

Examining Equity and Sustainability in the Green Line Park Proposal: The Limits of Progressive Planning in the Post-industrial Parks Movement

Nicole Beuglet
Supervisor: Jennifer Foster
July 27, 2016

A Major Paper submitted to the Faculty of Environmental Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto Ontario, Canada.

Abstract

The Green Line is a proposal to transform the hydro corridor that runs between the intersections of Landsdowne and Davenport to Macpherson and Dupont, into a five kilometer continuous park and trail network by using naturalization and improved pedestrian designs. The hydro corridor crosses through a variety of neighbourhoods in various stages of deindustrialization and across middle to upper-class neighbourhoods, Toronto Community Housing and Co-Op residences, long term care facilities, warehouses and industrial neighbourhoods and along side the CP Rail line. The Green Line proposal is part of a growing trend in North America of transforming post-industrial or fringe lands surrounding infrastructure into parks, for example the High Line park in New York city and the recent “Under Gardiner” park proposal in Toronto. These park projects have come to be viewed as the corner stone of progressive planning for their forward looking sustainable designs and incorporation of arts and cultural place-making. The Green Line proposal is conceptualized by the project’s planners as advancing equity through improving the quality of the environment in a growing dense urban area and increasing access to park space in areas that are low in park land and increasing community participation in the planning process. This paper critically examines the planning and design process for the Green Line through a lens of environmental justice, evaluating the potential of the park project to advance equity.

My research demonstrates how the planning processes used for the Green Line has relied on a postpolitical planning method that avoids conflicts over the space and assumes that the benefits resulting from improved environmental sustainability will benefit all members of the site equally. This has been exercised in combination with a community-based planning practice where participation is limited to elite community members who are actively shaping the

landscape to reflect their social values and protect and improve their real estate values. Thus, the planning practice for the Green Line is exclusionary to the most marginalized community members, and it places the project within the broader urban development processes in Toronto where investment in parks and cultural place-making through public-private partnerships are used to tame “problematic” neighbourhoods in order to attract reinvestment and middle and upper class residents. Finally, the paper ends with recommendations for the Green Line to incorporate environmental justice into the planning practice through the main tenants of the right to the city.

Foreword

The following paper is a culmination of the areas of concentration outlined in my Plan of Study, which are: urban planning and environmental justice. My Plan of Study reflects my interest in urban planning and equity. My academic background in Gender Studies and Social Justice, and my past research in women's participation in environmental movements have contributed to my interest in the intersections of social justice and the environment. When I entered the Master's in Environmental Studies Program I was interested in further examining the ways that urban planning practices have contributed to the creation of social and environmental injustices through the production of uneven geographies and the ways that communities have countered this by creating alternative spaces shaped to reflect their own needs and desires. I was drawn to ecological restoration projects of post-industrial spaces for this reason. In order to do this, I chose to study the Green Line park proposal as an example of environmental justice in Toronto. Over time it became clear that the Green Line was not the example of environmental justice I thought it was. Despite what was at the time a disappointing realization, my critical interrogation into the Green Line has given me a deeper understanding of how urban planning produces injustices and environmental justice can be sought after in urban spaces, which has given me deep insight into my areas of concentration. Further, my paper offers concrete ways to engage in environmental justice in urban planning and design.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the numerous people who supported me in completing this paper and degree. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Jennifer Foster for pushing me both academically and creatively and for taking the time to give thoughtful feed back on my work throughout the paper writing process. Jenny has given me countless suggestions on theories, ideas, scholars to read, and encouraged me to fully pursue my research interests. I would also like to thank my advisor Liette Gilbert for her academic guidance over the past two years. She has kept my degree on track and offered both emotional and academic support in completing my degree.

I also owe gratitude to all the people who I interviewed for this paper. Thank you for lending me your time, knowledge and expertise on the Green Line and parks planning in Toronto. My interviews would not have been possible without the help of Erika, who connected me with people working on the Green Line project. I would also like to thank the staff at the York University Map Library and the City of Toronto Archives for their help navigating archival research for this paper.

I am also grateful for my parents, Tim and Kathy for their unwavering support during this degree, and all my others. To my partner Stephen, for all the time you spent carefully listening to me talk about my research and for supporting me emotionally through this process.

Finally, I would like to thank my fellow students who have become great friends. You have provided me with so much emotional and intellectual support through this process, and have helped me in countless other ways.

Table of Contents

Abstract / i

Foreword / iii

Acknowledgements / iv

List of Figures / vi

Introduction: The Green Line Park Proposal / 1

Chapter One: Placing the Green Line within the post-industrial parks movement / 3

1.1. “Cracks”, adaptive re-use and planning marginal spaces / 9

1.2. The paradox of ecological restoration: Environmental justice or environmental gentrification / 11

1.3. Sustainability and the mainstream environmental movement / 15

Chapter two: Mapping the landscapes of the Green Line / 17

2.1. Landscape, power and definitions of space / 17

2.2. The Hydro Corridor: Connecting changing and evolving landscapes of deindustrialization / 20

2.3. Plans and Policies: Creating accidental green space / 41

Chapter Three: Unpacking the planning process for the Green Line / 46

3.1. The Green Line Ideas Competition: Establishing Community Buy-in and setting the tone for the project / 47

3.2. Park People and Friends of the Green Line: Making Space for Community Participation / 49

3.3. Gathering Support and Changing Perceptions: Using Arts and Culture to Animate the Green Line / 51

3.4. Media and Public Speaking: Drawing attention to the project and getting public support / 55

3.5. Ward Divisions and political ambivalence: political challenges to the project / 56

3.6. Safety and health concerns on the Green Line / 58

3.7. Ecologies and Sustainability: Promoting the Green Line from a health perspective / 59

3.8. Park-land dedication funds and section 37: Funding the Green Line / 60

3.9. Deindustrialization and the slow process of gentrification / 61

Chapter Four: From Gentrification to Justice, incorporating the right to the city into the planning practice for the Green Line / 66

4.1. The Friends of the Green Line: Creating an exclusionary planning practice / 69

4.2. Connecting the Green Line to environmental gentrification and neoliberal urban development processes in Toronto / 76

4.3. Just Sustainability: Planning in the middle of the mainstream sustainability movement and environmental justice / 83

4.4. The possibilities of designing and planning the Green Line through environmental justice and the right to the city / 85

Conclusion & recommendations for the Green Line park proposal / 88

Works Cited / 92

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the Green Line / 1

Figure 2: Detailed map of the Green Line / 19

Figure 3: Start of the Green Line, Lansdowne and Davenport / 21

Figure 4: Canada Foundry at the intersection of Lansdowne and Davenport in 1916 / 22

Figure 5: Heritage building on former Canada Foundry lot / 23

Figure 6: Former site of Canada Foundry / 24

Figure 7: Beaver Lightbourn Parkette / 26

Figure 8: Townhouse proposal across from Beaver Lightbourn Parkette / 26

Figure 9: An auto body shop next to house, showing mix of uses on Geary Ave / 27

Figure 10: Building on Geary Ave with features of a "main street" building / 28

Figure 11: Dovercourt at rail crossing, looking north to Geary, 1912 / 29

Figure 12: Fire Insurance map of North Dovercourt, 1890 / 29

Figure 13: Empty lot under hydro corridor on Geary Ave / 30

Figure 14: Vacant building on Geary Ave. with graffiti / 31

Figure 15: Artist studios on Geary Ave / 32

Figure 16: Unmaintained sports equipment in Geary Avenue Parkette / 33

Figure 17: Edge of park at Ossington and Geary Ave / 34

Figure 18: Edge of Geary Avenue Parkette at Geary and Westmoreland Ave / 35

Figure 19: Edge of Geary Avenue Parkette where it meets CP Rail Line / 36

Figure 20: Frankel Lambert Park / 38

Figure 21: Basketball Court at Frankel Lambert Park / 38

Figure 22: East of Christie Street under the hydro corridor leading to the TTC Hillcrest Lot / 39

Figure 23: Area between CP Rail line and TTC Hillcrest Lot / 41

Figure 24: Mural on east side of Dovercourt / 53

Figure 25: Ecologies Walking Tour stop at Frankel Lambert Community Garden / 54

Figure 26: End of Green Line at Spadina and Bloor / 57

Introduction: The Green Line Park Proposal

The hydro line that runs through downtown Toronto between the intersection of Macpherson and Dupont to Lansdowne and Davenport carves a path of nature within an area of the city dominated by dense housing developments, infrastructure and industry. The hydro corridor connects de-industrializing neighbourhoods, middle and working class residential neighbourhoods, long term care residences, Toronto Community Housing, residential co-ops, community gardens and TTC maintenance facilities. It acts as an informal short-cut through the city, a refuge for animals, space for the homeless and sex workers, a dog-run and public parks. This is the setting that inspired the idea for the Green Line, a proposal for a five kilometer park and trail network that will occupy the land under the hydro corridor.

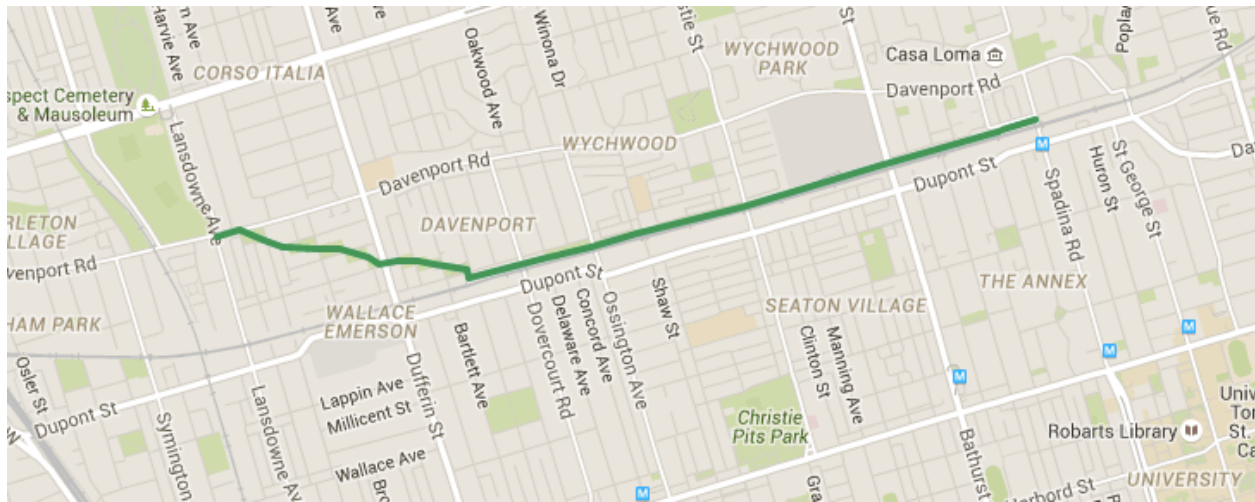


Figure 1: Map of the Green Line. Source: Nicole Beuglet, based on Google Maps.

The Green Line proposal aims to transform the hydro corridor from a series of, what have been described as underused, neglected, aesthetically displeasing green spaces into a sustainable naturalized park that incorporates both arts and culture, connecting diverse neighbourhoods and further animating and beautifying existing parks in the hydro corridor. The project is largely driven by community members with the support of Park People, a local not-for-profit that leads the planning and community-engagement for the project.

The Green Line is an example of a recent trend in North America of turning fringe lands surrounding infrastructure or post-industrial spaces into sustainable parks. The most popular and often cited example of this is the High Line Park in New York city that transformed a decommissioned elevated rail line into a sustainable park. Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) conceptualizes unused fringe lands as “cracks” that have unrealized potential to become key sustainable public spaces, as they are undeveloped spaces within dense urban areas lacking green space and other community amenities.

Redesigning ‘cracks’ into parks or green space has become the touchstone of progressive planning, lauded for its forward looking sustainable designs, health and social benefits, public art and cultural place-making, design innovation and adaptive reuse (Foster, 2010). This trend in park design has occurred alongside re-urbanization and gentrification of post-industrial neighbourhoods under neoliberal governance which challenges positive aspects of the projects and connects parks to environmental gentrification (Lehrer, 2009, Checker, 2011). “Cracks” are often found in marginalized communities, and the projects commonly employ methods similar to that of the environmental justice movement to promote and plan for the park space. This paper examines the planning process for the Green Line, investigating the quality of sustainability, specifically relating to components of justice. Using the concept of the right to the city, I conclude the paper with a set of recommendations that would incorporate justice into the planning process for the Green Line. Some of these recommendations include: create specific positions on the Friends of the Green Line and the Green Line working group for members of all the neighbourhoods that touch the Green Line, plan events with the residents living in Toronto Community Housing and the Fred Dowling Co-Op Housing, plan design charrettes with the most marginalized residents living along the Green Line, extend funding opportunities for parks near

TCH residents, actively invite community members to meetings and events by going door to door, or networking with the resident representatives and co-op board members create an accessibility and equity sub committee of the Friends of the Green Line, and explore the possibility of creating jobs for local residents in relation to the Green Line.

Chapter One: Placing the Green Line within the post-industrial parks movement

The Green Line is part of a broader movement in North America of turning urban post-industrial spaces into parks. As Toronto experiences increasing density and population growth in central areas, underperforming infrastructure or post-industrial sites are increasingly considered sites for new green spaces, where these lands were once viewed as unusable and derelict (Kirkwood, 2001). This is especially the case as traditional, undeveloped green space becomes less and less available and the value of centrally located land increases. Further the increased density in Toronto means that there is an increased need for park land to provide necessary outdoor space for communities that live in apartments or condominiums. Park space is also needed to perform a wider variety of functions than simply green space, ranging in use from programmable community space to providing ecosystem services, such as air pollution filtering, storm water runoff retention, and animal habitat (Park People, 2015).

While the Green Line is unique to Toronto, the project draws on other park designs that have reused infrastructure to provide green spaces in cities. The High Line Park in New York City is the most referenced example of this design trend (Foster, 2010). However, both the Green Line and the High Line Park fall within a broader movement of turning former rail way infrastructure into park and trail networks. The success of the High Line Park has made it a pop culture icon, representative of the movement. The Green Line and projects in other cities such as

Miami, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Atlanta have approved or are currently seeking approvals for similar linear parks projects through drawing on the imagery, popularity, cultural benefits and productive economic outcomes of the High Line Park in order to attract communities, developers and local governments to buy into the project proposals (Taylor, 2010).

The High Line Park owes its inspiration to landscape urbanism, an urban design and landscape architecture concept that aims to create a continuous urban fabric through creative re-use of failing urban infrastructure (Waldhiem, 2006). The trend is becoming more popular as more North American cities de-industrialize, however, academics have noted that since the 1800's cities have naturalized, restored and created urban green space from post-industrial sites (Donadieu, 2006). Landscape urbanism incorporates ideas of sustainability into the design of the site as designers aim to improve the functioning of urban ecologies and repurpose sites tuning areas where ecologies have been destroyed and contaminated into naturalized urban green space. The Green Line draws on the principles of landscape urbanism for its design, as the proposal, according to Grdadolnik (2016), aims to reintroduce a neglected landscape back into the fabric of the city through naturalization and sustainable design.

The people behind the Green Line project intentionally draw on the High Line Park for credibility in media interviews, public speaking events and on their website (Green Line, n.d.b). The desires for the Green Line and other projects to imitate the High Line Park speaks to a broader trend in urban planning where the adaptive reuse of "cracks" has become the touchstone of progressive planning (Foster, 2010). The High Line Park is often referenced by other park projects because of its success revitalizing a depressed, post-industrial neighbourhood in central New York City (Taylor, 2010). The redevelopment of post-industrial sites into green space has not historically been the desired option for developers or governments, as post-industrial sites

drain municipal resources, lower the property values of adjacent lands and involve expensive decontamination processes. Because of this, they are often redeveloped into residential or commercial uses that will provide economic gains (De Sousa, 2014). The economic success from the High Line in spurring redevelopment and increasing surrounding real estate values has demonstrated that post-industrial to parks redevelopment is economically viable and the increase in these projects show that these results are desired (Taylor, 2010).

The redevelopment of post-industrial spaces or “cracks” are significant as these spaces are often found in disinvested, deindustrializing and marginalized neighbourhoods. Because of this, “cracks” can function as significant sites for environmental justice as environmental improvements in these spaces can give marginalized communities access to green space and recreational space and a healthier urban environment. Scholars such as Dooling (2009) have been critical of the possibilities of ecological restoration projects, citing how the benefits of these projects are experienced unevenly across urban spaces, often skipping the most marginalized groups (Dooling, 2009). Despite this, under used, ugly, dangerous or restricted sites are celebrated as they are made into accessible, beautiful ecologically rich sites, which can work to hide the inequalities that are produced as part of the work of ecological restoration (Foster, 2010). Further, the restoration of these sites can work to introduce new people to the site, while discouraging others through the regulation and policing of behaviour (Checker, 2011).

Foster (2010) calls for a critical reflection on the often celebrated potentials of ecological restoration in marginal spaces and the need to interrogate the question: “how are urban landscapes socially differentiated through decisions to invest in, create and nurture ecological spaces, particularly post-industrial ones that are “rediscovered” after becoming obsolete?” (Foster, 2010: 318). The right to the city, a concept by Lefebvre, is commonly drawn on to

critically interrogate issues of access and inclusion in various aspects of city life. Foster (2010) and others (Mitchell, 2003, Matilla, 2002, and Harvey, 2008) have drawn on the concept to examine issues of access and inclusion in planning, to design and aesthetics to public spaces. The right to the city is conceptualized as the collective right of all people to participate in shaping the city through a process of collective struggle. The right to the city is not conceptualized as a single right, such as “rights in cities”, rather the right to the city is conceptualized as a right to engage and participate in city building (Marcuse, 2010, 89). Because of this, the right to the city applies to a variety of movements and struggles over space, it is a way to foster solidarity across difference and to make visible the connections between different struggles (Marcuse, 2010). Though this process of struggle, the right to the city can create new spaces and new ways of living that foster heterogeneity and solidarity (Michell, 2003).

The right to the city has been taken up by urban planners as a way to increase equity in the planning process and to promote participatory planning methods, however, Harvey notes that the right to the city is commonly limited to the political and economic elite who hold the power to shape the city in their interests. Mitchell (2003: 18) describes the concentration of the right to the city in the hands of the powerful in this way, “...but the problem with the bourgeois city, the city in which we really live, of course, is that this oeuvre is alienated, and so not so much a site of participation as one of expropriation by a dominant class (and set of economic interests) that is not really interested in making the city a site for the cohabitation of differences. More and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced for us rather than by us.”

Harvey (2008) also makes a connection between a waning right to the city and an increasing amount of the power to shape the city falling in the hands of a few powerful people or institutions to the processes of capitalism. Harvey’s connection brings awareness to the ways that

capitalism is connected to the production of space, particularly under the processes of urbanization. Within this system, space is often divided between spaces of use value and spaces of market value. Market value shapes spaces along their exchange value, what they contribute to the economy, while spaces of use value are valued for their cultural uses, not their exchange value. Harvey (2008) demonstrates that processes of capitalism have a profound affect on access and inclusion through the ways that space is organized and used. In conjunction with this, work on environmental gentrification demonstrates how ecological restoration has become part of the capitalist urban development processes to increase property values, moving these spaces from use value to market value, where they can become highly regulated spaces, where their traditional uses and users are pushed out to make space for the new residents.

Despite the co-opting of the right to the city by powerful corporate interests there are ongoing struggles over space in counter movements that aim to bring about justice, access and inclusion in urban processes. One example of this is the environmental justice movement (Low and Smith, 2006). These movements are significant as they can help to articulate alternative versions of public spaces and create new spaces shaped by marginalized people (Low and Smith, 2006). Further, Mitchell (2003: 35) states, “Representation both demands space and creates space”, demonstrating that representation has more than social implications. The right to the city demonstrates that space is an important element of environmental justice, as access and inclusion to space, and the space for participation is at the heart of the movement. Where environmental justice is struggled over, alternative spaces are created, spaces for heterogeneity.

Spatial justice, a concept explored by Edward Soja (2010) in his book, *Seeking Spatial Justice*. According to Soja (2010: 4) spatial justice examines how space is “actively involved in generating and sustaining inequity, injustice, economic exploitation, racism, sexism and other

forms of expression and discrimination”. Because space is a key element in to the production of inequalities, space is a key element in the production of justice, thus, Soja calls for spatial justice to be included in the ongoing conversations over injustices, ranging from sexism to environmental justice. Soja quotes the UCLA editorial note from the *Critical Planning Journal* entry on spatial justice to describe the significance of space in producing in/justices. The editorial note states,

“Understanding that space - like justice - is never simply handed out or given, that both are socially produced, experienced, and contested on constantly shifting social, political, economic and geographical terrains, means that justice - if it is to be concretely achieved, experienced and reproduced - must be engaged on spatial as well as social terms. Thus, those vested with the power to produce the physical spaces we inhabit through development, investment, planning - as well as through grassroots embodied activisms - are likewise vested with the power to perpetuate injustices and/or create just spaces... What a just space looks like is necessarily kept open, but must be rooted in active negotiation of multiple publics, in search of productive ways to build solidarity across difference (Soja, 2010: 28 UCLA Journal 2007).”

This quote examines how spatial justice is struggled over, and created through the right to the city. They further demonstrate that space, while having a geographical base, is socially produced and that planners, and activists have the power and responsibility to build spatial justice through participation, creating space for negotiation and working through difference to create solidarity. The right to the city complements the key tenants of environmental justice, and

I will use the framework of the right to the city to examine the issues of access and inclusion as they apply to the Green Line proposal.

1.1 “Cracks”, adaptive re-use and planning marginal spaces

“Cracks” require unconventional planning methods because these spaces have created physical and social divisions in urban spaces and are often found in marginalized neighbourhoods.

“Cracks” were formed through the conventional urban development processes that laid infrastructure to foster urban growth and development under capitalism (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996). Much of this development has been done through the modernist planning paradigm that has had little regard for the communities that surround infrastructure projects (Sandercock, 1998). These communities were often destroyed to make room for city building projects.

Because of this planning history Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) states that ‘cracks’ should be developed through collaborative design which can empower the users of the site through giving them the control over to change their urban environments.

Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) emphasizes the importance of moving away from the modernist planning model in order to plan in a more socially just way. Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) states that working through collaborative design can trigger a larger spatial dialectic where communities work through conflict together, moving toward a planning process that can empower communities with decision making. Further, collaborative design is important because meaningful spaces can arise out of conflicts through a process where stakeholders are engaged in actively shaping the space. Because many ‘cracks’ are found in marginalized communities, it is important to plan these spaces with sensitivity to the history of disenfranchisement these communities have experienced as the result of urban planning (Sandercock, 1998). This history

has been brought to light by the activism of environmental justice where communities have demonstrated the connection between urban planning and race and class, by bringing attention to the ways that people of colour and poor people experience urban environments differently (Pellow, 2000). A major example of this has been the placement of waste disposal sites in racialized and/or poor communities (Gosine, and Teelucksingh, 2008).

Planning “cracks” is challenging as they require unconventional thinking and strong community support to get completed along side often expensive infrastructure implementation, political will and creative planning tools such as rezoning, leasing contracts, and combining multiple departments and wards on a single project (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Because of this, typical planning methods do not apply, and the High Line and projects like it have adopted more community based planning methods to complete the project. The Green Line, and other projects that fall within this trend of park design often appropriate the discourse and methods of environmental justice to complete projects by promoting it as environmentally sustainable and community-based. Borrowing the discourse of sustainability, emphasizing the project as benefitting the three pillars of sustainability (economic, social and environmental) establishes both community and political support for the projects. According to Checker (2011) the rhetoric of sustainability is strategically used in these projects to avoid conflict because sustainability is viewed as politically neutral, as it considered to enhance the quality of life for all residents. The use of sustainability in this way reflects the broader trend towards to the “postpolitical” by governments (Checker, 2011).

The postpolitical refers to a mode of governance that avoids conflictual politics by referring to the expertise of technocrats who make decisions on behalf of the public good without bringing decisions into the public realm (Checker, 2011). According to Checker (2011: 214),

post-politics are the “...technocratic management and consensual policy-making which disallow spaces for conflictual politics and the imagining of alternative modes of governance”. Further, Checker draws on Eric Swyngedouw (2007) to explain how the postpolitical functions in relation to environmental issues. Swyngedouw states that when environmental issues arise, the postpolitical works to solve the problem, “through compromise, and the production of consensus” (2007: 26). Further, Swyngedouw (2007) states that in the current form of liberalism, it is assumed that measures toward sustainability are necessary, and that debates are then focused on the best technologies for environmental solutions. The postpolitical works to serve neoliberal interests by allowing a retracting of the state by placing decision making into the hands of technocrats and out of the public realm where debates are limited. By avoiding conflict the postpolitical rhetoric of sustainability pushes aside conversations of injustice.

1.2 The paradox of ecological restoration: Environmental justice or environmental gentrification.

My analysis explores how projects like the Green Line fall into a postpolitical rhetoric of sustainability, which inhibits the ability for these projects to achieve social and environmental justice for the communities that live around the changing sites. By removing the component of justice from the project, the project can become part of the neoliberal urban development process. When ecological restoration projects or park improvements become part of the urban development process under neoliberalism they work to gentrify de-industrializing neighbourhoods where improvements to parks attract current or future residents from a different socio-economic class. Without an explicit goal of justice, the Green Line project fails to account for difference and therefor falls short of creating a project for the community that currently lives around the site.

The environmental justice movement has its roots in the civil rights movement that collided with health concerns in 1982 when corporate waste dumping was protested by the majority Black community in Warren County, North Carolina (Agyeman, 2005). The protests led by the community against the dumping of toxic waste is considered the first instance of environmental justice because it brought awareness to the unequal protection and enforcement of environmental law combined with the finding that the majority of commercial toxic waste is found in communities where the majority of residents are people of colour (Agyeman et al, 2009).

Environmental justice brings an equity and justice lens to environmental concerns, often using an intersectional approach to examine environmental issues within a social, historical and geographical context (Agyeman, 2005). Although the movement has roots in the history of environmental racism, a concept used to bring attention to the ways that people of colour are disproportionately exposed to environmental harms, the movement has expanded to include a multi-racial framework to examine how environmental injustices effect a wide range of marginalized people in a variety of social locations including poor white people. An environmental justice perspective highlights how the processes of marginalization and the production of injustices are connected to the environment, and also prompts examination of the context within which environmental justice is active, allowing people to bring attention to the unique ways that environmental injustices occur globally, and examine how environmental injustices are context specific (Agyeman, 2005).

Through taking an intersectional lens of the environment by connecting it to social issues, the environmental justice movement has redefined what environmental issues are, expanding the concept beyond its traditional meaning. Agyeman describes this redefinition in *Sustainable*

Communities and the Challenge of Environmental Justice (2005: 24) as, “The grassroots redefinition of environmental issues to include not only wildlife, recreational, and resources issues but also issues of injustices, equity, and rights gave birth to the environmental justice movement. In so doing, environment became discursively different: it became an issue not just for the Sierra Club, National Wildlife Foundation, and National Audubon Society but also for the civil rights movement. This linkage between a redefined *environment* (“where we live, where we work and where we play”) and a social-justice analysis from the civil rights movement produced the dynamic movement in evidence today”. Through this quote, Agyeman (2005: 24) demonstrates how environmental justice changed the definition of the environment to be more inclusive of social elements of the environment, going beyond wildlife, or nature, to include the urban environments that shape many people’s day to day experiences.

In, “Urban sustainability and environmental justice: evaluating the linkages in public planning/policy discourse” Hamil Pearsall (2010: 570) states that environmental justice, “is often characterized as a struggle against distributional inequity regarding environmental amenities (i.e parks) or disamenities (i.e incinerators) and efforts to increase the access of all populations to environmental decision-making processes.” Pearsall (2010) states that environmental justice is mainly sought through achieving distributional and procedural justice. Distributional justice focuses on how environmental amenities and disamenities are unevenly distributed, critically examining which communities live among environmental disamenities and which communities live with a lack of access to environmental amenities. Because there is a positive connection between health and access to parks, and green space, access to these sites has become an issue of environmental justice, as marginalized communities have a lack of access to green space in urban areas (Wolch, et al., 2014).

Procedural justice is the right of all people to access and participation in the environmental decision making (Walker, 2012). Procedural justice is an import element of environmental justice because the absence of marginalized people from the environmental decision making processes has led to many of the environmental injustices and has further marginalized oppressed groups (Persall, 2010). With the increasing presence of neoliberal governance and the “roll-out” of state responsibilities procedural justice should not be limited to the decision making processes of the state other organizations that do public work, such as public-private partnerships and not-for-profit organizations bare responsibility to procedural justice (Heynen, et al. 2007). Beyond access and inclusion in decision making processes, there are other elements to procedural justice that are needed to reach environmental justice. These include: the availability of data and information on the environment to marginalized communities, access to legal processes to protect environmental rights and challenge environmental decisions and policies, and the inclusion and participation in the scientific research process (Walker, 2012).

Procedural justice and participation in decision making alone will not achieve justice, as Walker (2012) notes, procedural justice should include multiple scales and methods to increase participation in the decision making process. Other scholars such as Fraser (1997) note that exclusionary decision making processes have resulted from broader unequal power relationships that have created the condition for exclusion from decision making processes. Because of this, Walker (2012: 130) proposes that a third component of justice, called “justice as recognition” be added to procedural and distributional justice. Building on Fraser (1997), Walker (2012) argues that misrecognition, for example in the form of stigmatization, have created the social conditions under which acts of environmental justice take place. This is part of a larger issue where patterns

of social norms on who deserves to be included can become institutionalized into the processes of organizations and governments. Exclusive processes are created through exclusive social norms such as linguistic practices and mores that create a dominant culture that fails to recognize and respect difference (Walker, 2012). Certain groups become rendered invisible if they do not fit into dominant social norms and through nonrecognition, become excluded from participation in environmental decision making. Walker (2012) views recognition as a necessary part of environmental justice because environmental justice relies on the ability for people to feel safe and welcomed to participate in decision making.

1.3 Sustainability and the mainstream environmental movement

The mainstream environmental movement has drawn on the tactics, language and issues that the environmental justice movement has developed and created awareness around since the 1980's. However, in most cases the mainstream sustainability movement has included and promoted environmental justice superficially and has not fully integrated the justice movements' goals into policies or programs, often times preventing marginalized communities from achieving either procedural or distributional justice.

The roots of the mainstream environmental movement differs from the environmental justice movement, separating the two in history and geography. The sustainability movement has evolved out of multinational agreements or government initiatives focusing on big-picture issues, while environmental justice evolved out of localized issues within communities and grass-roots activism. Although sustainability is defined as encompassing three pillars of economic, social and ecological sustainability the sustainability movement has typically only focused on the ecological (Gilbert, 2014). Further, sustainability is often employed by the members of the mainstream environmental movement, who are likely professionals in a field related to the

environment, and are often from a different social location than people who participate in the environmental justice movement.

The two movements also differ in methods. In order to meet sustainability targets, the mainstream environmental movement and sustainability experts often use, “deliberative and inclusionary processes and procedures” which include consensus building, negotiation, conflict resolution and citizen’s juries (Agyeman, 2005, 2). Agyeman (2005: 2-3) states that deliberate and inclusionary processes (DIPS) are used to develop a shared vision or goal and to build consensus around that goal from a broad cross section of citizens. DIPS differentiate sustainability organizations from the environmental justice movement, as sustainability organizations or policies use DIPS to determine what they want their communities to look like, and what types of communities they should be striving toward, while the environmental justice movement has mainly reacted against environmental issues in local communities (Agyeman, 2005). Further, DIPS are favoured by multinational corporations because they can sway the process through their economic advantage, knowledge and position of power (Agyeman, 2005).

In *Sustainable Communities and the Challenge of Environmental Justice*, Agyeman (2005) conceptualizes environmental justice and the mainstream environmental movement on separate ends of a continuum, where environmental justice is a framework to investigate issues of race, gender, class and social justice concerns in connection with the environment and sustainability works toward environmental stewardship and ecological sustainability, not taking up issues of justice or equity. Agyeman argues that the two movements have a lot to learn from each other and can benefit from borrowing from each other’s tactics. In order to do this, Agyeman offers the concept of “just sustainability” as a bridge between two movements. Agyeman believes that environmental justice will have to borrow some of the tenants from

sustainability, meanwhile the sustainability movement needs to fully recognize the connection between the environment and equity to achieve sustainability.

I use the distinctions made by Agyeman (2005) and Pearsall (2010) on the key differences between the environmental justice movement and the mainstream sustainability movement to examine how the planning for the Green Line appropriates the language and discourses of environmental justice while leaving out methods for achieving environmental justice through the project. I also consider the key connections that the Green Line makes between the two movements, attempting to make the mainstream sustainability movement more equitable, and how the project can build on and strengthen these connections to create a project that is more in line with environmental justice. The next section examines the details of the planning process for the Green Line to consider how it incorporates environmental justice.

Chapter Two: Mapping the landscapes of the Green Line

2.1 Landscape, power and definitions of space

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the vision for the Green Line, I will deconstruct the various social, ecological, legal, political layers that form the landscapes that the Green Line crosses, in order to contextualize the project within a shifting landscape whose (re)definition is being struggled over. The concept of landscape has various meanings that have changed over time. The term, in its early use, was used to describe the physical shape of the land, often in a rural setting. From there, landscapes became a way to depict the physical form of the land through images, often paintings, where landscapes were “pictures, rather than fact” (Zukin, 1991: 16). In the early modern period in Europe landscapes reflected the power and position of the author, and were often interpreted from positions of power. In this sense, paintings or maps were drawn to reinforce the views of the author. As Zukin (1991: 17) describes, in these cases maps

and drawings of the landscape were used to “distort, obliterate and rearrange geography to serve in the interests of the viewer.”

In its contemporary use, landscape is often used to describe a sociological image, such as the “post-industrial landscape”. According to Zukin (1991: 16), landscapes are, “material and social practices and their symbolic representation”. Further, landscapes represent the, “architecture of social class, gender, and reach relations imposed by powerful institutions.” In this sense, landscape has come to describe the geography of symbolic, social and material relationships. Zukin takes a social view of the landscape to examine how social processes shaped by power which influence the material and social landscapes of cities, however, some scholars take a critical view of how social and ecological processes shaped by power form the landscape.

Foster (2010) argues that the ecological landscape or the environmental landscape is shaped by power, where certain landscapes become valued over others, often relating to aesthetics. In this case, ecologies that do not fit within conventional western environmental aesthetics are not valued socially, and this in turn influences how people design, engage with and value urban ecologies. For example, Hough (2004) criticizes traditionally valued landscape aesthetics that do not allow for ecosystems to effectively function, but rather grasses and flowers are planted and maintained with each season according to aesthetics. Environmental landscapes are socially constructed along lines of value and power, so that how the story constructed of the ecologies and the environment along the Green Line will shape how the landscape is defined, which has an effect on the ecologies on the site. Urban ecologies play an important role in shaping our relationships to nature and our understanding of how ecologies function (Saito, 1998).

Urban spaces can also be thought of as texts, where the built form of the urban landscape acts as a medium that expresses ideology (Balibrea, 2001). Within this process, the urban form communicates a normalized and hegemonic meaning onto space where people live their everyday lives. This meaning making process is infused with power, resulting in a built form that will affirm some community members and alienate others. Because of this, it becomes vital to know and understand what is being built in the city and how it is embedded with normalized and hegemonic meaning, especially where space is contested and is up for redefinition (Balibrea, 2001).

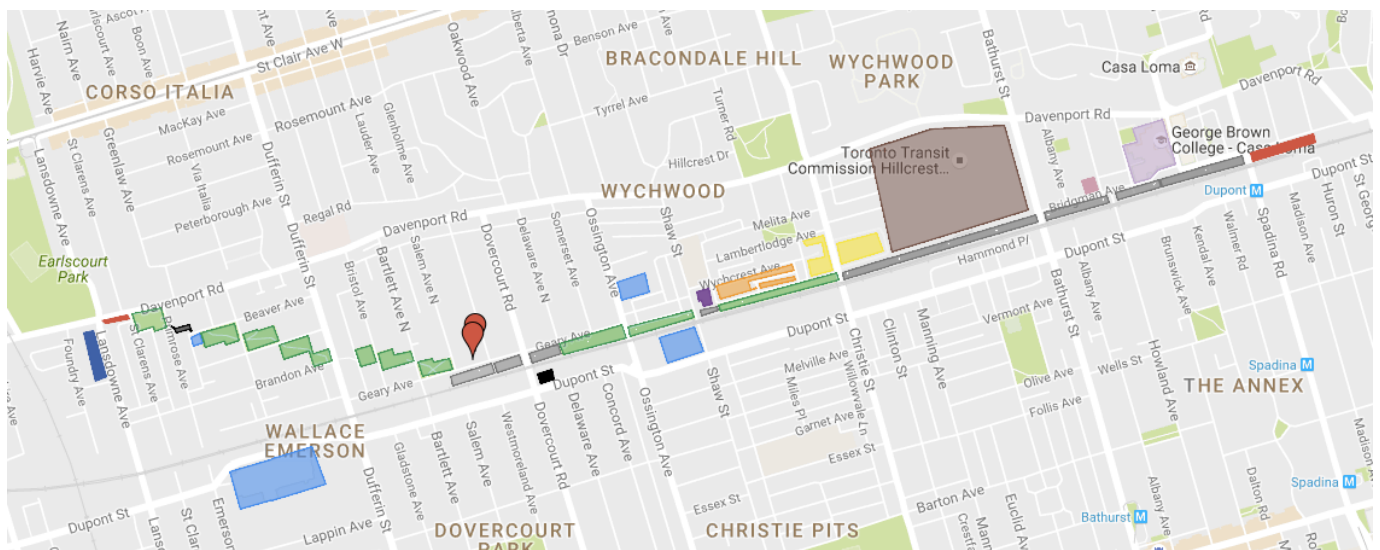


Figure 2: Detailed Map of the Green Line. Source: Nicole Beuglet, based on Google Maps.

Map Legend:

- █ Start and end of Green Line
- █ Foundry Lofts
- █ Existing Parks
- █ Sites with development proposals
- █ Parking lots
- █ Toronto Community Housing: Melia Ave.
- █ Fred Dowling Co-ops
- █ Long term care residences
- █ TTC Hillcrest Lots
- █ Tarragon Theater
- █ George Brown Campus
- █ Bellwoods Brewery
- Pins mark location of Dark Horse Espresso Bar in the Artisan Factory

2.2 The Hydro Corridor: Connecting changing and evolving landscapes of deindustrialization

The Green Line's vision builds on a complex history that has many intersections and layers that are social, political and ecological. These layers construct a landscape that produces meaning embedded in hegemony. The vision for the Green Line draws on these layers of history, representation and ecologies to alter the landscape to redefine how the landscape functions and how it is socially defined. The following is a profile of the social, bio-physical and aesthetic attributes of the Green Line and the neighbourhoods it connects. This description is drawn from a mixed methods study of the landscape that includes interviews, archival research, field experience, participant observation, and an analysis of planning reports by City of Toronto and Park People.

The Green Line falls within an area of Toronto that is undergoing ongoing various transformations connected to a history that is interesting and multi-layered. The areas that surround the hydro corridor, north of the train tracks have experienced significant de-industrialization over the years. Historical aerial photographs show that most of the areas directly north of the hydro corridor was industrial, and the lots under the hydro corridor functioned as factory parking lots (City of Toronto, 1947). Now, the hydro corridor passes through residential neighbourhoods. Some of the neighbourhoods that surround the Green Line are experiencing significant changes that are linked to ongoing urban development processes occurring all over the city. Some of these changes are identified by Lehrer (2009) that include reinvestment, re-urbanization and gentrification of inner-city neighbourhoods, and the use of culture and place-making to attract middle and upper class residents. The Green Line intersects through three main neighbourhoods: Dovercourt Village, Wychwood and the Annex. Each of these neighbourhoods have their own unique histories with ongoing urban processes defining the landscape. The Green

Line is envisioned to have an entrance point just south of Earls court Park at the Lansdowne and Davenport intersection. In this section, the hydro towers begin from their transmission station (2 blocks west of Lansdowne) and run east along Davenport road in a fenced in area between residential buildings and the sidewalk for a short distance, before crossing residential neighbourhoods on a diagonal line.



Figure 3: Start of the Green Line, Lansdowne and Davenport. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

The Lansdowne and Davenport intersection has deep roots in Canadian manufacturing, which are visible today in this newly redeveloped neighbourhood. The Canada Foundry Company historically occupied a significant amount of land in this neighbourhood, stretching from Davenport to Dupont road, along Lansdowne to the railroad tracks to the west. The Canada Foundry Co. operated at this location from 1903 to the early 1980's. The foundry produced much of the steel iron used to build infrastructure projects for the City of Toronto. It produced steel and ironworks for the construction of railway tracks, rail cars and bridges among other smaller steel products such as fire escapes and stair cases (Foundry lofts, n.d).



Figure 4: Canada Foundry at the intersection of Lansdowne and Davenport in 1916. This building is now Foundry Lofts, a boutique heritage condo. Source: City of Toronto Archives. (1916) Lansdowne Avenue south over Davenport Road laying track. Fonds 1231, James Salmon Collection.

The location of the foundry was strategic, as it relied on the close proximity of railway lines to transport products out of the manufacturing plants, and it was located near by feeder factories located along Dupont road (Foundry Lofts, n.d). This area of the city was heavily industrial, and people reported transport trucks moving in and out of the site daily while smoke billowed out of the smokestacks and hovered over the neighbourhood, creating a polluted, loud and unpleasant environment (Foundry Lofts, n.d).

In the 1920's, production in the foundry slowed down when the Canada Foundry Co. was sold to Canadian General Electric, which used the foundry to produce its massive steel electrical transformers. The production of transformers was not as demanding, and production slowed over time. Electrical transformers were constructed here until the 1980's when the foundry officially

closed and sat dormant for nearly 20 years until the land was purchased by architects and transformed into lofts, with plans to turn other buildings into a coffee shop and brew pub (Rainford, 2015).

The Canadian General Electric foundry site transformed from brownfield to residential when, in the early 2000's, roads were constructed through the site opening it for development. The old factories and warehouses have been turned into luxury lofts and boutique businesses, that are scattered around newly constructed townhouses. The redevelopment of the former industrial site started years ago, however, the area continues to see the construction of new condos and townhouses, including a supermarket and a bank, and the highly anticipated Fuze condos at the southern edge of the site (Rainford, 2015).



*Figure 5: Heritage building on former Canada Foundry lot. Building is being restored and turned into a coffee shop and pub.
Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet*



Figure 6: Former site of Canada Foundry. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

The conservation of the Heritage Buildings, along with the push for the redevelopment of the powerhouse into a community amenity has been led by the Davenport Village Community Association that aims to make the area more vibrant. This group has also been responsible for heading some of the Green Line initiatives, including the Green Line Gateway Project that aims to remove the fencing along Davenport road to turn the green areas under the hydro lines into parkettes that would include chess boards, outdoor furniture and a safe pedestrian crossing from Foundry Avenue to Earls court Park (Henneburry, 2016).

The neighbourhood was once described as an industrial wasteland and an area of the city that has been ignored by the development industry, however, this has changed, and is partially

due to the redevelopment of the powerhouse building and the activism of the Davenport Village Community Association. Councillor Cesar Palacio (of the ward that Davenport Village falls within) is quoted saying recently, that “Davenport Village is going through a tremendous transformation as we speak. It has become a jewel in the west end of the city,” (Rainford, 2015). I have observed that the neighbourhood is family friendly, kids roam the streets without parents, and families are often in the large on site park.

Heading south east from Davenport and Lansdowne to Geary and Dovercourt, where the hydro lines connects with the CP rail line, are a series of small parks located under the hydro line. These parks cross through an old Toronto suburb, and this area remains a largely family oriented area, with semi-detached and detached housing forming the dominant housing types. These residential neighbourhoods grew in response to the demand for housing created by industry in the neighbourhood that surround this community. Most of these houses served the working class that worked at Canadian General Electric foundry or at the many smaller factories along Dupont, including an aero plane manufacturer, at Dufferin and Dupont that produced planes for the First World War. After the war, this building was used as to manufacture Dodge automobiles. In the 1970’s the site was redeveloped into the Galleria Mall, which was recently sold to a developer with no known plans for the site, but there is speculation from local residents that the site will be redeveloped into condominiums (The Green Line, 2015). The industrial heritage of the area extends east where a GM Factory was located at Christie and Dupont.



Figure 7: Beaver Lightbourn Parkette. One of the already established parks under the hydro corridor. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet



Figure 8: Townhouse proposal across from Beaver Lightbourn Parkette. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

The landscape further changes when the hydro line connects with the CP rail road tracks around Dovercourt Road and Geary Avenue, stretching all the way to Spading and Dupont where the hydro corridor ends. In the area between Dovercourt and Shaw, the Green Line is no longer formed through the connection of a series of parks. Here, parks are interrupted by businesses, fenced in parking lots, busy intersections. The hydro line is directly next to the rail line here,

with scattered chain link fences separating the two uses. Parks in this area are no longer surrounded by housing, as Geary is composed of a mix of uses, with a distinct presence of light industry and warehouses with a few residences scattered within. Geary Avenue has been called Toronto's ugliest street because of its mixture of uses, architectural styles and public realm (Flack, 2011). Geary was once named "Main Street", reflecting its former use as a main street for the community of Dovercourt, in North York Township, before amalgamation with the City of Toronto (Flack, 2011).



Figure 9: An auto body shop next to house, showing mix of uses on Geary Ave. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

In the late 1880's to early 1900's Dovercourt was a small suburb located north of the CP rail line that was surrounded by a small rural community. Fire insurance maps from that time show a sparsely populated area, with only a few buildings along Main street (Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, 1890). Before the hydro corridor was constructed, maps from 1903 shows buildings scattered on both side of Main street, with a coal yard backing onto the rail way

line. When the community of Dovercourt was amalgamated into the City of Toronto the name of Main Street was changed to Geary Avenue. This was around the time that the hydro corridor was constructed (Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, 1913). After 1913, the area grew considerably around the hydro corridor, likely as a result of the expansion of the electrical grid. In the City of Toronto Directory from 1919, Geary Avenue hosted a variety of small businesses that one would find on a typical main street in a small community. Geary hosted a “Chinese Laundry”, grocery store, dry goods wholesaler, tobacconist, hardware, butcher shop, post office, shoe store, barber, lumber shop, wood workers, and a flour and feed shop (Might Directories Ltd., 1919).



Figure 10: Building on Geary Ave with features of a "main street" building. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, f1231_it1367

Figure 11: Dovercourt at rail crossing, looking north to Geary, 1912. Source: City of Toronto Archives. (1912). Dovercourt Road - Dupont Street crossing looking north. Fonds 1231, James Salmon Collection.

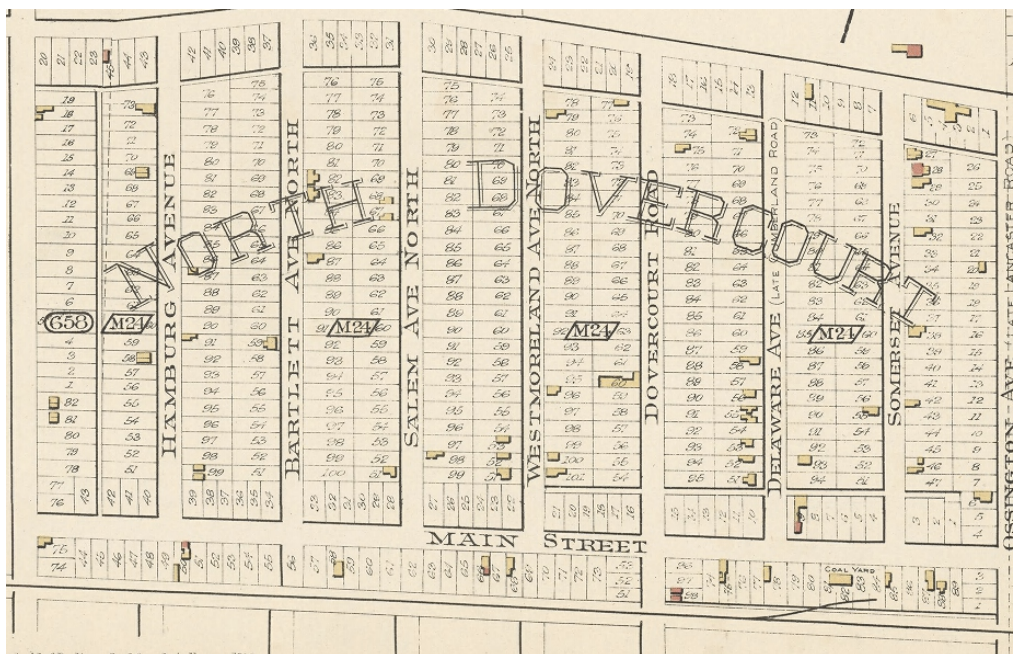


Figure 12: Fire Insurance map of North Dovercourt, 1890. Main Street is now Geary Ave. Note the coal yard located near Ossington. Source: Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, 1890.

Although in the center of Toronto, Geary Avenue is isolated, causing it to feel far from the day-to-day city life. The distance is predominantly caused by the dead end and the CP rail line, which acts as a physical and psychological barrier to Geary Ave. The industrial aesthetic and function of the neighbourhood also contributes to the feeling of isolation, as the majority of activity on the street is connected to industry, and because so few people live there, the street is virtually empty at night. The slow process of deindustrialization, and the changing character of the street give Geary a distinct and unique character, and has left this part of the Green Line disinvested in economically, socially and culturally. Disinvestment is demonstrated in the cracking sidewalks, broken fences, and parks in poor quality.



Figure 13: Empty lot under hydro corridor on Geary Ave. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

The isolation of Geary has also been a defining characteristic in attracting illegal activities to that area. The train tracks, wild growth, and poor lighting hid illicit activities from taking place along the train tracks (such as drug use and distribution, prostitution, illegal

dumping and drag racing down the avenue) contribute to this character. The isolation of Geary has attracted businesses that rely on the isolation and inexpensive rents. Production and rehearsal space on Geary is becoming popular and some of these spaces have been turned into clubs or party spaces. There is also an emerging presence of small, local business that produce handmade goods like furniture, art or beer. Geary contrasts with other neighbourhoods in Toronto that have moved from industry to arts spaces, like the Distillery District, as the street has maintained its “gritty” aesthetic, giving it a more authentic feeling to the artists, makers, beer breweries, the punk bands and that practice there and the electronic music artists that perform underground intimate shows there.



Figure 14: Vacant building on Geary Ave. with graffiti. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

Despite the increasing presence of artist studios and music venues in the neighbourhood, and as more open, like the highly anticipated move of Bellwoods Brewery and the recent move of Dark Horse Espresso to the street, Geary Avenue has resisted the typical narrative of

gentrification that follows cultural revitalization, as the street has yet to completely gentrify. One possibility is that the street lacks the “renovation-ready store fronts” that other gentrified neighbourhoods had and that “Geary’s raw streetscape can’t be so easily scrubbed up into the sort of high-end, stroller-friendly retail promenade that has revived neighbourhoods from Leslieville to the Junction” (Berman, 2015). People who frequent the neighbourhood or live there state that the neighbourhood can feel unsafe at night, which discourages the presence of pedestrians and especially women after dark. Geary is also a difficult environment for pedestrians, as they have to illegally cross Dufferin or Ossington to get to the street, and these are busy, dangerous intersections for pedestrians. The unfriendly pedestrian environment has prevented the foot traffic necessary for the high-end retail spaces that come with gentrification. The businesses on Geary also rely on automobiles as part of their business practices, for loading, unloading and spaces for servicing and maintenance and parking are important features of this street.



Figure 15: Artist studios on Geary Ave. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

Despite the evidence of gentrification slowly creeping in on Geary, the surrounding neighbourhoods have seen significant changes and redevelopment. Much of this redevelopment is slated to happen on Dupont, running parallel to both Geary and the Green Line, where formerly industrial and employment lands are being redeveloped into mixed-use areas. The neighbourhoods between Geary and Davenport have historically been typified as a working class neighbourhoods (Levkoe, 2016). A neighbourhood resident and organizer for a community garden in the neighbourhood noted that the neighbourhood was not necessarily poor, however it could be classified as a low-income neighbourhood. However, this area has recently seen reinvestment, as more people and commercial amenities are moving onto the street. This is occurring along side shifting demographics toward younger families (Walk the Line Presentation: Culture, 2016) and increasing property values, giving a nod toward gentrification (Levkoe, 2016). Housing prices in this neighbourhood have nearly doubled in the last 8 years, averaging 360,000 in 2008, rising to an average of 660,000 in 2015 (Manza and McGovern, 2015).



Figure 16: Unmaintained sports equipment in Geary Avenue Parkette. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

The green spaces under the hydro corridor along Geary Ave. are neglected and underused, and some of the green spaces are fenced off. Fenced off areas most likely contain toxins in the soil that have yet to be treated (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Areal photographs from the 1970's to 1980's show that the majority of the spaces under the hydro corridor were used as parking lots, which could have caused the contamination (reference archives). In some of these areas the fencing is cut, removed or low, so that access to the green space is easy and people use it, mostly for walking dogs. The parks here have a noticeable presence of litter and the play equipment for children looks worn down and in need of repair. The community has been actively attempting to clean the parks here with an instillation of benches and landscaping and community clean up days (Lorinc, 2012).



Figure 17: Edge of park at Ossington and Geary Ave. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet



Figure 18: Edge of Geary Avenue Parkette at Geary and Westmoreland Ave. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

The edge of the parks along the rail line grow wild, however, this growth is trimmed where the CP property ends and the Hydro One lands begin. In the summer, the growth is thick and appears wild and unkept, blocking the view of the train and the graffiti on the backs of the buildings on Dupont street. The unmaintained growth lining the rail line contributes to a neglected or wild feeling in this area, as the vegetation looks unmaintained, the opposite of many people's experiences with nature in an urban setting. The vegetation also hides many illegal activities that take place on the rail line. Prominent plant species found in this area include: Manitoba Maple, sumac, Virginia creeper (*parthenocissus quincefolia*), and *Betula nigra* river birch (Spring, 2016).



Figure 19: Edge of Geary Avenue Parkette where it meets CP Rail Line. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

Heading further east, the green space under the hydro line continues to change with the neighbourhoods it crosses through. From Ossington to Shaw, Garrison Creek park, a long and narrow park that backs onto detached and semi-detached housing, occupies the space under the hydro line. From Shaw to Christie, the hydro corridor shelters the Frankel Lambert park, which faces a mix of affordable apartment units managed by the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, Fred Dowling Co-Op Housing and market rate townhouses. Garrison Creek Park and Frankel Lambert park are noticeably different than the parks under the hydro corridor on Geary. They are in better condition and are more used by the communities that surround them. I have noticed a distinct presence of people of colour from various backgrounds using the Frankel Lambert park.

The Garrison Creek Park is located at the former headwaters for the Garrison Creek. Garrison Creek ran from St. Clair West and Dufferin south east to Fort York. In the 1800's land in this area was cleared and developed into estates and farming communities. Garrison Creek soon became polluted with sewage and waste from the dense settlements that surrounded it and in the early 1900's the City began to bury the creek in order to create sewers. By the 1920's the creek was entirely buried (Lost Rivers, n.d). The history of Garrison Creek isn't evident in the park today, aside from the uneven topography that gives hints to a former river. The park backs onto the thick vegetation that runs along the CP rail line, giving the park a wooded, green secluded feeling. The community garden is run by a small group of residents and families can be found gardening here into the fall season.

The Frankel Lambert park is the most used park I've observed along the Green Line. The park is located across from a dense neighbourhood, consisting of social housing, co-ops and market rate housing. On each of my visits there are groups children playing under the watch of parents or older siblings, or youth playing basketball. Many of the people I have observed using the park are racialized people of colour. This neighbourhood has the highest percentage of Black residents, compared with the other neighbourhoods the Green Line passes through (City of Toronto, 2011). The park features some interactive play equipment and sports equipment, such as a basketball court. This section of the Green Line also stands out for its thick wall that separates the park from the train tracks. The wall features a large painted mural depicting various diverse portraits, reflecting the diversity found in this neighbourhood. To the eastern end of the park is another community garden that has raised beds that make the plots more accessible for the elderly people that garden there that live close by at two of the senior care centers. Garrison Creek Park and Frankel Lambert park are separated by Shaw street (a street with no pedestrian

crossings north of Dupont) and a fenced in parking lot. There are desire lines here that lead to a low fence that is easy to cross, demonstrating that people cross here often.



Figure 20: Frankel Lambert park. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.



Figure 21: Basketball Court at Frankel Lambert Park. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet

Further east, heading into the Annex, is the more challenging part of the Green Line for acquiring park land, as most of the land is locked into long term leases for parking lots, that serve the various businesses in the area, such as the TTC Hillcrest Lot, Tarragon Theatre and George Brown Campus. In this area, there are no previously existing parks like in other areas of the Green Line. These parking lots serve the TTC Hillcrest Service Lot, the Tarragon Theatre and the George Brown College Campus. The parking lots here are heavily used so their transition to full park land is not currently up for consideration. Rather, it is in the plans for the short term with temporary public realm improvements planned. The Annex is distinct from other areas, as there are no residences that back directly onto the hydro corridor, there are no parks, and much of it is occupied with other uses. Warehouses, loading areas, the rears of buildings form this section of the Green line, creating an intimate space that tricks you into thinking you aren't in the middle of the City anymore. The wild nature of the rail line juxtaposed with the graffiti filled warehouse walls give this area a unique feeling and aesthetic.



Figure 22: East of Christie Street under the hydro corridor leading to the TTC Hillcrest Lot. Area between Castlevue Wychood Towers Retirement home (left) and parking lot (right). Source: Nicole Beuglet.

The train tracks are a dominant feature in the eastern part of the Green Line that form a physical and social barrier between the north and south ends of the city. The train tracks divide, restrict and regulate movement across the train tracks through policies, regulations and safety measures such as fences. The fears that surround moving trains, as well as the physical barriers to crossing them such as viaducts and fencing create a barrier that is both physical and psychological as people develop an exaggerated sense of separation and distance through these barriers and policies, where people avoid crossing them. The train tracks also act as an informal and illegal transportation network. Train tracks can also decrease real estate values on the land that surrounds them, which is one of the reasons why industrial uses have formed on either side of the CP rail line. Because of this, housing prices that are located near train tracks are lower, which many people in low-income circumstances can afford. Though these residences might be more affordable, it is the low-income residents that have to deal with the negative externalities associated with the rail line.

The hydro corridor has a similar effect as the rail line, where people have developed real and perceived fears that affect how the spaces that surround the electrical transmission towers are viewed and used physically. Hydro towers are viewed by many as aesthetically displeasing and people view them as dangerous and having negative health consequences (Priestley and Evans, 1996). Some people are afraid of walking under the hydro line for fears of crossing a downed line while others fear the negative health consequences of the electric magnetic field that emanates from them. Because of this, people may avoid living around them and spend little time being physically around them. Research has also shown that people view the hydro lines as aesthetically displeasing and that they negatively impact their neighbourhoods. Like the case with rail lines, hydro lines can negatively affect property values, so that people in low-income

circumstances more commonly live around them, and thus they have to deal with the negative externalities associated with them, even if it is just the aesthetic quality of their neighbourhood.



Figure 23: Area between CP Rail line (left) and TTC Hillcrest Lot (right). Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

2.3 Plans and Policies: Creating accidental green space

This section examines the plans and policies surrounding the infrastructure that the Green Line is planned around. These plans and policies overlap and have carved out the space that the Green Line will function within. Information in this sections is gathered through planning documents, planning reports and interviews with planners and people involved on the Green Line project. Included in this section are also the plans and policies connected with obtaining and maintaining park land in the City of Toronto along side an overview of the municipal politics that overlook the project. The plans and policies outline how the space required under and around the hydro

corridor and along side the rail line to maintain safety and a right of way have accidentally created green space in a dense and slowly deindustrializing neighbourhood.

The rail and hydro lines have multiple overlapping layers of policies, regulations and politics that shape the space. The most significant regulation that relates to the rail line is the 30 metre set back required by city by-laws (Railway Association of Canada and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2013). These by-laws state that any development must be set back 30 meters from the rail line. Currently, this by-law is only in effect along the north side of Dupont, which is the south side of the rail way line. If this set back was placed along the north side of the rail way line than the entire area that makes up the Green Line along the rail line would be effected. These policies and regulations are aimed at keeping people safe, but have the effect of regulating actions to accommodate dangerous industries in a dense urban neighbourhood. The CP rail line that runs parallel to Dupont is considered to be a critical piece of the CP rial network as it transports materials through the downtown core of Toronto. This rail line is heavily used, it sees 35-40 trains per day with around 125 cars on each train (City of Toronto, 2014). Some of these trains carry hazardous materials, and because the train travels through such a dense area, extra precaution has to be taken into account when planning around the rail line.

The hydro line also has its own set of policies and regulations aimed at safety precautions and maintaining right of way. Combined with issues over landownership and leasing, these layers shape and restrict uses near the line while encouraging others. Infrastructure Ontario (IO) owns the hydro corridor lands and oversees Hydro One who is responsible for operating the functioning of the transmissions (HydroOne, n.d). IO has a program in place to facilitate and encourage the leasing of it's corridor lands through its "secondary use" program. In this program, public or private entities can lease land under hydro corridors from IO while IO maintains

primary use of the land for transmission (HydroOne, n.d). In this program, IO privileges public multi-use linear parks for the hydro lands, but will also lease to private companies for other uses such as parking lots, open storage and agriculture. While, IO encourages multi-use public space within its hydro corridors, the land remains highly regulated in terms of what can be built and installed under the hydro lines. Because of this, parks within hydro corridors are often limited to mowed grass and not always the most aesthetically pleasing, although these spaces function really well as trails and green spaces in what are often dense urban areas.

Parks policies and city budgets also shape the Green Line in its current iteration and will affect the process of moving forward with the vision for the park. Right now the Green Line has 9 officially designated parks on land leased from Infrastructure Ontario. The neighbourhoods that the Green Line Crosses through are designated low in park land by the City of Toronto, and the parks here need improvements, despite this, the city has stalled in leasing the remaining hydro corridor lands along the Green Line, while other spaces are locked into ongoing leases with businesses along the hydro corridor (Tobin Garrett, 2016).

Leasing land for parks in Toronto is complicated because provincial guidelines for parks acquisition prevent the City from using park funds to lease land. Therefore, money for park leases come out of the already stressed City budget. If the land being considered for lease requires remediation, it adds another layer of complication, because that funding would also have to come from the City budget, and the city does not want to lease land it has to clean up (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Because of the history of industry and the former parking lots that occupied the land under the hydro corridor remediation is necessary to complete the Green Line, making the current parks funding system in Ontario a challenge to the project (Mihevc, 2016).

Political boundaries and the ward system are another socio-political layer that shapes the geography of the neighbourhoods that surround the Green Line. The Green Line crosses three separate ward boundaries, making the coordination of the project difficult (Mihevc, 2016). This is an issue because it divides a project into multiple parts where the project is attempting to create a single amenity. On top of this, these wards have not seen the same level of development as the southern wards, or some wards to the north. The lack of development in the wards north of the train tracks that the Green Line crosses creates a challenge for the project, because development bonuses through section 37 of the Planning Act could be used to fund the project (McKinnon, 2016). However, the proximity of the project to Dupont will benefit the residents living in those wards. For example, there are many development applications for Dupont, such as the Galleria Mall redevelopment and the Sobey's redevelopment on Christie and Dupont. Both of these major redevelopments are occurring south of the Green Line, however, The Green Line will be the closest park (McKinnon, 2016).

The redevelopment for Dupont is planned in the Dupont Street Regeneration Study, initiated by the City of Toronto (2014) for the area between Ossington and Kendal, which has been identified as a site for future intensification and increased density in the Official Plan. Regeneration Area is a designation given in the Official Plan to an area where major physical changes are anticipated to take place (City of Toronto, 2014). The Study is to guide the redevelopment of this area focusing especially on improvements to the public realm, as more people move to the area. This is significant for this area as it is moving away from being the "industrial belt" to the downtown core of Toronto to a mixed-use retail, office institutional and residential space (City of Toronto, 2014). Dupont between Ossington and Kendal has experienced a wave of deindustrialization and is now seeing an increase in retail and service

firms, offices and institutions (City of Toronto, 2014). The physical layout of the area which is made up of a high number of one story buildings surrounded by large parking lots has left a lot of physical space open to redevelopment (City of Toronto, 2014). The Dupont Area Regeneration Study has identified a need for an improved public realm, which is prioritized in the plan. The Dupont Regeneration Study is significant for the Green Line because it identifies the project as part of the Official Plan which is the first step in the city pushing the project forward.

The redevelopment of Dupont makes the Green Line an important public amenity and green space for the influx of people that will be moving to the area. The Dupont Regeneration Study recommends a study by the Parks, Recreation and Forestry Department on the feasibility of obtaining the lands under the hydro corridor from Christie to Spadina for the Green Line trail and the report identifies the Green Line as a priority to receive money collected from the cash-in-lieu of parkland legislation, and section 37 density bonuses, demonstrating the necessity of the park to the redevelopment. Depending on the feasibility, and when the leases are available, the report states that leasing the land from Hydro One will be recommended to city stand as it becomes available. Finally, the Dupont Regeneration Study stated that the Green Line has received “numerous comments” on the importance of the park to this area, showing that despite the ward boundaries and the rail road track barriers, the Green Line will function as a vital trail and green space for the ongoing intensification and increased density connected to the development along Dupont.

The ecological, physical, social, political layers outlined in this section only give a glimpse into the landscape that surrounds the Green Line from my perspective as a researcher, and the landscape as it is experienced in the everyday lives of the people who live around it will

have differences. The purpose of outlining the broader historical socio-political and environmental layers that shape the space is to place the Green Line within the context of a shifting landscape as the layers outlined reveal the interconnection of various waves of investment, disinvestment, reinvestment in de-industrializing area. All of these layers come together to form a complex space where people will have a variety of perceptions, experiences and understandings of the space, but as Balibrea (2001) states, the built environment will signify act as a text and translate meaning which are embedded with values and power. The values and power embedded in the Green Line will be explored through this research by examining planning process for the Green Line.

Chapter Three: Unpacking the planning process for the Green Line

The Green Line started as an idea when Grdadolnik, a resident and an architect with a firm located in the Davenport neighbourhood was asked to give input on parks improvements for two parks within the hydro corridor (Grdadolnik, 2016). During this consultation, Grdadolnik realized the potential of the hydro corridor to form a network of parks connecting various neighbourhoods and creating an active transportation route. According to Grdadolnik (2016) since its beginning in 2012, the Green Line has set out to deliberately engage in community-based planning (Grdadolnik, 2016). On top of this, many people involved in the project see the park proposal through a lens of equity, citing the importance of the project's ability to create equity by bringing different people together by creating space to encounter difference as the Green Line connects various neighbourhoods of different social and economic bases, and the park proposal will provide low-income communities with green space, increasing access to active recreational space, by improving the overall quality of the environment, and by inviting

community members to participate in the planning process (Mihevc, 2016, McKinnon, 2016). This section will examine the planning process behind the Green Line Park proposal.

3.1 The Green Line Ideas Competition: Establishing Community Buy-in and setting the tone for the project

Although Grdadolnik and her partner at Workshop Architecture came up with the idea for the Green Line, they wanted the project to be community-based in order for the community to create a space that they felt ownership over (Grdadolnik, 2016). In order to get the community excited by the proposal and get involved with the project, Workshop Architecture held an international “ideas” competition in 2012 (Tobin Garrett). The ideas competition invited community members, designers and planners to imagine what the hydro corridor could look like. The ideas would not be built, giving the applicants the ability to create innovative, fantastical designs for the site (Tobin Garrett, 2016). The competition received 77 submissions from all over the world. Ideas proposed in the submissions ranged from practical community gathering spaces and active recreational trails, to more whimsical and playful designs including a butterfly highway and miniature golfing circuit (Canadian Architect, n.d).

The submissions were displayed in a park in the hydro corridor on weather-proof boards for a few days and the community was invited to view. Winners were selected through an anonymous process by a jury composed of Toronto’s leading urbanists (Canadian Architecture, n.d). The design competition was supported by the Ontario Association of Architects and the Canada Council for the Arts (Green Line Ideas Competition, n.d). The competition received positive media coverage. The Toronto Star commented on the ability for the competition to inspire hope in local residents to make the city a better place to live (Hume, 2012) and Lornic (2012), a prominent writer on urban issues wrote an article in the Globe and Mail commenting

on the competition's ability to "... spark the public's imagination and persuade the city to develop a master plan to guide future open-space investments". Workshop Architecture borrowed the idea for a design competition from the Friends of the High Line who used it for a similar purpose to generate attention and excitement and to advocate for the creation of the High Line Park in New York city.

According to Tobin Garrett, planner for Park People, the Green Line ideas competition was, "to raise the profile of the project and solicit some interesting ways to reimagine what the hydro corridor could be" (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Henneburry, a member of the Friends of the Green Line noted that the ideas competition was used to encourage community members to imagine the space in a different way, and to start the project off on a positive note (Henneburry, 2016). The hydro corridor is difficult to imagine as a beautiful interconnected continuous and active green space, so the images produced by the ideas competition helped to create a future vision of the space that could inspire the community to participate in the project. The ideas competition ignited the community behind the proposal because it demonstrated the possible charm and attraction of the Green Line (McKinnon, 2016). Further, the goal of the ideas competition was not to create a prescriptive vision of the space but to encourage the community to think about how they would want to use the space (Tobin Garrett, 2016). This process was to also move the conversation from Grdadolnik's office into the public realm to get the community to engage with the space (Grdadolnik, 2016).

According to Henneburry (2016), the design competition has played a key role in planning for the Green Line as it started an artistic and social based planning process for the corridor (Henneburry, 2016). It has also encouraged the community to "think big" about the project to remain optimistic rather than get bogged down by all the administrative, bureaucratic

and political processes that can and have interfered with the completion of the project (Henneburry, 2016). After the design competition the project sat dormant for a few years until 2014 when Workshop Architecture partnered with Park People to get the project moving and to build community engagement.

3.2 Park People and Friends of the Green Line: Making Space for Community Participation

Park People is an independent charity in Toronto, that started in 2011. According to Tobin Garrett (2016), manager of policy and research at Park People, the organization works to “build stronger communities through animating and improving parks”. Park People does this through supporting and facilitating the creation of “friends” groups, which are community groups centred around a park, that care for the park, plan activities and programming, and act as a “voice” for that park (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Beyond this, Park People also works to educate people on how to improve and animate parks, and they support community engagement in parks through creating “tool kits”, such as how to host a campfire in the park, how to host a movie night in the park. Further, Park People provides targeted help in marginalized communities through providing micro grants for programming or for small improvements in parks as a way to provide more support for underserved communities. The organization also works to enhance parks in Toronto by making policy recommendations and publishing reports that outline park trends for example, the recently published *Making Connections: Planning parks and open space networks in urban neighbourhoods* (Park People, 2015).

The Green Line is the first park that Park People is trying to bring to fruition. Normally, Park People plays a background role animating existing parks. However, in this case, Park People is planning “from both directions”, playing both a leading and supporting role in the

project (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Park People has led the project by forming the Friends of the Green Line in partnership with the Davenport Neighbourhood Association (DNA), Workshop Architecture and the Green Line working group. Green Line working group, made up of smaller group of people, which includes staff members from Park People, the David Suzuki Foundation, Workshop Architecture and members of the DNA (Henneburry, 2016). The Green Line working group meets to collaborate and generate ideas on short term projects to piece together the park and trail. According to the The Davenport Neighbourhood Association's blog (n.d), the DNA is a ratepayers' association that is, "dedicated to the environmental, economic, and social improvement" of the neighbourhood between Ossington and Dufferin and Dupont and Davenport.

Park People supports the Friends of the Green Line's advocacy for the park and trail network, through planning events that animate the space, building a constituency of people to support the project, working with local politicians and the mayor's office, and networking with local businesses, organizations and neighbourhood associations (Tobin Garrett, 2016). According to Tobin Garrett (2016), the Friends of the Green Line was formed to "try to create a venue for people to become engaged in the process", and to create a space "for people to voice their own ideas on what they want the project to be" so that Park People is not creating a prescriptive vision for the park.

After creating the Friends of the Green Line group, Park People began planning for the park by reaching out to the communities around the Green Line by meeting with the various resident associations and Business Improvement Associations that surround the Green Line on either side of the rail line, as well as the businesses that use the hydro corridor for parking, such as Tarragon Theatre, and George Brown Collage (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Park People also

established a relationship with the City Councillors and Members of Parliament for the areas around the Green Line. According to Tobin Garrett, getting support for the project from the community, businesses and politicians and forming the Friends of the Green Line has been an important element in the planning process because the organization wants to ensure the project is “transparent”, because they do not want people, businesses or organizations/community groups to feel “blindsided” by the project (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Tobin Garrett notes that Park People attempts to do this by communicating their vision to the community, while facilitating an open dialogue about the project.

Park People takes a leading role in the project by also creating a “supporters” campaign, where they gather “support” from local businesses and politicians, that they list on their website. Supporters include TD Canada Bank, the Stop, Evergreen, Cycle Toronto, along with political supporters like Councillors Mihevc, Cressy, and Bailão and MPP Cristina Martins (Davenport). They also get support from local businesses that the Green Line would interact with such as George Brown College and Tarragon Theatre (Tobin Garrett, 2016).

3.3 Gathering Support and Changing Perceptions: Using Arts and Culture to Animate the Green Line

In order to gather support for the proposal, Park People and Friends of the Green Line host various events that fall under the general umbrella of arts and culture to build a support base for the project and to get people to actively think about how to use the space differently (Henneburry, 2016). One major way they do this is through hosting “walks” or tours of the hydro corridor to demonstrate the potential of the space as a continuous trail, as the hydro corridor is currently divided by curbs, fencing and busy intersections. Since Park People began planning the park they have hosted a series of walks of the hydro corridor, beginning in the spring of 2014. These have included a “Lost Rivers Green Line walk” that explored the ecological history of

rivers in the area, and an event called the “The Reading Line” in partnership with Book City, where participants cycled the Green Line, stopping along the way to hear readings and talks by local authors (The Reading Line, 2016, Green Line, 2016).

In May of 2015 Friends of the Green Line hosted a “Jane’s Walk” covering most of the corridor that focused on the proposal for the Green Line as a park/trail network, along with a discussion of the histories of the area that the Green Line falls within. In March 2016, Friends of the Green Line hosted a series of three walks along the Green Line, each walk focused on a different theme, including “history”, “culture”, and “ecology” as part of the Myseum Intersections Festival. For part of this festival, the Friends of the Green Line set up information boards at the Toronto Archives that built on the three themes of the walks. In May 2016, Friends of the Green Line hosted another Jane’s Walk focusing on the opportunities and challenges of the Green Line (The Green Line, 2016).

According to Tobin Garrett (2016), the Park People staff member who has been leading the project from their organization, the walking tours are created to bring people to the corridor to walk through the space in order to give them a sense of how the park and trail would feel and function, and to encourage them to view the corridor as a whole, rather than as bits and pieces. Tobin Garrett (2016) also states that activities along the Line are used to generate attention for the project and to create a space where people can contribute ideas on the project while inspiring them to become excited about the possibility of the park. This tactic has also been used by Park People on the Under Gardiner Project, a proposal for a park that would occupy the space under the Gardiner Expressway from Strachan to Spadina Avenue (Simcoe, 2016). McKinnon, who is involved in the Under Gardiner Project, is also a member of the Friends of the Green Line is quoted saying, “Public consultation is about more than just getting people’s feedback. It’s also

about taking people on the journey of planning and development,” in a news article about the importance and possibilities of walking tours in the planning process (Simcoe, 2016).

In the early fall of 2015, Park People, in partnership with the City of Toronto, commissioned a mural by the artists Roadsworth, along the Dovercourt viaduct as the first physical marker for the Green Line. The mural extends on both walls of the viaduct, in various shades of bright greens the mural states “because you’re mine” on one side, and “I walk the Line” on the other. Park People hosted a celebration for the mural project outside the Artisan Factory on Geary Road. The party drew around 150 guests, and pizza was donated by Dark Horse, a cafe/bakery located on Geary Ave. At this event, guests were invited to propose ideas for how the pedestrian bridges would look along the Green Line.



Figure 24: Mural on east side of Dovercourt. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

Park People also partners with community groups that use space in the hydro corridor to host events. In the past they have partnered with the Frankel Lambert Community Garden to throw a Harvest Party, where community garden members gathered over a catered meal with live music. Park People also helped to secure funding to plant a pollinator garden along the edges of the community garden. The Harvest Party was seen as a successful event and a new partnership was formed between Park People and the Frankel Lambert Community Garden. Other events have included annual community clean up days and a Pumpkin Parade in partnership with the DNA (McKinnon, 2016).



Figure 25: Ecologies Walking Tour stop at Frankel Lambert Community Garden. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

3.4 Media and Public Speaking: Drawing attention to the project and getting public support

The events that took place in 2015 were successful in gaining lot of positive media attention (Tobin Garrett, 2016). The project has been featured widely in various media, such as the Toronto Star, Globe and Mail, Dandy Horse Magazine, Spacing Magazine, and the Torontoist. In October 2015 the project was officially endorsed by the Toronto Star along side a special feature that detailed the project (Warren, 2015). The article featured many large colourful images of Grdadolnik and Tobin Garrett on the Green Line (Warren, 2016).

In the media, the project is largely written about as “Toronto’s High Line”, with headlines like, “Will the dream of Toronto’s Green Line ever become a reality? Toronto is starting to take some small steps toward an ambitious plan for a 5 km linear park like New York’s High Line” (Warren, 2015), and “Dreaming of a High Line on Toronto’s Green Line: Design competition seeks ideas for reclaiming a hydro corridor in midtown Toronto (Hume, 2012). The Green Line, though Park People is also active on social media outlets of Facebook and Twitter. They use these platforms to promote events and ongoing progress with the Green Line. Friends of the Green Line also distributes a monthly e-newsletter. Along with media, Park People uses public speaking events to discuss the project and to gain support. Grdadolnik recently spoke on a panel discussion on “what happens when parks are at the heart of neighbourhoods?” at Park People’s annual ‘Park Summit’ conference.

Park People and Friends of the Green Line use media coverage and public speaking events to spread awareness of the project and to gain support for the project from the community and people in the city as a whole. The idea is to include as many people as possible into the conversation of the Green Line. Tobin Garrett (2016) from Park People noted that media coverage and public engagement events help to build support and excitement for the project,

creating a swell of community support that pushes the project forward, gaining the attention of politicians who have the power to make big contributions to the project.

3.5 Ward Divisions and Political Ambivalence: Political Challenges to the project

Park People actively works with politicians to realize the Green Line proposal. Politicians such as City Councillors and the Mayor are needed to advocate for the project at City Hall, to get funds dedicated to the project in the annual budget to attain the leasing for some of the green spaces under the hydro line that are not yet parks and for some of the other pieces of infrastructure that will make the project a success.

Getting Councillors to support the project has not necessarily been an issue for Park People, however getting a single councillor to champion and advocate for the project has been challenging because the Green Line crosses through three city wards and is very closely located to three others. The Green Line passes through Wards 17, 21 and 22. Councillors Mihevc (Ward 21) and Matlow (Ward 22) have expressed support for the project, and are listed as supporters on the website, though Councillor Palacio (Ward 17) has not expressed explicit support for the project. His ambivalence toward the project came up often in my conversations with Friends of the Green Line members, and among participants at the events I attended. Councillor Palacio's ambivalence is in contrast with Councillor Mihevc, who has supported the project and began the planning and designs for a community garden located in the hydro corridor behind the TTC Hillcrest Lots (Mihevc, 2016).

The vision for the Green Line views the hydro corridor as a single amenity, which requires a holistic thinking that the ward system complicates. The differences in what each section needs to complete the Green Line also presents a political challenge, as some areas need more investment than others. For example, east of Christie Street, the land under the hydro

corridor is predominately leased as parking lots and is unavailable for the transformation into Parks, though from Lansdowne to Christie Street, parks are mostly in place under the corridor, and simple connection between them would connect the trails. Despite the support of Councillors Mihevc and Matlow, the project needs a single person or body to oversee the project and get it moving (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Park People has been working with the Mayor's office to try to pull all the pieces together. Although there have been challenges with the political system, city council has approved the funding to obtain the leases for land under the hydro corridor that would help to complete the Green Line (Tobin Garrett, 2016).

The divisive aspects of the Ward system and coordinating the support from multiple Councillors has been the main challenge and hindrance of the project according to Chris McKinnon (2016), a Friends of the Green Line Steering Committee Member. The piecemeal and slow process of planning the Green Line and the big funding needs like pedestrian bridges have made the project a challenge as well (McKinnon, 2016).



Figure 26: End of Green Line at Spadina and Bloor. Parking lot is leased by George Brown College. Source: Photo by Nicole Beuglet.

3.6 Safety and Health Concerns on the Green Line

Another barrier to implementing the proposal is potential toxins in the soil from the historical land uses under the hydro line. As mentioned in the previous section, some areas under the hydro corridor are fenced off because of toxins in the soil, and will need remediation before they are open to public use and dedicated as park land (Mihevc, 2016). The rail line is another safety issue, because it operates in close proximity to the parks that are located east of Dufferin and they carry petroleum and other dangerous materials through a populated area of downtown Toronto (City of Toronto, 2014). In many areas there are no safety barriers between the park space and the rail line, which would help to slow down or stop a derailed train. The city is moving toward protecting the businesses and areas slated for new residential development on the north side of Dupont, south of the rail line with a 30-meter buffer zone. If the 30-meter buffer zone was implemented on the north side of the tracks, the parks that make up the Green Line there would be put in jeopardy.

The hydro lines are another concern as they produce an electric magnetic field that can be harmful to human health. An electric magnetic fields (EMF) study was done by Toronto Public Health who found that EMF does have negative health consequences if people spend a significant amount of time in close proximity to them. However, they concluded that recreational activities in the corridor have physical and social benefits that outweigh the negative effects of the EMF, so they concluded that recreation activities in hydro corridors are permitted (City of Toronto, 2008).

A major safety concern for that the Green Line is planning for are the busy intersections that are dangerous for pedestrians and cyclists. There are currently 7 north-south intersections that cut off the continuous flow for pedestrians and cyclists along the Green Line. These

intersections are roads that travel under the rail lines, and are traveled at often high speeds by motorists. Park People is advocating for elevated pedestrian bridges to create safe and easy passage across busy intersections.

3.7 Ecologies and Sustainability: Promoting the Green Line from a health perspective

Park People and Friends of the Green Line draw on themes of environmental health, human health and sustainability to promote the project. Sustainability and health are listed as the main benefits that the project will provide through increased access to green space (The Green Line, 2016). According to Grdadolnik (2016), the idea for the Green Line emerged out of a desire to make improvements to spaces that were neglected and underused in the hydro corridor, and to improve neighbourhood parks. In 2015, Park People won a Regional Biodiversity Award from the Living City Foundation for the Green Line park proposal for providing “rich biodiversity to one of the most urbanized areas in the city” (The Living City Environmental Dinner, n.d). Further, McKinnon (2016), a member of the Friends of the Green Line noted on our walk through the hydro corridor, the creation of a trail network is cited as another benefit of the project, as this design will create an active transportation corridor and will connect more people to park space, which is linked to increased access to physical activity and nature.

Sustainability was a theme discussed at the “Ecologies” walking tour of the Green Line that I attended in March 2016. This theme had the highest attendance of the three walks in the series. At this event, it was apparent that the environmental benefits of the park are important as the excitement over the increased green space was palpable. Speakers from the David Suzuki Foundation and the Lost Rivers Project spoke about the many benefits of a naturalized green corridor for animals and insects, including pollinators to use as a refuge, and the benefits of a forward looking plan to adapt and reuse infrastructure. The speakers at this event also referenced

the importance of allowing ecological processes to occur on their own, citing the naturalization of the rail way corridor as a positive example of biodiversity and thriving ecologies in an urban setting.

Community gardening in the Green Line is another cited environmental benefit of the project. Park People supports community gardening in the hydro corridor, which provides space for community building and access to nature. Park People also cites gardens as beneficial to the ecologies in the area by providing sources of food for insects and animals (Henneburry, 2015). Sustainability will be further incorporated through the conversion of the land in the hydro corridor from, what is in most cases parking lots, or mowed lawns, to a diverse ecosystem that can benefit local ecologies (Henneburry, 2016). Ecological restoration along the Green Line is connected to the goal of the DNA in cleaning up and animating the neglected parks spaces (Lorinc, 2012). The DNA has expressed excitement over the parks improvements that the Green Line will bring in attracting more people to the parks to prevent the continuation of dumping of garbage or construction materials in the parks as well as the illegal activities that occur there such as drug dealing (Lorinc, 2012).

Overall, the Green Line is conceptualized through the lens of sustainability and increasing the health of the ecologies in an industrial area that is lacking green space, that will further work to improve the overall health of the community, and create a space for people to reconnect with nature through creative design solutions.

3.8 Park-land dedication funds and section 37: Funding the Green Line

The policies concerning park-land acquisition create another barrier to the completion of the project. As outlined previously in this paper, the land under the hydro corridor is obtained as park land through a lease agreement between the municipality and Infrastructure Ontario. Park

land acquisition is governed through provincial legislation which regulates how the city can obtain park land. Section 42 of the Planning Act (1990) states that municipalities can take a certain percentage of land from newly developed or redeveloped sites. Alternatively, the Planning Act (1990) states that the municipality can take cash-in-lieu of park land. When the city accepts cash rather than park land, the Planning Act mandates that the funds must be used to acquire new park land, or that the municipality spend the money on park amenities, like sports and play equipment. Money to lease land is not allowed in the provincial regulations, so the city must fund leasing through the parks, forestry and recreation budget. This is challenging because the parks and recreation budget is difficult to raise (Tobin Garrett, 2016).

In neighbourhoods north of Dupont where new development is occurring at a very slow pace, and parks access is low, communities are looking toward alternative spaces like hydro lines for parks. Despite the difficulties with access to funding in the parks and recreation budget, the City has placed the money for three new leases in the 2016 budget, that would help to piece together the Green Line. Park People is also trying to secure funding to build pedestrian bridges over the intersections that interrupt the Green Line, through section 37. In The Dupont Regeneration Study, the City recommended that section 37 money obtained from new development along Dupont go towards funding the Green Line as it would be the closest park for new residents in the area.

3.9 Deindustrialization and the slow process of gentrification

The planning for the Green Line is taking place within a broader context of slow de-industrialization and gentrification along Dupont and within the neighbourhoods north of the rail line. The increasing development in this area is a major reason cited by Park People and Friends of the Green Line to push the project forward. With the increasing density to the area, and the

parks deficit in the neighbourhood, the need for the Green Line becomes more pressing in order to give the anticipated condo dwellers access to park space and an active transportation corridor.

The redevelopment of Dupont to mixed use residential and retail buildings along side the increasing land values in what was once a working class neighbourhood north of Dupont to Davenport, and the redevelopment of the Foundry brownfield places the Green Line within a broader context of gentrification. The demographics of the neighbourhoods that surround the Green Line will also change with ongoing redevelopment. There is a noted increase in families and young couples living in the Davenport neighbourhood from Dupont between Ossington and Dufferin, a change from the predominately elderly immigrant population (McKinnon, 2016). The new young families that moved to the neighbourhood initiated the Davenport Neighbourhood Association, which is also a group that is a major supporter of the Green Line (Henneburry, 2016). The conversion of the Foundry site into residential introduced a massive land area for development where previously no-one lived has also introduced a significant amount of people to the neighbourhood, and there are new condo towers being built on this site. The overall increase in density with the new developments and the slow shift of Davenport from an immigrant working class to middle class area has occurred along side a resurgence of restaurants and retail in the neighbourhood.

Along Geary there are noticeable signs that the neighbourhood is changing and there is a sense that gentrification is taking hold in this neighbourhood. The industrial strip has slowly shifted towards more cultural and artisanal uses, as new shops, studio spaces, clubs and restaurants move in next to auto-body shops and metal fabrication shops, pushing these older uses out. One of the most notable additions to the neighbourhood is Bellwoods Brewery, that is constructing a new brew pub and event space in an old glass lined industrial building on

Dovercourt and Dupont. Another notable addition to the neighbourhood is Dark Horse Espresso, that operates a bakery and cafe. This is significant as it is a popular cafe in the city and it is the only non-Portuguese cafe on Geary.

The process of gentrification is not unique to this neighbourhood as the City of Toronto is experiencing uneven waves of gentrification across different neighbourhoods, often around transportation corridors and other amenities that make them attractive for reinvestment (Lehrer, 2009). The history of disinvestment, neglect as well as proximity to toxic brownfields, the hydro corridor and the rail line has created an area with relatively low housing and rent costs, which is attracting new investment by developers to capitalize on the shifting real estate market.

On the other hand artists and crafters have found the neighbourhood desirable for the low rent and the large industrial spaces that suit their needs for working in a space in close proximity to downtown (Robertson, 2016). These tenants, who are often renters have drawn other artisans to the neighbourhood that have improved the public realm and quality of buildings, making it more aesthetically pleasing and attractive (Robertson, 2016). Though, as many are renters and artists many fear displacement as rents continue to rise, and the media continues to report that gentrification of this neighbourhood is inevitable (Korducki, 2015). Despite this, Geary continues to be an isolated predominantly industrial neighbourhood that has an unpleasant environment for pedestrians, as it has heavy traffic, of often trucks, and is lacking sidewalks in some areas. Robertson (2016), a business owner on Geary has noted that the street continues to be “lawless”, because it is isolated and virtually empty in the evenings after people leave their businesses, creating a space for illegal activities to take place relatively unseen. Although the process of gentrification has been slow here, Robertson (2016) expressed fear of displacement as the neighbourhood changes and rents rise.

Because of the fear of displacement, Robertson (2016) has contradictory feelings about the Green Line. While he would like to support the project and see it completed, he finds it difficult to fully support it because he sees the project as improving the neighbourhood and increasing the value of the building he rents, eventually making the space unaffordable to him. Robertson (2016) also notes that finding an industrial space he could afford is becoming more challenging in Toronto, and moving his business is a big challenge. Robertson (2016) observes that the Green Line would benefit the new young families who have recently moved to the area who are looking for safe pedestrian and green spaces, as well as benefitting the people who own their homes or businesses in the area, that could capitalize on the improvements to the neighbourhood.

According to Tobin Garrett (2016), Park People and the Friends of the Green Line are thinking about gentrification in the Geary area, however, they find themselves in a paradoxical position. In our conversation about the issue of gentrification, Tobin Garrett (2016) states,

“but that the neighbourhood is changing quite a bit, and there are concerns of gentrification already in the neighbourhood, so it becomes this kinda issue where, do you not do parks improvements because you are worried that it will raise the property values around it. I don't know if that's an argument for not doing something. Do we create parks that are not as nice, in neighbourhoods that are lower income, that doesn't sound like a great solution to me.”

Further, Tobin Garrett noted that,

“Gentrification and issues of displacement and housing costs are ones that can't be addressed through park development and design and need to be dealt with at a higher level. But I don't think that they should be used as ways to not

improve parks in an area, you just have to do it in a sensitive way, by involving the community, the people that live there to make sure the park reflects the kind of space they want to see in their neighbourhood.”

In these quotes, Tobin Garrett demonstrates that Park People and friends of the Green Line’s strategy for dealing with the issue of gentrification is through community engagement in the planning process.

McKinnon (2016), member of the Friends of the Green Line, notes that community members that attend events and meetings do not bring up issues of gentrification in connection with the Green Line, because they see the benefits of the Green Line proposal and are looking forward to enjoying the park space. However, McKinnon (2016) notes that the majority of the people who are the most involved in participating in the Friends of the Green Line work in architecture or planning, and are not reflective of the typical neighbourhood resident.

Gentrification was also a topic of the “culture” themed walking tour, part of the Myseum Festival, that I attended on March 26, 2016. During the walk, participants stopped where the Green Line connects with Geary Avenue to hear from a DNA member about how the neighbourhood has been changing and evolving over time. The speaker talked about his experience as a new resident to the neighbourhood, explaining how the neighbourhood has recently attracted a lot of Canadian born, young families because of the relatively low housing prices, which are now increasing. This contrasts the current demographics of the neighbourhood, which is mainly immigrant seniors. He stated that the low housing cost is connected to the industry in the neighbourhood, and the presence of the hydro and rail lines. Because of this, he expressed that the association desires to keep industry in the neighbourhood, in order to maintain

the lower housing prices, to keep employment in the areas and to maintain the character of the neighbourhood.

The speaker also discussed the ways in which the neighbourhood has been changing, with more small shops, restaurants cafe's and bars opening. However, the speaker observed that there was still a presence of a "trade class" on Geary that continued to use the spaces for light industrial uses, but with a more artistic base. This was expressed with excitement that the neighbourhood was becoming more vibrant and walkable, as more people and amenities were being made available in the neighbourhood. Despite these changes, he spoke about his desire to keep the industrial heritage of the neighbourhood, and how he considered himself an ally to the older residents and business owners that live and work in the neighbourhood. After the presentation by the DNA member, Tobin Garrett stated that he wanted to have an open discussion on the ongoing process of gentrification so that people could voice their concerns and have a discussion on the issue, however only one question was posed by the audience inquiring how the DNA engages the older immigrant residents in their association.

Chapter Four: From Gentrification to Justice, incorporating the right to the city into the planning practice for the Green Line

Park People and Friends of the Green Line aim to plan the Green Line from a community-based planning ethic through increasing participation in the planning process by community members. It is their goal that through this process, the community will have increased access to park space that meet their needs (Tobin Garrett, 2016). These planning methods draw on the two main tenants of environmental justice, distributional and procedural justice, to bring the project into fruition. Although the methods that the Friends of the Green Line use are similar to that of environmental justice, the project does not integrate justice in the planning process, and it does

not name environmental justice as a goal. The absence of justice undermines the ability for the project to achieve equity in either inclusion in the planning process or access to park space. By failing to integrate justice into the project, the Green Line functions as part of the neoliberal urban development process, contributing to the ongoing processes of gentrification as a site of environmental gentrification. This section examines how the planning process has appropriated the language and methods of environmental justice but falls into the apolitical mainstream sustainability movement by not fully integrating justice into the project. Next, I examine how the concept of the right to the city can help to think through the nuances of environmental justice to shape the project along the lines of justice. Finally, I suggest some ways that the Green Line planning process can integrate justice into the project.

The Green Line draws on the rhetoric of environmental justice in its planning and promotion. The Green Line is conceptualized by the project's founders (Workshop Architecture) and planning organization, Park People, as creating equity by increasing the parks space in a neighbourhood that is both low in park space and is a low-income neighbourhood (Tobin Garrett 2016, McKinnon, 2016). The project is also viewed as offering a community amenity that mediates the negative effects of the rail way line, hydro corridor, and historical industrial land uses in the area by making the area more attractive and improving the quality of the environment (Henneburry, 2061). Further, the linear park is conceptualized by members of the Friends of the Green Line as increasing equity as the space will connect socially and culturally diverse neighbourhoods leading to social cohesion within neighbourhoods that are currently divided and isolated (McKinnon, 2016).

The planning process for the Green Line also draws on the rhetoric of environmental justice through its goal of increasing participation in the planning process. According to Tobin

Garrett (2016) Park People attempts to this through the Friends of the Green Line group which acts as the entry point for the community to become actively involved in the project. The Friends group is used to increase participation in the planning process by giving people an outlet to voice their opinions and contribute to the project. The Friends of the Green Line attempts to involve community members through hosting events that draw people into the space to bring awareness to the project and open up the planning process to the community. Events are also used to educate community members on the ongoing planning process and to create an open space for dialogue about the project. Further, the events are used to create a positive space where community members can come forward to voice their views on the project (Tobin Garrett, 2016).

The planning tactics employed by Park People and Friends of the Green Line are very similar to the methods of distributional and procedural justice, often used by activists to achieve environmental justice (Pearsall, 2010). Distributional justice is closely related to Park People's goal of increasing access to green space in and across communities, while procedural justice is closely related to increased participation by community members in the planning process. This is significant, as the Friends of the Green Line see their work through a lens of progressive planning.

Despite these nods towards the environmental justice movement, the distributional and procedural elements of the project are not fully realized by the project because the planning practices have maintained an exclusionary tone that permeates through the project's planning methods. Further, the project's goals are problematized by the ongoing gentrification of the neighbourhood, which threatens to displace the residents for which the park is suppose to benefit. In this case, an environmental justice framework could work to ensure equity and justice are embedded within the project and increase awareness of gentrification and the risk of

displacement. Park People is aware of the problems of gentrification in the neighbourhoods along the Green Line, which is most prominent in the Geary neighbourhood. According to Park People and Friends of the Green Line, they attempt to address gentrification by ensuring the park is planned for the needs of the current residents of the neighbourhoods by having an open and inviting planning process (Tobin Garrett, 2016). While Park People and some core members of the Friends of the Green Line are aware of gentrification, McKinnon (2016) notes that some members of the Friends of the Green Line do not see gentrification as an issue, and focus solely on the positive aspects of the project that will benefit them. Further, this is an issue because the members of the Friends of the Green Line have professional backgrounds in planning and architecture and are from a different social and economic location than most of the residents that live along the Green Line (McKinnon, 2016).

4.1 The Friends of the Green Line: Creating an exclusionary planning practice

Melissa Checker (2011) brings awareness to the ways that park design and sustainability function as part of the process of gentrification by using environmental planning in the neighbourhood of Harlem, New York City as an example. Checker (2011) observed that parks work as environmental gentrification when they are invested in and redesigned to attract or appeal to new residents, while pushing out and policing the behaviours of the older, poorer residents. Park redesigns eventually displace the often poorest residents from using the park through taking away space for their usual activities to take place, and using policing to monitor behaviours (Checker, 2011). Park People is aware of this conceptualization of environmental gentrification, and they have publicly stated that they aim to prevent this on the Green Line by creating an open and transparent planning process where the community is able to plan along

side the project. According to Park People this is done so that residents will end up with a park that feel ownership over and will want to use (Tobin Garrett, 2016). The main way Park People does this is through the creation of the Friends of the Green Line group, a group which is open for anyone to join, and is a direct way to get involved in the project.

The Friends of the Green Line has established strong relationships with other community groups in the neighbourhood, such as the Davenport Residents Association and the Frankel Lambert Community Garden as well as large notable not-for-profit organizations such as the David Suzuki Foundation. These organizations work together to to plan event, and collaborate on the planning processes for the Green Line. With this, the Green Line has established a planning method where community groups are invited to collaborate and participate in the planning process, which opens the project to community input, moving away from the top-down modernist planning paradigm.

The Friends of the Green Line fail to consult people who are not already active in community organizations, which are often the most marginalized people. By creating a group open to everyone and not actively seeking the input from marginalized groups and people the Green Line will, intentionally or not, ignore the needs of vulnerable people who are not actively involved in ongoing community organizations. If this continues, the project can work along side the ongoing gentrification in the neighbourhoods to police behaviours or push community members out of the parks who have not been involved in the consultation process.

While the Friends of the Green Line creates a point of entry into the project, the project does not actively seek out community members to sit on the Friends of the Green Line or the Green Line working group, thus, the Friends of the Green Line has become an exclusive group of elite neighbourhood residents. Because of this, already empowered member who agree with the

project end up participating in the Friends of the Green line, which creates an environment that prevents dissenting or opposing views from entering the conversation. Much of the commitment to the friends group has come from members of the DNA, demonstrating how already empowered and engaged community members are involved in shaping the Green Line. This is problematic for the project because there are underrepresented groups who do not belong to the Friends of the Green Line, who are marginalized members of the community that are the most at risk of being further marginalized by the project. These are the people that live in TCH or co-operative housing, people on social assistance, elderly people, new immigrants, the homeless people that live in and around the train tracks and the sex workers who work there. These populations are underrepresented to not represented in the Friends group and are not present at events, which means that their needs are not being considered within the planning process for the green line. Further, because the Friends of the Green Line is made up of elite community members, marginalized community members, who do not share the same linguistic practices, social norms or mores as the elite community members, may feel alienated and unwelcome to participate, rendering them invisible from the planning process.

If the planning process for the park stays on its current path, it could also cause environmental gentrification as the plans and designs for the park produced as a result of the actives of the Friends of the Green Line will create a landscape that reflects the values of a minority of privileged elite who have recently moved into the neighbourhood, rather than a design that meets the needs of marginalized groups who rely on the park land the most. For example, according to a resident rep with the TCH, the youth that live around Frankel Lambert park need increased access to basketball courts (Charlebois, 2016). If the designs for the Green Line push this use out of the site, then the community members that rely on the park as space for

active recreation will be displaced. This could be a difficult situation for the community, as the resident representative noted that basketball is an important pastime for the youth in this community and it keeps them from engaging in other activities that could be harmful for them (Charlebois, 2016).

Another major component of the The Green Line planning process is the use of events and programming to increase public participation in the planning process. People People and the Friends of the Green Line conceptualize events as a way to open up the planning process to the community to engage in a broader dialogue that includes multiple perspectives on the project (Tobin Garrett, 2016). Despite the attempt to increase participation in the planning process through events, the events produce a similar result to the Friends of the Green Line. Through participant observation, and interviews with members of the Friends of the Green Line, I have observed that the people who attend Green Line events are dominantly the members of the community organizations and the people in their networks (Henneburry, 2016 and McKinnon, 2016). For example, events, such as the “Walk the Line” walking tour series are used as a way to spread information about the project in a fun and interesting way, while reaching a wider audience beyond the Friends of the Green Line group to gain support for the proposal. However, the event mainly attracted already empowered and engaged community members and the people within the networks of the event organizers, continuing to leave certain community members out of the conversation.

Using events to create an open dialogue and increase participation in the planning process is problematic because Park People and Friends of the Green Line do not ensure that community members from all the neighbourhoods that touch the Green Line are present or represented in either the organizing stage of event planning or in attendance at the events. This was apparent at

the Walk the Line: Culture Tour, where a discussion of gentrification in the neighbourhood was led by a new resident of the neighbourhood, who is a member of both the Davenport Neighbourhood Association and the Friends of the Green Line, and is from a different socio-economic background than residents that fear displacement in the neighbourhood, showing only the perspective of the more elite neighbourhood residents. This led to a one sided and apolitical discussion of gentrification, which is a complex and sensitive issue involving a diverse range of people and perspectives. The oversight in this aspect of the event led to a single sided conversation by people in power, during a time when a deliberative and open conversation about gentrification was stated to have been created by the event organizers.

The events, arts and culture programming and community groups are intentionally used to create a positive celebratory environment which shapes the overall tone of the project. According to Tobin Garrett (2016) and members of the Friends of the Green Line, the goal of the arts and programming is to create a fun and welcoming environment for the community that builds momentum for the project by not focusing on the challenging aspects of getting the project completed, such as funding and policy issues (McKinnon, 2016 and Henneburry, 2016). While the celebratory framework creates a fun environment, it can discourage the airing of dissenting opinions, creating an apolitical space void of conflictual politics. The positive tone of the project differentiates the Green Line from other environmental justice works to move the project away from reactionary politics to a more inspirational visionary politics that encourages people to imagine their communities differently.

The Friends of the Green Line and other planning engagement methods like events and programming place the Green Line Park proposal within the DIPS methodology that is often utilized by sustainability organizations to build consensus and create a shared goal. DIPS are

used by Park People to work towards creating a vision for the Green Line that is based in community desires, though, as Agyeman (2005) states, DIPS can be swayed by organizations and corporations that have more knowledge and economic and political power, making the method less democratic than it appears to be. In the case of the Green Line, DIPS have worked hand-in-hand with the celebratory framework of the project to create a movement that strives toward creating a common goal for the site. On the surface the planning methods used for the Green Line resemble that of the environmental justice movement, though deeper investigation reveals that the methods employed fall in line with the mainstream sustainability movement.

The DIPS methodology of democracy and deliberation to build consensus and a shared vision around the goals of the project has only been utilized within a small group of elite neighbourhood residents, and has ultimately discouraged dissenting opinions and avoided conflictual politics. This places the project within the ongoing processes of neoliberal urban development in the city, and in line with environmental gentrification. The Friends of the Green Line also use an postpolitical discourse of sustainability that assumes that the environmental benefits that the projects brings will benefit everyone living along the Green Line equally. This discourse has prevented discussions and debates on accessibility, inclusion and different needs for green space across varied geographies.

As Agyeman (2005) states, the mainstream sustainability movement is often organized by privileged elite that are from a different social location than the people who experience environmental injustice. So far this has been the case with the planning for the Green Line, while the histories, geographies and socio-economic reality of the people who live in the area call for a process rooted in environmental justice. Drawing on the work of Jennifer Foster (2005) on the exclusionary politics and planning of the Don Valley Brick Works, the ways in which Green

Line functions within a politics of social exclusion come to light. Foster (2005: 335) defines social exclusion as a “spatial practice reflecting social dynamics”, though in relation to projects of ecological restoration, it can be understood more specifically as, “investment in places may empower people to shape said places and in so doing gain special, or exclusive, control over spatial arrangements whilst restricting both physical access and access to participatory processes for other groups. To the extent that investment in place may service the interests and preferences of particular groups, the political dimensions of access to space become prominent landscape features that define for whom and by whom design is enacted.”

Foster’s (2005: 333) research examines how the planning and design of the Don Valley Brickworks works within, “hegemonic practices of class-based social exclusion, where exclusionary dynamics foreground both the ecological and aesthetic character of the place. As the ecological and historical attributes of the site are protected and enhanced, so too are the property values, social capital and spatial practices of the adjacent elite neighbourhoods.” Foster’s (2005) analysis of the planning and design of the Don Valley brickworks demonstrates how exclusionary planning and design practices result in a spatial formation and landscape that reflects the aesthetic, ecological, social and property values of the elite neighbourhood residents.

Social exclusion in planning and design practices is connected to environmental gentrification, as the concept of environmental gentrification brings into focus the social outcomes that are the result of ecological restoration projects or environmental planning (Dooling, 2009). Sustainability projects are often envisioned as having benefits to the quality of life of all citizens, and the social outcomes, geographic differences and unequal access to green space is often left unconsidered. The activism and theory behind environmental gentrification has investigated the connection between the production of injustices and environmental planning.

Environmental gentrification places environmental planning within the broader context of urban development processes, highlighting that ways that urban environmental improvements can be used to transition undesirable, derelict, post-industrial space into attractive sustainable communities to increase the property values and displace communities.

4.2 Connecting the Green Line to environmental gentrification and neoliberal urban development processes in Toronto

Environmental gentrification builds on the concept of gentrification, which is the process where working-class residential neighbourhoods transition into middle and upper-class residential neighbourhoods through reinvestment (Quastel, 2009). Gentrification, defined in this way, is derived from Ruth Glass (1964) who, in the 1960's, documented the negative effects this transition had on low-income residents who were displaced from the increasing property values, and increase in rents. Lees (2000) and others have since broadened Glass' concept of gentrification, placing it within contemporary neoliberal global politics, which are currently shaping urban development in Toronto. Lehrer (2009) states that gentrification under neoliberalism in Toronto is more complicated than Glass' original observation and now includes global reinvestment in urban areas to attract tourists and fund cultural events that will attract a specific class of resident. Further, Kipfer and Keil (2002) note that economic development and planning in Toronto is used as a way to make the city more enticing for financial investment.

In this understanding of gentrification cities face increasing pressure to attract global investment under neoliberal municipal governments who use financial deficits as an argument to promote urban revitalization by the private development sector (Lehrer, 2009). Because of this, Lehrer (2009) states that urban development policies have become strongly interconnected with real estate interests. Further, economic development and planning became linked through the

increase in reliance on public - private partnerships by municipalities like Toronto (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). Within this framework of planning, Toronto increasingly uses cultural policies to increase economic development by attracting real estate investment into previously disinvested neighbourhoods, eventually attracting middle to upper class residents (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). To do this, the City implemented cultural policies, funded by public-private partnerships to increase the presence arts and culture to attract up-scale retail and the middle class to certain neighbourhoods, and by engaging in place making and branding exercises. In the case of Toronto, Lehrer (2009) describes how urban development and cultural policies work to “tame” targeted neighbourhoods to make them safe, secure, clean and prepared for real estate investment. Reinvestment and resettlement in historically disinvested urban neighbourhoods fall in line with both the Provincial Policy Statement and the Places to Grow Act which aim to intensify settlement in urban areas and protect fringe green space from sprawl.

Environmental gentrification builds on the connection Lehrer (2009) makes between urban development processes and cultural policies, place-making and branding that result in gentrification through reinvestment and resettlement by examining how urban ecologies are used to transform marginal land into prime real estate land for reinvestment. Environmental gentrification is defined as environmental improvements that result in the displacement of working-class residents as the cleanup and reuse of undesirable land uses improve a neighbourhood and increase the real estate prices (Curran and Hamilton, 2012). Checker (2011: 212) builds on this understanding, stating environmental gentrification is the, “the convergence of urban redevelopment, ecologically minded initiatives and environmental activism in an era of advanced capitalism. Operating under the seemingly postpolitical rubric of sustainability, environmental gentrification builds on the material and discursive successes of the urban

environmental justice movement and appropriates them to serve high-end redevelopment that displaces low income residents.” Checker (2011) connects environmental gentrification with the politics, policies and and rhetoric of sustainability.

Post-industrial sites, including the adaptive reuse of infrastructure are often targeted by sustainability initiatives. The discourse of sustainability that is used to promote the clean up of post-industrial sites places these sites at risk of engaging in environmental gentrification as they draw on the principles of the mainstream sustainability movement focusing singularly on issues of ecologies while often ignoring issues of access and inclusion. These projects generate environmental improvements while cleaning up and preparing often derelict areas for reinvestment and resettlement, creating an environment of gentrification. Post-industrial sites are also targeted by municipalities and the provincial government through policies and plans that financially incentivize the cleanup of brownfields (De Sousa, 2014). Dale and Newman (2009) find that in Toronto that the greening of neighbourhoods is directly related to the increase property values. Further, Keil, et al (2004). find that brownfield redevelopment is used by the municipal government to facilitate economic growth, through relying on public-private partnerships to clean up toxic sites while placing less responsibility and financial cost on developers to clean up toxic sites. These scholars demonstrate a strong connection between environmental restoration and gentrification. Brownfield clean up can also be a difficult and contradictory process because it can arise out of community activism for the clean up of toxic, polluted or underused space in their neighbourhoods, while resulting in the displacement of community members as a result in a shift in the real estate market.

As large infrastructure corridors and post-industrial sites are often found in working class or low-income communities, the risk of environmental gentrification as a result of environmental

clean up is a real concern. Wolch et al. (2014: 241) summarize this contradiction, “Thus environmental remediation in older neighbourhoods and the creation of new green spaces can, as Curran and Hamilton (2012) point out, literally ‘naturalize’ the disappearance of working class communities, as such, improved neighbourhoods become targets for new more upscale development”. Further they emphasize that environmental gentrification not only alters the housing market, but can also push out the cultural and retail spaces that low-income people rely on. Wolch et al. state, “By simultaneously making older and typically low-income and or industrial areas of existing cities more livable and attractive, urban greening projects can set off rounds of gentrification, dramatically altering housing opportunities and the commercial retail infrastructure that supports lower income communities” (2014: 241).

The connection between brownfield remediation and environmental gentrification leaves marginalized neighbourhoods in precarious positions when dealing with environmental improvements in their neighbourhoods because it places them in a paradoxical and precarious position of having to consider denying environmental improvements in their neighbourhoods in fear of what often follows them (Checker, 2011). The research on environmental gentrification shows that it is the possibility of profits that drives much of the greening practices in large cities, like Toronto, making neighbourhoods safe and attractive for reinvestment.

Environmental gentrification in and around the Green Line is complicated and is layered through the many histories and geographies that have shaped the landscape. The neighbourhoods that connect to the Green Line are diverse and each has their own unique characteristics, though, in general the areas around the Green Line are changing as neighbourhoods north of the rail line slowly deindustrialize. Deindustrialization along the Green Line has brought entirely new neighbourhoods in formerly brownfield space, and more middle class home owners to a formerly

working class neighbourhood. As the western portion of the Green Line shifts toward a middle class neighbourhood, it is attracting new and up scale commercial and retail space and more arts and culture to the neighbourhood (McKinnon, 2016). These neighbourhoods sit in contrast with the neighbourhoods between Shaw and Christie that contain Toronto Community housing as well as housing co-ops, demonstrating the different socio-political geographies and landscapes that connect to the Green Line. Park People has developed strategies to address gentrification, however, these strategies have overlooked the key differences in the neighbourhoods located along the Green Line.

The use of DIPS undermines Park People's effort to be inclusionary, as DIPS can involve inclusion on a superficial level. Despite the use of deliberation and democracy through DIPS key groups and members of the community can be left out of the process, or groups with more power can sway the discussion. The Green Line uses DIPS in their arts and cultural events, walking workshops and in their Friends of the Green Line group to include more commune members in the planning process. While this planning method has created an avenue for direct involvement in the project for the community, it has not been inclusive of all the community members that live around the Green Line creating a planning process based in social exclusion.

The planning process for the Green Line has heavily relied on input from already established community organizations that are often made up of the more privileged elite residents or the "gentrifiers". Because new residents, who maintain more elite socio-economic standing have the skills to organize, they can come to represent the neighbourhood as they are the most outspoken residents, and maintain more social capital than older, often poorer residents (Curran and Hamilton, 2012). Since the beginning of the Green Line, these groups have maintained a position of power in the planning and design process for the park proposal, and

have been the most active in the organizing and participation in the planning process. Planning with these residents gives the appearance of equity and inclusion in the planning process because community groups, such as the DNA and the members of the Friends of the Green Line are active in the planning process, however, the older, poorer residents continue to be left out of the discussion. While the Green Line aim to conserve the industrial histories of the neighbourhoods, and integrate sustainability and green space in an area low in park space, these exclusionary planning practices will produce a landscape that reflects the values and desire of the hegemonic classes.

An example of the exclusions perpetuated by the project are the community members that live between Shaw and Christie that have been systemically excluded from the planning process for the Green Line. In order to examine how or if this community has been involved in the planning process for the Green Line, I interviewed the resident representative of the Toronto Community Housing in this area. The resident representative had no knowledge of the proposal for the Green Line, had not been invited to participate in the planning process, and had not attended or known of any event that the Green Line hosted (Charlebois, 2016). This demonstrates that key community members have been absent from the planning process.

An examination into the the Green Line has shown that the proposal was formed out of the desires of a few elite community members and the planning process has relied on the support and involvement of these residents. Beyond the DNA, the planning for the Green Line has reached out to other already established community organizations such as the Frankel Lambert Community Garden (whose project partner is Christie Gardens, a privately owned long term care facility) and the neighbourhood BIAs (Levkoe, 2016). These relationships are formed between organizations with community members that hold power, which continues to marginalize already

marginalized neighbourhood residents. The oversight by the planners for the Green Line in reaching out to the communities between Shaw and Christie could arise out of the lack of visibly active community organizations in these neighbourhoods that the planners have relied on to network with. Or, it could be a reflection of the planners and organizers' biases and preferences, as they attempt to shape the Green Line within their vision for the space. This was echoed by a Friend of the Green Line member, who noted that the Green Line was the vision of architects and planners and the role of the Friends of the Green Line has been to support this vision (McKinnon, 2016). The exclusion of the community members who live in TCH or co-operative housing could also be an indicator of the comfort levels with "difference" and the social justice dimensions of sustainability by the Friends of the Green Line.

The oversight of these communities is troublesome because these communities represent the lowest income residents in the Green Line area, as many of them are new immigrants or are on social assistance (Charlebois, 2016). This area also has the highest density and the lowest access to park space in the area demonstrating the need for the parks improvements that the Green Line will provide (Mihevec, 2016). The exclusion of these residents from the planning process is also troubling as the Friends of the Green Line conceptualizes the park as being a space that connects different communities (McKinnon, 2016).

The Green Line puts the community at risk of experiencing environmental gentrification through the environmental improvements to an industrial, aesthetically unpleasing landscape, and by increasing green space. Environmental gentrification can also be invoked by the planning methods the project uses to design the space, that are on track to produce a landscape that reflects and secures the aesthetic, ecological, social and real estate values of the elite neighbourhood residents.

4.3 Just Sustainability: Planning in the middle of the mainstream sustainability movement and environmental justice

In order to meet its goal of a community-based project along side the possibility of environmental gentrification, the Green Line should include environmental justice as a major component to its work and use it as a baseline to measure the designs and plans for the project. Environmental justice can help to examine the various needs of each community along the Green Line, and bring attention to the different ways communities experience urban environments and environmental improvements. Environmental justice can illustrate how the many neighbourhoods along the Green Line will respond differently to the changes made in their community and the different park and green space needs each community has.

For example, the residents living in the housing co-ops and the TCH housing between Shaw and Christie are not necessarily at risk of displacement because their housing is relatively protected as social housing or not for profit housing, though these communities live closer together than the other communities along the Green Line, with less money to spend on recreational activities, therefore they have a higher need for more park space and park space that includes recreational space (Charlebois, 2016). This area is also more isolated than the other communities as busy intersections and fencing cut them off from connecting to rest of the Green Line, so they would benefit from the trail network for activities such as walking and rollerblading (Charlebois, 2016). The needs of this area is in contrast with the needs of shop owners like Robinson that fears displacement on Geary from the more attractive real estate market the Green Line will create.

The exclusionary results of the planning practice for the Green Line thus far contradict what the members of Park People and Friends of the Green Line have said about the goals of the project which include a participatory planning process and creating equity through the Green

Line by increasing access to green space in marginalized communities and by creating a space for encountering difference (McKinnon 2016). Though the planning process for the Green Line has used progressive planning methods such as arts and culture and participatory planning by forming the Friends of the Green Line, The Green Line maintains the postpolitical rhetoric of the mainstream sustainability movement that assumes that the project has environmental benefits that will benefit all members of the community, rather than critically examining the ways that environmental benefits can be disproportionately experienced by various community members. Further, the planning process has not seriously addressed the connections between environmental improvements and environmental gentrification for the marginalized communities that live around the Green Line, and the project relies on a definition of sustainability that leaves out the social justice components.

If the Green Line project incorporated environmental justice into the planning and design process, the park proposal could make a creative example of “just sustainability” by taking an intersectional approach to environmental planning that is located between environmental justice and mainstream sustainability. By responding to an environmental disamenity in an imaginative and creative way that involves people collectively working toward creating the type of community they want to live in, the Green Line project would attempt to do what Julian Agyeman (2005) proposes in his book, *Sustainable Communities and the Challenge of Environmental Justice*.

Through *just sustainability*, Agyeman suggests that the sustainability movement and the environmental justice movement can begin to borrow principles and methods from each other to move the environmental justice movement away from reactionary activism toward envisioning sustainable communities within a framework of justice while also pushing the environmental

movement to include equity within the framework of sustainability. The Green Line could do this by taking a site of historical and ongoing environmental injustice and though working with the community, envision the sustainable development of the space through creative reuse of the “cracks” of infrastructure.

The possibilities of designing and planning the Green Line through environmental justice and the right to the city

Henri Lefebvre (1968) developed the concept of the right to the city, in response to his observation of the city as a space of heterogeneity and a place where people could encounter difference through density and the ways that cities drew in immigrants (Mitchell, 2003). At the base of the right to the city is supporting and fostering difference through the framework of rights that different people can participate in urban life. According to Mitchell (2003), Lefebvre conceptualized the right to the city as work (the *oeuvre*), as Lefebvre saw heterogeneity arising through the struggle of different people competing for different interests and space within the city. Lefebvre conceptualized that through struggle the city would be transformed, along side a parallel transformation of its inhabitants, forming new space and new ways of living. Mitchell (2003: 18) summarizes this as, “And finally, in the city, different people with different projects must necessarily struggle with one another over the space of the city, the terms of access to the public realm, and even the rights of citizenship. Out of this struggle the city as a work-as an *oeuvre*, as a collective if not singular project - emerges, and new modes of living, new modes of inhabiting, are invented.”

David Harvey echoes Mitchell’s meditation on Lefebvre’s meaning of the right to the city. Harvey (2008: 272) states “The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a

common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights”.

Harvey (2008) and Mitchell (2003) outline the meaning of the right to the city, emphasizing that the right to the city is not an individual right to access urban amenities, but the collective right to participate in shaping the city, and through this process, changing ourselves. The right to the city relies on the ability of people to participate in shaping the urban environment through a process that can be defined as a struggle, requiring people willing to work through issues while working together toward a common goal. The right to the city has spatial consequences as a realization of the right to the city results in new spaces and new ways of being.

The hydro corridor is a site in which the right to the city can be exercised on a small localized scale. By planning the site through the right to the city perspective, the Green Line can increase access and inclusion in the planning process and can transform the space along the lines of environmental justice, shifting people’s relationships to each other and the environment. This is significant, as the project connects many different communities, is in a historically working class neighbourhood and can improve the environment in areas where people in low-income circumstances and racialized people of colour live. The site connects a diversity of people, which makes a good space to foster heterogeneity and build alliances across class, race, geography and family types. The green spaces that the hydro lines carves out in an increasingly dense neighbourhood also presents an opportunity for improved environmental quality, increased biodiversity, and community engagement in ecological restoration

The Green Line park proposal attempts to draw on these qualities of the site, promoting the park's ability to encourage social cohesion between neighbourhoods, however, increasing access, inclusion and environmental improvements in an equitable way have not been utilized or seriously implemented in the planning process. Along side this, the language and actions of the Friends of the Green Line and the Davenport Neighbourhood Association demonstrate a concerted effort to police and remove, through environmental improvements and design, certain users of the site, including drug users, homeless people, poor people, and sex workers. Thus, when the language of community is used in the planning process for the Green Line it is used within a narrow definition, encompassing mainly an elite class of neighbourhood residents, and does not include the various communities of people who currently use the site, or live along the Green Line. Further Park People, in planning for the Green Line, has used an postpolitical discourse of sustainability that avoids conflict and assumes that environmental improvements will benefit all community members equally.

The Green Line should incorporate the right to the city as the underlying ethic of the project. The right to the city as the basis of the project would encourage full participation by the diverse community members that live along the hydro line, fostering and supporting difference as the basis of the project, encouraging the critical examination of the different geographical areas and communities of the Green Line and how these communities experience the environment in different ways and have different needs for green and public space. The right to the city would also help to create a planning process rooted in the key tenants of environmental justice of access, inclusion and recognition in the planning process. Participation in the planning process would increase vulnerable and marginalized communities' inclusion in the planning process, where they have been typically left out of participating in the decision making process

for environmental planning. This process would result in the creation of space that meets their specific needs, proving increased access to environmental amenities, where marginalized communities typically have less access to environmental amenities. Further, the right to the city would help to bring awareness to the dominant social norms that render marginalized groups invisible and exclude them from the planning process.

Conclusion & recommendations for the Green Line park proposal

As the Green Line proposal advances and projects like it become more popular, it is worth interrogating the proposal and the broader trend's claims to progressive planning in order to critically examine the inclusivity of the landscapes produced as a result of their planning processes. Critical examination into the inclusivity of the planning process for these projects is important because post-industrial sites are often located in marginalized neighbourhoods, placing further importance on equity. My research into the Green Line demonstrates how the planning processes used for the project has relied on a postpolitical planning method that avoids conflicts over the space and assumes that the benefits resulting from environmental sustainability will benefit all members of the site equally. This has been exercised in combination with a community-based planning practice where participation is limited to elite community members, who are actively shaping the landscape to reflect their social values and protect and improve their real estate values. Thus, the planning practice for the Green Line is exclusionary to the most marginalized community members, and it places the project within the broader sustainability movement that works in conjunction with urban development processes in Toronto where investment in parks and cultural place-making through public-private partnerships are used to

tame “problematic” neighbourhoods in order to attract reinvestment and middle and upper class residents.

Based on my analysis of the planning practices used for the Green Line project thus far, I identify specific planning strategies for the Green Line to plan within the right to the city perspective. These recommendations address the three main forms of justice identified by Walker (2010) of procedural justice, distributional justice and justice as recognition.

Recommendations for the Green Line include (not in order of priority):

1. Create specific positions on the Friends of the Green Line and the Green Line working group for members of all the neighbourhoods that touch the Green Line. These positions would help to ensure that there is a wide variety of people who live around the Green Line included in the planning process. These positions should be continuously and actively filled. A variety of community members should plan and lead meetings for the Green Line to encourage diverse voices in leadership positions.
2. Plan events with the residents living in Toronto Community Housing and the Fred Dowling Co-Op Housing. Planning events with these residents would help to invite them into the project and extend the network of supporters into this community, while animating park space. Members of these community should have decision-making authority around the events.
3. Plan design charrettes with the most marginalized residents living along the Green Line. Design charrettes will give quick and direct insight into the various park and green space needs of these communities. Make design charrette results available to the public and incorporate outcomes into the planning process for the Green Line.

4. Extend funding opportunities for parks near TCH residents. Funding given to groups for events and projects, like the Frankel Lambert community garden, should be extended to the TCH residents to help them to improve their parks and public spaces. For example, funding could go toward expanding basketball courts or fixing the public mural in Frankel Lambert park. TCH residents should be able to choose which projects to fund.
5. Actively invite community members to meetings and events by going door to door, or networking with the resident representatives and co-op board members. Reaching out directly to residents in this area will ensure more diverse perspectives and participation in the project.
6. Create an accessibility and equity sub committee of the Friends of the Green Line. Include a written mandate that outlines the project's goal of equity and inclusion that the equity sub committee can hold the group accountable to.
7. Explore the possibility of creating jobs for local residents in relation to the Green Line. Jobs such as ecological stewards and environmental maintenance, or planning positions with Park People could provide economic benefits to marginalized groups living around the Green Line.
8. Involve sex workers and homeless people in all stages of planning and design for the Green Line proposal. Including these voices in the project will ensure that designs do not further marginalized these groups, and would create a more inclusive and safe park design.
9. Network with smaller businesses along the Green Line, especially the industrial businesses on Geary. Including these perspectives will strengthen the project by inviting more diverse perspectives on the project. These groups can provide insight into the processes of deindustrialization into the neighbourhood.

10. Research and measure the ecological qualities of each of the neighbourhoods that touch the Green Line. Accounting for differences in environmental quality will help to measure the outcomes of the Green Line's sustainability initiatives and ensure equity by better directing environmental improvements.

Through my analysis of the practices used to plan and design the Green Line park, I hope to offer a way for the Green Line to incorporate equity and justice into the park proposal, that creates space for marginalized communities to have decision-making. Further, I hope my analysis of a specific site of landscape urbanism can offer a critical reflection on the broader post-industrial to parks movement and the importance of incorporating the right to the city into designing and planning these sites.

Works Cited

Agyeman, Julian. (2005). *Sustainable Communities and the Challenge of Environmental Justice*. New York: New York University Press.

Agyeman, Julian., Cole, Peter., Haluza-DeLay, Randolph., and O'Riley, Pat. (2009). *Speaking for Ourselves: Environmental Justice in Canada*. Vancouver, British Colombia: UBC Press.

Balibea, Mari Paz. (2001). Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: challenging the 'Barcelona model'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*. Vol. 2 (2). p. 187- 210

Charlebois, Marcel. (2016, May, 12). Personal Interview.

Checker, Melissa. (2011). Wiped out by the Green Wave: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability. *City & Society*. Vol. 23, (2). 210-239.

City of Toronto. (1947). Aerial Photographs, Series 12. (Plate 18b). City of Toronto Archives.

Retrieved from:

<http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=fb38757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD&vgnnextchannel=7cb4ba2ae8b1e310VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

City of Toronto. (1947). Aerial Photographs. Series 12. (Plate 18a). City of Toronto Archives.

Retrieved from:

<http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=fb38757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD&vgnnextchannel=7cb4ba2ae8b1e310VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

City of Toronto. (1992). Aerial Photographs. Series 12. (Plate 48j). City of Toronto Archives.

Retrieved from:

<http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=fb38757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD&vgnnextchannel=7cb4ba2ae8b1e310VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

City of Toronto. (1992). Aerial Photographs. Series 12 (Plate 49j). City of Toronto

Archives. Retrieved from:

<http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=fb38757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD&vgnnextchannel=7cb4ba2ae8b1e310VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

City of Toronto. (2014). Dupont Street Regeneration Area Study – Official Plan Amendment and Zoning Amendment – Final Report.

City of Toronto. (2011). Neighbourhood Census / NHS Profile #94 Whychood, Social Profile #4: Languages, Immigration, Income. Retrieved from:

<http://www1.toronto.ca/City%20Of%20Toronto/Social%20Development,%20Finance%20&%20Administration/Neighbourhood%20Profiles/pdf/2011/pdf4/cpa94.pdf>

City of Toronto. (2008). Reducing Electromagnetic Field Exposure from Hydro Corridors.

Curran, Winifred, and Trina Hamilton. (2012). Just green enough: contesting environmental gentrification in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. *Local Environment*. Vol. 17 (9). p. 1027-1042.

Davenport Neighbourhood Association. (n.d). About Us. Retrieved from: <https://dnatoronto.wordpress.com/about/>. (Accessed on July 10, 2016).

De Sousa, Christopher. (2014). The greening of urban post-industrial landscapes: past practices and emerging trends. *Local Environment*, Volume 19, No. 10, 1049-1067.

Donadieu, Pierre. (2006). Landscape Urbanism in Europe: From Brownfields to Sustainable Urban Development. *Journal of Landscape Architecture*. 36-45.

Dooling, Sarah. (2009). Ecological Gentrification: A Research Agenda Exploring Justice in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 33 (3). 621-39.

Fraser, Nancy. (1997). *Justice Interruptus: Critical reflections on the 'Post-Socialist': Condition*. New York: Routledge.

Foster, Jennifer. (2010). Off Track, In Nature: Constructing Ecology on Old Rail Lines in Paris and New York. *Nature and Culture*. Vol. 5(3). 316-337.

Foster, Jennifer. (2005). Restoration of the Don Valley Brick Works: Whose Restoration? Whose Space? *Journal of Urban Design*. Vol. 10 (3). 331–351.

Foundry Lofts. (n.d). History. Retrieved from: <http://www.thefoundrylofts.ca/>

Gilbert, L. (2014). Social Justice and the “Green” City. *Brazilian Journal of Urban Management*. 6 (2): 158-169.

Glass, Ruth. (1964). London: Aspects of Change. London, McGibben and Kee.

Grdadolnik, Helena. (2016, January 29). What Happens When Parks are at the Heart of Neighbourhoods?: The Green Line Park. Presented at Park Summit. Toronto, Ontario.

Green Line Ideas Competition. (n.d). The Future of the Green Line. Retrieved from: <http://greenlinetorontoca.netfirms.com/index.html>

Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, (1890). City of Toronto Archives (Central City (Plate 1), Plate 35), Toronto, Ontario. Retrieved from: <http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=b1ab757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, (1913). City of Toronto Archives (Vol. 1 Plate 36), Toronto, Ontario. Retrieved from: <http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=b1ab757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

Goad's Atlas of the City of Toronto and Suburbs, (1924). City of Toronto Archives (Central City (Plate 1a), Plate 36), Toronto, Ontario. Retrieved from:
<http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=b1ab757ae6b31410VgnVCM10000071d60f89RCRD>

Gosine, A. and Teelucksingh, C. (2008). *Environmental Justice and Racism in Canada: An Introduction*. Toronto: Emond Montgomery.

Harvey, David (2008). The Right to the city. In *The City Reader*. LeGates, R and Stout, F (Eds.). p. 270 - 278.

Heynen, N., McCarthy, J., Prudham, S. and Robbins, P. (eds.). (2007). *Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences*. New York: Routledge.

Hennebury, Erika. (2015, September 8). A community Garden with accessibility at its heart. Retrieved from: <https://greenlinetoronto.wordpress.com/2015/09/08/a-community-garden-with-accessibility-at-its-heart/>

Hennebury, Erika. (2016, February, 7). Personal Interview.

Hough, Michael. (2004). *Cities and Natural Processes: A Basis for Sustainability*. New York: Routledge.

Hume, Christopher. (2012, December 7). Dreaming of a High Line on Toronto's Green Line: Design competition seeks ideas for reclaiming a hydro corridor in midtown Toronto. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from:
https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2012/12/07/dreaming_of_a_high_line_on_torontos_green_line_hume.html

Hydro One. (n.d). *Secondary Land Uses*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.hydroone.com/SecondaryLandUse/Pages/default.aspx>

Infrastructure Ontario. (n.d). *Secondary Land Use Program*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.infrastructureontario.ca/Templates/Lands.aspx?terms=secondary&id=2147484016&langtype=1033>

Keil, R., Desfor, G., & Ross, K. (2004). Contested and Polluted Terrain: Soil Remediation in Toronto. In G. Desfor & R. Keil (Eds.), *Nature and the City: Making Environmental Policy in Toronto and Los Angeles*. (140-172). The University of Arizona Press.

Kipfer, Stefan, and Roger, Keil. (2002). Toronto Inc? Planning the competitive city in the new Toronto. *Antipode*. Vol. 34 (2). 227-264.

Kirkwood, Niall. (2001). *Manufactured Sites: rethinking the post-industrial landscape*. New York: Spoon Press.

Korducki, Kelli (2015, February, 11). Is Dovercourt Village Toronto's Next Big Thing? The ugliest street in Toronto is powering a neighbourhood's commercial revitalization. *Torontoist*. Retrieved from: <http://torontoist.com/2015/02/is-dovercourt-village-torontos-williamsburg/>

Krinke, Deborah. (2001). Overview: Design Practice and Manufactured Sites. in Kirkwood, Niall (Ed.), *Manufactured Sites: Rethinking the Post-Industrial Landscape*. (124-148). New York: Spon Press.

Lees, Loretta. (2000). A reappraisal of gentrification: towards a 'geography of gentrification'. *Process in Human Geography*. 24(3), 389-408.

Lefebvre, H. (1996 [1968]). *Writings on cities* transl. by E. Kofman and E. Lebas. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Lehrer, Ute. (2009). Condominium Development and Gentrification: The Relationship Between Policies, Building Activities and Socio-economic Development in Toronto. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*. 18(1). 140-161.

Levkoe, Charles. (2016, March, 8). Personal Interview.

Lornic, John. (2012, December, 8). What to do about Toronto's neglected green spaces. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/what-to-do-about-torontos-neglected-green-spaces/article6115787/>

Lost Rivers. (n.d). *Garrison Creek*. Retrieved from: <http://www.lostrivers.ca/content/GarrisonCreek.html>

Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia. (1996). Cracks in the City: Addressing the Constraints and Potentials of Urban Design. *Journal of Urban design*. 1(1). 91-103

Low, Setha and Smith, Neil (ed). (2006). *The Politics of Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

McKinnon, Christopher. (2016, March, 3). Personal Interview.

Manza and McGovern (2015). Exclusive: How much are homes in Toronto neighbourhoods?. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/exclusive-how-much-are-homes-in-toronto-neighbourhoods/article24060725/>

Marcuse, Peter. (2010). Rights in Cities and the Right to the City?. In A. Sugranyes & C. Mathivet (EDS.) *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City* (87-98). Santiago, Chile: Habitat International Coalition, HIC.

Mattila, Hanna. (2002). Aesthetic justice and urban planning: Who ought to have the right to design cities? *GeoJournal*. Vol. 58 (131-138).

Mihevc, Joe. (2016, April, 8). Personal Interview.

Might Directories Ltd. (1919). The Toronto City Directory. Toronto Archives. Retrieved from: <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/history-genealogy/lh-city-directories.jsp>

Might Directories Ltd. (1922). The Toronto City Directory. Toronto Archives. Retrieved from: <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/history-genealogy/lh-city-directories.jsp>

Mitchell, Don. (2003). *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Park People. (2015). *Making Connections: Planning parks and open space networks in urban neighbourhoods*. Toronto: Ontario.

Pearsall, Hamil. (2010). From brown to green? Assessing social vulnerability to environmental gentrification in New York City. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*. Vol 28. 872-886.

Pellow, D. (2000). Environmental Inequality Formation. Toward a Theory of Environmental Injustice. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 43 (4): 581-601.

Planning Act, Revised Statutes of Ontario (1990, c. 13). Retrieved from The Government of Ontario Website: <https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90p13>

Quastel Noah. (2009). Political Ecologies of Gentrification. *Urban Geography*. Vol 30 (7). 694-725.

Railway Association of Canada and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. (2013). Guidelines for New Development in Proximity to Railway Operations.

Rainford, Lisa. (2015, January, 28). Davenport Village transforms into 'jewel' community. *Inside Toronto*. Retrieved from: <http://www.insidetoronto.com/news-story/5289999-davenport-village-transforms-into-jewel-community/>

Robertson, Mitchell. (2016, March, 23). Personal Interview.

Saito, Y. (1998). Appreciating nature on its own terms. *Environmental Ethics*. 20. 135-39.

Sandercock, Leonie. (1998). *Towards Cosmopolis*. West Essex, England: Wiley.

Simcoe, Luke. (2016, April 8). How about a relaxing stroll under the Gardiner? Sunday walk will help shape future of green space under the expressway. *Metro News*. Retrieved from: <http://www.metronews.ca/news/toronto/2016/04/08/under-gardiner-walk-planned-to-help-develop-new-toronto-park.html>

Smith, Neil. (2007). Impossible “Sustainability” and the Postpolitical Condition. In Krueger, Rob and Gibbs, David (Eds.), *The Sustainable Development Paradox* (13–40). New York: Guilford.

Soja, Edward. (2010) *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Spring, Jonas. (2015, May, 16). Plant Walk on the Green Line. Retrieved from: <http://ecoman.ca/plant-walk-on-the-greenline/>

Taylor, Katie. (2010, July, 14). After High Line's Success, Other Cities Look Up. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/15/arts/design/15highline.html?_r=0

The Green Line. (2015, May 21) A mix of history and urban planning on Green Line Jane's Walk. Retrieved from: <https://greenlinetoronto.wordpress.com/2015/05/21/a-mix-of-history-and-urban-planning-on-green-line-janes-walk/>

The Green Line. (n.d.b). *The Big Idea*. Retrieved from: <https://greenlinetoronto.wordpress.com/about/>

The Green Line (n.d.a). *Past Events*. Retrieved from: <https://greenlinetoronto.wordpress.com/events/>

The Living City Environmental Dinner. (n.d). *Innovation in the City 2015 Awards*. Retrieved from: <http://www.thelivingcitydinner.org/home/award-recipients.dot>

The Reading Line. (n.d). *The Green Line 2014*. Retrieved from: <http://www.thereadingline.ca/green-line-2014/>

Tobin Garrett, Jake. (2016, February, 21). Personal Interview.

Waldhiem, C. (Ed). (2006). *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Walker, Gordon. (2012). *Environmental Justice: Concepts, evidence and politics*. New York. Routledge.

Warren, May. (2015, October, 8). Will the dream of Toronto's Green Line ever become a reality? Toronto is starting to take some small steps toward an ambitious plan for a 5 km linear park like New York's High Line. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2015/10/08/will-the-dream-of-torontos-green-line-ever-become-a-reality.html>

Wolch, Jennifer, R., Byrne, Jason, and Newell, Joshua, P. (2014). Urban green space, public health, and environmental justice: The challenge of making cities 'just green enough'. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 125. 234-244

Zukin, Sharon. (1991). *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.