking corporate needs and local community needs. Adam Vaughan was point zero, as he encouraged Mirvish + Gehry to partner with OCAD University to achieve their desired height and density by “meeting a community need and culturally benefit a vertical neighbourhood development” (Galati 2015c). Based on the City of Toronto’s (2015) *Lobbyist Registry*, what we know is that during these meetings the “decision(s) or issues(s) that were lobbied were connected to the development of 266 to 322 King Street West,” – the Mirvish + Gehry development site – and specifically pertained to: “Planning and Development, Heritage; Planning and Development Application, Zoning By-law; Planning and Development, Combined Application” (City of Toronto’s 2015). When speaking to

Vaughan he noted his documented interest in creating artistic space in Ward 20, and specified that he, Vaughan, played the key role in the negotiations of the Section 37 agreement between the City of Toronto, OCAD University and Mirvish + Gehry.

Section 37 is a planning tool that gives Ontario municipalities authority to approve height and density bonusing by virtue of Section 37 of the provincial *Planning Act*, which allows a municipality to grant a development bonus – height or density – beyond that allowed by prevailing zoning restrictions in exchange for the provision of community benefits (Pantalone 2014). Private funds for community benefits such as public art, recreational facilities, affordable housing units or simply benefits paid in cash, with allocation taking place at a later time, issued by the ward councillor. Section 37 agreements in other cities are often called “community benefits agreements” (Keenan 2015b). Pantalone showed that “a major building boom in Toronto has brought more than a decade of high-rise construction in (due to)...rising land values, a buoyant real estate market, and population and employment growth which have created an ever-increasing incentive for developers to seek approval to build buildings taller and denser than envisioned by City Planners and the public at large.” Vaughan is therefore not out of the ordinary in his support for height and density and as was confirmed by a Senior Planner at the City of Toronto in the Strategic Initiatives, Policy & Analysis Department, via tele-conference on February 27, 2015 (Galati 2015a), that



Vaughan was the imperative link in the Section 37 agreement and the overall Mirvish + Gehry-OCAD University coalition. His approval and support helped trump the zoning by-laws and secondary plans active in the community.

Over the past decade, the City of Toronto has brought in \$350 million dollars of community benefits through Section 37 agreements often referred to as “let’s make a deal planning” (Pantalone 2015). The specific community benefits are negotiated by city planning staff, the local councillor in the ward where the development will be built, as well as the developer. Although Section 37 agreements are approved by City Council in Toronto, the actual use of the funds is largely controlled directly by the local ward councillor (Moore 2013). The general rationale for Section 37 of the *Planning Act* is to offset the problems caused by changes to a neighbourhood resulting from development such as increased traffic, changes to the streetscapes or changes to population (Keenan 2015b).

On July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014, Toronto City Council issued the *Final Report – 260-270 King Street West and 274-322 King Street West*. In this report, the details of the Mirvish + Gehry Section 37 agreement are mapped out. When speaking with the Senior Planner, who worked on the Mirvish + Gehry file, it was clarified that the final Section 37 agreement is still with the City Clerk’s office and will not be finalized for quite some time. However, after speaking with Adam Vaughan, the Senior Planner and Sara Diamond, the President of OCAD University – all of who

participated in the Mirvish + Gehry Section 37 negotiations – it became obvious that the details of this Final Report essentially outline the core elements of the Mirvish + Gehry Section 37 agreement, which are:

- Total minimum parking supply of 670 parking spaces and to direct that staff review with the applicant opportunities for the inclusion of car share spaces in the development without reduction of the 670 parking spaces.
- Traffic study to be submitted based on those parking requirements to the satisfaction of the Director, Engineering and Construction Services with the owner to agree to make any necessary upgrades to the transportation network to accommodate the proposed developed at the sole cost of the owner.
- Owner shall satisfy the requirements of the Toronto Catholic District School Board and Toronto District School Board regarding warning clauses and signage
- Owner shall undertake a technical review of the proposed development and satisfy the requirements of the Toronto Transit Commission (“TTC”), and provide any necessary warning clauses in future agreements of purchase and sale related to the TTC operations.
- Heritage Easement Agreement for 260 King Street West (Royal Alexandra Theatre), a Heritage Easement Agreement for 322 King Street West (Eclipse Whitewear), and a Heritage Easement Agreement for the façade of the building on 284 King Street West (Anderson Building), and has agreed in the Section 37 Agreement to not oppose the designation of 300 King Street West (Princess of Wales Theatre) under Part IV of the Ontario Heritage Act.
- A cash contribution of \$2,500,000.00, pro-rated over each phase, to be paid to the City prior to the issuance of the first above grade building permit for each phase, to be allocated in War 20 Trinity-Spadina, to the satisfaction of the Chief Planner and Executive Director in consultation with the Ward Councillor.
- The owner also agree to pay for Streetscape enhancements to King Street West, Ed Mirvish Way, John Street, Pearl Street and Festival Square at John Street and King Street West, over and above the City’s base streetscape standards, to be provided in a comprehensive public realm plan prepared by the owner utilizing the services of, among others, a landscape architect and an artist.
- At least 10 percent of the total number of dwelling units to be constructed on the lots shall contain family sized units of three or more bedrooms.
- A minimum of 870m<sup>2</sup> [8000 square feet] of Art Gallery space shall be provided and maintained atop the building municipally known as 322

King street West, with such gallery being operated by a recognized non-profit organization [OCAD University], allowing for the admittance of the general public at no cost. The gallery shall house and display the art collection commonly referred to as the “Mirvish Art Collection.”

- Owner shall provide at no cost, a minimum of 2,340m<sup>2</sup> [25,000 square feet] of space to the Ontario College of Art and Design University [legal name of OCAD University] (with the terms of the Agreement of Purchase and Sale or Lease to be satisfactory to the Chief Planner in consultation with the City Solicitor, including an alternative use [the space will be owned by the City of Toronto with OCAD University have full rights to the space and its maintenance] (City of Toronto 2014 p.1).

### **Art and Section 37**

Since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the City of Toronto has continuously highlighted the usefulness of creative communities for urban regeneration, gentrification and revitalization. Relying on Richard Florida’s (2006) concept of the creative class, the City, as well as many Toronto-based creative communities, have asserted that urban centres with high concentrations of art, technology, diversity (queers), and an overall high volume of creativity, tend to produce advanced levels of economic development. During his time in municipal office, Councillor Adam Vaughan “focused on the usefulness of the arts in supporting the development of fuller, more inspired neighbourhoods” (Galati 2015c). Vaughan has stated that economic benefits are the outcome of inspired places and are of secondary importance to neighbourhood well being. In his ward, through Section 37 agreements, Vaughan has secured the inclusion of 20,000 square feet of new arts spaces in Ward 20 (Sandals 2013). As mentioned earlier, City Councillor

support is key to getting Section 37 deals approved in Toronto. Therefore Adam Vaughan played the essential part in the negotiations with developers and the City for these 20,000 square feet.

The arts are considered an important part of a thriving community both its financial longevity and its social health. Councillor Vaughan was well aware of the socio-economic benefits of the arts and made the following statement in support of the importance of creative communities for a City's financial and community health:

A neighbourhood without artists isn't a very interesting neighbourhood. And a neighbourhood with artists has all kinds of capacities and all kinds of opportunities to grow artists have been part of Toronto's downtown for a long, long time, and we want to make sure that those things that have created a really great downtown continue to have space to create a really great downtown.

(Source: Tele-interview with Adam Vaughan on March 3, 2015)

However, to other arts and culture observers the redevelopment of Toronto's downtown is read as an ongoing battle for public space between the city's creative communities and developers. In 2011, 48 Abell Street, in Toronto, which has been a studio space since the 1980s, was demolished to make way for condominiums.

Before its demolition, artists [opposed to the development] tried to call attention to its fate with a performance-art funeral and other tactics. Its site is now a massive pit where construction cranes dance and concrete mixers hum, and large new condo towers in various states of completion rise on its west, south and south-east sides (Sandals 2013).

Ontario's provincial policy led, planning system is a growth machine, as its tools – *Planning Act, Growth Plans, Zoning By-laws* – actually encourage development by facilitating the process of growth through regulation – the 'how to grow' guidelines. Therefore the odds of opposing development are not only financially against those who disagree with the growth machine, but most importantly, the process is statutorily in favour of development and thus private, powerful interests. Toronto communities who strategically recognize these odds can learn to use the system's tools and build strategic coalitions needed for effective public participation. By doing so, communities stand to survive rather than be demolished. Nevertheless, the neoliberalization of all space, art or not, seems inevitable in a system set up to encourage growth.

For many years now Toronto has been experiencing a boom of condominium and commercial tower construction. According to *Canadian Business* (2013), in the Western Hemisphere, there is no other city that is building more high-rises than Toronto; even New York City has half as many towers under construction (Melanson 2013). Lynda Macdonald, a planning manager with City of Toronto for over 25 years, has stated, "this is the biggest condo boom [I have ever] seen" (Sandals 2013). With the involvement and lobbying of local councillors, the strategic thinkers at arts and cultural institutions such as, the Museum of Contemporary Canadian Art (MOCCA), the Toronto International Film Festival, Gallery TPW, the Images Festival, Charles Street Video and Canadian

Filmmakers Distribution Centre, among others, have all found new art spaces in condominiums through Section 37 agreements. Almost all of the new art spaces in Toronto that are created or are being proposed, like the inclusion of new OCAD University art space in the Mirvish + Gehry development are made possible through the Section 37 planning tool.

“Places we have felt [dedicating Section 37 spaces to arts] made sense were in communities where there was a lot of concentration of creative industries or creative employment, and a lot of those areas are gentrifying,” Macdonald says. “One of our concerns was that these nonprofit [arts] organizations are moving to other neighbourhoods, even to other cities (Sandals 2013).”

And in practicing good neoliberal citizenship (Changfoot 2007), over the past 15 years it has become common for high-level/powerful arts and cultural institutions – the creative industry – to leverage themselves and play the market, focusing on the political economy of place. For example, the well respected, arms-length City of Toronto ‘public’ arts institutions like the Toronto Arts Council/Toronto Arts Foundation, regularly produce research studies highlighting the creative industry’s contribution to Ontario’s economy, and in doing so essentially justify their existence to City Council and private funders. The Toronto’s Arts Foundation (2014) published a study called *Art Facts* that indicates that the creative sector’s contribution to the GDP is greater than that of the energy, agriculture, forestry and mining sectors combined – arts and culture contributes \$11.3 billion annually to Toronto’s GDP with over 174,000 Torontonians working in the sector.

## **Mirvish + Gehry and Planning Policy and Regulation**

This next section of Chapter 7 explores how the Mirvish + Gehry development fits Ontario planning policy and its regulatory context. However, before examining its fit, it is important to clearly describe how it does not fit prescribed policy. In the *King-Spadina Secondary Plan*, which the Mirvish + Gehry site is a part of, the *Urban Structure and Built Form*, section 3.6, indicates that “new buildings [built on the Mirvish + Gehry development site] will achieve a compatible relationship with their built form context through consideration of such matters as, building height, massing, scale, setbacks, stepbacks, roof line and profile and architectural character and expression” (City of Toronto 2006 p.3). As mentioned earlier, on February 27, 2015, I spoke to a Senior Planner of City’s Strategic Initiatives, Policy & Analysis team, the panel responsible for Section 37 agreements at the City. This senior leader indicated that the level of height and density that Mirvish + Gehry framed as ‘good planning’ through the developer’s policy analysis – 82, 84 and 86 storeys and subsequent resubmission – would never have been acceptable as a result of the *King-Spadina Secondary Plan* and the realities of the current state of neighbourhood density and the ramifications of such density on below-grade infrastructure. This senior leader indicated that it was the influence and support of the local councillor, Adam Vaughan, who had been lobbied by the developer, which helped to sway the policy and regulatory fit

(Galati 2015a). Which ‘public’ is served here? And, which ‘public’ story did the popular media reports frame when they told this newsworthy planning story?

### **Mirvish + Gehry’s ‘fit’ with Ontario planning policy and regulation**

As mentioned, Ontario’s provincial policy-led planning system, facilitates growth. The system is a growth machine. Through this growth machine, public policy tools, enable developers to tell future stories of place. If these private stories of development are approved, within the frameworks of the policy led system, a theoretical private story of a future place can become a reality, a new urban environment.

In Ontario, all land use planning must be primarily conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Planning Act. In agreement with provisions of the Planning Act, the redevelopment of the subject site – 266-322 King St. West/Mirvish + Gehry – is consistent with the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS) and conforms with the Greater Horseshoe Growth Plan and the City of Toronto Official Plan. Currently, these public policy documents support and encourage the intensification of built-up urban areas, particularly those in proximity to public transit. Bousfields (2012) has indicated that the subject site, Mirvish + Gehry, is within a 5 minute walk of Toronto’s St. Andrew subway station. It is approximately 300 metres from the subway’s closest entrance. This location under the *Growth*



*Plan* (2006) could be considered part of a “major transit station area” and therefore deems it appropriate for intensification. Additionally, the *Growth Plan* (2006) includes policies that support a mix of uses both increased residential and employment densities, in “major transit station areas,” in order to support existing and planned transit service levels (Bousfields 2012). Here we see a clear fit between the *Growth Plan’s* policy and regulatory framework and Mirvish + Gehry.

Additionally, when examining the City of Toronto’s Official Plan (2010), we find policy mechanisms that encourage developers to tell stories of future places that incorporate emotional socio-economic ties to community. For example, in Chapter 2 of the Official Plan (2010) *Shaping the City*, the policies outlining the City’s growth management strategy recognizes that,

Toronto’s future is one of growth, of rebuilding, of reurbanizing and of regenerating the City within an existing urban structure that is not easy to change. Population growth is needed to support economic growth and social development within the City and to contribute to a better future for the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). A healthier Toronto will grow from a successful strategy to attract more residents and more jobs to the City (City of Toronto 2010 p.2-2).

The Mirvish + Gehry development is sited in policies that the City has defined as more difficult to amend. In addition, as is evident in Figure 10, the Mirvish + Gehry neighbourhood, is part of the City’s Downtown *Urban Structure Plan*, and as such, it is considered one of the oldest, most dense and complex parts of Toronto’s landscape (City of Toronto 2010). Section 2.2.1 of the Toronto’s Official Plan highlights that the economic strength of the City of Toronto Downtown must

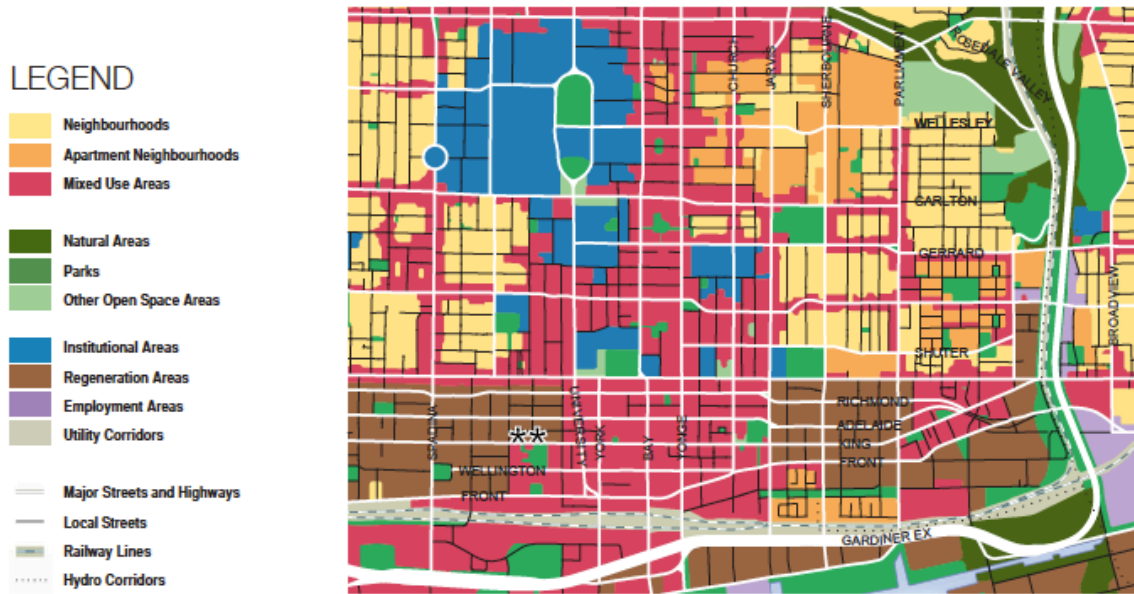
include arts and cultural venues, entertainment districts, specialty retailing, hip restaurants and major tourist attractions – each of these elements are a prominent part of the Mirvish + Gehry development. To build broad support for change, Mirvish + Gehry has used strategic legacy narratives, of the Mirvish family roots, and ‘common-sense’ applications of creative prosperity for future economic growth, to tie their proposal together and fit with Toronto’s urban regeneration goals through a lens of arts and culture.



**Figure 10: City of Toronto \*\*indicates Mirvish + Gehry development**  
**Source: City of Toronto, Official Plan (2010), Map 2 – Urban Structure Plan.**

In keeping with this line of thinking, under Section 2.2.1, *Downtown: the Heart of Toronto*, we find the growth management policies of the City of Toronto’s Official Plan (2010). This policy outlines “downtown with its dramatic skyline, is Toronto’s image to the world and to itself: comfortable, cosmopolitan, civil, urbane, and diverse. It is the oldest most dense and most complex part of the urban landscape, with a rich variety of building forms and activities” (City of Toronto

2010, p.2-7) Therefore the importance of global storytelling through image making or rather brand development, in a global context is embedded into planning documents, which highlights the action of storytelling in planning, as tool of persuasion – specifically with the inclusion of a ‘Frank Gehry’ tower mixed together with the Mirvish legacy in Toronto.



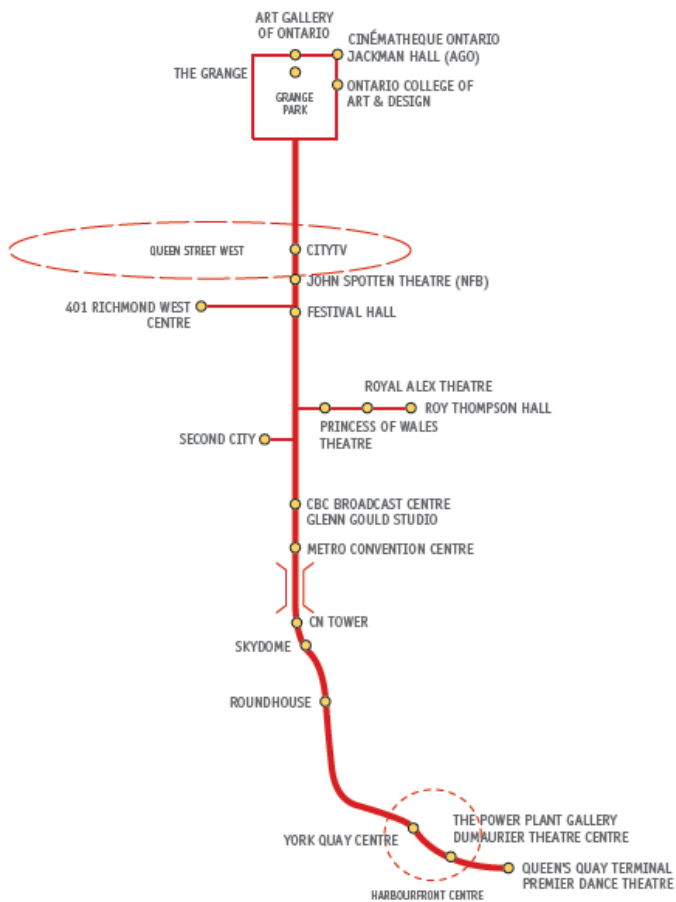
**Figure 11: City of Toronto \*\*indicates Mirvish + Gehry development**  
**Source: City of Toronto, Official Plan (2010), Map 18 – Land Use Plan**

Further, when examining Mirvish + Gehry against Section 4.7 of the City of Toronto’s Official Plan, Figure 11 indicates that the development is sited in a Regeneration Area for the City. Regeneration Areas are intended to provide for a broad mix of commercial, residential, light industrial, institutional and live/work uses in an urban form in order to revitalize areas that are largely vacant or underused (City of Toronto 2010). Again, as a mixed-use development, Mirvish + Gehry meets this policy and regulatory fit and context.

Predating these policies, in 2001, the City of Toronto identified John Street as a priority and named it Toronto's "Cultural Corridor" through a Master Plan redevelopment of the area, the King-Spadina Entertainment District (CBC 2014). John Street – the Cultural Corridor – extends south from the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO) to Toronto's waterfront and the Master Plan recognized this route as civic and cultural importance as it connects many of the City's most important arts-related sites and institutions: the AGO, OCAD University, the National Film Board of Ontario, the TIFF Bell Lightbox, the Princess of Wales and the Royal Alexandra Theatres, Metro Hall, the headquarters of the CBC, the Rogers Centre Stadium, the CN Tower and Toronto's Harbourfront (Bousfields 2012).

Since its municipal reclassification in 2001, the neighbourhood has changed significantly with once box-like mega nightclubs transformed into large-scale mixed/use developments. In an interview with the CBC, Harold Madi, the Director of Urban Design for the City of Toronto, indicated that the conversion of John Street took off with great speed in 2009 with the Entertainment District Business Improvement Area (BIA) identifying the thoroughfare as a priority followed by the approval and reclassification by Toronto's City Council. By 2010 an Environmental Assessment (EA) of John Street began and was approved in 2013. In March of 2014, the redesign of the Cultural Corridor/John Street began with the City's rebalancing of street use and the allocation of space from

vehicular to the pedestrian scale (CBC 2014). Bousfields (2012) have noted that the intersection of John and King Streets, which is the westerly boundary and frontage of the Mirvish properties, is the visually expressed centre of the Cultural Corridor by the height and architecture of the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) Tower at its northwest corner, as well as a major clustering point of arts and cultural institutions (Figure 12). Again, from this policy and regulatory angle, Mirvish + Gehry fit the statutory requirements.



**Figure 12: Map of the John Street Cultural Corridor: arts, entertainment, New Media**  
**Source: City of Toronto, Waterfront Culture and Heritage Infrastructure Plan (p.18)**

## **Reactions to the Mirvish + Gehry Development**

Regardless of whether a private sector interest and density objective behind a development is just or unjust, fair or unfair, equitable or inequitable, there always exists a bias, as all developments are representative of a minor interest at the expense of affecting many public interests and many publics. Therefore, from an aesthetic perspective, one could argue that a developer's private interests ultimately become permanent spatial stories – tall towers or rather put, icons of massive private wealth. Massive density and tall buildings could be described as private sculptures that become city images, as well as trophies of private interest gains that have major effect on urban landscapes and the public domain.

However, it is the aftermaths of density, the live-load impacts on infrastructure and other potential development outcomes, which are unaccounted for in our Ontario planning policy yet these challenges represent some of the major public returns from development.

As aforementioned, when David Mirvish submitted his original proposal to the City of Toronto, he and his development team, Projectcore Inc., met with Jennifer Keesmaat and senior planning staff on numerous occasions. McLaren (2013) reported that almost all meetings would begin with Mirvish pulling on Toronto's positive emotional cords of his family's legacy in the neighbourhood, and as wanted to talk about art while city planners wanted to talk infrastructure. As months passed, the atmosphere became strained in the discussions, but outside,

in the media, Mirvish + Gehry received a warm welcome in published public narrative support through journalists such as Christopher Hume and other writers in Azure Magazine and the Globe & Mail just to name a few. Following this section, in Chapter 8 I analyze the repetitive story of the ‘unimaginative city planners’ who the majority of the media illustrated as ‘rejecting the benevolent offer of a private developer to elevate Toronto’s aesthetic mediocrity’, our image – our brand.

Throughout the City consultation stage, David Mirvish publicly disagreed with heritage preservation laws, viewing them as an impediment to progress and the future. He pointed out that if current heritage laws had been in place in the 1960s, Mies van der Rohe’s TD Bank tower would never have been built because the pre-existing headquarters of the Bank of Toronto could not have been leveled (McLaren 2013).

As time past, the negotiations with the City became tense and Keesmaat encouraged Mirvish to involve the community through public consultation sessions. In the fall of 2013, Councillor Adam Vaughan chaired and brought together a Community Committee to meet in closed-door public consultation sessions. The Community Committee was the sole, major public consultation component of the Mirvish + Gehry development, it is what satisfied the Planning Act consultation requirements. At these meetings Mirvish heard the same thing

from neighbourhood leaders in the local arts community as well as the Bay Street and CityPlace residents' associations in addition to public institutions like the University of Toronto's architecture school – namely that the development was too big and heritage was too valuable for Toronto” (Azure 2014).

However, in the end, what actually convinced Mirvish to stop pushing for his original development plan and rethink the scope of the development was a financial analysis commissioned by Keesmaat and the City of Toronto (McLaren 2013). The analysis concluded that constructing three mega-towers in such a tight space would be more expensive and complicated than building two. If Mirvish built three towers he stood to lose money but instead, if he built two, everyone would win.

This financial analysis coupled with the closed-door, community consultations, caused development plans to change. In July 2014, City Council approved a reduced proposal – down from a three to a two-tower Mirvish + Gehry plan – one tower reaching 82 storeys and the other 92. Together the two towers will house 2,000 units and the Princess of Wales Theatre, but the dramatic cascade of glass – the building's sculptural aesthetic – has been lost (Landau 2014). But why would a public city planning department fund a financial analysis on behalf of private development? James Throgmorton (2003) has argued that powerful actors will strive to eliminate or marginalize competing stories, and hence will



induce some planners to devise plans (stories about the future) that are designed to persuade only the audiences that most matter to them. The final outcome will still house all of David Mirvish's original goals: luxury retail, art school, gallery and a massively dense luxury residential development. Perhaps the three towers and extra density was never the final goal but rather a smoke screen used to reach this final and exclusive revision.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **Planning Stories and Branding**

#### **Storytelling**

In telling a story, an author obeys certain customs and ideologies. David Spangler has stated: “in telling stories, we obey certain principles and laws of drama and melodrama, of crisis and resolution, of impact and silence. We generate an energy through our stories that helps to define who we are and where we are going (Cavanaugh 2013).” In this way, words and stories can take on new shape and meaning in every context and stories act as powerful codifiers of said meaning. “But to assume that their power is always positive is often a naïve transference of the experience of pleasure in listening to what is commonly understood as “stories”. But as [sic] all experienced readers know, the power of story can be used for good or not (Worth 2005).”

#### **Planning stories in the media**

This chapter concentrates on the potential impacts of Toronto’s public(s), relying on media stories for planning information and engagement, specifically as it pertains to what is developing in their neighbourhoods and communities. What is considered are the affects of the media on a public’s motivation to interact,

participate, agree, challenge or resist a planning issue – specifically the Mirvish + Gehry development.

‘The public’ for this chapter is considered to be the individuals and communities who are not professionally engaged in land-use planning. ‘The public’ is represented as the residents, the transient users and the readers of public space, who do not have any formal planning and development related education, or personal experience with urban governance – but who are directly impacted by the outcome of planning decisions. This chapter considers the influence when various publics rely on composed print and digital media sources for information about local planning issues. How do neoliberal legacy narratives function through discourse production and ‘common-sense’ making associated with a development? Are all narratives represented? Are there repeated messages in the media? And in the case of Mirvish + Gehry, what discourses and planning stories are told? Which stories are missing, why?

### **Neoliberal legacy discourses and ‘common-sense’**

Discourses are abstract constructs that allow “signs,” such as legacy, to assign and communicate specific, repeatable relations/connotations to, between, and among objects, subjects and statements (Foucault 1969). The Mirvish + Gehry development has strategically and purposefully crafted their story to work both

with an urban, neoliberal governance's 'common-sense' of attracting economic activity to a competitive global city, as well as working with place-based attachments, both in an effort to build broad public consensus around a controversial development.

Urban dwellers, through their individual socialization and cultural associations, read space and the stories about space in very different ways. Lehrer (2006a) helps us to understand that because of differing social constructions, and therefore differing interpretations of the same space, both the physical form of a development, and the discourses – the stories told about development – are most important to create spaces to which people will develop attachment and therefore transform a given space into a place. It is important to remember that place is subjective in that it calls upon an individual's emotional connection to spatial environments. For this reason, space is turned into place through attachment and meaning (Manzo and Perkins 2006; Lehrer 2006a). Manzo and Perkins (2006) have found that place-based psychological ties to the community can make a critical contribution to effective development and planning projects, as they become a source of community power and collective action. In this way, planning stories in the media can be thought of as forms of persuasive storytelling about future places in cities. Through repetition, planning stories persuade through psychologically-tied stories, which help to build 'common-sense' and public consensus around proposed future places which often, like

Mirvish + Gehry, are deemed controversial and are not welcomed by the regulated, public-minded and public-resourced, city planning departments.

Emotional planning stories are powerful. Emotional stories can help shape meaning by leveraging public(s) attention and in doing so affords few people/interests, sufficient time and space to tell a group of readers – the public – a story. Throgmorton (2003) has indicated that media chooses to tell planning stories that matter emotionally to a city. This means that planning stories are often inspired by powerful *memories, passions, hopes, fears and visionary dreams*.

Each opportunity to tell a story is an opportunity to share concepts, ideas and opinions on how to approach the world. Each time, the privilege of doing so, is an opportunity to produce knowledge about a given space through repeated messages. In the stories of Mirvish + Gehry, the majority are filled with positive discourses of legacy, art, community and the future. Figure 13 indicates that in 23 out of the 32 Mirvish + Gehry planning stories analyzed, 72% of all the articles, repetitively spoke of the developer with some level of reverence through benign statements/'signifiers' of legacy, art and public space. In turn, within these 23 stories, the Mirvish + Gehry 'signifiers' were used in positive association, directly connected to the development. These signifiers were created through allied discourses and narratives that positively cast the developer as kindly towards the

sake of ‘the public’ and ‘the public good.’ These signifiers have otherwise been known to scholars, discussed in earlier Chapters, like Antonio Gramsci (Simon 1982) as *hegemony* and to Michel Foucault as (1969) *knowledge/power*, or more simply, ‘common-sense.’ It is these ‘common-sense’ perspectives in media that are then used by the readers, ‘the public,’ as a guiding compass for society to decide whether to agree, challenge, resist or oppose a development.

	<b>Favourable depiction of developer/ unfavorable of city</b>	<b>Favourable depiction of city/ unfavorable of developer</b>	<b>Neutral Position</b>
<b>NEWSPAPER SOURCES</b>	9	2	1
<b>MAGAZINE SOURCES</b>	2	0	0
<b>BLOG SOURCES</b>	5	0	3
<b>FILM/VIDEO SOURCES</b>	7	0	3
<b>TOTAL: 32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>

**Figure 13: Media Sources casting role of the City and developer in Mirvish + Gehry stories**  
**Source: Analysis of Mirvish + Gehry planning stories found in Appendices**

Of the 32 media stories analyzed, only two reports overtly comment on the privilege and private economics used to develop this future place. *The Globe and Mail* reporter, Alex Bozkovic’s articles, ‘*Frank Gehry and David Mirvish’s tall order in Toronto (2013)*’ and ‘*Mirvish-Gehry vision for King Street is scaled down, but there’s nothing timid about it (2014a)*’ are the only media stories that indicated how much a single, private interest (Mirvish), stands to gain compared to the public benefit for an entire city. Of the remaining 30 sources analyzed, private financial gain is implied only as of secondary concern to the Mirvish

family. Instead, city building through the arts is what was used to describe Mirvish's paramount objective.

As researched in Chapter 3, DeFilippis (2001) argued that nothing is divorced from economic capital. The power to have your messages and your chosen discourses, and associated signifiers repeated in media, without substantial critique, is a result of power and privilege. This is strategic narrative usage that has an impact on media motivation to tell a story and therefore frame public messages, to participate, agree, challenge or resist a planning issue.

### **The Mirvish + Gehry narrative**

The Mirvish + Gehry narrative can be described as a benevolent neoliberal legacy narrative, staged in physical urban sites, which are oozing in collective place-based attachments. These urban sites are controlled by a few and are the result of massive private accumulation of capital (economic and cultural capital). The Mirvish + Gehry story contains many *powerful emotions* for Toronto. It contains *the memory* and legacy of the Mirvish family commitment, started by 'Honest' Ed Mirvish to arts and culture – as well as his inspiring rags to riches immigrant tale. The story also contains *the passion* David Mirvish brings to the theatre and especially fine art, with *the hope* of creating a better Toronto through vertical arts-based neighbourhoods. The story also combines *the fears* of change

through densification and of course, *the visionary dreamers* – developer David Mirvish and living-legend, Frank Gehry. These are the simple, yet powerful, emotional elements and carefully crafted discourses that were repeated in 72% of the media stories. Discourses filled with positive connotations attached to a singular private interest.

It was James Throgmorton (2003) who argued that planners should be thought of as authors who write stories that become places. Building from this perspective, I argue that it is the media that can be thought of as the authors of place. The multiple and repetitive persuasive planning stories told in the media help the public learn about planning issues in their communities thus framing the choice to act. In this way, it is the media who acts as the nexus for ‘the public(s)’ to establish primary engagement with planning and development.

### **Private Discourse Production via Branding**

Similar to other global mega-cities like New York, Berlin, Paris and Vancouver, the Golden Horseshoe region of Ontario, but most specifically, the City of Toronto is in direct competition to attract economic activity (Sassen 1996). And in the global marketplace, the work of architect Frank Gehry plays a part in culture as spectacle and brand recognition (Foster 2001). Mirvish + Gehry are socially and politically invested in contemporary global urban policy that supports the



globalization of cities and urban interests. Mirvish + Gehry have publicly structured themselves through persuasive public storytelling as the benevolent neoliberals, primarily interested in making Toronto better in the eyes of the world and ultimately bringing more benefit to Toronto. But who is actually benefitting? Who is losing out?

Presenting such a coherent voice enabled media to easily repeat their messages.

In 21 out of 32 stories analyzed, 85% of these articles never questioned or critiqued any part Mirvish + Gehry's. Instead there was only praise:

- Mr. Mirvish has proposed a grand redevelopment...Mr. Mirvish, who has made important contributions to the city, is explicitly trying to change our skyline for the better...by brilliant Mr. Gehry" (Bozikovic 2013)
- "... (Mirvish) is one of Toronto's most thoughtful business leaders...hunger to build something unique and beautiful in his hometown...Frank Gehry is one of the world's most renowned architects" (Gee 2013)
- "For architects, place matters deeply" (Bozikovic 2014)
- "Fred and Ginger grew up and moved to Toronto [infamous Gehry project in Prague]" (Hume 2014b)
- "Gehry as a great architect (has found) a way to make an affordable, proportional and historically/culturally sensitive development that would have the *potential* to become a new icon for Toronto, while still being a part of *existing* Toronto" (Gagnon 2014)
- "The design will create a new profile for the arts and entertainment district...add significantly to the John Street Cultural Corridor...humane and habitable streetscapes" (UrbanToronto 2013)
- "Powerful creative synergy set to transform Toronto's iconic King Street arts and entertainment district. Mirvish + Gehry join forces to unveil a bold new vision for our Cultural Corridor" (Buzzbuzzbuzz home)
- "Negotiations, radical design changes, praise and outrage from public, Council approval." (Landau 2014; Curbed Staff 2014; Bateman 2014)

Mirvish + Gehry worked with design agencies such as, Creative 88 to help develop their *brand*. Branding and brand development is the site of privately funded discourse production. Brand development services help clients, like Mirvish + Gehry, to identify the messages they want the public to think about when their product/development comes to mind. Additionally, brand development

services help clients become skilled at ‘staying on brand.’ As is the case of Mirvish + Gehry, this means a constant connection back to legacy, the future, and the arts.

As is illustrated in Figure 14, over the course of 2 years, the usually unassuming public figure, David Mirvish, publicly told his version of the Mirvish + Gehry planning story in numerous highly financed public storytelling opportunities, such as:

- 1) Short Films:**
  - *Project Video (Mirvish + Gehry 2012)*
  - *Mirvish-Gehry condo project (CBC News 2012)*
- 2) Large-scale press releases:**
  - *The Mirvish/Gehry Press Conference (Mirvish Productions 2012)*
- 3) Several taped, personal interviews:**
  - *David Mirvish: Changing Landscape of Toronto (2012a) and Toronto: Towers, Triumphs and Troubles (TVO 2012a);*
  - *Star Talks: David Mirvish with Christopher Hume (2014);* and
- 4) Private tours:**
  - *Globe and Mail: Behind the scenes of David Mirvish’s art collection (2013).*

In every public message connected to Mirvish + Gehry, like the privately developed short films, live appearances and the numerous media reports, in which both David Mirvish and Frank Gehry are quoted, everything stays on their brand: legacy; future; and art.

	<b>NO. OF FILM/VIDEO ON DEVELOPER BRAND:</b>	<b>NO. OF FILM/VIDEO WARY:</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>
<b>FILM/VIDEO SOURCES</b>	7	0	3
<b>TOTAL: 32</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>

**Figure 14: Media Sources casting role of the City and developer in Mirvish + Gehry stories**  
**Source: Analysis of Mirvish + Gehry planning stories found in Appendices**

By advertising standards, the private branding exercise seems to have worked. In the media, Gehry's architecture is linked with global, urban economic success, when legacy, art and future discourses are invoked in three-quarters of the stories. Also, in the 32 stories analyzed, the City's planning actions are framed as secondary for the future success of Toronto. Instead function is depicted as following form - architecture as spectacle and brand, for city success.

As discussed, with the help of then-councillor, Adam Vaughan, the developer partnered with OCAD University through a Section 37 agreement and formed a growth coalition. Adam Vaughan highlighted OCAD University as a 'good fit' for Mirvish + Gehry, to use as a beneficiary needed to use Section 37 to achieve increased height and density. However in doing so, both the politician and the developer have lobbied for a specific kind of public space that calls for specific kinds of publics: artists, luxury residents and luxury retailers. In addition, these publics call for a specific kind of audience to service and frequent their spaces – a public who is rich in cultural and/or economic capital.

The media also viewed Mirvish + Gehry through a lens of global urbanism by linking the development to global benefits, which in popular culture have become synonymous with bettering the public good, through the brilliance of global architecture. However, this branding and consistent messaging cannot be anything but speculative as global market impacts are not certain. In this way, the

media occupies an important role in planning outside of the provincial-policy led planning system. The media is a critical link between a formulated, political and regulated process to organic, socio-cultural processes. The media helps those of 'the public,' not engaged in planning and development, to have an in – some basic understanding of what is happening in their city.

Through this line of thinking, Mirvish + Gehry is a contemporary and local example of the complex and interconnecting cultural, interpersonal, economic, social and political networks and relations active in transnational urbanism (Smith 2001, p.2). Mirvish + Gehry is a specific site, a set of urban buildings and spaces that together form transnational urbanism by facilitating the socio-cultural and political processes through which actors – the public, planners, developers, politicians, media, and other social actors – forge connections that are materially linked to socio-economic opportunities, politics and cultural practices. When examining media stories about Mirvish + Gehry, we find councillor Adam Vaughan, describing the project as globally transformational for “the intersection of King and John streets into the cultural heart of the city...(bringing) great opportunity” (Galati 2015c). Vaughan’s eloquent perspectives are of course speculative as Gehry’s work has helped transform other municipalities, but every culture and every city is different. Each faces their context, challenges, and future. On a macro scale, Gehry’s work and its portrayal in the media is helpful for contextualizing contemporary scholarship about economic restructuring and

the role of architecture in the emergence of globalized 'network societies' and the postmodern, global or transnational city (Castells, 1996; Dear, 2000; Friedmann, 1995; Harvey, 2000; Sassen, 1991; Smith, 2001; Soja, 2000; Throgmorton, 2003).

On February 4, 2014, the Toronto Star hosted a '*Star Talks*' between Christopher Hume and David Mirvish. In the discussion, the opportunity to link art, global cities and visionary thinkers like David Mirvish was compared to the after-effects of Gehry's past work in Bilbao, Spain. Bilbao's history is similar to that of Hamilton, Ontario. With a defunct steel industry and a long-gone boat-building sector, Bilbao "decided to rely on the power of design and architecture [to] reinvent itself." And in doing so, Hume described present-day Bilbao as a booming city. Since then "tons of cities around the world got in line to get a 'Frank Gehry' and positively affect its future outlook." How is this an equivalent comparison? Toronto is an already booming city and from a macro-global perspective, Toronto is in relatively good shape. Once again, from this perspective I argue that Gehry's work is sought out not only for its spatial brilliance and 'public' benefit but rather for its return on investment, its city/arts marketing.

Beatriz Garcia's (2004) research on city/arts marketing has found that the practice heavily relies on arts and culture practices by linking them to urban

regeneration. Through Garcia's work we come to understand how city/arts marketing helps to build public support for massive and controversial developments for mega-sporting events such as the PanAm/ParaPanAm Games (Galati 2014). García has noted that the arts are an important catalyst for city regeneration processes as the arts act as a nexus for tourism strategies (global economy) urban planning and can boost the confidence of local communities. When analyzing large-scale events, in search of regeneration outcomes, García found that despite the fact that arts planning, within mega-sporting events, create an approachable climate for business, community and sport to combine – developing idealized investment landscapes in cities - arts programming is delegated to a secondary, supportive role within major events (García 2004). What this means is that the arts are often least funded budget line item for development but through the tool of city/arts marketing, the arts often become an important *signifier* used to obtain public approval. Similar to the marketing strategy of *loss leaders* – products offered at a loss in order to lead people to purchase more profitable products (CBC 2013), massive residential developments such as Mirvish + Gehry invest in the arts for the usefulness of 'public' storytelling through relatively minuscule commitments that lead the general public and municipality to approve of drastic increases to height and density in zoning – private gains.

When interviewing OCAD University President, Sara Diamond, in her office on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2015, I asked her what she thought was missing from the Mirvish + Gehry planning stories in the media. She quickly indicated that the value and positive impact for the under resourced OCAD U was never heard in the media. Going back to the media assessments, I confirmed that this was true. OCAD U was never directly quoted in any of the stories nor was the investment in OCAD U ever fully described. The media described OCAD U as supportive leverage. Only 10% of the media stories actually mentioned OCAD University's drastic spatial needs and only 10% overtly discuss how the development is helping 'the public.' Instead 90% of the articles only mentioned OCAD U's involvement but never actually quote anyone from the university. On a secondary level, the City of Toronto planners were quoted in approximately 10% of the articles, and by and large were cast as 'living in the past' – not forward-thinking leaders interested in the cultural and economic success of Toronto. Thirdly, and of most importance in terms of power, are the 72% of media sources that outwardly favoured the developer's position (see Figure 13). Out of these sources, approximately 50% referred to the city planners by first or last name. And 84% of media sources referred to the development team in honorifics – Mr. Mirvish and Mr. Gehry. In addition, 24 of the 32 media sources, the Mirvish + Gehry team were directly quoted (Figure 15).

	NO. OF PRO DEVELOPER STORIES – HONORFICS USED FOR:	NO. OF TIMES DIRECTLY QUOTED IN ALL 32 STORIES
Mirvish + Gehry	19	24
City of Toronto Planners	11	0
OCAD University	0	0

**Figure 15: Media Sources casting role of the City and developer in Mirvish + Gehry stories**  
**Source: Analysis of Mirvish + Gehry planning stories found in Appendices**

City planning seems to be missing out on a key opportunity. What was most apparent in my research was how engaged the developer was in quite publicly telling his version of the planning story. By funding and staging public appearances centred on the development, David Mirvish was able to utilize his powerful social capital to bring people and the media out to him, and have them actually participate in the retelling of his story. He quite literally embodied his story by providing time and space to ensure his brand and his chosen discourses – legacy, art and the future – were brought to life. In public discussion forums, the developer’s story was then retold in media stories, in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Life Magazine*, *TVO*, *Spacing Magazine*, *Azure Magazine*, *The Toronto Star*, as well as many others. The developer has told a very convincing story numerous times over. And in today’s ultra fast paced world, credibility through multiple documented actions, which are easily shareable, can be key.

What if city planning told just as many convincing and repetitive, staged stories throughout all development? Could planning help protect the integrity of equitable



development by fostering other ‘common-sense’ applications? Could more time be allotted in the planning process to tell better stories? Stories are cross-cultural and attraction to a good story is both human and natural. Therefore is it not the responsibility a quasi-scientific practice, planning, to acknowledge human nature and invest more time and space in telling better stories? Is the regulated process out of date in regards to public participation directives? In order to achieve a level of equity in the planning process, couldn’t planning bodies find a way to provide just as much neutral time and space – public engagements and storytelling opportunities – as a private developer does, in order to support potentially unfinanced place-based attachments to a given space? In doing so, public planning bodies could aid alternative stories to materialize for the sake of ‘good planning.’

James Throgmorton (2003) has encouraged planning scholars to think of planners as authors. Throgmorton argued that planners write the *texts* (plans, final reports, articles) that *emplot* (arrange, shape or at minimum seek to turn) future action but that these texts can be *read* (constructed and interpreted) in diverse and often conflicting ways. Additionally, Throgmorton implied that like authors, planners fill the flow of action with *characters* (planners, developers, neighbours, officials) who act in *settings* (inner city, suburbs, public hearings) and adopt *points of view* while drawing on *imagery* and *rhythm of language* (stats,

population forecasts, GIS maps, renderings) to express a preferred attitude toward a situation or specific characters in a planning story.

However, it is important to recognize that the planning process, in and of itself is both privileged and exclusive. For example, the texts that planners write are not always accessible to the affected publics or rather through Throgmorton's assessment, the characters of a planning story, who may or may not have the tools needed to critically decode texts let alone find them. Additionally, the settings of action, such as public hearings, are often not scheduled at times or in places that are accessible for engagement. Rather, many public hearings can be seen as purposively inaccessible to fulfill the basic minimum statutory requirements without actually garnering widespread public input. Also, planning decisions may affect various publics and their quality of life but a public may not be able to participate but may still want to be informed. From these perspectives, I argue that it is the media's depiction of planning and development, which unavoidably shapes a reader's, and the public(s)' attention by turning attention this way instead of that way.

In Ontario, planning stories emerge from a policy-led framework – a practical statutory world – but outside of the actual planning process stories cannot tell themselves. Planning stories in the media are constructed and in doing so they are selective and purposeful (Throgmorton 2003). Our environments, shaped by

planning outcomes, are learned about through these stories that socially construct the meaning of physical space. Hence our relationship to space is defined through social practices like public storytelling about planning and development, which is repeated through strategic cultural positioning (Chomsky 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Lehrer 2006). Thus by accepting that the media telling planning stories has an impact on public points of view implies a sociological perspective of the planning storytelling process (van Dijk 2011). In a Toronto context, place-based psychological ties to the community – like the Mirvish family history – are often found in discourses of *legacy*, *art* and *the future*, which have become useful tools for private and public development to build emotional connection to spatial environments.

## CHAPTER 9

### Conclusions

As both a science and an art, planning is regulated by public policy, concerned with shaping and guiding the physical growth and arrangement of natural and built environments. However, within these environments what is considered 'public' and how 'the public' is used in planning discourses and planning tools, are based on constantly shifting, socio-political contexts. In order to exist, planning projects must be in accordance with these contexts' societal social orders, which in Toronto, are primarily concerned with economic needs followed by social needs. In harmony with this social order, what is considered 'good planning,' 'the public' and 'the public good' is subjective within systems that inequitably favour wealth, private interests, and therefore definitive 'publics.'

Since the 1970s, and picking up great speed in the 1980s, there has been a global shift in technological and political 'common-sense' for a redistribution of government programs and spending. This shift reshaped understandings and boundaries of what constitutes 'the public' as participants to the public as consumers – a commodity with trade value in a global market. From a global perspective then, planning is concerned with current and future 'public good,' through decisions based on market-minded 'common-sense' applications of 'good planning.' And planning policies that regulate urban growth appear to be

managed by minor financial interests, as every piece of land, either publicly or privately owned, is an aggregate of many place-based interests and thus a site of competing interests and competing stories. In Ontario, public participation, such as public community meetings, town halls, landowner meetings, etc. are the forums where land-based 'public' interests and competing 'public' stories must be heard if they choose to participate. However, 'the public' does not have power in this public participation equation. In an Ontario context, power is tied to property and to the owner proposing change. Or power can be tied to the public actor who *chooses* whether or not to act upon the landowner's interest or 'the public' interests heard during consultation. This is a clear disadvantage.

When researching the Mirvish + Gehry development through lobbying, it was easy to 'see' the important link between social capital and power and the impacts of each on public participation in planning and development. Councillor Adam Vaughan was the necessary link needed to build and enter into a growth coalition for the redistribution of 'public' goods and public benefits allotted through the private sector. In Toronto, growth coalitions are necessary and active in urban governance for 'the public' to fulfill its own needs. Coalitions in urban governance, such as that between Adam Vaughan, OCAD University and Mirvish + Gehry, are a result of planning tools such as, Section 37 of the Planning Act, which relies on lobbying and therefore social capital to positively affect community development.

In planning, lobbying is largely based on social, dialogic interactions between public decision makers and private interests who are looking to leverage a current public in order to facilitate growth. Effective power can be found in lobbying, as power in planning is the function of one's social capital to facilitate certain actions of specific actors. David Mirvish, a registered lobbyist, called on his social leverage – access to influence – which is an embodied resource, as a call to action for decision-makers to approve and build consensus around transforming his King Street West properties into massive future spaces. The important link between social capital and power is illustrated through the relationship of David Mirvish, the lobbyist, and Adam Vaughan the City Councillor. The two actors met on 28 separate occasions, mostly in person (City of Toronto - Lobbyist Registry 2015). David Mirvish was able to use his social leverage – the Mirvish family legacy and commitment to the arts – for direct access to a civic umpire needed to help one 'get ahead' or change one's current situation through access to information and people whose actions can change the course of decisions (Boissevain 1974).

As a global city, Toronto is in direct competition to attract economic activity. And in the global marketplace, the work of David Mirvish's friend and architect, Frank Gehry, plays a part in architecture as spectacle and brand recognition (Foster 2001). Mirvish + Gehry are socially and politically invested in contemporary

global urban policy that supports the globalization of cities and urban interests. Mirvish + Gehry have framed themselves through persuasive public storytelling as the benevolent neoliberals, primarily interested in making Toronto better in the eyes of the world and ultimately bringing more benefit to Toronto.

With Councillor Adam Vaughan's support, the planning legal hierarchy was on Mirvish's side. The development was able to change the course of a city planning agenda for the neighbourhood – *King and Spadina Secondary Plan*. With Vaughan's support the Plan was overridden by the growth coalition (Galati 2015a). Vaughan was also responsible for bringing OCAD University into the fold and in doing so, provided an example of regime theory whereby private-public partnerships require a local politician to act as matchmaker. When lobbied, it was Vaughan who identified OCAD University as a 'good fit' for a Mirvish + Gehry, Section 37 agreement (Galati 2015c). And in the Ontario policy-led planning system, Section 37 agreements can be thought of as a planning tool for regulating growth coalitions and 'public' community benefits in exchange for an increase in height and density – 'let's make a deal planning.'

A 'growth coalition' in planning implies that both the private and public interests come to a planning table as equals. However, in a neoliberal world this is paradoxical. A private interest is tied to wealth, property and therefore power. To have an equitable coalition one cannot have gross inequalities of wealth

(Marcuse 2013). In a similar fashion, when we speak about 'the public,' it is often thought that 'the public' is inclusive of all urban dwellers; however this is not true. Based on historical intersectional oppression in Canada, barriers to membership always exist and prevent access for certain 'publics' to some public places and communities. Not everyone can be a member of the community of one's choice. And therefore, not all people have the ability to form the most powerful social capital needed to engage in high-level, land-use planning matters. In public-private growth coalitions, the propertied owner is the holder of the market commodity and therefore the power of our socially constructed planning process inequitably favours. Thus power, in private-public growth coalitions, is held by private interests, given that our planning framework is situated in a global system that favours wealth and power connected to the marketplace.

Through this line of thinking, this major research undertook a literature review and media analysis of print and digital newspapers, architectural blogs, lecture series, short films and videos, brand developments and marketing tools. Through this work a contradiction emerged among the best possible outcomes for 'the public' interest. Two public institutions, OCAD University (provincial) and the City of Toronto sat opposite one another at the planning table and argued for contrary 'public goods.' However, under finer examination, the university had no voice in the media and was never quoted. Rather they were only mentioned as a public benefit. On a slightly more engaged level, the City of Toronto was quoted in the



media once out of 32 sources but whose general argument was well covered in the media – the City was worried about the ramifications of the Mirvish + Gehry development on ‘public’ heritage, ‘public’ infrastructure and ‘the public’ purse. This was ‘the public good’ that the City used to justify why the development did not initially meet a test of ‘good planning.’ However, ‘the public’ – all Toronto residents affected by urban environmental decisions – was not actually enabled to participate and voice their concerns over the planning issue. The general public did not get a transparent opportunity to experience this planning project. Statutorily mandated consultation requirements were met through a closed-door Community Committee, which was comprised of members hand-picked by Councillor Vaughan. The committee was comprised of arts leaders from the community; Bay Street and CityPlace resident associations; and leaders from the University of Toronto’s architecture school (Galati 2015c). Instead, to engage with Mirvish + Gehry, ‘the public’ had to rely on media stories covering the evolution of the development. In these media stories, it was the voices, narratives and perspectives of the private interest, David Mirvish and Frank Gehry, who dominated and therefore turned ‘the public’s’ attention in their favour.

In this case, media is a critical link between formulated, political planning processes and organic, socio-cultural engagements with planning matters. It was not possible for ‘the public’ to engage openly and gain access to critical information about Mirvish + Gehry. To gain access outside of this scope, one

must have been an elected social actor, a hired public servant or must have substantial private social capital and therefore social power to engage in such high-level public participation, as was evident in Mirvish + Gehry. Therefore the sites of both general and consistent ‘public’ participation in planning lie in the media stories told about planning and development. These stories are arguably a nexus between ‘the public’ and the planning process and as a result, they help develop attachments to future spaces or can nurture actions to agree, challenge and/or resist a planning project and a future public place. As was apparent in the print and digital narratives of the Mirvish + Gehry story, the City planners’ version of ‘the public good’ arguments were quickly drowned out by the developer, the propertied-private interest holder, David Mirvish.

If the media then chooses to tell a story to ‘the public,’ this means that the planning story matters emotionally to a city. Through stories, the media can help develop attachments to future spaces through the repetition of specific messages and planning discourses, which can nurture actions to agree, challenge and/or resist a planning project and a future public place. The Mirvish + Gehry story contains many powerful emotions – legacy, future and art. Over the course of the development’s lifespan, these emotions have been repeated and through this repetitive action, planning discourses were produced about ‘the public good.’ These planning discourses are filled with positive connotations tied to *legacy*, *art* and *the future*.

In this way, planning stories in the media can be thought of as forms of persuasive storytelling about future places in cities, as they help build 'common-sense' and public consensus around proposed future places. Hence our relationship to space is defined through social practices like public storytelling about planning in the media, which is repeated through strategic cultural positioning (Chomsky 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Lehrer 2006a). For example, the strategic place-based attachments such the Mirvish family history is found in the 'public' discourses of legacy, art and the future connected to Mirvish + Gehry. These 'public' discourses have become useful tools for development to build emotional connection to spatial environments.

Through this body of work, what is clear is that Mirvish + Gehry recognized the importance of telling a good story about 'the public' and 'the public good.' In doing so, they were heavily engaged in the physical action of telling their version of the planning story. By funding and staging numerous appearances centred on the benefits of the development, Mirvish quite literally embodied his story and his development's brand. Because of who David Mirvish is, his social leverage, power and privilege, afforded him the attention of the media and therefore 'the public.' What if city planning was able to tell just as powerful of a story through convincing repetition in staged stories? Perhaps it is not about substantive participation standards, but instead, perhaps it is about equitable storytelling.

Meaning the more evocative a developer's story, the more evocative competing stories, like the City's story, needs to be.

Humanity is attracted to good stories. Therefore through the media's depiction of planning and development, turning attention this way instead of that way creates meaning and shapes a reader's, and the general 'public's' attention. In the final and approved Mirvish + Gehry proposal, there was an 85% decrease in the amount of new, public art space than what was originally promised. The pro-developer media stories, 72% of articles, which originally framed Mirvish + Gehry as benevolent because of the public space they were bringing, failed to follow-up with whom actually benefits in the end – David Mirvish – and who seems to lose out – 'the public.'

In Ontario, planning stories emerge from a policy-led framework – a practical statutory world – but outside of the actual planning process, stories cannot tell themselves. Our environments are shaped by planning outcomes that 'the public' learns about and engages with through common-sense stories in the media, which ultimately help to construct the meaning of physical space. Hence our relationship to space is defined through social practices like public storytelling about planning and development, which is repeated through strategic cultural positioning.

Through a literature review, a socio-historical, policy and media analysis, this research has focused on the implications of power and social capital in relation to effective planning through an examination of the mega-condo development, Mirvish + Gehry and its developers. This work demonstrates that developers with robust forms of social capital and power have capacity to utilize private discourse production through branding to stage newsworthy appearances and stories that demand attention, and take up time and space. Mirvish + Gehry strategically chose which messages to use; signifiers and stories which were key public influencers for 'the public' and 'the public good' and helped to build broad public consensus and 'common-sense' support for the controversial development.

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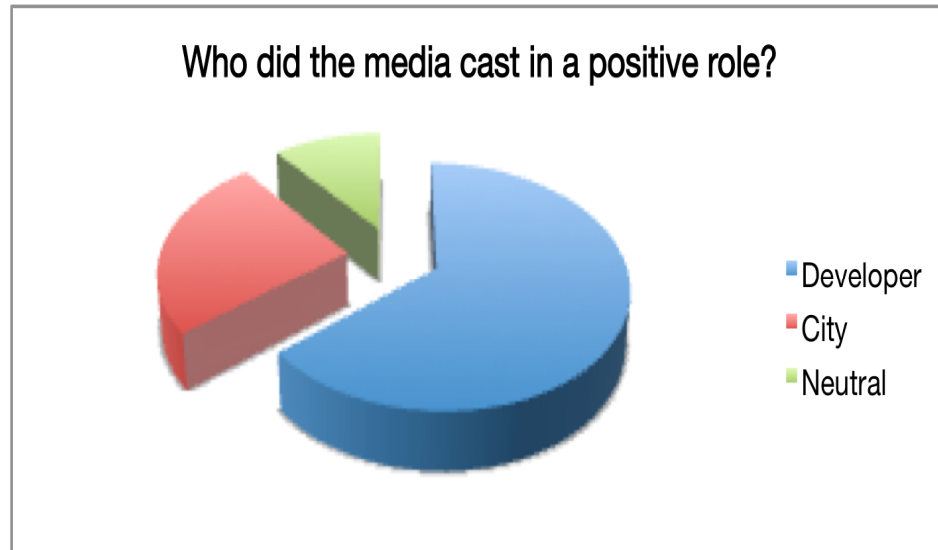
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## STATISTICS – MEDIA STORIES



	Favourable depiction of developer/ unfavorable depiction of city	Favourable depiction of city/ unfavorable depiction of developer	Neutral Position
NEWSPAPER SOURCES	9	2	1
MAGAZINE SOURCES	2	0	0
BLOG SOURCES	5	0	3
FILM/VIDEO SOURCES	7	0	3
<b>TOTAL: 32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>

<b>BLOGS Author/Date</b>	<b>Legacy</b>	<b>Public Benefit</b>	<b>How is the City depicted?</b>	<b>How is the developer depicted?</b>	<b>Overall assessment</b>
<p>1) UrbanToronto: “Letter released by David Mirvish following the accidental release of word on a new project.” - No date but presumably quite early on in the project’s life.</p>	<p>- “...important new project that will build on the legacy that my father began...this project is of special interest to me and I would like to treat it differently.” (meaning a letter rather than a typical press release).</p>	<p>- after almost 50 years of custodianship...of urban space...time to take a bold new step into the future while preserving the flavour of the past.” - “Our vision...three distinct and remarkable residential towers...grounded by stepped podiums that will house a new public gallery...new campus for the OCAD University and planted terraces...create a green silhouette overlooking King Street.”</p>		<p>- “I am collaborating with the world-renowned architect Frank Gehry.” - “The design will create a new profile for the arts and entertainment district...add significantly to the John Street Cultural Corridor...humane and habitable streetscapes.” - “Finally, if we find we need yet another facility (theatre space), I will be prepared to build a new theatre. We ar as dedicated ot the performing arts as we have ever been...”</p>	<p>- Generally press releases are not posted on the internet well after it has been release. That being said, I have never seen a press released published about development. From my perspective, it is indicative that UrbanToronto support’s David Mirvish’s position and original agenda and wanted to make sure readers could access it.</p> <p>- It’s the first press release of the project. It is therefore in favour of the development and the developer.</p>
<p>2) Buzzbuzzhome “Mirvish+Gehry Project Summary” - No date.</p>	<p>-“transform Toronto’s iconic King Street arts...bold new vision...inspired visions.”</p>	<p>Mirvish + Gehry join forces to unveil a bold new vision for our Cultural Corridor...king Street evolve into a thriving, livable urban community.”</p>		<p>- “Powerful creative synergy set to transform Toronto’s iconic King Street arts and entertainment district. Mirvish + Gehry join forces to unveil a bold new vision for our Cultural Corridor.”</p>	<p>- It’s a sales pitch for the development. Completely biased and induces feelings of exciting in the narrative.</p>
<p>3) blogTO:</p>	<p>- Mirvish seems to view</p>	<p>- Majority of historic warehouses will now</p>	<p>- Mirvish’s original proposal</p>	<p>- Mirvish’s original proposal was</p>	<p>- Completely neutral article.</p>

<p>“David Mirvish unveils revised Gehry tower project”  - By: Chris Bateman  - May 28, 2014</p>	<p>the project as his legacy to the city (his dad gave us Hone Ed’s and a thriving theatre scene).  - Heritage departments worried about loss of 5 historic warehouse buildings (which ironically are sites of David’s father, Honest Ed’s legacy for the city.</p>	<p>be renovated, Princess of Wales Theatre has been saved.  - Eclipse Whitewear Building, at the John corner and currently home of a Tim Horton’s, will become the 8,000 sq.ft, free public gallery (it is down from the original, 60,000sq.ft. public space).  - OCAD U space as originally planned, 25,000sq.ft.</p>	<p>was too dense for the already crowded King corridor. Keesmaat worried about amenity space (public space) and the little benefits given to surrounding neighbourhood. Heritage departments worried about loss of 5 historic warehouse buildings (which ironically are the sites of David’s father, Honest Ed’s cultural legacy</p>	<p>too dense for the already crowded King corridor.  - New plans have something approaching widespread approval. A local working group set up by former city councilor Adam Vaughan has already expressed satisfaction as has Keesmaat.</p>	<p>No real casting of city and or developer but was more fact delivery.  - Could have been critical of one Mirvish legacy replacing another but was not.  - Points out that everyone bent their positions a bit and the project changed significantly from the original scheme.</p>
<p>4) CURBED:  “Torontonians React to Mirvish + Gehry New Condo Design  *Frank Fucking Gehry”  - By: Alana Charles  - May 28, 2014</p>		<p>- “reaction around city seemed positive yesterday (after Mirvish + Gehry) announced their redesigned condo proposal for King West.</p>	<p>- Original proposal rejected by City as it demolished heritage replacing it with massive density.  - heritage preserved</p>		<p>- Neutral overall. More decision information like a public release statement.</p>
<p>5) Arch Daily:  “Revised Design Unveiled for Toronto’s Mirvish + Gehry Towers”  - By: Rory Stott  - July 3, 2014</p>	<p>- two towers has drawn comparisons to Gehry’s Dancing House in Prague,  - “Fred and Ginger.”  “Fred and Ginger grew up and moved to</p>	<p>- “towers, from three to two...will house apartments, a new art gallery, and space for OCAD U as previously planned...</p>	<p>- City doesn’t pick up on Gehry’s branding self through replication? Probably not a good argument but interesting that the narrative’s arguments (Keesmaat’s objection to the</p>	<p>- Gehry said that there is still a lot of work to be done to get to the real stuff but he thinks he’s figured out what dignity is with two buildings in Toronto now trying for humanity.”</p>	<p>- Humanizes Gehry and sidesteps loss of huge public benefit at little impact to density and private returns. Most stories seem to go easy on the fact that Mirvish’s overall profit margins aren’t equitably affected by the</p>

	Toronto, said Gehry.”		luxury development) don't cumulatively assess all public versus private gain to question underlying intentions masked by neoliberal legacy narrative, discourse development taking place through the story.		changes as to public benefit loss. - A Gehry is supposed to be an icon, interesting that Gehry's brand – can replace or connect/invoke feeling toward another global city – Prague – in a way isn't the point to have an original to stand out???
6) UrbanToronto “Landmark Mirvish + Gehry Development Approved by City” - By: Jack Landau - July 10, 2014	- “Toronto's next major landmark us one step closer to fruition thanks to...City Council supporting Toronto Planning's recommendation to approve.”	- 3 towers scaled down to 2 towers and a greater focus on the public realm. -Retained elements like a new art gallery for Mirvish Collection, OCAD U, and Princess of Wales	- Peter Kofman, of Projectcore Inc., the developer (owned by Mirvish), and the planning process ultimately created the conditions for positive staff reports and approval from Council.	- “Approval an endorsement of our (Mirvish) vision for the site, by Gehry and its an endorsement for the city's development process and demand for consultation and collaboration among stakeholders...an iterative process, a myriad of ideas were considered leading to a better project, and we are pleased that Cit Council agreed.” <b>This quote used three times in separate media stories!</b>	- More neutral that reports in the major papers via character casting. However, overall I think the Developer's voice was predominantly what is heard from as they are essentially the only party quoted on more than one occasion. More positivish neutral positions were placed on the developer making “so many concessions. * <i>blogs don't seem to have any fiscal or private return analysis.</i>
7) CURBED: “Two Years on, City Finally Greenlights Mirvish + Gehry Plan” - By: Curbed Staff - July 10, 2014		- 2 towers instead of 3. - retain Princess of Wales theatre and 2 historic warehouses. One warehouse will become 9,000sq.ft. (8000?) gallery showcasing Mirvish's	- Negotiations, radical design changes, praise and outrage from public, Council approval.”	- “While we believe today's vote was first and foremost an endorsement of our vision for the site ed by our architect Frank Gehry...it is a clear endorsement of the city's development process and staff's demand for consultation and collaboration among the stakeholders.” - Negotiations, radical design	- More neutral than reports in the major papers via character casting. However, overall I think the Developer's voice is predominantly what is heard - as they are essentially the only party quoted on more than one occasion. More positivish and

<p>7) CURBED:  “Two Years on, City Finally Greenlights Mirvish + Gehry Plan”  - By: Curbed Staff  - July 10, 2014</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2 towers instead of 3.</li> <li>- retain Princess of Wales theatre and 2 historic warehouses. One warehouse will become 9,000sq.ft. (8000?) gallery showcasing Mirvish’s private art collection for free to the public</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Negotiations, radical design changes, praise and outrage from public, Council approval.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “While we believe today’s vote was first and foremost an endorsement of our vision for the site ed by our architect Frank Gehry...it is a clear endorsement of the city’s development process and staff’s demand for consultation and collaboration among the stakeholders.”</li> <li>- Negotiations, radical design changes, praise and outrage from public, Council approval.”</li> <li>- <b>This quote used three times in separate media stories!</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More neutral than reports in the major papers via character casting. However, overall I think the Developer’s voice is predominantly what is heard - as they are essentially the only party quoted on more than one occasion. More positivish and neutral positions were placed on the developer making concessions.</li> </ul>
<p>8) blogTO:  “Mirvish and Gehry towers given the green light”  - By: Chris Bateman  - July 11, 2014</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Only party quoted was the developer explaining how the city’s approval clearly <i>endorses the Mirvish vision, The Mirvish legacy.</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2,000 residential units, space for Mirvish art gallery, OCAD U.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Main concerns centred on the potential loss of the historic buildings and the affect on already congested King Street Corridor.</li> <li>- Project site needs to be granted sit plan approval before construction can begin.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “While we believe today’s vote was first and foremost an endorsement of our vision for the site, by our architect Frank Gehry...it is a clear endorsement of the city’s development process and staff’s demand for consultation and collaboration among the stakeholders.”</li> <li>- <b>This quote used three times in separate media stories!</b></li> <li>- Developer/Architect wanted to build “three sculptures that people can live in.” (profit?)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Neutral, no real casting however it is more right leaning toward the developer, considering that the only party quoted was the developer explaining how the city’s approval clearly <i>endorses the Mirvish vision, The Mirvish legacy.</i></li> </ul>
		<p><b>NO. OF BLOGS IN FAVOUR OF DEVELOPER:</b></p>		<p><b>5</b></p>	

FILM/VIDEO Author/Date	Legacy	Public Benefit	How is the City depicted?	How is the developer depicted?	Overall assessment
<p>1) TVO: "David Mirvish: The Changing Landscape of Toronto" - By: The Agenda with Steve Paikin</p>	<p>- As a family, we have always liked being our own tenants though I've never really rented space = only storage. For various reasons we had to acquire properties downtown." - Mirvish: "It's good to have nostalgia of the past but the past will not feed you this week." - Mirvish: "As a city grows it aspires to a new level of greatness (this line appears in other videos); it sees itself in a</p>	<p>= "arts aren't going away" - Piya: "Arts and culture scholars have argued that in order to keep cultural institutions vibrant and relevant in the face of rapid development we need strong civic identities that are found in cultural rich public spaces." - Mirvish: Arts is a way of letting the world know about the City/Toronto = it is a connecting point globally.</p>	<p>Mirvish: "they have just done a big mistake...a study in-between Spadina and Bathurst and found that the southwest corner (Honest Ed's) can only be built up to 3 storeys height...this is unreasonable because you aren't getting the density you need."</p>	<p>- Mirvish: "I'm not really a real estate developer. I've only had 2 condo experiences (silent partner with a developer and One King West= provided funds only). - Mirvish thinks it is very important to have lots of density downtown or else the suburban region will continue to be vote-rich and making decisions for the 416 area. - Mirvish, "I usually believe the newspapers (says with a big smile on his face)." - "Hard to stop when things are successful...that's why businessmen do, they look to be successful."</p>	<p>- Mirvish comes across very knowledgeable of urban history, art and overall general information about Toronto and planning. - Piya Chaddapatta is the interviewer and does a good job but does not challenge any of Mirvish's points of urban issues = seems more like a pulpit for Mirvish to talk.</p>
	<p>new way and cultural institutions reflect that."</p>				

<p>2) Mirvish + Gehry: "Promo video for project"  - By: Mirvish + Gehry  - October 1, 2012</p>	<p>- Legacy literally written all over this one!</p>	<p>- <a href="http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/634846923372482455_09_mirvish_gehry_video_mp4.mp4">http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/634846923372482455_09_mirvish_gehry_video_mp4.mp4</a></p>	<p>- Not depicted. But just imagine the possibilities if city planning was able to create rebuttal videos or more so tell more persuasive stories with dollars spent on smoozing and lobbying their own positions whether professionally or otherwise. I wonder what would have happened if there were other just as seductive stories, told through video, focusing on the controversy of the development</p>	<p>- The video is gorgeous, it is a series of slow moving images/stop-motion videos of Toronto, with digital projections of the original Mirvish + Gehry towers blended into the images. Sultry trip-hop accompanies the film and voice-over that tells the story of Toronto's future (I think the voice is David Mirvish). There are a series of words and sentences throughout the film that appear in this order:  - As a city grows  - aspiring to a different level of greatness.  - LEGACY  - MEETS  - ICON  - DAVID MIRVISH AND FRANK GEHRY UNVEIL A BOLD NEW VISION FOR TORONTO'S THRIVING CULTURAL CORRIDOR  - Mirvish + Gehry Toronto</p>	<p>- It's there promo piece. I can't help but think of van Dijk (2011) work about the power of images and videos to transform a reader's thinking about a place. After consuming said media of planning and development, van Dijk argued that you can never undo the impact of seeing an image of a future place from your mind. The image itself has power in your mind.  - In a similar fashion, every time I have watched this</p>
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					video I also feel so good about Mirvish + Gehry.
3) CBC: "Mirvish-Gehry condo project" - By: CBC News - October 1, 2012	- David Mirvish, a lifelong commitment to culture. - David: " We want to see the city of Toronto grow successfully. Not grow without goals but grow to be the best we can be."	- free museum and public art galleries		- "Impressive new act for Toronto's theatre district." - "David Mirvish is partnering up with world-renowned Toronto (sort of?) architect Frank Gehry transform King St. W." - David Mirvish, the so-called "king of Toronto theatre" is the driving force behind the massive condo project. - Likely cost around \$1 billion range.	- Fairly neutral. A sense of excitement of the project but quite neutral.
4) Mirvish Productions: "The Mirvish/Gehry Press Conference" - By Mirvish Productions -October 4, 2012	- David: "I opened an art gallery at the same moment my father opened a the Royal Alexandra theatre." - David: "Honest Ed started the revolution of the King West	- David: " We (Mirvish family) are no longer the motivator...Having theatres that aren't full all the time is not better than having art museums, and a relationship with OCAD, and a relationship with the city and an involvement of		- Mirvish: "Today, I am addressing an opportunity that only comes in this moment. And it comes in this moment because Frank Gehry is 83 years old. If he and I don't act now, there will be other types of opportunities but never anything quite as dramatic or possible as this moment presents itself with." - Gehry: "It's a great vision (Mirvish). He came to me because I have done it several times and he knows that we	- Mirvish: " I am building three sculptures" - That will make you very very very rich, more so than you already are. - The benevolence of this press conference and lack of

	<p>neighbourhood and brought people west when City Planners thought that everything would go to the east. We motivated people to use the Western part of King St.”</p> <p>- Mirvish: “Towers can be a symbol of what Toronto can be. I am not building condominiums,”</p>	<p>retailing and an involvement of other amenities that will develop through this project.”</p>		<p>can help deliver that vision.</p>	<p>any sense of privilege from the developer, his inheritance and the architect masks money with art.</p>
<p>5) TVO: “Toronto: Towers, Triumphs and Troubles” - By: The Agenda with Steve Paikin</p>		<p>- two new museums - OCAD space</p>	<p>- Cheryl Teelucksingh, prof at Ryerson, thinks “its consistent with what we see everywhere else in Toronto...Gehry will make an iconic design that will draw people into the city...on the</p>	<p>- First person to speak was the Globe’s past architecture critic Rochon who called the proposal “exceptional. Unlike the typical banality we see in Toronto, this offers more to the city, more intelligent, more sculptural.” - Joe Berridge, partner at Urban Strategies was stunned when he first saw it...40 storeys used to be controversial, now its 80 storeys...city has</p>	<p>- Overall, a balanced video that is critical and positive of all positions.</p>

			<p>other hand, the number of units raises questions if the city can sustain the units [via infrastructure]. How much change does that area [entertainment District] actually need?"</p> <p>- Philip Preville, "How on earth will he sell all the units in the condo market we've got?"</p>	<p>changed...not a city of neighbourhoods anymore...dense and high...a different place which we haven't yet figured out the language for it...but Gehry and Mirvish, you can't get better than that and they are trying to give us some clues."</p>	
<p>6) The Globe and Mail: "Behind the scenes of David Mirvish's art collection"</p> <p>- By: - June 28, 2013</p>	<p>- "Mirvish family name is synonymous with "arts" in Canada."</p>	<p>- He (Mirvish) wanted to let Milroy in because "he his planning on building 3 towers...wants a private gallery...needs the work valued to properly examine the feasibility of the whole scheme."</p>		<p>- Sarah Milroy (Globe art critic) David Mirvish is a very private man. And most people don't get to spend a number of hours with him looking at work in his home and various warehouses throughout the city. What struck me most was his level of scholarship and detailed knowledge of every piece...most cases he has an ongoing relationship</p>	<p>- Positive profile piece about David Mirvish.</p>
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<p>7) The Bram &amp; Bluma Appel SALON at the Toronto Reference Library: "Star Talks: David Mirvish with Christopher Hume"  - By: Toronto Public Library  - February 4, 2014</p>	<p>- David Mirvish: have talks with frank, saying what are we doing to our lives...andthen say we are trying to do our best and lets keep going because we have something to do that will make a difference Odds are good that we will build something of ditinction...we doin't know where it will go and we will fight to the end and we will have to be defeated so that we are a piece of history even if it is not built.</p>	<p>- Star Talks (by the Toronto Star) have been taking place for aobut 4-5 seasons, since approximately 2010.</p>	<p>Srebotnjak (Toronto Public Library) partnered Bob Hepburn (The Toronto Star) to create the event. the Toronto Star - Christopher Hume opens saying what a big fan he is of David Mirvish, Frank Gehry, the project, Toronto but not City Planners.  - Chis Hume: "Bilbao-effect, Bilbao Spain is like Hamilton old steel industry, boat building town that decided to rely on the power of design and architecture and reinvent itself. After that tons of cities around the world have</p>	<p>- Chris Hume, is described by Bob Hepburn as an advocate for cities and the arts, been with the Star since the 1980s. Has won a National Newspaper Award (highest honour in print paper business) for architecture and urban affairs work.  - "David Mirvish...where to start...art collector, dealer, theatre producer, owners and operates Princess of Wales, Royal Alex...member of Order of Canada, Ontario real estate developer.....a visionary"  -David Mirvish speaking: It's a heritage project...about a family that came as immigrants to this country who moved from Bloor St., to Dundas St., to King St. and had lots of impact in every place. Those neighbourhoods shaped my life. They want to take Franks history and Mirvish family history and show what it is possible to do, at a certain time...its about other issues, like national identity (corporate civic branding). Franks work was also helped a city, community, country..."  - \$100/foot more than</p>	<p>- It is Mirvish + Gehry praise by Mirvish + Gehry, supported by the Toronto Star in partnership with the Toronto Public Library (does this qualify as conflicte of interest on behalf of the city?)    Funny that one of the last things you hear is an audience member stating, "Well lets hope its not gonna leak."</p>
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			<p>been in line to get its 'Frank Gehry' and reinvest in itself.</p> <p>- Chris Hume states "it would be good for city planning to bring subtlety and nuance to its decisions but that's not possible in the governance situation we have here. And the specter that hovers over all planning in this city and every community in this province is the Ontario Municipal Board. Because ultimately it's the OMB that's going to make this decision, not the Planning Department...If the Planning Department is</p>	<p>comparably buildings of our time.</p>	
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			<p>ever going to grow up, if it's every going to get mature, acquire some sophistication at some point, it has to start making decisions and being able to accept responsibility for those decisions. We're not at that point yet."</p>		
<p>8) Global TV: "New Mirvish-Gehry plan for Toronto's King St. W. unveiled" -By: Global News Hour -vMay 27, 2014</p>	<p>- Mirvish: "2 towers that will define the city and community."</p>	<p>- pedestrian only space on Ed Mirvish way - OCAD space</p>	<p>- "Many walls at City Hall that tried to prevent the massive development being built on King St....but new design is something for everyone to consider." - I will be recommending this project (Jennifer Keesmaat) and thrilled to do so</p>	<p>- New design reduces the overall scale by about 30%. - Mirvish: "The core of the design is still culture and we've maintained an entire warehouse..." - Lots of compromise</p>	<p>- New anchor: "Some call the development arts, some others not so much." - A truly neutral video.</p>
			<p>- "City planners</p>	<p>- "The taller of the two towers</p>	<p>- Overall, the</p>

<p>9) The Globe and Mail: “New Mirvish, Gehry condo development poses planning problems for Toronto”  - By: Affan Chowdhry  - May 28, 2014</p>			<p>were not buying the first 3 tower design. Which is a little surprising. After all, this is the same city as, according to the tracking firm Urbanation, ok’d the building of over 80,000 condo units since 2000. And more than 70,000 units in the planning stages.”  - Tara Perkins (The Globe’s real estate reporter) says that the city’s major concern is precedence that could be set with this project – reason for Official Plan Amendment.  - Affan asks Tara about what she thinks</p>	<p>will be 92 storeys or 304 metres tall – taller than First Canadian Place which is the tallest building second to the CN Tower in Toronto.”  - “It’s a pretty impressive development. The brainchild of developer David Mirvish and renowned architect Frank Gehry.</p>	<p>critique of the number of condo units approved by the City is irrelevant to the context. Just because units are approved elsewhere does not mean they are appropriate everywhere.  - The video casts the city planners irrational and the developer as brilliant and primarily interested in theatre, not overly concerned with turning a profit. This assumed point seems ridiculous. Why would a developer risk their capital?</p>
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			<p>about the nervousness of City planners as towers are meant to combat urban sprawl – Perkins responds saying “the problem now is that economists suggest we are building more than what we will need for future populations. Will Mirvish be able to sell all his units.”</p>		<p>- Video is sponsored by LEXUS. There is a LEXUS ad pasted on the video throughout.</p>
<p>10) Mirvish + Gehry: “Revised towers spinning” - By: Mirvish + Gehry - February 3, 2015</p>				<p><a href="http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/635586656528192000_2015_02_04_04_54_08_mirvishgehry_toronto_video_mp4.mp4">http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/635586656528192000_2015_02_04_04_54_08_mirvishgehry_toronto_video_mp4.mp4</a></p>	<p>- Simple video of the architectural model as if you were in a taxi cab driving around the towers, as if they are in the middle of a town square. The combination of solid material</p>



<p>10) Mirvish + Gehry: "Revised towers spinning" - By: Mirvish + Gehry - February 3, 2015</p>				<p><a href="http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/635586656528192000_2015_02_04_04_54_08_mirvishgehry_toronto_video_mp4.mp4">http://www.buzzbuzzhome.com/mirvishgehry-toronto/videos/all/635586656528192000_2015_02_04_04_54_08_mirvishgehry_toronto_video_mp4.mp4</a></p>	<p>- Simple video of the architectural model as if you were in a taxi cab driving around the towers, as if they are in the middle of a town square. The combination of solid material and what appears to be layers upon layers of glass give the feeling of internally dancing, it feels great. The video from 30-38seconds is what might be realistically experienced like this from across David Pecaut Square.</p>

MAGAZINE Author/Date	Legacy	Public Benefit	How is the City depicted?	How is the developer depicted?	Overall assessment
<p>1) Spacing Magazine: “Mirvish + Gehry sing a new tune: A change of plans for King Street West” - By: Kristen Gagnon - May 28, 2014</p>	<p>- ...”<i>save the Princess of Wales and heritage warehouse facades...anything but a small victory for the collective cultural memory and life of the city.</i>” “<i>both an active and thriving place of performance , as well as havings hared public meaning</i>”</p>	<p>- “Almost completely revised...and for the better, for Toronto’s sake.” - “...still managed to maintains its planned additiona of commercial, office, gallery and OCAD U.” (however the author doesn’t make mention of the decrease in free public gallery space form 60,000sq.ft. to 8,000sq.ft.)</p>	<p>- “conversation of the project has finally returned to the architecture itself rather than a superficial notion of building an icon.” - “Mirvish + Gehry have seemingly listeren to what the people of Toronto (saving both the theatre, and warehouses in part), and its city planners want (resuting ina project of a more reasonable density) – but I don’t think substantially less financial return for Mirvish but overall much less cultural and other public benefit return for Toronto.</p>	<p>- Gehry as a great architect (has found) a way to make an affordable, proportional and historically/culturally sensitive development that would have the <i>potential</i> t become a new icon for Toronto, while still being a part of <i>existing</i> Toronto.” - “icon, conjures up ideas of loud, flashy star-architecture, one meant to claim its importance to the city not through merit <i>given</i>, but rather from sheer volume, intensity, or abstraction...<i>Dignity</i> seems to allude to a sense of understanding of place, context, and appropriateness.” - <b>The world alone seems to suggest a very different direction and nuance than that of iconic.</b> – Discourse reproduction by the narratives turning your head this way instead of that way ICON to DIGINITY.</p>	<p>- Author thinks it’s a fair deal. Casts the developer as completely changing their plan for the public good. However, it is arguable that the difference in private return is insignificance compared to what public long-term cultural benefits are lost. Author(s) compare apples to oranges. - Author finds the argument of the rebrand in branding. Originally the project was centred on creating an <i>iconic</i> architecture – not a synonym for <i>dignity</i>, which Gehry now claims the current proposal contains. - <i>Dignity</i> seems to allude to a sense of understanding of place, context and appropriateness.</p>
<p>2) Azure Magazine: “3 Controversial Architecture Projects</p>	<p>- Mirvish + Gehry has “stoked serious debate about what architecture means beyond the building envelope.”</p>	<p>- surrounded by acres of high-end retail, an art gallery, and a satellite campus for OCAD University.</p>	<p>- “city planners balked at over-densification that would ripple public transportation...”</p>	<p>-Frank Gehry said that, “three towers gave the scheme sculptural quality. With two, it ain’t there. But now I think it’s more Toronto.”</p>	<p>- Overall a good, to the point, neutral article. However, again what we see here is the city cast as dogs (balked – barked). And the developer pegged with eye-popping</p>

<p><i>Changing the Conversation</i>  - By: Catherine Osborne  - August 13, 2014</p>	<p>-“public mostly thrilled...also [confused] that Mirvish would tear down five heritage sites – his father’s legacy – to make way for the project.</p>	<p>-“proposal devoid of any reasonable amount of public space.”</p>			<p>ambition. Good versus bad imagery of characters.  - Therefore the article presents the facts in a neutral fashion but through the descriptions of the planning and development actors, we can most easily “see” a bias at play in the character roles.</p>
		<p><b>NO. OF ARTICLES IN FAVOUR OF DEVELOPER:</b></p>		<p><b>2</b></p>	
		<p><b>NO. OF ARTICLES WARY OF DEVELOPMENT:</b></p>		<p><b>0</b></p>	
		<p><b>NO. OF ARTICLES NEUTRAL OF DEVELOPMENT:</b></p>		<p><b>0</b></p>	

<b>NEWSPAPER Author/Date</b>	<b>Legacy</b>	<b>Public Benefit</b>	<b>How is the City depicted?</b>	<b>How is the developer depicted?</b>	<b>Overall assessment</b>
<p>1) The Toronto Star: "Mirvish-Gehry King St. 'sculptures' all gloss and greed" - By Rosie DiManno - October 9, 2012</p>	<p>- "I've lost count of how many stores....to burnishing the Mirvish profile...he and his lovely late father...have contributed immensely to the ethos of the city...but that still doesn't mean we owe Mirvish the Younger all of the future of downtown Toronto, nor that two men...should decide the architectural template of what this city becomes."</p>		<p>- "I (Rosie DiManno) expect little pushback from city hall, as long as local councilor Adam Vaughan is guaranteed his pet pursuits...and the rest of the municipal mon extracts their own big-picture and little detail concessions, plus a cash-for-height swap."</p>	<p>- "a trio of 80-storey pulpits for two men's transformation of the Entertainment District, a vanity project of gobsmacking arrogance." - "Because he can – already owning many of the buildings targeted for demolition – Mirvish will." - "2,709 conmdo units will be a helluva lot more profitable for the Mirvish treasury. This isn't altruism; it's hard-nosed entrepreneurialism."</p>	<p>- "it's all gloss and greed, masquerading as art. Resist."  - Developer cast as a wolf in sheep's clothing. City cast as a push over with little power.  - However, the city is not a main feature of the article. But because the article is against the development and the altruism of David Mirvish I will classify this as in favour of the City for documentation purposes – ie. How media helps build support for development.</p>
<p>2) The Globe and Mail: "Frank Gehry and David Mirvish's tall order in Toronto" - By: Alex Bozikovic - December 7, 2013</p>	<p>- "...properties assembled by Ed Mirvish, who created a theatre district here..." - "If project refined, it would set a new bar for the architecture of tall buildings in Toronto."</p>	<p>- "high-end retail space, a private gallery for Mirvish's collection of paintings, facilities for OCAD University and 1.5 million square feet of condominiums..." - "... (heritage) buildings...useful and of historical significance."</p>	<p>- "...many challenges...misses, in this project...(Keesmaat) points to orientation of the buildings...lack of a meaningful heritage...lack of a contribution to community facilitates...not enough public space in this area."</p>	<p>- "Mr. Mirvish has proposed a grand redevelopment..." - Mr. Mirvish, who has made important contributions to the city, is explicitly trying to change our skyline for the better." - "...by brilliant Mr. Gehry plus cultural components...centre for "luxury retail" and high-quality residents." - in broad strokes, he (Mirvish) is right." - (Mirvish) want permission...dwarf other</p>	<p>- City cast again as a strong preserver of Toronto heritage but less neutral. Cast more as parent lightly slapping a child's wrist for colouring outside of the lines. - Developer cast as a mischievous trickster with high hopes for city by rocking the boat. - Direct mention of the return on investment for Mirvish. - Overall, the article is in</p>

				developments...generate hundreds of millions...in profit.” -“Let’s not overlook a central fact: this would be the biggest work every built by...greatest living architect....I have no doubt that each would be beautiful.”	favour of the development – (cast more favourably) – however, the article does present the density and heritage facts from a neutral position.
3) The Globe and Mail: “Gehry’s big dream not another condo project” - By: Marcus Gee - December 18, 2013	-“David Mirvish, son of “Honest Ed”...” - “...a city of ambition has to think of the heritage it is building for the future...” (legacy?)	-“... (development) would incorporate a private gallery for the Mirvish collection and new space for...OCAD University.”	- The City of Toronto’s motto...time for a change...”think small” would fit better. - “A forward-looking city would grab it with both hands...instead...turn extraordinary into mediocrity.” -“City planners want to whittle down the project to something more, well Toronto-ish...they would force Mr. Gehry and Mr. Mirvish...” - “Planners have a host of other complaints...planners don’t stop there...Good grief. Faced with this kind of pettifogging, it is a wonder that Mr. Gehry want to build in Toronto at all.”	-“... (David Mirvish) is one of Toronto’s most thoughtful business leaders...hunger to build something unique and beautiful in his hometown.” -“Frank Gehry is one of the world’s most renowned architects.” “Together they are proposing something remarkable...” - “Inspired ideas like this don’t come along every day.”	- City planners are called by the full names, Jennifer Keesmaat but rather the developers are referred to formally (more respectfully? Privileged position?) as Mr. Mirvish and Mr. Gehry. - City cast as boring and losing an opportunity for Toronto” “would be a shame to drown Mr. Gehry’s big dream in a babble of planner-speak.” - Developers casts as brilliant change-makers for future legacy.
4) The Globe and Mail: “Toronto councilor crafting new deal for		-“...OCAD University expected to have space in the new buildings...”	- “Toronto councilor Adam Vaughan...will chair 14-member working group created to prevent a faceoff before the Ontario Municipal	- Developer...described (working group) as a positive step forward. -“project doesn’t work on a certain level when it gets too small...trying to do an awful	- Only people quoted in article are those in favour of the development. - Majority of points highlight the reliability of the

<p>Gehry, Mirvish condo project” - By: Elizabeth Church and Tara Perkins - December 18, 2013</p>			<p>Board.” -“Mr. Vaughan, city planning staff, and the developer will select the panel of ‘prominent Torontonians.’ Council approved its creation...” - “City staff proposed that the condo project essentially be shrunk...decreasing its height...rejected by the Mirvish group.”</p>	<p>lot...that is non-revenue-generating, it will have public amenities and public accessibility.” - “The public benefits...are pretty significant, and to take away 30 per cent of what we’re proposing, it just wasn’t going to work.” - Mr. Mirvish wants the project completed quickly, in part because Mr. Gehry is 84.” -“Mr. Mirvish indicated that his group spent \$1-million on studies that say the project would not overtax infrastructure...estimates that 60 per cent of resident would walk to work...”</p>	<p>developers studies and benefits to the public. - The article talks about non-revenue-generating space but makes no mention of final profits. - Article seems to bias the development.</p>
<p>5) The Globe and Mail: “Mirvish, Gehry save Princess of Wales Theatre in scaled-down condo project.” - By: Tara Perkins and Elizabeth Church - December 2013</p>	<p>- “Adam Vaughan... predicts the project will transform the intersection of King and John streets into the cultural heart of the city...great opportunity and great people.”</p>	<p>- “9,200 square feet of space to house art exhibitions. That’s a small fraction of the space in the original design...OCAD university will have a facility on the site as planned.”</p>	<p>-“...two condo buildings, down from three, and are being welcomed by the city of Toronto planners who had objected to the density of the original design and its plan to demolish theatre....space they deemed to have historic value.” - “Planners took issues with...[height and density], and amount of parking (city wanted more)...”</p>	<p>- “...with concessions to the city, Mr. Mirvish is hoping to receive approval to smash through height restrictions.” -</p>	<p>- Overall, one of the Globe and Mail’s more neutral articles about the development but it still shines a favourable light on the developer. - The article casts the developer as flexible and the saviour of the Princess of Wales as it’s headline. It makes no mention that city planning was fervently against its demolition.</p>
<p>6) The Toronto Star: “Revised Mirvish + Gehry</p>	<p>- Gehry dubbed the three tower scheme as a search for dignity.</p>	<p>- “Fred and Ginger grew up and moved to Toronto” (referencing</p>	<p>- City cast as fearful and loathing.</p>	<p>- Gehry said 3 towers was “sculptural, with two, it ain’t there. But now I think it’s more</p>	<p>- Architect and developer cast very favourably and city not really cast.</p>

<p>design saves Princess of Wales Theatre” - By: Christopher Hume - May 27, 2014</p>	<p>- Mirvish says, “they’re about creating a city that’s recognizable and unique in a world that’s increasingly the same. We want people to think of Toronto as a place that’s exciting to come to, to live in and raise a family,”</p>	<p>a project completed in Prague. A Gehry for Toronto?)</p>		<p>Toronto.” - Gehry is now searching for a sense of humanity to the buildings for warmth. - For mild-mannered but fiercely ambitious Mirvish, the project is a cultural statement inside and out – an art gallery, OCAD, Retail, Restaurants, offices an, of course, condos.</p>	<p>- Developer cast as future thinking, dare I even say, innovative.</p>
<p>7) The Globe and Mail: “Mirvish-Gehry vision for King Street is scaled down, but there’s nothing timid about it” - By: Alex Bozickovic - May 30, 2014</p>	<p>- “...prospect that this globally famous designer...would build here.”</p>	<p>- “...new art gallery open to the public and space for OCAD University</p>	<p>- “...to her credit (Keesmatt) answered Mr. Mirvish’s challenge publicly with ambition and backbone -“(development) would have broke planning rules, many of them, setting negative precedents along the way.</p>	<p>- “...(First proposal) was a bluff...new plan is realistic and much improved. -“Represents a 21<sup>st</sup> century city that is thriving and culturally ambitious.” -“Mr. Gehry is famous for continuing to work...until as late as possible...but I have faith it will come out well.” -“(Mirvish) played the politics of development well...both rhetoric</p>	<p>- Again, Gehry and Mirvish are referred to in honorifics, so is Keesmatt, but only once. - Bozickovic’s article is slightly more neutral. He once again discusses profits but pays more respect to the developer and benefits of the project therefore favouring the developers perspective overall.</p>
<p>8) The Toronto Star: “Mirvish towers develop a new dignity” - By: Christopher Hume - August 15, 2014</p>	<p>-“Like his legendary father, “Honest” Ed Mirvish...developing...is as much about leaving a legacy as putting up a tower.”</p>	<p>- “Given the potential of the Gehry-designed complex to become a major destination, local and global, it’s hard to see how anyone could object. But this is Toronto, a city not known for its openness to change.” - “...project will include a gallery where his</p>	<p>- “Despite Mirvish’s intentions, city planners were clearly flummoxed...but they managed to raise several legitimate concerns.” - “city now on-side.”</p>	<p>- “the revised proposal is less flamboyant: the Gehry-esque flourishes at grade have disappeared...it’s more Toronto...sense of dignity.” -“negative space creates the connection between the buildings...I (Gehry) think it will give the city a sense of place and a place in the larger world.” -“..something that will make</p>	<p>- From the topical sentences it is obvious that the author favours the development team: “A condo by any other name might stand as tall, or loom as large. But would it look as sweet? If the architect designing the tower in question is Frank Gehry...there’s a good chance the answer is no. And</p>

		(Mirvish) world-renowned collection of abstract paintings...satellite campus of OCAD.		Toronto a more exciting city”	if the builder happens to be...David Mirvish, the odds are even better.”
9) The Globe and Mail: “Frank Gehry: A prodigal son looks to leave his mark” - By: Alex Bozikovic - November 8, 2014	-“he (Gehry) argues that the way to capture Toronto’s spirit is not half-baked preservation that retains only facades.:		- “...city (Toronto) has not always love him (Gehry) back.” - 1981...Gehry invited to speak at UofT...then they cancelled...’the reason your lecture was cancelled is they don’t like your work.”	- “For architects, place matters deeply.” -“Though he moved away more than 60 years ago, Mr. Gehry thinks himself as Canadian and he clearly cares a lot about what Toronto thinks of him.” -“During our conversation...Mr. Gehry kept returning to the subject of his home city and his reception here.” - “...early 1980s, while the architecture world was riven by deep debate, Mr. Gehry was a divisive figure.” - “in 1980s, Globe and Mail architecture critic Adele Freedman and Mr. Richards (dean of UofT’s architecture school) were among his vocal advocates.	- This article is entirely geared towards shining a good light on controversial, architect Frank Gehry. When speaking about the Mirvish + Gehry complex Gehry is quoted saying that it “means a lot.” It is a favourable profile of the architect behind the development.
10) The Globe and Mail: “With forced Mirvish + Gehry rejig, Toronto squanders a rare opportunity” - By: John	-“in keeping with [act of branding, visual identity] other products of Mr Gehry’s always surprising imagination...one [building] façade looks like a tree-trunk spilt by	- salvation of the Princess of Wales Theatre and some Edwardian industrial buildings. - “[Losses] in the stingy area – 9,000 square feet [free access]	- Keesmatt cast as: “absolutely thrilled...they should be...after 18 months of throwing up roadblocks, the public officials [city]...and some [a specific public?] ordinary citizens are getting at least part of what	-Cast as the “theatrical impresario” David Mirvish and Frank Gehry’s...tower scheme (in planning/arch terminology this can be read as a design plan but more common discourse this can be read negatively) has various other connotations. - Author doesn’t like abstract	- Most neutral article I’ve read so far! - Casts City planning as victoriusthrough rigidity, in a power role setting the rules. Limited use of honorifics. - Casts developer as malleable, compromising



<p>Bentley Mays - November 8, 2014</p>	<p>a thunder bolt.” - [legacy] is that future generations can gaze at [a few unimportant beams and bricks from yesteryear] as they try to figure out why Toronto never got an astonishing skyscraper by Frank Gehry.”</p>	<p>public art gallery from 60,000 square feet originally (stingy- as in cheap? Paid out inequitably to what they bring?)</p>	<p>they want...[changes to development represent a victory of sorts for planning regime at city hall.”</p>	<p>expressionism. But he says, that doesn't matter because a gallery as large as originally intended would have enriched our cultural commonwealth” (public space, with place-based attachment power that is connecting to a stronghold of various communities of geography, identity, access. - Mr. Mirvish and Mr. Gehry (honorifics again) have made important concessions...willingness to compromise...favoured traits of planning officials. -...[its] as id Mr. Gehry and his colleagues in los Angeles decided that Toronto didn't deserve a breakthrough building.” - original ground level was wonderfully exuberant and urbane – was surely brilliant.”</p>	<p>used honorifics. A bit pompous but good to public cultural space in form and function. - The article's neutral positions outnumber the positions on the side of argument. However, it seems to favour the developer as a character more so than the city.</p>
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<p>11) The National Post: “The mayor says she ‘pushes the envelope,’ but Toronto’s chief planner says changing the city isn’t easy” I find it uncomfortable that the very first thing the reader reads about the chief planner (female) is what the mayor (male) of Toronto thinks of her.  - By: Natalie Alcoba  - December 20, 2014</p>		<p>- she (Keesmaat) has been given credit for taking a strong position when it would have been all too easy to step aside – public good.</p>	<p>- Ms. Keesmaat (honorifics used in this article) was in the private sector as a Partner at Dialog a planning consultancy and an advocate for “progressive” city building ideas....she’s a celebrity bureaucrat.  - uses social media – twitter especially – quite a bit.  - named 9<sup>th</sup> most influential person in Toronto and 41<sup>st</sup> in Canada.  - Father builder, her mother, an artist. She considers her planning discipline as a science and an art (©).</p>	<p>- A question she asked the head of Toronto Water, “ Will the toilets even flush?” Yes, but not sure when the next building went up.</p>	<p>- The article sides with Jennifer Keesmaat by profiling her accomplishments and roots.  - However, of great importance, you can read this article as framed, bookended, by the approval of white males with huge social capital, privilege and, as a result of those privileges, they have impressive resumes.  - The article favours Keesmaat in relation to the Mirvish + Gehry development but at what cost to the micro public discourses that frame male approval of women in politics?  - <i>NOTICE LACK OF LEGACY USAGE.</i></p>
<p>12) The Toronto Star:  “Building an inheritance into a legacy”  - By: Alex Newman  - January 2, 2015</p>	<p>-...inheritance into legacy.  <i>*legacy used positively</i></p>	<p>-“(developer and architect)...find a way to make it all function...gallery space...and (heritage preservation).”</p>	<p>-“...heritage helps distinguish one project...sea of competition.”  -“...people want to hang on to things that ground them.”  -“building...contribute to shape of the street in the public memory.”</p>	<p>- “...we are as good &amp; capable as any other city.”  - “...create something great to live in &amp; competes with the rest of world.”  - “...compete on highest level.”</p>	<p>- City cast as strong preserver of Toronto heritage. I would call their position a neutral stoic voice.  - Developer cast as giving of self to create strong image and public space for city.  - No mention of the return on investment for Mirvish only the compromises the</p>

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		<p><b>NO. OF ARTICLES IN FAVOUR OF DEVELOPMENT:</b></p>		<p><b>9</b></p>	