Informal Social Relationships in a Newly Mixed Income Community: A Regent Park Case Study

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Regent Park is Canada's oldest and largest public housing project and is currently in the midst of undergoing a fifteen to twenty year phased redevelopment. It opened in the 1950s and was celebrated as family housing. Over time, this neighbourhood became badly stigmatized and socially isolated due in large part to the modernist design principles on which it was built. In 2002, the landlord Toronto Community Housing Corporation began a process of redevelopment in order to transform the neighbourhood into a mixed income community. It is a second chance for planners to rebuild the community, this time according to principles of New Urbanism. In line with the growing trend of social mix housing policy, Regent Park is experiencing redevelopment to include the introduction of market rate housing and simultaneously to increase the quality of life for low income residents. Urban policy has growing support of social mix, yet a dearth of literature supports the phenomenon's ascribed benefits. This study seeks to assess social mix in Regent Park using public spaces as venues for mixing to occur. In conjunction with housing, the redevelopment includes well-resourced and quality public spaces which are unique additions to the neighbourhood. This qualitative study examines the role that public spaces play in the lives of twenty residents in the newly socially mix neighbourhood of Regent Park. Additionally, seven key informant interviews were conducted to gain a fuller understanding of the intentions behind having public spaces as an integral component of the redevelopment. The purpose of this study is to provide an empirical and descriptive account of a newly socially mixed neighbourhood, so as to inform future implementations of this phenomenon.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Regent Park, Canada's oldest and largest public housing project, is a unique neighbourhood in Toronto that is currently undergoing redevelopment. It opened in the early 1950s as an effort at 'slum clearance' and was initially celebrated as family housing. Over time, not unlike many housing projects across North America, Regent Park was overcome with crime, concentrated poverty, and was badly stigmatized. In response, the landlord, Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC), began a process of participatory planning by conducting consultations with the residents of Regent Park in 2002. The goal was to radically transform the neighbourhood riddled with stigma and poverty into a new mixed-income, mixed use community where public housing, market housing, retail, and public spaces would coexist within the same downtown block (James, 2010). TCHC entered into a partnership with a private developer, Daniels Corporation, with the goal of bettering the quality of life for its residents by demolishing the old public housing stock, and replacing it with modern high rise apartment style living and injecting the area with market rate housing. The objectives of the redevelopment are many and with the advent of urban renewal policy focusing on mixed income neighbourhoods, Regent Park is being watched worldwide. This project, the largest redevelopment of public housing to include a mix of incomes in Canada, is guided by goals of this kind of mix. These goals, set out by TCHC, aim to go "beyond bricks and mortar to build clean, safe homes for our residents while creating communities where people can thrive" (Regent Park, 2014).

Urban policy supporting this kind of mixing is growing internationally, however, the accompanying empirical research in the literature to support the kind of benefits claimed for this kind of mix is equivocal. In fact, some research has brought to light that there is a dearth of evidence to suggest that this type of urban policy benefits low income populations. Further, there is some speculation that these policies can result in the exclusion of particular groups who are deemed detrimental to the particular social composition sought in the mixed community (August, 2008, p.91). The goals of social mix are numerous and the expected benefits are both financial and social; consequently the goals of social mix are increasingly adopted through urban policy globally. Although there are critiques of urban social mix policy, it continues to be justified and implemented (August, 2008;Blanc, 2010; Musterd, de Vos, Das, and Latten, 2011; Kipfer and Petrunia, 2009; Graves and Vale, 2012).

The purpose of this study is to provide an empirical and descriptive account of a newly socially mixed neighbourhood, so as to inform future implementations of this phenomenon. Within a Toronto context, there are current plans to create other socially mixed neighbourhoods at the hands of TCHC and the City of Toronto. Consequently, this research seeks to highlight the successes and challenges of the Regent Park redevelopment to provide insight in the form of best practices to be learned from for other TCHC revitalization projects such as Alexandra Park and Lawrence Heights. Secondly, a goal of this study is to represent and make heard the voices of residents from various tenures in order to understand personal thoughts, motivations, and experiences of living through redevelopment and being witness to large scale changes. Lastly, this research seeks to inform those with responsibility and

jurisdiction over the public housing stock in this local context of the effects of employing urban renewal policies on residents.

Social mix is a term that is widely used, yet it has not been attributed a universal definition. Common ideas that surface from the concept of social mix are that of heterogeneity, social groups, tenure mix, and the emergence of community. These ideas are all related and pertain to the view that social mix is a result of the presence of a variety of people residing in the same geographic location. This term is used by scholars and policymakers alike, many of whom believe that the results of social mix benefit low income residents. Despite the lack of empirical evidence of the benefits of social mix in the scholarly realm, social mix is popular with policy makers and is gaining support in many jurisdictions (Joseph and Chaskin, 2010; Graves and Vale, 2012; Lelevrier, 2013).

In the case of Regent Park, this planned mixed income neighbourhood emphasizes the mix of people across tenures through the creation of well-resourced public spaces. In fostering the mixing of people from different income brackets, it is argued that quality public spaces promote informal social interaction between various income groups (Francis, Giles-Corti, Wood, and Knuiman 2012). As a result, this research seeks to assess the role that public spaces may play in fostering social mixing across incomes. It has become clear that Regent Park is not solely a housing development; public spaces are coming online and are slated for development well before all housing is built and rebuilt. In a quest to understand the range and variety of these amenities, the following is a truncated list of public spaces: Aquatic Centre, the Centre of Learning, the Daniels Spectrum, the Paintbox Bistro, the Farmers' Market, various community led events including the Regent Park Film Festival and

Sunday in the Park, and other commercial amenities such as Tim Horton's and Fresh Co. supermarket. Images of some key spaces can be seen in Appendix A. The significance of these spaces is twofold: firstly, Regent Park before redevelopment had few public spaces, and what existed was not well resourced, and secondly, these sites experience the pressure of being the sole venues for potential mixing across tenures to occur due to the separation of tenure that exists by each building. These spaces that have been built and will be in the future are open to all Regent Park residents, as well as the wider community, and are places where social interactions have the potential to occur. However, what remains under-researched is the extent to which these public spaces facilitate social mix. Thus, my research seeks to provide an account of social mixing in light of the lack of evidence-based support for mixed-income neighbourhoods, and assess what role public spaces can play in fostering social mix. Another goal of my research is to challenge those who are stewards of public housing to consider the role that public spaces play as venues for social mix in public housing redevelopments.

It is clear that a mixed-income development is the basis for the redevelopment of Regent Park, but evidence is inconclusive as to how it works, and further, whether it works in the ways that urban policy intends it to (Graves 2010; Kleit, 2001). Talen (2000) looks quantitatively at the relationship between public space and sense of community, and recommends that further planning research be done to investigate how public spaces may encourage interaction between residents. As stated, Regent Park is being redesigned with many public spaces and amenities, which are the only spaces in the neighbourhood that mixing can occur since the buildings themselves are not mixed. As a result, questions remain

about the successes of this community undergoing redevelopment in the ways that social mix purports. The central research question of this thesis is: **What role, if any, does public space play in fostering social mix in newly mixed income communities?**

The objectives that guide this research study are as follows:

1. To describe the experiences of residents of Regent Park and their relationships to various public spaces that exist within the Regent Park boundary;

2. To ascertain low income residents' role in the participatory planning processes as manifested in the concept of 'right to the city';

3. To uncover any empirical evidence on the intended benefits of social mix in the newly mixed income neighbourhood of Regent Park.

Chapter Two of this thesis provides an account of the historical context of Regent Park, including the rationale for redevelopment. Chapter Three is dedicated to a comprehensive review of four bodies of literature including: social mix, social networks, public space, and the concept of 'right to the city'. Chapter Four is a detailed account of the methodology utilized in this study. It includes a rationale for using a qualitative approach, research protocol, interview procedures, sampling and recruitment, and analysis of the data. A table displaying the demographic background of the participants is also provided. Chapter Five presents the findings from this research study. Chapter Six provides of a discussion of the findings. The final chapters in this thesis consist of the recommendations for change and future research, followed by concluding remarks.

Chapter 2
Historical Context of Regent Park

Public housing is a service that exists in many places around the world, and its goal is to provide affordable housing to people with limited means. The responsibility for this type of housing usually falls under government jurisdiction. Although there are many models for financially supporting public housing, it is typically a government funded initiative where rent is subsidized for people who do not earn enough to pay market priced rent. Subsequent to public housing being built, it is not uncommon for maintenance funds to become unavailable over time. Needed maintenance of public housing stock tends to be postponed or does not happen, possibly due to the widespread pattern of the under-funding of public housing, particularly with the rise of neoliberalism (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006; Popkin, 2010; Walks and August, 2008). As a consequence, it is not uncommon that many of these public housing projects fall into disrepair, thus resulting in and reinforcing negative stereotypes of concentrated problem areas. A poignant example is that of Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis, Missouri, built in the 1950s. This public housing development was built through government funding and was meant to house people of a variety of incomes. However, due to unforeseen circumstances including flight to the suburbs, Pruitt Igoe became a place of racial segregation, empty units, and dilapidated housing. It has been argued that a major cause for the failure and ultimate demolition of Pruitt Igoe was the lack of funding available for maintenance, repairs, and social programming (Heathcott, 2012). Pruitt Igoe is not a unique example of a public housing project failure; all over North America there are cases of

government spending for public housing (largely a response targeting slum clearance), and a subsequent lack of operational funds.

This neoliberal era has shown an increase in public-private-partnerships (P3s) to address these situations. P3s denote a relationship between a governmental association and a private company. In contemporary times, these relationships can vary in how much power, money, and ownership each party has. P3s are gaining prevalence for the redevelopment of public housing stock and create additional market rate units; as a result, there is an introduction of income mix. As public housing projects are revitalized, newly mixed communities are created.

In Canada, there are many examples of public housing projects that are redeveloped through P3s, such as Alexandra Park in Toronto (Sousa and Quarter, 2004), and Millbrook Place in Mississauga (Thibert, 2007). A large scale example that is currently undergoing redevelopment is that of Regent Park in downtown Toronto. It was built in the 1940s and opened in the early 1950s, and designed according to the modernist principles of the time: Ebenezer Howard's Garden City and Le Corbusier's Towers in the Park concepts. The idea was to have a low density neighbourhood with inward facing housing, ample green space and culs-de-sac resulting in the removal of through streets. These design principles were intended to resemble a neighbourhood in a park, and foster a sense of community. Importantly, it was a typical public housing development, as many other public housing developments across North America were built according to those same design principles at the time. Over time, however, it became clear that these design principles resulted in the social and physical isolation of residents as the project was located off the grid of city streets. Despite being

initially celebrated as family housing, Regent Park deteriorated through time and neglect, becoming an area of concentrated poverty and crime (James, 2010) and was badly stigmatized by the media (Purdy, 2005). Many blame the failure of Regent Park on the planners at the time due to the isolating design and lack of visionary planning. As a result, early in the new millennium, Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) entered into a P3 with the private developer Daniels Corporation to redevelop Regent Park. Under that program, Regent Park is currently being transformed into a higher density, mixed income community, abiding by the design principles of New Urbanism, providing attractive pedestrian-oriented streets, quality public spaces, and a mix of amenities and services. This is a unique opportunity for planners, as they get a second chance in the case of Regent Park.

Although there are many examples of P3s in Canada, Regent Park is unique for a number of reasons, and this is why I have chosen this site as my case study. Firstly, Regent Park is a large scale redevelopment project, which will increase from just over two thousand units to over seven thousand in total; it will move from low density housing to high density housing. The redevelopment is expected to span over fifteen to twenty years and is divided into five phases, of which development is entering the third phase. Secondly, the original residents of Regent Park have been guaranteed a right of return, ensuring them a unit in the re-built community; this differs from many redevelopment projects in the U.S. This right of return can allow communities and ties to remain intact as previously formed connections and relationships may be rehoused in the same area once redevelopment is complete. A result of the right to return is the mix of incomes, socio-economic statuses, and tenures that will be present in Regent Park. Thirdly, this redevelopment makes unique changes to the built form

including the reintroduction of several through streets, St. David Street running east/west and

Sackville and Sumach Streets running north/south, and a myriad of public amenities that

previously did not exist within the Regent Park boundary. Lastly, an important part of the

redevelopment is the Social Development Plan (SDP). As mandated by the City of Toronto,

TCHC was to create an SDP which outlines a set of recommendations for social cohesion

and change (KI05[1]). Over a number of years, there were a series of intensive community

consultations to determine what original residents wanted to see in their neighbourhood and

what was important to them. In 2007, the SDP came into action, and outlines some 79

recommendations of how to achieve social cohesion in Regent Park. It also was integral in

the formation of 12 guiding principles of redevelopment for TCHC (KI05). The SDP was the

first of its kind and in some ways, a learning experience for all involved (KI05). In these

ways, Regent Park is a unique redevelopment project, and for these reasons, I have chosen

this area of focus to be my case study.

There are two types of buildings in Regent Park: those owned by TCHC and private

market condominiums. However, there are four types of tenants in Regent Park. This is

expressed in the following table:

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[1] When citing key informants, I will use KI followed by a number 1 through 7.

TCHC Rent-Geared-to-Income	Market Rate Ownership
2083 units (1817 onsite, 266 offsite)	5400 units
TCHC Affordable Rental	Market Rate Rental
700 units (200 onsite, 500 nearby)	Unknown (private owners can rent their unit)

Table 1: Tenancies in Regent Park. (Source: Regent Park, 2014)

There are two forms of TCHC affordable housing present in Regent Park. The first one is known as Rent-Geared-to-Income (RGI) where households pay up to 30% of their monthly income to rent with a minimum of $85, and the rest of the rent is paid in the form of a government subsidy. The second type of TCHC housing are affordable rental units which range from 80% to 100% of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) average rent for that area.

These numbers presented in Table 1 have changed over the course of redevelopment. When a redevelopment was proposed, a Master Plan was created in 2005 in order to guide the lengthy process as well as the large area undergoing redevelopment. However, due to the size of the project and unforeseen circumstances, the plan went under review for changes to be made in order to accommodate greater density to finance the redevelopment as well as build public amenities when outside funding was secured. According to TCHC, the 2005 Master Plan evolved due to funds becoming available for amenity space in Regent Park (TCHC Tenant Update Meeting), such as the Aquatic Centre. An outdoor swimming pool existed in Regent Park prior to redevelopment, but was not suited to the needs of the community. For example, Muslim women required private women-only swimming times which could not be accommodated by this pool. Additionally, it was only used for a few

months of the year as it was an outdoor facility. Consultations with the community brought this issue to light, and an Aquatic Centre was to be built as part of Phase 5; however, when funding became available and was acquired, the Aquatic Centre was built as part of Phase 2. A consequence of this change was to rearrange the housing distributions. A second change encountered was the funding that became available for a new Community Centre to be built as well as a renovation of Nelson Mandela Park Public School. Lastly, provincial Infrastructure Stimulus Funding became available to build an Arts and Culture Centre, now known as the Daniels Spectrum. All of these changes provided the basis for submitting a rezoning application and changes to the Master Plan. These changes were accepted by City Council in 2009. Subsequently, Daniels Corporation found a partner in Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment's Team Up! Foundation to aid in building the Regent Park Athletic Grounds (KI06). This required a shift in density to include an additional hectare of green space. Additionally, in order to successfully complete the redevelopment with a sustainable business plan, there was a need to build more condominium units. The Master Plan of 2009 accommodated 5400 units in total, and the newest Plan houses 7500 units (TCHC Tenant Update Meeting, May 2013). Worthy of consideration is that throughout the changes to the plan, there has been an unwavering commitment from TCHC to rebuild the same amount of social housing units that existed before redevelopment. However, with the changes to the plan, the percentage of social housing units to market rate ones in 2009 was 40% and 60% respectively, and in the newest plan will be approximately 30% and 70% respectively (TCHC Tenant Update Meeting, September 2013). Lastly, a major change in the newest Plan was the shift in the phasing plan. There was a shift down from 6 phases to 5, with readjustment of

densities and heights. The stated purposes of this change were to increase the speed of redevelopment, adhere to good planning and design principles, and strengthen the relationship between buildings, streets, and open space. These changes were captured in the rezoning application and new Master Plan passed in early 2014 (TCHC Tenant Update Meeting, February 2014).

Because this project spans 15 to 20 years and 69 acres, a phasing plan was developed in order to guide development in a systematic way (see Appendix B). The Master Plan is phased and the City of Toronto has placed a Hold on each phase of redevelopment. This planning tool allows for an assessment and reconsideration of goals before proceeding with development. Under the Planning Act, a Hold can be placed on a zoning by-law that has already been passed. It ensures that conditions need to be satisfied before proceeding. Prior to each phase, details are looked at more closely, and a development context plan is submitted. This allows for the evolution of changes throughout the redevelopment (KI04). Currently, the Regent Park redevelopment is finishing the construction of the rest of the buildings in Phase 2, and Phase 3 is underway.

In Regent Park, there are residents who are living in all different housing situations regarding redevelopment. There are residents who are in later phases who will stay in their current housing for the next few years until they receive relocation notices. Others have been relocated (which could include being relocated onsite). Some residents have moved from old housing to new housing in Regent Park directly. Other residents own or rent market rate units. My study seeks to understand the experiences of twenty residents who were at various stages of redevelopment and who all lived in Regent Park at the time of data collection.

Chapter 3
Literature Review

This review examines public housing redevelopments and their relationship to the concept of social mix. This literature review will examine four bodies of literature, beginning with social mix, noting that much of the focus is on America and Europe. There is a lack of published research pertaining to public housing projects in a Canadian context. A goal of this chapter is to bring to light current Canadian literature on public housing redevelopments. There will also be a discussion of the literature on social networks, as it relates to social mix. Additionally, there will be a discussion on public space literature as it relates to urban redevelopment projects. Lastly there will be a discussion of the literature on the concept of 'right to the city' and the role it plays in socially mixed neighbourhoods. Much of the literature surrounding these concepts, and in particular social mix, is in the form of case studies. As a consequence, many of these articles raise the question of generalizability of their results; however, it is critical to provide case by case accounts of redevelopments in order to fully understand the context around a development as it relates to people and relationships within geographically bounded areas. In saying this, I feel compelled to acknowledge that this literature is a guidepost for this research, and provided an impetus for this study to be conducted as there was a dearth of literature relating to the role that public spaces plays in the transformation of public housing projects into mixed-income neighbourhoods. This research on ascertaining the role that public spaces play in the facilitation of social mixing, will attempt to elucidate the relationship between public space and social mix.

3.1 Social Mix

Social mix is not a new phenomenon and it did not originate as a planning concept; it can be dated back to the late 1800s (Sarkissian, 1976). This concept has gained prevalence within the field of planning and gained significant momentum in urban policy as solutions to social problems were seen to be entrenched within the built environment. Through policy in the post-war era, social mix became a necessity because segregation was deemed to be unconstitutional (August, 2008) and additionally, it became a means toward equality (Sarkissian, 1976). Wilson (1987) was one of the first researchers to discuss social mix in his book *The Truly Disadvantaged*, illuminating the detrimental consequences of concentrated poverty. He cites a variety of what he calls "concentration effects" including a blight of joblessness, lawlessness, and low achieving schools, which all work to foster a sense of social isolation for residents, and create a stigma for outsiders (Wilson, 1987 p. 58). In light of this, Wilson (1987) advocated for the deconcentration of poverty and he provided social mix as a viable solution.

Although social mix has been gaining prevalence at the policy level, and within academia, there is no singular definition agreed upon. Rose (2004, p. 279) defines social mix as "income or socio-economic mix, sometimes with ethnic or racial mix as a subtext." Joseph and Chaskin (2010) use the term mixed-income development to refer to the construction of a mix of subsidized and market-rate units. Groenhart (2013) firstly defines tenure mix in simple terms as "the mix of housing tenures in a particular location," (p. 95) She then argues that social mix is a broader category, encompassing "different tenures [that] are associated with different socio-economic groups". Sarkissian (1976) refers to social mix as tenants of

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different classes residing in dwellings within close proximity to each other. She also refers to

the origins of social mix in terms of a "mix of classes and vocations" (p. 234). Blanc (2010)

argues that to be called social mix, there must be specific factors at play; he suggests that

social mix is the interaction of persons from different socio-economic statuses, and the

results of this interaction should be advantageous to those of lower income statuses.

Mugnano and Palvarini (2013) argue that social mix is the residential proximity that people

of different incomes have to each other. They suggest that residential proximity leads to

creation of social cohesion through a number of viaducts. Koutrolikou (2012) argues that

social mix refers most closely to income mix as opposed to ethno-cultural mix. She says,

"Through attracting mixed-income residents and through provision of specialized housing, it

is assumed that greater ethno-cultural mix will also be achieved" (p. 2051). She also says that

social mix is achieved through redevelopment which brings new residents into previously

disadvantaged communities, and often displaces residents. While August (2008, p. 83) does

not define social mix herself, she argues about the intention of social mix policies, which is

to "increase socio-economic diversity in an urban area." It is through these scholars'

definitions that I have come to understand social mix as a process of changing a

neighbourhood to reduce the concentration of poverty by introducing the presence of a

mixed-income community which has a mix of tenures, socio-economic statuses and is

spatially defined. This is the definition that I will use for the purposes of this paper.

Perhaps part of the ambiguity in defining social mix lies in the fact that there is a

minimal discussion of what *kind* of mix is sought. Andersson et al. (2007 p. 656) argues that

policy supporting social mix only speculates that mix is good, but lacks clarity about what

kind of mix is desirable. Further, in places where the middle class is growing, it is unclear as to who should be mixing together (Hamnett, 2003). In this way, policies on social mix tend to be unclear about what social mix actually means, and to what kind of mix they are referring.

Despite the fact that a singular definition of social mix is not present, the intended benefits are widely accepted, particularly in the policy realm both in a North American context, and internationally. Within the public housing literature, there is a prevailing argument that social mix is intended to create diversity in social and economic realms within a neighbourhood (August, 2008; Joseph and Chaskin, 2010; Duke 2009; Tach, 2009; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Kleit and Carnegie, 2011). The goals of social mix are as follows: to draw low income individuals out of poverty through expanding their social networks in order to build social capital, emulation of middle income residents who act as role models, and the provision of opportunities that are brought through a middle income presence; and to encourage diversity of races, cultures, and incomes (Sarkissian, 1976; Joseph and Chaskin, 2010; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Kleit, 2001; Lawton, 2013; Kleinhans, 2004). In plain terms, this concept posits that if a community goes through a process to become socially mixed, there will be benefits for the low income people due to the presence of middle and high income people.

3.1.1 Social Mix in a Europeon Context

Social mix is a long standing phenomenon and there has been a recent abundance of literature which suggests that although social mix policies are increasingly being implemented in Western Europe, the United States, and Australia, the empirical evidence does not show the intended benefits of social mix. Policymakers are, perhaps prematurely, looking to the intended benefits of what social mix has to offer, and many national housing policies even require social housing redevelopments to be mixed communities. This section will provide a review of the European literature on social mix. Although many European countries have vastly different housing policies and systems, it is significant to assess the results of social mix in a variety of contexts.

French national housing policy has promoted tenure mix in a legal way by making it a requirement through a Housing Act called *Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain* (Solidarity and Urban Renewal) in 2000 (Blanc 2010). Blanc (2010) argues that despite the policy being there, there is a lack of follow up regarding the consequences of failing to meet the legal requirements of mixed income housing. Although these communes can be fined if they do not display at least a willingness to be socially mixed, there have not been fines issued yet, and further, many communes openly state that they wish to pay the fine rather than be socially mixed. Additionally, French legislation supports tenure mix within a commune, and not the actual mixing between people of different tenures. Blanc (2010) also points out that there is no account of the very rich in mixed income schemes. These policies are targeted to middle and low income classes, and it has been observed that mixing happens between racial groups of similar socio-economic classes, but to a lesser degree between classes even of the

same racial group. Blanc (2010) is sympathetic to the process of social mixing as it takes patience to see results, however, he emphasises that a strong political commitment is required in order to see changes.

Also within a French context, Lelévrier (2013) used three case studies to determine how social mix policies are perceived in the communities that they affect. She found that newcomers to the community saw themselves as different, and in some cases, as role models for low income residents. This created an "us versus them" sentiment between residents, and consequently, social cohesion was lacking. Lelévrier (2013) also found that despite being spatially close together, an element of social closeness was missing. Related to the "us versus them" tensions that exist, there is the recognition that at the street level, a diversity of tenures can exacerbate conflicts. Edward Said (1978) wrote about the "Other" in his work. He describes this term as a tool used by a group to exclude people or groups. Within the dichotomy, once a norm is established, everything else is seen as the "other". Within the sentiment of an "us versus them dynamic", "othering" may be a process that exists to exclude or subordinate people. In this way, the physical and spatial layout of these communities is designed to foster interaction, and it does, but not necessarily in a positive way. In critiquing French social mix policy, Lelévrier (2013, p. 2) posits that there is a "hidden agenda…to spread the immigrants out" implying that there are racist undertones that inform these policies. A concept in Lelévrier's work is that of residential trajectories, which speaks to the familiarity that one has with the neighbourhood. Some new residents may have felt a sense of familiarity with the neighbourhood if they had lived in a neighbourhood with similar

problems. As a result, these residents often felt justified in intervening in conflicts that did not concern them.

In a similar vein, Italian housing policy has formally adopted socially mixed communities as a mandate. Two goals of this policy are to increase the housing stock, and to decrease segregation among residents of different incomes (Mugnano and Palvarini 2013). In a study conducted by Mugnano and Palvarini (2013), they found that residents seemed to say that their communities were cohesive and socially close, but that social mix was not necessarily a factor in creating this closeness. Rather, there are other programming efforts that were more effective. For example, interviews with members of the local neighbourhood association *Quelli de Villaggio* suggested that they felt more socially cohesive than residents who were not part of that association. Additionally, there was fear present regarding diversity, which acted as a barrier to mixing, and which fostered micro-segregation where people were more likely to associate if they lived in the same building or with people of the same race, but not within the community as a whole. In these ways, it is apparent that social mix policies on their own are not enough; there must be additional efforts in tandem.

Low income housing concentrations are seen as negative in the Netherlands. In response, housing policy has adopted mixed tenure to produce socially mixed and socially cohesive communities. Van Kempen and Bolt (2009) conducted a study in the Netherlands of various districts to assess pressing issues, namely social cohesion. They found that social cohesion was not the issue in a majority of Dutch cases; rather, that social mix is being implemented and in some cases intensified, despite its lack of evidential success. They argue that the motives for social mix are not to enable social cohesion, but to create housing

opportunities for the middle class. Musterd, de Vos, Das, and Latten (2011) also discuss

social mix in the Netherlands. As social, cultural, and political structures shifted, changes in

neighbourhoods were considered in regard to the opportunities, mobility, and ethnic

composition that were afforded to residents. Using multilevel regression models and

longitudinal data, they found that the neighbourhood was impacted most by the social context

present. The social context includes the median income of the neighbourhood, and the level

of income mix that exists in a neighbourhood. However, in assessing an individual's

prospects in economic terms, Musterd et al. conclude that their findings do in fact support the

notion that income is predicted more by an individual's characteristics as opposed to

neighbourhood characteristics. It is acknowledged by both Van Kempen and Bolt (2009) and

Musterd et al. that social mix policies in the Netherlands have had some success, yet a more

critical look depicts the more problematic outcomes of these policies.

3.1.2 Social Mix in a North American Context

This section will focus on a North American context, drawing primarily from the

United States literature. A federal housing policy strategy called HOPE VI (Housing

Opportunities for People Everywhere) was implemented in the United States with the interest

in the stated outcomes of mixed-income housing. These outcomes include the potential for a

reduction in negative neighbourhood effects that result from concentrated poverty, as well as

an increase in mixing and interaction between people of different economic statuses to vie for

and advocate for improvements to their neighbourhood (Graves, 2010). Popkin (2010)

provides an analysis of the HOPE VI program, with a focus on Chicago due to the vast

numbers of units in decay. The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) could not transform the

public housing units on its own, and thus, much of the HOPE VI funding went to razing and rebuilding those units, with the first revitalization in 1995. HOPE VI was intended to not just address the dilapidated physical environment, but also some social aspects. A *HOPE VI Panel Study* was implemented in five locations to understand how residents were experiencing relocation – including the process of relocation, wellbeing, and employment. Popkin (2010) presents the Chicago *Panel Study*; the CHA used a phased redevelopment plan (as is being used in the Regent Park redevelopment). She found that the better quality housing was enjoyed by residents who moved with Housing Choice Vouchers, and these residents with vouchers moved into safer communities than their original ones. However, those without vouchers continued to live in dangerous, traditional public housing. Residents with vouchers had trouble making ends meet due to many factors such as utility bills which became an additional expense (whereas it was included in their rents in public housing). Popkin (2010) found that a main challenge was poor health among respondents from all five sites of the *Panel Study*. She identifies a major issue with HOPE VI: whether residents will eventually return to their communities that will be mixed. Many sites decreased the number of public housing units when rebuilding. In Regent Park, despite a promise from TCHC of the right of return, some residents feel a sense of distrust in this promise. At many public consultation meetings, Heather Grey-Wolf, the Housing Development Manager at TCHC, reiterated their commitment to the right of return for original residents.

Although intended benefits of social mix are discussed at length, the support from research is not conclusive. As August (2008) suggests, it may be that the values of equality are lauded as emerging from social mix, however, there is an insidious neoliberal agenda

accompanying a shift from collective duty to individualism. In other words, although social mix has been promoted as being rooted in social justice and equality, the reality is that it has roots in economic liberalism as private developers focus on maximizing profits. August (2008) further suggests that while social mix has gained popularity both theoretically and in practice, there has been minimal evidence to show that it is successful, or at least beneficial to low income populations. In fact, there is speculation that policies advocating for social mix may promote the exclusion of particular groups deemed undesirable with the hope of creating a preferred social composition (August, 2008). August's unit of study was Regent Park in Toronto, and she argued that this project has used progressive language to mask its underlying paternalistic goals. In this way, she says that some of the Toronto Community Housing Corporation's goals are insulting to low income residents as they take an omnipotent position to fixing the problems that have plagued this site.

Other researchers write about the redevelopment in Regent Park. Kipfer and Petrunia (2009) argue that the redevelopment project of Regent Park is an example of "state-managed gentrification" (p.111), and in this way, an effort to recolonize the previously segregated city space. They are critical about the fact that there is no additional public housing stock and posit that this redevelopment falls within a neoliberal framework where, in time, "public housing will suffer a slow death" (p. 132). Kelly (2013) discusses how the redevelopment of Regent Park brings in condominium owners who believe in the project. However, she does not necessarily attribute this belief in the project to the intended benefits that social mix can bring, but rather, to the savvy new condominium owners who feel secure in their investment.

She found that although these residents invested their money in Regent Park, they were not necessarily invested in mixing at the individual level.

These researchers' condemnations of social mix do not stand alone; Kleit and Carnegie (2011) warn against high expectations for the successes of social mix. These researchers look at a redevelopment of public housing in Seattle, Washington called High Point, a HOPE VI project. They suggest that it is a significant challenge for people of different tenures to mix, particularly in redevelopments that are phased. Further, they argue that close proximity of different tenures is not enough for the mixing of people between these tenures to occur. There is a recognition that perhaps over long periods of time, this type of mixing might happen.

Graves and Vale (2012) discuss the broad national changes happening in the United States that support mixed communities. They found that in these projects, some residents were profoundly negatively affected by mistakes early in the relocation process. Additionally, Graves and Vale (2012) found that residents did not all have equal access to all housing types, and more importantly that the redevelopments were not actually intended to benefit the original residents, but rather that they were more centered on the city itself as being better served by having mixed communities. The benefits that they found were not concrete to help low-income residents out of poverty; the benefits were in increased feelings of safety, but not in changes to employment situations or income. In these ways, Graves and Vale (2012) illustrate that newly socially mixed communities do not benefit low-income residents in the ways that social mix intends to, but also that these benefits were not actually the goal of having a mixed community.

Chaskin and Joseph (2010) looked at the development of "community" in newly socially mixed public housing projects in Chicago through using qualitative research by interviewing residents. They use the new environment to assess how community is formed, the expectations of residents, and to what extent physical design promotes interaction and community. Chaskin and Joseph (2010) found that there was significant complexity present in social processes and design solutions. Their study focused on three design principles that were intended to foster social interactions: buildings of different tenures were made to look indistinguishable; a deliberate integration of various units was intended to create positive interactions; and the availability of common open spaces. They found that social interaction did occur between different tenure groups, but that this interaction was limited due to a number of factors including the willingness to participate in community events, perceptions of community dynamics, and pragmatic concerns such as monetary and time limitations. Through their interviews, it was indicated that many residents of various tenures were hopeful that a sense of community would be forged over time, and in the results of their research, they find that this is happening in specific and slow ways.

Although a large section of the literature on social mix is inconclusive as to whether it works as intended, or that it is not beneficial to low income residents, Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn (1998) support this view of socially mixed neighbourhoods in their research. In researching Lake Parc Place in Chicago, they found that many of the prerequisites for socially mixed communities were met. Their research showed that crime rates decreased, and were lower than other public housing neighbourhoods in Chicago. Because this project was high rise, expectations for interaction were fairly low, and the results showed that although

few residents had no interactions, most interactions were greeting neighbours as opposed to forming strong connections. One important difference of Lake Parc Place was that residents who were not in part of public housing were limited to five years for their residency. Thus, these residents may not have felt a strong urge to engage with a sense of community and form relationships with their neighbours. Additionally, unique to Lake Parc Place, each floor was mixed income, and this is not the case in many redevelopments. In many other redevelopments, such as in Regent Park, there are separate buildings for market rate units and social housing units. Despite being unable to assess the success of social mix in all the ways it is intended to work, Rosenbaum et al. (1998) found that although some socialization occurred between neighbours and residents generally felt safe in the newly created neighbourhood, many of the benefits of socially mixed communities were not realized. This research provides a more hopeful conclusion than other research, as it indicates that prerequisites of social mix were met, and perhaps more time will provide a different view of Lake Parc Place.

Another example of a potentially positive socially mixed strategy is described by Dunn (2012). He suggests that the redevelopment of Regent Park can been seen as a place destigmatization strategy; having a socially mixed neighbourhood may not garner all the intended benefits, but a positive result of this type of neighbourhood can be place destigmatization. The physical and social distance that existed prior to redevelopment is being minimized, and the spatial proximity will require groups to renegotiate boundaries between each other.

Although Rosenbaum et al. (2007) and Dunn (2012) illustrate that social mix has the potential for success in some ways, Tach (2009) argues that it is the resident's sense of place which influences whether social isolation is diminished. Her research found that long term residents – who tended to be the lower income residents – had a larger role in establishing community ties than newcomers. New residents did not bring the implied benefits indicated in the social mix literature. Further, Tach (2009, p. 291) found that newcomers "actively resisted the formation of social ties with their neighbours". This is significant as it demonstrates the lack of ensured success of social mix; if residents are unwilling to engage in community building, it is possible that divisions will form, and low-income residents will not only not benefit, but they may be further stigmatized. Consequently, social mix did not actually result in the benefits that it implies.

This discussion on social mix has reviewed the literature to find that this concept has been gaining prevalence in theory and practice in recent years, despite there being a recurring argument that it does not address the root problems that have caused segregation, or foster the positive social outcomes it is assumed to (Duke, 2009; Joseph and Chaskin, 2010; August, 2008; Tach, 2009).

3.2 Social Networks

A strong reason for advocating social mixing is the potential benefits to low income people. One of these intended benefits is the development of social capital, and an avenue to achieve this is through social networking (Mugnano and Palvarini, 2013). A result of successful social mix is positive social interaction. These interactions have an extensive range and can result in the expansion of social networks between low income individuals and

middle income individuals. One of the most basic premises of the support for mixed income housing is that residential proximity encourages interaction (Graves, 2010). As Blanc (2010) states, it is uncommon for high income earners to be included in these schemes. Instrumental in elucidating the role of social networks was Granovetter (1973) who discussed the benefits of having social ties. Granovetter (1973) analyses social networks to illustrate the social relationships between individuals, their ties, and how ties are bridged between individuals. He argues that having diffused ties provides the basis for being well positioned to succeed. A main component of his work is the explanation of the bridging and bonding of ties, meaning the creation of ties that are strong and weak with a diverse range of people. He further posits that the strength of these ties can lead to the building of social capital. Social capital is a term used primarily in sociological literature, but lends itself to many other disciplines. It is the derived benefits that come from interaction between individuals and groups (Portes, 1998). Social capital is seen to be most functional as a source of networking that happens beyond the immediate family (Portes, 1998). For example, it is possible that having social ties beyond that of the immediate family can aid in gaining employment as the reach of those networks stretches farther.

Social mixing and the expansion of social networks are interconnected. Mixing suggests that people from different incomes and tenures meet each other and develop relationships though social interaction. A result of these interactions is the expansion of social networks. In this way, this is perceived to be a benefit of social mix – however, there is dissension as to whether low-income individuals have benefitted in this way, or vice versa. There is a suggestion in the literature that networking is a method of combatting social

isolation. It is not uncommon that people from social housing projects feel socially isolated, and there is a reinforcement of this exclusion in employment opportunities and neighbourhood stigma (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) propose that social mix has been implemented to combat this exclusion. They argue that 'owner-occupants' bring the potential to reconnect original residents of these neighbourhoods to the rest of society. They find that among different social groups, networks are not developed equally. For example, they found that single parent families and lower income groups have weaker networks and that there are potential benefits for these demographics in expanding these networks. However, the results of their research indicate that because of the vast difference between social worlds between the two groups (low income rental residents and owners), the simple introduction of owner-occupation does little to impact low income residents' networks. Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) encourage policy makers to understand that communities cannot be formed through policy as they are products of social construction. It is also worth noting that networks and community are formed differently in current society due to the fact that these relationships that were typically defined by spatial geography are gradually becoming more voluntary. People are choosing their friends and contacts, and thus social networks with little regard to spatial proximity. This could be due to technological shifts where communities need not only be defined by geography, particularly with globalization and technology that allows people to travel and communicate virtually. In this way, Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that a majority of middle income individuals focused their activities on consumption (e.g. shopping) outside the neighbourhood as opposed to lower income individuals whose focus was directed to family activities within

their neighbourhood. Thus, the findings suggest that the individuals who own property (e.g. condominium owners) in socially mixed neighbourhoods tend to have extensive networks that lie outside of their geographic community and have minimal impacts on the social networks of low income renters.

The findings of Kleit and Carnegie's (2011) research are compatible with Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) as they question the intentions of social mix. Kleit and Carnegie (2011) argue that there are complex issues that are not dealt with simply by mixed income communities. They suggest that changes to social networks may come as a result of the disruption to normal life as opposed to moving into a mixed-income community. They found that changes to social networks were not statistically different with or without social mix. However, they did find that certain races tended to more closely associate with those of the same ethnicity, resulting in rather homogenous networks, as compared to people whose first language is English. This issue is salient because it indicates that social mix will not necessarily result in heterogeneity. Factors such as language and ethnicity are present and play a critical role in determining the expansion of social networks. Perhaps the most important finding of their research was that moving to the mixed-income site did not change either resident's social ties, but they did find an increase in ethnic diversity. Related to the reduction of social isolation, Kleit and Carnegie (2011) demonstrate that despite social network mixing, the redevelopment did not provide residents with better access in terms of social and economic opportunities. They, along with other literature, suggest that proximity is not enough to encourage mixing to happen.

The perceived positive perspective that social networks are beneficial in mitigating isolation for low income residents in public housing is also discussed by Kleit (2001). The results of her research find that residents who are dispersed have greater access to information through the use of their neighbours than residents in isolation, yet they do not utilize these ties in searching for jobs as clustered residents do. She cites one important reason to be that clustered residents tend to feel closer to their neighbours than dispersed ones. This is significant in the social networking literature because it demonstrates that the social mixing of neighbours can bring positive outcomes where residents feel close with each other, perhaps in part due to proximity.

Taking a different approach, Graves (2010) assesses how institutional forces influence mixed income developments. Claiming that they are understudied, her research centres on how interactions between residents of mixed income housing projects are affected by their management and institutional forces. She focuses mainly on three forces: shared institutions, residential proximity, and the role of formal corporate actors. Graves (2010) suggests that resident interaction is influenced by formal actors that are involved in the mixed community. This housing redevelopment was dominated by public housing units, and 23 percent was allocated to market rate units. It is important to note that no children occupied any of the market rate units. She found that management used different methods of recruiting the two types of residents, and many of these tactics were seen as discriminatory by residents of public housing. In this light, management suggested that Maverick Landing, Boston, was a middle-class neighbourhood through marketing and interior decoration. Because management's job was to collect rent and keep a sense of order, there was no incentive for

them to encourage relationships between residents of different economic statuses. Management also regulated social life, requiring a quiet community as they expected that to be what market-rate residents wanted. Although it might be the perception that management's role is minimal, Graves' (2010) study illustrates how this idea is not truthful. This is an important, and perhaps overlooked, aspect of mixed income communities as management can have had a significant role in shaping the interactions of this mixed income community.

3.3 Public Space

The presence of public spaces allows people to meet and interact. For the purpose of this paper and the research being conducted, virtual space is not a primary venue that will be considered. Because of the expansive nature of public space, it is important to define what it means. Low and Smith (2006, p. 3) refer to public space as "the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments, and local neighbourhoods." They argue that public space differs from private space due primarily to the rules of access. Typically, public spaces are open to participation, where the public has access. Francis, Giles-Corti, Wood, and Knuiman (2012, p. 401) define public space as being accessible to everyone, and further argue that it provides "temporary ownership and claim." This means that people, in using public spaces, can claim a sense of ownership to them, whereas in private spaces, rules and regulations prevent the public from having that same sense of ownership. For the purpose of this thesis, public space will refer to a common area of land that is accessible to all members of a community, and must be bounded geographically. In the case of Regent Park, this focus is on public spaces

within the neighbourhood (primarily within the Regent Park formal boundary). For example, public spaces can range from a community centre to a Tim Horton's coffee shop. Public space is important in mixed income communities, because it is hypothesized that if these communities are "appropriately designed" (Graves, 2010, p. 112), they have the potential to shape resident relationships.

In the Australian context, Francis et al. (2012) discuss how a sense of community is fostered, using public space as an indicator of change. To determine how community is formed, they use interaction between neighbours. Public space is seen to be a place where chance interactions happen and where neighbours have the opportunity to meet through frequency of use. Francis et al. (2012) found that community was formed where public space played a role, but that the quality of the public space was more important than the number of spaces, or size of the space. In exploring this relationship between public space and social mix, Francis et al. (2012) used a mixed-methods approach, employing GIS data and a survey to respond to the Sense of Community Index, which sets out factors which are designed to measure the sense of community. Francis et al. (2012) suggest that policy must support and encourage quality public spaces as they are important places that can foster community.

Lawton (2013) assesses social mix under a different microscope: from the perspective of "urban practitioners" (p. 99) who play a critical role in determining the relationships between design and space. Urban practitioners are those who have direct involvement with the development of a socially mixed neighbourhood. His research centres on the role of space in fostering social mix, arguing that although social mix is seen to be a good way of mitigating isolation and segregation by mixing groups of people of different social classes,

races, and ethnicities, space is largely left out of the conversation. In questioning the merits of social mix, he argues that there is a disconnection between the theory of social mix and its implementation. Lawton finds that urban practitioners are instrumental in creating the opportunities for mixing to occur, focusing on public spaces for social interaction. These spaces, however, tend to favour the private housing market as these practitioners attempt to create liveability in neighbourhoods that abides by the social norms of the affluent; he posits that is it likely that the solutions for conflicts tacitly prioritize the private housing market in socially mixed areas. He concludes by discussing the relationship between social mix and the extent of communal space, saying that this relationship presents a challenge within the dichotomy of public and private space and that there is a need for a better approach to examine social space in a variety of ways.

Gehl (2010) argues that a goal of city planning should be to create a lively city. Quality public spaces are critical to the creation of a lively city, which he describes as one in which there is the "promise of social interaction" (p.63). He makes an important case for public space: planners must make certain that people are able to have an overt connection with their surrounding society, and this means that public space must be alive and be used by a variety of people. His argument for public space is that it creates opportunities for social interaction which is inherently beneficial to a successful city. In this way, the literature on social networks and social interaction bleeds into the concept and role of public space. In fostering the mixing of people from different income brackets, it is argued by Francis et al. (2012) that quality public spaces are a prerequisite for informal social interaction between various income groups. In line with this idea, Atkinson and Kintrea (2000), in their

discussion of social interaction, suggest that there is a particular importance that public spaces and places exist to allow community engagement and information sharing. Lawton (2013) also agrees, indicating that urban practitioners are instrumental in creating opportunities for mixing to occur. These researchers have all elucidated the link between social mix and social interaction: public spaces exist as venues for the potential mixing of people of various incomes. This conclusion illustrates a significant point: if quality public space has a role in forming community via the expansion of social networks, then it is critical for planners to recognize that the spaces which they vie for should be conducive to building relationships.

While the proponents of social mix suggest that it can be beneficial to low-income people when there is interaction between various income groups, it is necessary to assess which spaces provide this opportunity for this mixing to occur. Talen (2000) provides the basis for understanding how social mix and public spaces are related; she argues that the presence of public spaces can contribute to the development of community as these spaces have the potential to facilitate encounters among neighbours that are unplanned. Francis et al. (2012) agree with this idea, arguing that public spaces can foster interactions by providing the venue for contact and proximity between residents. This is significant because it suggests that public spaces can be critical in fostering social mix, yet there is a dearth of research on this topic. Some literature exists, but there is a minimal amount of research within the Canadian context to respond to this potential benefit of public spaces in socially mixed neighbourhoods. Francis et al. (2012) note that there has not been much research done on the relationship between social interaction and how public space is designed. In this way, there is

a gap in the literature which my research is intended to fill, more specifically, in the Canadian context.

Talen (2000) suggests that current metropolitan trajectories of privatization act to limit potential opportunities for social encounters which can play a role in strengthening a sense of community. Much of this trajectory is attributed to suburban style living, in which public spaces are not provided as they were in traditional forms, particularly because a consequence of dispersed developments is the lack of central public space (Talen, 2000; Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1992). Talen (2000) assesses the connection between public space and sense of community by using two components: first, the physical aspects of public space, and secondly, the factors that affect the relationship between public space and sense of community, including proximity, gender, and home ownership. Her research has attempted to characterize the public realm through quantitative measures. Importantly, Talen (2000) emphasizes that the relationship between the sense of community and the design of the public realm is predicted on the underlying social factors. She recommends that future planning research investigate the role of public spaces in encouraging interaction between residents. Additionally, Chaskin and Joseph (2013) also suggest that the provision of public space is an avenue of research that is worth exploring further. They argue that there is the potential for communal spaces to be privatized and that there is a need to address this by providing public spaces and encouraging the public to use them. An important impetus for my research was the Regent Park Secondary Plan, passed in August 2007 by the City of Toronto. This framework is used to guide redevelopment, and it states that "public spaces are often poorly designed and many residents have found that the design facilitates criminal activity and

undermines public safety" (p.1). In this way, there is a commitment to designing public

spaces that promote safety and inclusion. This research seeks to understand the intentions

between the public spaces that currently exist in Regent Park, and what role they play in the

lives of residents. As has become apparent, there is a lack of literature on public space as it

relates to social interaction and community cohesion – specifically under the realm of social

mix. This gap in the research has been identified and is what I intend to fill though a

qualitative analysis.

3.4 'Right to the City'

The concept of 'right to the city' is vital in understanding redevelopment processes,

and creating spaces for change to occur for people living in socially mixed neighbourhoods.

For communities that are undergoing redevelopment and have experienced major changes to

their neighbourhood, 'right to the city' is an avenue for original residents to gain and

maintain strength in their voices. Henri Lefebvre (1996) coined this phrase to denote the right

that citizens have to change the city by more than just having the ability to access urban

resources. It speaks to the power of a collective to change and reshape the trajectory of

urbanization. The 'right to the city' is not simply about gaining access to what is available,

but having the right to change what exists as citizens choose (Harvey 2003). There are two

central tenets to this concept: the right to participation, and the right to appropriation

(Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2002; Duke 2009). Firstly, the right to participation delineates the

right of residents to have their input considered in a meaningful way. In democratic

processes, residents must have some input, but this right to participation necessitates more

than just 'window dressing' where resident voices are heard but not truly considered. An

important part of the right to participation is the significance of resident voices in various decision making process (Purcell, 2002; Duke, 2009). With the emergence of neo-liberal governance, Purcell (2002) argues that urban inhabitants are disenfranchised in regard to decision making that shapes their city, and suggests that there must be strategies in place to preserve urban resident's control in decisions. Another important consideration in the right to participation is that residents must have the ability to access and utilize urban spaces (Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2002). Duke (2009) provides an example: if people prefer to reside in particular neighbourhoods due to the proximity to better school, safer streets, or opportunities for employment, but they are denied due to their economic status, then it is apparent that the choice does not really exist. Alternatively, housing clearance tactics that lead to demolishing buildings and thus forcing residents to relocate also illustrates a lack of choice. The right to participation is to be central for urban inhabitants within the concept of 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996; Purcell, 2002).

The second part of 'right to the city' is the right to appropriation. It is not simply that urban residents must be able to access and occupy space and resources, but further, they must be able to produce spaces that are needed and use them freely. Lefebvre (1996) argues that the use value is the primary factor in decisions around producing urban space. Further, as Purcell (2002) argues, the right to appropriation means that a city's use value is not replaced for its exchange value. Use value refers to residents creative uses of a city that are sought by urban inhabitants. The way that urban residents live, play, and spend their time is encompassed in the use value. The exchange value denotes the uses that procure capital. The right to appropriation is defined by the exchange value not taking priority over the use value

in an urban setting. It is argued that in mixed income communities, a result can be that the use value for low income residents is surrendered to allow the exchange value to flourish for wealthier neighbours (Duke, 2009). In light of this, it is important in mixed income redevelopments to be attentive to the concept of 'right to the city' and recognize that the lack of these rights for urban citizens can dramatically change one's sense of ownership, use of and access to urban resources, and quality of life in their neighbourhood.

Duke (2009) uses Lefebvre's (1996) theoretical analysis of 'right to the city' to assess opportunities for place-making for low income residents of public housing projects that have been redeveloped to include mixed income housing. By using the concept of 'right to the city', Duke argues that there has been resistance from affluent neighbourhoods to become mixed, which can limit the living choices of low income individuals. Additionally, relocation was beneficial for some low income people, but mixed income housing did not address some of the root issues of segregation. Duke (2009) makes the argument that the 'right to the city' is not limited to physical integration; rather, it plays a major role in determining certain social aspects. She poignantly argues that in order for low income residents to fully participate in their neighbourhood, there must be a sense that they can participate in their new community's development after relocation into a socially mixed neighbourhood. After, or, in the case of Regent Park, during redevelopment, there is a drastic change in the demographics of the neighbourhood. As a consequence, when original residents move back into their neighbourhood which now includes middle income residents, 'right to the city' can help to ensure that low income residents continue to participate in the new community, despite their lack of monetary power or influence.

While social mix gains currency, it is it critical that 'right to the city' is given attention. As Duke (2009) argues, housing policy is fighting for the rights of people who live in low income neighbourhoods, and these policies support the concept of social mix. Duke looks to Lefebvre (1996) for his assertion that groups of people should have the right to change the city as they choose. This includes the right to participate, live, and create within the urban realm. However, instead of these rights being manifest, there is a prevalence of residential segregation which can limit access to space and resources within urban settings. Jacobs (1961) argues that segregation of people can lead to isolation and is unhealthy for urban spaces. Thus, it is critical that policy makers are attentive to discouraging segregation, and consequently 'right to the city' is useful because it enshrines these ideas as rights. This concept goes beyond relocating individuals into communities with fewer social problems, but "encourages residents to become socially integrated, and further, play an integral role in place-making" (Duke 2009, p. 102). 'Right to the city' is applicable to many social housing projects as it gives a legal podium to a vulnerable population. In the case of Regent Park, it is necessary to recognize the rights of residents within their changing neighbourhood, and in particular, original residents. As their neighbourhood goes through major changes, it is critical that their voices are included in the discussion of how to proceed. There has been some consultation with original residents, but residents have argued at meetings that it is the voices of the surrounding neighbours that are heard. In this way, it is appropriate to discuss the 'right to the city' for original residents of Regent Park.

In a Canadian context, Rahder and Milgrom (2004) propose a divergence from modernist planning which seeks homogeneity toward a planning practice focusing on the

involvement of the diverse communities. Using the example of the redevelopment of Regent Park, they suggest that despite community consultations with existing residents, there is a focus on the marketability of private units. As a result, they argue that the "market appears to take precedence over the needs of existing urban communities" (p. 37). Further, convenience should not be the factor that determines whether the needs of local residents are addressed. Rahder and Milgrom suggest incorporating redistributive justice into planning to address the diverse set of needs in different communities, with the goal of closing the gap between the wealthy and the poor. As it relates to 'right to the city', Rahder and Milgrom posit that if marginalized groups see their ideas reflected in the built form, then they may be more enthusiastic about participating in planning processes.

Attoh (2011) offers a cautious consideration when discussing the 'right to the city' by asking what is meant by rights. He finds that not enough attention is given to what kind of rights are being discussed; are they civil rights, democratic rights, socio-democratic rights, legal rights, or moral rights? Attoh (2011, p. 679) argues that "not all rights are created equal and that different kinds of rights are not necessarily commensurable". This means that there is a lack of consensus about what kinds of rights are best to be enshrined for urban inhabitants. There is also the recognition that rights to the city can conflict with each other. He suggests that this analysis should be done through a collective process in order to understand and find what communities need in order to sufficiently retain their 'right to the city'.

In an effort to understand the 'right to the city' from the perspective of urban inhabitants, Iveson (2013) discusses various Do-It-Yourself (DIY) urban practices such as

guerrilla gardening and questions how to measure their impacts. He asks, "To what extent are these practices helping to give birth to a new kind of city?" (Iveson, 2013, p. 942). He finds that these types of uses of urban space do not create a new city. Although it has potential to establish rights to the city, there must be "new democratic forms of authority". He argues that 'right to the city' must be somewhat rooted in a 'universal' idea which can connect different DIY urbanisms. The importance of his research is in understanding that 'right to the city' is not simply single gestures, but must be supported by the larger system of governance.

In conjunction with Iveson's (2013) view, it is critical to consider planners' roles in using 'right to the city'. Using a planning lens, it is important to identify how planners can best use the concept of 'right to the city' to serve residents in communities that are redeveloping. Tayebi (2013) provides a basis for planners to expand their role to include activists. Planners as activists can help marginalized populations claim their 'right to the city' through legal means. Other academics such as Davidoff (1965) agree and suggest that planners can be advocates for various groups, and this can involve the public in decision making, particularly interest groups in presenting comprehensive plans to fully represent their interests. Although there may be some merit to the ideas that Davidoff has presented, there is dissension regarding the role of planners as advocates. Planners should be representing multiple interests, not a singular interest; they should act in the best interest, not arbitrarily. Tayebi (2013) specifically discusses planners using social media to achieve their goals to raise awareness and mobilize direct action. However, Davidoff (1965) also acknowledges that there must be "an inclusive definition of the scope of planning" (p. 200). Planning encompasses more than physical planning; it attempts to integrate a solution into

the variety of problems that are present in populations (Davidoff, 1965). Consequently, planning should not change its face to be closer to the role of an advocate, rather, planning needs to strengthen its ties to the people that it intends to serve in order to understand the complexities of urban communities.

3.5 Summary

The literature on social mix has rendered inconclusive results. More recent literature challenges the view that social mix is as successful as it purports to be. Yet policy-makers across the globe have integrated the theory of social mix into the urban policy context, particularly with the emergence of P3s. This research will look into social mix and attempt to evaluate whether mixing of different income levels occurs within Regent Park, using the public realm as a venue for this mixing to happen. It is critical to note that the literature on Canadian public housing is significantly lacking, while a large portion of research is concentrated on American cities and European cities. This research will attempt to bridge this gap by using Regent Park in Toronto as a case study. This redevelopment is unique and can be used to inform other redevelopments within the Canadian, and perhaps international, context. Secondly, there is much literature about social mix and its relationship to social networks, but the role of public space is often missing. The minimal literature on public space argues that it plays a key role in social mix, yet there is a lack of comprehensive literature on this topic. Researchers such as Talen (2000) have suggested that future research should focus on this aspect of social mix. Consequently, this research seeks to use the role of public space as a potential venue for social interaction to occur between neighbours in

Regent Park, which plays an important role in expanding networks in socially mixed

neighbourhoods, as the theory of social mix suggests.

Chapter 4
Methodology

Regent Park as a whole is my case study; I will use that community as a unit of analysis. Within this community unit, there are subsidized housing residents including Rent-Geared-to-Income (RGI) housing, and market rate condominium and townhouse residents. Because Regent Park is currently undergoing redevelopment, there are some RGI residents who are still living in the old housing, and there are some RGI residents who have already moved into the new housing. There are condominium residents who are currently living on the site as well. Of interest to me in this study are all people living within the Regent Park boundary in 2013. In addition, I believe that it is important to understand the reasoning behind some of the redevelopment decisions made in Regent Park. For this reason, I have also conducted interviews with key informants who I have identified. These include representatives of Toronto Community Housing Corporation, Daniels Corporation, the City of Toronto, and local service agencies.

4.1 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative measures are without quantification, but rather, employ philosophical ideas and strategies of inquiry. Typically, qualitative measures are used to garner in-depth insights, opinions, attitudes, experiences, processes, and behaviours (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research tends to have rich information including explanations and reasoning. It also provides the interviewer with the opportunity to expand on certain points, follow up on leads on new and unknown information, and probe for more information.

Due to the nature of the research question, it was most appropriate to use qualitative measures; to understand the true nature of social interactions, my research question is best answered through qualitative measures. Qualitative research is useful in gathering data of opinions and thoughts, and is particularly valuable in garnering descriptions and unquantifiable data (Ambert, Adler, Adler, and Detzner, 1995; Rowley, 2012; Palys and Atchison, 2003). This kind of data can be gathered through a variety of methods that focus on a people centered approach (Palys and Atchison, 2003). In this way, individuals are of central interest to the researcher, whereas quantitative research tends to focus on numbers and variables that limit the kind of rich data that qualitative methods can produce.

In understanding social interactions and uses of public space, it is critical to gather qualitative data to understand the opinions and experiences that have informed residents' reasons for using or not using the public spaces provided within the boundary of Regent Park. This kind of data is rich and in-depth; it allows people to tell their experiences, and researchers to gain data that is personal. Qualitative data can aid a researcher in explicating, further analyzing, discovering trends, or positing the reasons for why things happen the way they do. In this way, I have been able to analyze the in-depth interviews that I conducted and explore trends among residents' responses as well as probe to understand the reasoning behind certain decisions they have made. In using key informant interviews and resident interviews, I have been able to gather rich information that has allowed me to identify key factors in the social interactions that occur between different types of residents in Regent Park. Qualitative research relies on a multitude of research strategies of inquiry and produces

results that are rich and in-depth, and thus, I have identified a qualitative approach as the most appropriate to use in my research.

4.1.1 Interviews

In determining the most suitable qualitative methods to employ, I had to consider a number of factors. Firstly, time constraints were a reality that I had to acknowledge. Because this program allowed for a project lasting approximately one year, I had to be realistic about employing methods that would be feasible and be able to answer the research question. Because of the complexity of the research question, the best method to answer it would be face-to-face interviews with residents and key informants. In order to understand whether, how, and why people use public spaces, it is imperative to understand the experiences of residents living in Regent Park, and the ideas of the decision makers. Interviews are commonly understood as a conversation between an interviewer and a participant (Gorden, 1992; Rowley, 2012; Gilham 2000). Interviewing can take on a number of forms, and thus it is important to choose an interview style that responds directly to the proposed research question. Semi-structured interviews are often characterized by a mixture of open and closed questions. It is one of the most common types of interviewing because it has the ability to take on many forms, "with varying numbers of questions, and varying degrees of adaptation of questions and question order to accommodate the interviewee" (Rowley, 2012, p. 262). In this way, semi-structured interviews allow for the interviewer to have some autonomy within the interview process, while also following a pre-set template of questions. This interview process gives the interviewer the discretion to push and probe, or hold back, depending on how the respondent is answering, or not answering. Additionally, the interviewer has the

option of following up on some responses that they find interesting to the study and have the ability to investigate further into the participant's thoughts. Robson (2011) describes this type of interview as having guidelines for interviewers, as opposed to a rigid set of questions. Semi-structured interviews permit the "flow of the interview" (Robson, 2011, p. 280) – how the interviewer and participant are interacting, the dynamic that has been created, and the ability of the interviewer to ask additional unplanned questions. These unplanned questions can provide the researcher with additional information, where a structured interview could not. Consequently, semi-structured interviews are a common choice among researchers gathering qualitative data, as they allow researchers to gather specific and broader information during the interview. The ability to gain the most from semi-structured questions occurs when the interviewer and participant are face-to-face (Gillham, 2000). The interviewer then has the opportunity to sense and probe for more information based on non-verbal communications. Because semi-structured, face-to-face interviews allow for the possibility of extending pre-set questions, modifying the order of questions, and skipping questions, I chose to use this method to interview residents and key informants.

This study interviewed only residents who lived within the boundary of Regent Park at the time of my study. This area extends north to Gerrard Street, south to Shuter Street, east to River Street, and west to Parliament Street (See Appendix C). It encompasses approximately 69 acres of land which are undergoing redevelopment. Consequently, there is a diverse set of resident types currently living in Regent Park which include homeowner residents, social housing residents who live in the new developments, and social housing residents who are living in the old housing. These residents are the people who I am

interested in hearing from, about their experiences with public spaces, and from whom I have gained rich and in-depth information.

For research that requires specific information, often, the interview method of research is best actualized by identifying key informants. A key informant is a person who is able to tell a researcher relevant information about their study (Gorden, 1987). More specifically, the key informant provides "information on the local field situation, by assisting in obtaining cooperation, by locating or contacting respondents, and by replaying information during the progress of the study to help meet its objectives" (Gorden, 1987, p. 169). In this way, key informants can aid in access for an interviewer, whether that be through insightful knowledge or in access to other people important to the study. This method can be critical as a key informant may provide information and connections that are pivotal to the study at hand. Undurraga (2012) makes the point that the people chosen to be interviewed must have experience and knowledge in the areas of study that are being researched. Key informants can aid in research in an important way if they are knowledgeable about the topic being researched, and if they are, a researcher can find out useful information. Key informant interviews can be utilized by researchers hoping to gain insights into a community or organization through these leaders. Identifying and interviewing key informants can be a particularly useful technique as it is well suited to gather qualitative and descriptive information that is challenging to access through perhaps a more structured technique (Tremblay, 1957). This is particularly important as descriptive data can be maximized through interviewing. When a researcher conducts an interview, a key informant can provide invaluable information and insights into the study that may not be captured in a written

response or group dynamic. Consequently, interviewing a key informant can be valuable for identifying problems or solutions in detail and an interviewer can have some influence with drawing out responses depending on their techniques and methods.

I also interviewed key informants who included representatives of Daniels Corporation, Toronto Community Housing Corporation, the City of Toronto, and local agencies and businesses including the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative (RPNI). Some residents were employed by local service agencies, and thus were able to also speak to the goals and vision for their organizations, respectively. I contacted these key informants in a variety of ways; all received emails, but some I was able to speak with in person at Tenant Update Meetings organized by TCHC, or consultation meetings organized by the City of Toronto. The purpose of interviewing these key informants was to understand the rationale behind the kind of new public spaces built in Regent Park, and who made the decisions about what was to be built. I also offered anonymity to key informants because it was not imperative to have their names present in the results of my research; the results would be valid without naming people. Additionally, some key informants who I approached made it clear that they wanted to be anonymous before I offered. These informants were not willing to participate without it.

In my review of the international literature, I found that many researchers studying social mix in public housing redevelopment employed qualitative methods, and interviewed participants in order to get rich data. Lelevrier (2013), Chaskin and Joseph (2010), and Lawton (2013) all used semi-structured interviews to gather data. Lelevrier uses semi-structured interviews with 83 participants from a range of backgrounds and ages, to

understand the context and experiences of residents. Chaskin and Joseph (2010) conducted

111 in-depth interviews with a variety of stakeholders, community members, and key

informants. Additionally, they conducted field observations from meetings, events, programs

and the like in order to properly contextualize the interviews and situate the findings within a

framework unique to their case studies in neighbourhoods in the city of Chicago. Lawton

(2013) uses open ended interviews with key informants to fully understand the context as

well as the area of study. In utilizing qualitative data, I have drawn on aspects from each

methodology from the examples of Lelevrier (2013), Chaskin and Joseph (2010), and Lawton

(2013). In this way, I have created and employed a methodology most appropriate for my

research.

4.2 Validity

When conducting qualitative research, it is important for the researcher to provide

strategies to attest to the accuracy of the results. In this way, I have employed a number of

strategies to ensure the validity of my findings. Creswell (2009, p. 191) outlines these

strategies to include: triangulation, member checking, using rich description, acknowledging

biases, presenting negative information, spending prolonged time at the research site, using

peer briefing, and having an external auditor. Triangulation is a method of attempting to

increase validity by gathering data from a variety of sources to corroborate the results. In

conducting my research, I used methodological triangulation to lend credibility to my

research. In addition to interviewing residents, I also used participant observation as a

method to contribute to a balanced picture of Regent Park. Lastly, I used documents in my

research to understand the situation at a theoretical and political level. These documents

included the City of Toronto Regent Park Secondary Plan, the Social Development Plan, and resources from the RPNI, the Community Facilities Strategy. Additionally, this collection included documents from the City of Toronto and TCHC about the redevelopment proposals and change to the plan that was approved in 2005. In order to increase the validity of my results, I looked at the situation in Regent Park from a number of angles.

Because I conducted interviews with residents, I was able to get rich, descriptive data, which will be presented in the following chapters. This kind of description lends to the credibility of participants and also to my ability to obtain valid results. Geertz (1973) uses ethnographical research to explain "thick description" (p. 10). He says that this kind of description is a kind in which behaviour is explained within a context so that there is meaning ascribed to the action, particularly so that outsiders can have an understanding. By employing face-to-face interviews, I was able to get "thick description" in order to provide a context to the experiences that residents and key informants divulged.

I spent approximately six months going to the Regent Park neighbourhood for events, meetings, walking around, using the facilities such as the Aquatic Centre and the library, going to the Tim Horton's coffee shop and Fresh Co. supermarket, and attending workshops. The time spent in Regent Park allowed me to learn from residents, planners, and various key informants, and focus on hearing resident voices and experiences in building community, as well as understanding the rationale for planning decisions. This prolonged time in the community allowed me to establish my legitimacy with residents, local service agencies, and the bigger organizations that operate within Regent Park. I believe that this contributes to the

validity of my methods and results as I have a good grasp of the issues, struggles, and successes that are present in the redevelopment of Regent Park.

4.2.1 Anonymity and Ethics

I decided that the best way to answer the research question was to conduct qualitative research with human participants. Consequently, it was required that I apply for ethics clearance. I applied for ethics clearance from the Waterloo Research Ethics Board in May, 2013 and at the end of the month I received full clearance. I offered participants in my study anonymity. This meant that their identity would not be revealed in the results of my research. Using residents' names was not necessary in this research, and additionally, I felt as though revealing names would not be conducive to getting truthful information. Due the nature of some of the questions I asked, particularly those about relationships with other community members and social mix, anonymity was the best option. Key Informants were also promised anonymity as I did not need to reveal their names in my study. I asked all participants to sign a consent form to agree to their voluntary participation in the study, allow the use of anonymous quotations in the thesis, and permit audio recording of the interview (see Appendix D). Additionally, participants received an information letter prior to the interview (see Appendix E). The Office of Research ethics at the University of Waterloo approved these documents along with the interview guides (see Appendix F).

4.3 Pilot Study

Before beginning my study, I met with a representative of the Toronto Community Housing Corporation to discuss my intended research and hear what TCHC thought of it. This meeting was extremely successful as the representative was able to discuss the intended

public spaces that have not yet been built, and what initiatives TCHC is embarking on to create community cohesion. Of significance, this person was my contact at TCHC and invited me to sit at the Social Development Plan roundtable meetings. This will be discussed further in another section.

Currently, there is much research going on in Regent Park as it is a site of scrutiny from not only the academic community, but also the local Toronto news media. In light of this, I conducted a small pilot study with two residents of Regent Park who were considered key community members. Many of the residents of Regent Park have been interviewed as part of other studies and might not have had the patience or interest in being interviewed again. This was a potential problem that I had to address, especially as I was planning to conduct face-to-face interviews. Consequently, one of the purposes of doing a pilot study was to hear from residents what the community as a whole was feeling in regard to research going on in Regent Park. Of the two pilot interviews I conducted, one of the residents was from TCHC housing, and the other was a homeowner. I conducted semi-structured interviews that more closely resembled conversations and did not audio-record them. Another purpose of doing these pilot interviews was to pre-test my research instrument. My intentions were to get a sense of whether my study was feasible to embark upon, whether I would be able to achieve my research goals, and whether my questions were appropriate for answering my research question.

The first conversation I had was with a TCHC tenant. I recruited this participant because I learned through discussion and observation that this person was important and

involved in the community. I initially made contact with this resident at Jane's Walk[2] at the beginning of May 2013. Our meeting in mid-May was informative in that it validated my thoughts about studying social mix in the midst of a redevelopment project. The resident said that now is a critical time to look at social mix, as people are moving in to the redeveloped housing. This resident stressed that mixing was happening twenty-four hours a day – not just during standard working hours when staff or researchers were typically present, and in this way this resident was in support of my research project. In terms of public spaces, this resident presented the idea that homeowners have chosen to come to this community, and will use it as their own. Because Regent Park is inclusive of original residents, there may be the sense from some newcomers that services are reserved for original residents; however, in this interview, the resident made it clear that although market-rate residents were new to the community, it was theirs to use and have a sense of ownership over as they were establishing their new lives in Regent Park. In this way, I felt compelled to include in my draft questions what kind of connection residents feel to the new community. This resident also made the point that decisions about public spaces in the community (such as new retail spaces) should be made by the community as a whole. Upon reflection on this point, I also modified my draft questions to include the idea of whether residents of Regent Park feel they are part of a cohesive community.

The second pilot interview was with a homeowner resident who I first heard ask a question at a University of Toronto Regent Park Graduate Students Research Panel in late

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[2] Jane's Walk is an annual event worldwide in honour of Jane Jacobs, an activist and urbanist. Neighbourhood tours are given to urban inhabitants to encourage people to meet their neighbours and explore their communities. (www.janeswalk.org)

November 2012. After that I recognized this person at a number of Regent Park events, and was able to identify this resident as an important player in the neighbourhood. During our conversation, this resident stressed the importance of looking at Regent Park with the newly proposed 70/30 percent split revised from the originally proposed 60/40. This proposal was not yet approved at this time, but created uncertainty as to what the community would look like. This helped me to revise my draft questions to include a question about this new change in percentage. This resident described the shared spaces in the condominiums and argued that they had to be nice enough for people to invest their money, but not too nice that people would not leave their unit to use community facilities. From this, I was able to include another question about whether condominium residents feel the need to go outside of their building to access resources. The conversation with this resident was informative in understanding social mix from a new Regent Park resident; this resident presented the point that the idea of social mix places too much onus on condominium dwellers and homeowners to reach out to their low income neighbours as they are new to the neighbourhood and should not have this burden.

These two pilot interviews were beneficial in enabling me to revise my draft interview questions. I concluded that I needed to tailor questions differently between various types of residents, as well as assess expectations of community engagement differently. The pilot study confirmed that public spaces and social mix theory are intimately connected in that people from all tenures are using community facilities. This encouraged me to pursue my study about public space and social mix.

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4.4 Sampling and Recruitment

I employed non-probability sampling because probability sampling was not practicable as I did not have a sampling frame to begin with, or significant time to gather a sampling frame large enough to use probability sampling. In light of this, I have used quota sampling as an alternative to carry out my study. Newing (2011) recognizes that if probability sampling is not feasible, quota sampling is an alternative. I defined two subgroups: one of RGI residents, and the other of market-rate residents who either own or rent condominiums or townhouses. The purpose of defining these two groups was to help me to gain an understanding of the extent to which public spaces have played a role in their social interactions. I recruited this sample through a mixture of volunteer sampling, convenience sampling and snowball sampling until I reached my target size.

My criteria for recruitment were largely area based; anyone who lived within the Regent Park footprint in 2013 was eligible to participate in my study. To be included in my study, residents had to live in the boundary and be age 18 or older. A potential source of bias was that of language. Among the TCHC tenants, the top five languages spoken at home do not include English (City of Toronto, 2008). As a result, I stipulated that in order to participate in my study, a participant must be able to speak conversational English. I was purposely unrestrictive in my selection criteria because I was interested in getting a wide variety of people who were living within the boundary during the redevelopment given that the study focus was about spaces and facilities directed to the community in general. I used a variety of methods to recruit residents to participate in my study. Some methods were more

successful than others and this will be discussed further. Table 2 displays the demographic age range, gender, and tenure of study participants.

Participant	Gender	Tenure	Age
Carla	Female	Condominuim Owner	30-39
Ian	Male	Condominuim Owner	30-39
Dima	Female	Townhouse Owner	30-39
Matthew	Male	Condominuim Owner	40-49
Geoffrey	Male	Subsidized Tenant	20-29
Anushka	Female	Subsidized Tenant	30-39
Mariam	Female	Subsidized Tenant	30-39
Khadija	Female	Subsidized Tenant	30-39
Marcia	Female	Subsidized Tenant	40-49
Suvidhi	Female	Subsidized Tenant	20-29
Charles	Male	Rental Tenant	30-39
Adam	Male	Condominuim Owner	50-59
Luis	Male	Rental Tenant	30-39
Margaret	Female	Condominuim Owner	50-59
Mohammad	Male	Subsidized Tenant	20-29
Alan	Male	Condominuim Owner	30-39
Paul	Male	Subsidized Tenant	60-69
Joel	Male	Subsidized Tenant	60-69
Dalmar	Male	Subsidized Tenant	20-29
Christopher	Male	Condominium Owner	20-29

Table 2: Demographic age range and gender of residents who were part of this study. Participant names have been changed.

4.4.1 Participant Observation Research and Recruitment

In order to gain familiarity with and understand how the Regent Park community functions, I relocated to a Toronto neighbourhood near Regent Park. Over the course of six months, I participated regularly in community events and programs, and attended meetings. This method allowed me to gain a fuller appreciation for whether and how social mix was happening, in addition to learning about selected resident's experiences. A point of significance was my long term presence in Regent Park. I believe that it afforded me the

opportunity to establish and gain legitimacy in the community. Over time, I began to recognize residents, and they began to recognize me. This was helpful in the recruitment process as residents saw me present and connected in their community.

4.4.2 Social Media and Networking Recruitment

I began recruiting participants through means of social media – primarily through Facebook. During an ongoing University of Waterloo Regent Park research project, a Facebook group entitled "I Call Regent Park Home" was created. This site is directed to residents of Regent Park as a forum for sharing experiences and community events. I posted a recruitment script on that page and was successful in getting some participants. Additionally, I posted a message on my personal Facebook, asking my contacts whether they know anyone who lives in Regent Park that would be interested in participating in my study. This allowed me to reach my contacts, and then my contacts to reach theirs. I had anticipated that it would be a fairly successful method of recruitment due to the reach; however, it proved to be only marginally successful.

In meeting a condominium resident, I learned that a Facebook group existed exclusively for condominium residents. Their page was intended to be a shared space for residents to discuss experiences and events; however they did not want media to be able to access that page, and thus it became a closed group. Although I could not gain primary access to that page, I asked a condominium resident to post a recruitment script on my behalf, and that resident complied. This post aided in the recruitment of some research participants.

4.4.3 Yoga Classes

As a way of participating in a local community group, I attended drop in yoga classes for three consecutive weeks in Regent Park. They were coordinated by the Centre of Learning and Development. These classes were held during the day from 1:30pm to 2:30pm. These classes were directed to people within Regent Park, but were open to anyone. There were exclusively women who attended the classes, and they were of varying ages, religions, and ethnicities. I recognize that this specific venue does not provide a full picture of Regent Park as only women were present; however, in spite of this, it was still a potential place for social mix to occur. In this way, being a participant, I also was able to partake in the event, which allowed me the access to these potential interviewees. As an outsider, it was impossible to know where yoga participants lived, so at the end of every class, I spoke informally with participants and invited them to be part of my study. My attempt to recruit participants through this method was only minimally successful. Although this method of recruitment was not largely successful in itself, it helped me to continue establishing my legitimacy in the community. My purpose in attending these classes was to generate a sense of familiarity with some residents and open another avenue for recruitment. I found it challenging to meet people on the street or strike up a conversation at an event; consequently, I decided to try a different avenue for meeting potential participants. Yoga classes gave me an opportunity to be part of an event and a reason to talk to residents who I would see on a weekly basis.

4.4.4 Events and Meetings

As I began to recognize the importance of immersing myself in the Regent Park community, I attended five meetings facilitated by the City of Toronto, Toronto Community Housing Corporation, and RPNI including tenant update meetings and community consultation meetings. June 10, 2013 was the first community meeting that I attended, and was about the changes to the Plan that were being proposed. Much of the discussion was about the public spaces that had already opened, and additional information about spaces that are set to be built. These meetings are open to the public – there is a large presence of people that live in Regent Park, both TCHC tenants, and homeowners. There is also a large presence of people from the surrounding community, namely Cabbagetown, an adjacent neighbourhood in Toronto. Much of the dissension from this meeting was directed toward a proposed 38 storey tower at the corner of Parliament and Gerrard. Residents from Regent Park and the surrounding community made comments that it was too high. On September 17, 2013, there was a follow up meeting to assure residents that their voices had been heard. This meeting was led by the City of Toronto and TCHC, where it was announced that the 38 storey tower was going to be a 20 storey building, and the density would be shifted around. More importantly to my research, they discussed the new athletic grounds that will be part of Phase 3. This public space, funded in part by Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment, will be a sports facility open to everyone across the city.

These meetings served as information sessions, but also a time for residents and the surrounding community to ask questions about the plan. Many people who asked their questions identified themselves, indicating where they lived. This was helpful to me as I was

able to speak with them after the meeting and invite them to be part of my study. Recruiting participants this way was successful. Also, I had the opportunity to hear them ask questions about their community, which displayed their investment in the redevelopment. While this sort of recruitment was successful, I recognize that this method is limited to residents of Regent Park who tend to be actively involved in their community. During Tenant Update Meetings or Consultation Meetings, TCHC organizes translation services by asking residents who speak various languages to translate, and childcare services for residents. I found this through attending these meetings. At these meetings, the facilitator announces both these items and residents can relocate themselves close to their respective language translator as needed. Despite these meetings being made accessible in these ways, it tends to be active members of the community who attend meetings and ask questions.

In addition to attending meetings organized by the City of Toronto, TCHC, and RPNI, I also attended community events held in Regent Park. These were potential venues for social mix, and my attendance was in part to recruit, and in part to observe how people used and interacted in these spaces. For example, Sunday in the Park[3] is an annual event that happens during the summertime in Regent Park. It is a barbeque and fair for Regent Park residents and the surrounding community (see Appendix G). This year, Pam McConnell, the elected ward councillor, made a speech, unveiling 'Regent Street', located to the east of Daniels Spectrum. This event is a chance for residents to meet each other and enjoy a day of music, games, food, and fun. In attending this event, I was able to talk to many people about my study, but was only successful in recruiting a few participants for my study. Because I

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[3] Sunday in the Park is an annual festival of 22 years in Regent Park put on by RPNI as a community event.

was also participating in the event, I wore a University of Waterloo shirt with the University crest to give myself legitimacy in the community with the project I was discussing. I also wore this uniform for my attendance at the Regent Park Farmers' Market. This market was a pilot project this year, and an attempt to have residents sell goods and have produce. I was unsuccessful recruiting people at the Farmers' Market; however, it was a place where I was able to observe interactions. Although it was unclear whether people were from TCHC housing or market rate housing, I made informed guesses as I heard friends introducing each other, and networked with people I knew from other events. Additionally, during the interviews I conducted, some residents made reference to the Farmers' Market and it was helpful that I understood the context of their conversation. Community meetings and events were venues for recruitment, and were fairly successful. They also are places that are accessible and open to all residents of Regent Park.

On October 26, 2013, I engaged in a member checking exercise with Professor Laura C. Johnson, who I worked for in the capacity of a Research Assistant. We presented the preliminary findings of her longitudinal study in Regent Park at the Centre of Learning to residents of the sample, and other interested community members in the form of a PowerPoint presentation, followed by a discussion. It was a good experience to hear feedback from residents and check that the results of the research were in line with resident experiences. I used this venue as a site for recruitment. I was successful in getting some participants.

4.4.5 Social Development Plan Stakeholders' Table Meetings

The Social Development Plan (SDP) is a document that outlines some 79

recommendations directed at various groups within the Regent Park community that are intended to foster social cohesion. This document is intended to guide development in terms of social cohesion and inclusion, community services, and employment; however, it became apparent that there was a disconnection between the document and those it intends to serve as many residents and service agency representatives do not fully understand the document. I volunteered my time to go review the SDP and summarize the recommendations so that they are understandable and accurate. This work was helpful to my research as the SDP is a good basis for looking at social inclusion, and was also helpful to the SDP Stakeholders' Table. Additionally, I attended meetings for approximately four months in order to better understand how the table functions and what its role is in the redevelopment as well as give input on various topics. This table was convened as the SDP outlined, and its main functions are for information sharing, and advocacy on behalf of residents.

This table meets once a month to discuss challenges, barriers, and opportunities to the implementation and evaluation of the recommendations. It is comprised of representatives from the City of Toronto, TCHC, Daniels Corporation, local service agencies, and residents. I was not successful in recruiting residents for my research through these meetings; however attendance at this table helped me to make strong connections in the community. It has also afforded me the opportunity to meet representatives from the various groups, and approach potential key informants.

4.4.6 Recruiting Key Informants

Identifying key informants was my first challenge. Because this is such a large scale redevelopment, there are many people that work for each organization. I had to identify the

best people to speak to, that were also willing to speak with me. To identify these people, I made a point of noting who attended various meetings, and what their role was. After about four months of doing this, I felt confident that the people I had identified were, in fact, influential and knowledgeable. To recruit these people, I used a number of methods. In many of the cases, I introduced myself to the potential key informant at the various public meetings and events where I saw them. This method of recruitment was very successful as many of them were willing to learn more about my study. The second method of communication was through email. I emailed some people without having met them, or with one meeting and exchange of business cards. This method was largely unsuccessful. In light of this, I was more assertive in recruiting key informant participants at meetings and events.

4.4.7 Challenges to Recruitment

Overall, my experience with recruitment was fairly challenging. Many people who I attempted to recruit were either initially not interested, became unresponsive before the interview, or did not have time due to other duties. I found the most successful ways of recruiting participants was when the initiative was mine. In other words, meeting people and getting phone numbers and email addresses in person and then calling or emailing individual residents was the most effective, rather than posting online and snowballing where the burden was on the participant. I sought to gather a diverse range of participants including a diversity of ages, ethno-cultural backgrounds, and household structures.

The lack of monetary compensation for residents' time during an interview was not an issue in recruitment. Before beginning recruitment, I had thought that having an honorarium would incentivize residents to participate; however, due to a lack of funding, I

began recruiting without one and was able to reach my target resident sample size. I did not consider this for potential key informants. It is possible that recruitment would have been easier had I been able to offer compensation to participants. There were a small number of potential participants who declined to be part of my study due to the lack of financial compensation.

In terms of sites for recruitment, I found that there was a variety of places where I was successful and unsuccessful. I was able to recruit participants through a variety of spaces and events. However, I found it a challenge to recruit a diverse set of people from TCHC housing residents, as well as market-rate residents. In conducting non-probability sampling, I recognized that my sample may not be accurately reflective of the population; however, I attempted to get a diverse group of residents from all types of housing. Despite my efforts in this way, I found that my study consisted of many women in their thirties with small children from public housing, and many men from the market-rate units. It is important to note that I was able to meet only the residents who came out to these particular events that I attended and spaces I was in. Additionally, in using my social networks, I was only able to reach people connected to my network. In other words, the results of my recruitment were not a representative sample of the Regent Park community, and I acknowledge that my sampling method accounts for this.

During a pilot interview, I was told that some residents were experiencing research fatigue. I was aware that this may have been the case for some residents based on the information that I had received prior to the pilot study, as well as prior to my decision to pursue this project. In spite of these cautions, I went ahead with this project because it is a

unique project that I was interested in studying. During recruitment, I found that there were some residents who were experiencing research fatigue in their community. As I approached some residents, they observed my notebook and became unengaged in continuing a conversation, or told me that they had already participated in some research and were not willing to do further interviews. The clearest experience of research fatigue was a resident who I interviewed. Just before starting the interview, this resident confronted me by saying that he was frustrated by the amount of research that was happening in Regent Park, and that this was the last study he would participate in. He communicated to me his feelings of being over-researched.

Related to research fatigue, there was another challenge that I experienced during the recruiting process; a hesitancy to participate in my study if it was not different from other research being conducted. This resident made it clear that it was important that I was aware of the numerous other studies that were being conducted simultaneously. This resident was sympathetic to the interest of the research community, and saw importance in research being done, however, this resident wanted to ensure my knowledge of the current literature on Regent Park and explain how my study was different. I was clear to respond that my study was unique in that my contributions will be focused on the various public spaces of Regent Park and how these spaces are being used by TCHC residents and market housing residents. I was also able to assure this resident of my knowledge that other studies were being conducted, and further that I was working alongside a longitudinal study in Regent Park.

A challenge that I experienced in the process of recruiting, was potential key informants not wishing to be identified with their organization. This had implications for my

research as the information I would gather would not be as useful if it was not framed within the purview of the organization. However, in these cases, I minimized the direct quotations from these key informants, and sought their permission to use the quotations that I did use.

While using key informants can provide a wealth of information and shed insight into a study, it may prove to be a challenge to actually interview these key informants. Cooperation, availability, location, willingness, and confidentiality can all be obstacles to conducting an interview with a person that a researcher has identified to be a valuable key informant (Tremblay, 1957; Rowley, 2012; Gorden, 1987). Firstly, a researcher must be able to identify why they have chosen a specific person to interview. To do this, relevant information must be sought, perhaps in the form of available documentation, in order to gather a holistic understanding of that person's status and function in their particular setting (Gorden, 1987). Being prepared with the background of the key informant can enhance the interview and equip the interviewer with knowledge that could be useful in probing. The next step, and perhaps one of the most challenging, is contacting a key informant and having them agree to an interview, particularly when they hold a senior position.

4.4.8 Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical saturation marks the end of a portion of qualitative data analysis. It signifies a point in the research process where no new data is comes to light, and where concepts or themes that have emerged are developed (Bhattacherjee, 2012). At this point in the research process, there is a saturation of data that can corroborate concepts and connections between concepts, and an increase in the sampling size does not provide additional insight (Creswell, 2009). I was able to identify similar themes and feelings that

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emerged from the interviews that I conducted and I recognized that I had reached a point of theoretical saturation. Although all residents of Regent Park will have different experiences, repetition of ideas, feelings, and reactions began to emerge after a number of interviews. Additionally, despite my sample size being fairly small (n=20), my interview questions were focused and I was able to identify linkages between concepts that had developed.

4.5 The Process of Interviewing

After a resident or key informant had agreed to be interviewed, we set up a time and place to meet. Many of the interviews were conducted in a study room at the local Parliament Branch public library; however, some were conducted in other public and private spaces. It was important to ensure that the space that we met at was quiet, because, with the consent of the participant, I wanted to audio-record the interview. I was fortunate that all of the plans I made with participants were honoured; this process went smoothly.

During all my interviews, I began with some information that both residents and key informants needed to hear. Firstly, I assured the participant that this was university based research, which means that I had to abide by ethics principles set out by the University of Waterloo, and my research had been granted ethics clearance. I also informed participants that their participation was voluntary, and that they had the authority to skip any questions that they did not want to answer, or terminate the interview at any point. Lastly, I reiterated that their identity would not be revealed in the results of my research. I also had a consent form for each participant to sign. It ensured that participants voluntarily agreed to be part of my study, that the interview could be audio-recorded, and that I could use anonymous

quotations in my thesis or a publication that comes out of the research. I used a small audio-recorder device which was set between us.

I conducted semi-structured, face-to-face interviews which meant that I had a set of interview questions with me as a guide. Most of the interviews began with the same questions, and then diverted from the interview guide as our conversation developed; however, they stayed focused on the topics of social mix and public space. Face-to-face interviews allow for the possibility of extending pre-set questions, modifying the order of questions, and skipping questions; they offer flexibility (Robson, 2011). I had the option of following up on some responses that I found interesting to the study and was able to investigate further into the participant's expressed ideas and thoughts. Questionnaires, mail out surveys, and even structured interviews do not offer these same possibilities.

As I conducted interviews, I began to gain confidence and learn better techniques for probing and pursuing certain relevant points. I was the only researcher who conducted interviews for this study , and consequently, I was able to identify themes that emerged in numerous interviews. This allowed me to adjust my interview guide to include or exclude certain questions.

After all of the interviews were conducted, I began to transcribe them using Dragon Naturally Speaking software. I chose to transcribe them all at the same time in order to begin the process of identifying themes and ideas that came up in many interviews. I used this as my starting point for my analysis of the interviews.

4.6 Coding and Analysis

I transcribed the interviews that I conducted, and then the data that I collected was analyzed using NVivo software. I then coded the data in a number of ways. First, I went through all of the resident interviews and collated the answers by question. I called this 'organizational coding' because I organized the data into the responses by question in order to identify linkages, preliminary themes, and general responses and feelings. I also read through my data set numerous times in order to understand the material contextually, but also to flesh out ideas that emerged which I was not initially attuned to. Secondly, I used the method of open coding in order to understand the data. This is described by Esterberg (2002) as working through data line by line to identify themes and ideas of interest, whether or not they are related to the research question. In doing so, you do not impose your own codes; rather, you assess the data for what it is. My open coding garnered some 150 codes which I then organized into categories. Rowley (2012) suggests conducting a thematic analysis, where the researcher attempts to identify linkages across categories to produce a comprehensible data set. Using NVivo software, I coded text within similar themes in order to draw together ideas. This method allowed me to use my data set in a more manageable way. Through these methods of analysis, I was able to extract specific quotations that were relevant and poignant to this thesis and weave a narrative between the interviews.

4.7 Limitations

While my research presents findings of interest and contributes to the discussion on social mix and utilization of public space, limitations are present. Firstly, in terms of the methodology that I have selected, I recognize that there are some drawbacks. For example, I

conducted semi-structured interviews all of which were in English in order for me to understand the responses of participants. According to the City of Toronto (2008), of the five most common languages spoken at home in the Regent Park area, English is not one. As a result, my participant group was limited to residents who were fluent enough in English to participate. I was not able to recruit any participants who did not speak English as I was also not able to provide a translator. Additionally, based on the demographics of Regent Park according to the City of Toronto (2012), my sample included an overrepresentation of working age residents and underrepresentation of youth (over 18 as set out in my research proposal).

Secondly, participation in my study was voluntary. Consequently, the recruitment of participants did not garner a representative sample of the neighbourhood, and thus the responses that I received may have been skewed with residents who were more involved and opinionated on issues of participation. For example, I recruited participants at community meetings and events. At some of these meetings, I had the opportunity to hear residents ask questions about their community and asked them to be part of my study afterward. While this sort of recruitment was successful, I recognize that this method is limited to residents of Regent Park who tend to be actively involved in their community. In this way, my sample included participants who were actively involved and engaged in the community. Additionally, some recruitment was done through my own use of public spaces, and thus I already knew that some residents who were willing to participate used public space. Alternatively, some successful recruitment revolved around social networking sites which

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required an online account to Facebook, to which not all residents have equal access. This may have had an effect on the data I collected.

Currently, residents of Regent Park, employees of TCHC, the City of Toronto, and Daniels Corporation, and other local service agency workers may be experiencing research fatigue which may have adversely influenced data collection. There is a lot of media and research attention being concentrated on this area of Toronto due to the redevelopment. As a result, the residents who participated in the study may have been feeling overwhelmed or tired. Some residents expressed this to me directly during the interview process.

Because my research is very context specific, there might be a challenge in generalizing the results of my study. Regent Park is particularly diverse in terms of the ethno-cultural make up which makes it different from other public housing projects. Consequently, the results that are garnered from my research may not be applicable or generalizable to another public housing project that does not have a similar diversity. Additionally, Regent Park is being designed with many public spaces that are particularly well resourced. This also differs from many other North American public housing projects and consequently, my results may not be generalizable. However, the significance of the results of my research is intended to relate generally to ways that public space may influence informal social interaction.

Lastly, all of the interviews were conducted in person by me, and in spite of my attention to being neutral, there are ways that my own interests, values, and biases may have affected the data I collected, because I bring a set of values, interests, and subjectivity by which non-verbal communications could have influenced participant responses.

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Chapter 5
Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of my research from personal interviews with residents who live in both market rate units and TCHC social housing units and to present findings of key informant interviews. Although the resident sample size was relatively small (n=20), it was a fairly diverse group of residents in terms of their socio-economic status, ethno-cultural background, length of time living in Regent Park, and phase of redevelopment. In saying this, it is important to note that these residents had varied experiences living in Regent Park and they provided a variety of perspectives and insights into redevelopment. In addition to speaking with residents, I conducted personal interviews with a variety of key informants (n=7), which is another source of information that I drew upon in order to understand the redevelopment more holistically.

A goal of this chapter is to hear the voices of residents from different tenures and describe the realities that they face in the Regent Park neighbourhood. This chapter is primarily focused on the uses of public space, and the relationships that may exist between people of various tenures, situated in the context that Regent Park is in the midst of a redevelopment. Consequently, original residents and new residents have different relationships to Regent Park, different outlooks on the redevelopment, and various opinions regarding what the success of Regent Park will look like. Although some themes and patterns emerge throughout the data I have collected, I want to make explicitly clear that the views of existing and new residents are not a dichotomy. Residents have a diversity of thoughts and experiences that frame their perceptions and relationship to the redevelopment. It is because

of this diversity that I chose to pursue a qualitative approach to this research. In order to fully understand relationships to redevelopment, I asked residents of all tenures to describe their beliefs and thoughts regarding redevelopment, which is integral to understanding their relationships to each other.

5.1 Access

The concept of access spans a variety of realms and can be applied to a myriad of situations. In the case of housing redevelopment, the term access refers to the ability to use services, spaces, amenities, as well as move back to rebuilt housing for original residents as there is a potential to alienate some residents from being able to use services, parks, or in some cases even return to the housing project for original residents. However, it is not only the return rates to redeveloped sites that are a significant source of allowing or denying access, but it is also the perception that residents have of their community. A goal in the case of the Regent Park redevelopment is to break down the distinctions between low income residents and market residents, and to have a community where "[everyone] is able to go and is able to enjoy all these amenities together" (KI01). This goal plays a significant role in terms of access because it implies that all residents enjoy the same access to amenities. This concept will be evaluated in this section as residents discussed their experiences and perceptions with accessing a variety of services, spaces, and programs in Regent Park.

A method of challenging barriers to access to services and resources is that of the Social Development Plan (SDP). It is significant to the discussion of access because it provides a tangible source for the mitigation of the disparity in access between residents. It is also worth noting that when the SDP was created, agencies were not at their current capacity.

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Currently the SDP is going through a re-visioning and evaluation approximately seven years in to the redevelopment (KI07). Part of the concern around this is that members of the original community have been scattered through relocation processes. As a result, a strategic plan is being implemented to ensure that all stakeholders understand the SDP and are monitoring and evaluating the recommendations in a useful way (KI05). This document will be discussed throughout this chapter as it relates to the guidance of redevelopment.

5.1.1 Access to Housing in Regent Park

It is important to consider what the impetus was for people to move into Regent Park because it can have an effect on how they view the neighbourhood and their intentions in participating in the redevelopment. Part of this idea relates to the fact that residents have fewer barriers to accessing public spaces and services if they live in the neighbourhood, or are proximal to it. All residents who participated in my study had access to housing at the time of the interview; however, they spoke of access to housing being an issue in various ways. Some of the original residents who were part of my study were assigned to later phases of redevelopment and are scheduled to be relocated in the coming years. Some of them received relocation notices during the data collection portion of my study. These residents may have to move offsite temporarily, and thus may experience challenges to accessing public spaces, services, and the new market rate residents in Regent Park. Residents who purchased or are renting homes in Regent Park may have had a financial reason to move to the neighbourhood which influenced their perception about forming close neighbourly ties, or accessing amenities in the neighbourhood. It is because of the complexity of these varying

factors that access to housing is an integral component to understanding how residents utilize public space, and resident motivations in establishing connections to their neighbours.

In my interviews, many residents who lived in Regent Park before the redevelopment stated that the main reason for moving into the area was their need for housing coupled with the fact that being offered a unit in Regent Park was the fastest and easiest option. The redevelopment brings change to the tenancy of the Regent Park neighbourhood and original residents express concern about this. A young resident discussed his unease about this changing opportunity for low income households. He said,

> "Regent Park used to be predominantly for people who are disadvantaged. When everybody was trying to get a home and housing, they would always be put in Regent Park. Regent Park had a lot of people coming in who were from backgrounds that are… right now, you're getting a lot of people coming in who are not poor. So the question is, has this stopped? Is somebody who's applying for housing, will he not ever be put in Regent Park? Is Regent Park closed off to the poor? But now it's opened to everyone else." (LR20[4])

This concern for the change in tenancy of Regent Park is echoed in other interviews with residents from social housing units. These residents stated their concern that the introduction of market rate housing will change Regent Park dramatically and low income households will be faced with challenges to moving into Regent Park. In this way, the issue of access is present; residents mention in a variety of ways that the access for low income people to move to Regent Park has changed.

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[4] When citing low income residents, I will use LR followed by an assigned resident number.

Market rate residents told a different story when asked what their primary reasons for coming to Regent Park were. About half of these residents that I interviewed (renters and owners) cited the price of the units as being a major driving force to move to the area. Two of these residents stated that they had not been familiar with Toronto and decided to buy based on their real estate agent's recommendation. Another prominent reason that emerged was that these residents learned about the redevelopment and wanted to be part of the project; they believed in the redevelopment of Regent Park as being positive and wanted to share in the success of the project. One resident expressed her desire to be connected with the redevelopment, saying "I knew about what was going. I didn't bother shopping on other condominiums. I bought here when the opportunity came" (MR16)[5]. This desire to be part of the revitalization was not specific to purchasing in Regent Park; other homeowners and market rate renters insisted that as they learned more about the redevelopment, they were interested in being involved in community life, which was a concept that they reported was missing in the neighbourhoods they moved from. One resident who has lived in Regent Park for a few years discusses the motivations of her family to buy a unit:

> "We had heard about the Regent Park revitalization, we had been down to look
> at it when there was like, one building up and it was February. So of course it
> looked terrible because it was like a construction zone in February. So we put it
> in the back of our minds. But we came back down and looked at it again and
> thought it looked kind of good, and then started talking to friends of ours in the
> community about what was the buzz on the revitalization and you know, we

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[5] When citing market rate residents, I will use MR followed by an assigned resident number.

didn't want to do it if it was politically not helpful to the residents, or seen as

something that is really just like a gentrification. We learned a ton about the

project." (MR10)

It is clear in these cases that the consideration for the community's wellbeing was at the

forefront of some purchasers' minds. Whether residents living in market rate units cited price

or social justice reasons as being the catalyst for moving to Regent Park, all of these residents

had the financial and social means to choose their place of living. In this way, the access that

these residents have to Regent Park is different from those who live in TCHC housing units. I

propose that this differential in terms of access to the neighbourhood is significant because it

speaks to the power that a resident has in terms of choosing their community and their access

to Regent Park. Like that resident asked, "Is Regent Park closed to the poor?" (LR20).

Whether or not this is true, the fact that this resident identified this as a concern is significant;

the power is shifting, and low income residents may face challenges in terms of accessing

housing Regent Park. An example of this lies in the numbers: Regent Park began with 2,083

units of public housing before redevelopment. After the redevelopment, it is projected that

there will be just over 1800 units of public housing, with the remaining units located offsite

(Regent Park, 2014). This decrease in units within the footprint will make it more

challenging for low income households to be placed in Regent Park.

It is important to acknowledge that some market rate residents show tremendous

empathy to their social housing neighbours. This empathy was apparent through the tensions

in the voice of these residents who expressed concern and with the quality of building, and

the rate at which social housing units were being rebuilt. The residents who spoke of this

were alluding to the idea of original residents maintaining their access to Regent Park. One resident who has lived in the neighbourhood for a few years discussed his concerns with the redevelopment:

> "I think the thing that I wonder about sometimes is how fast the social housing is coming back online, because I notice condos seem to be springing up faster than the social housing buildings. And it's cool to see; I love it, to see my whole street, half of it is town homes, and half are owned or rental, and half are subsidized, and you wouldn't really know the difference if you were walking down the street. So I love that there is a lot of thought going into building nice housing, but part of the deal for me when I bought in was that it wasn't going to be a displacement of the people in the neighbourhood. So it's a bit concerning when you see the condos going really fast and the social housing trailing behind a little bit which seems to possibly be happening a bit." (MR17)

It is apparent that this resident has been thinking about the neighbours who are awaiting new housing, and stated his concern that their access to housing is being impeded by the building of condominium buildings. TCHC has outlined their commitment to replacing all of the units of social housing, and giving original residents a right of return to the neighbourhood, but the process of relocation can distance original residents from their neighbourhood, community, connections, and public spaces. This can be a significant length of time and some residents explain their concern with this ominous challenge that they face. One resident who has lived in Regent Park for a number of years said, "I have my biggest concern with my phase. Where am I going to go? I don't want to move out of Regent Park. Moving out of Regent Park, it's

starting all over again" (LR19). Part of this relocation process may involve moving to another part of the city of Toronto to another unit within the TCHC housing portfolio. This presents a challenge for original residents to access the amenities in their community, particularly for those who have lived for a number of years through the redevelopment and are adjusting to the changes that are happening.

5.1.2 Access to Public Spaces

When using open coding and axial coding to understand relationships across categories, I found that many residents discussed a variety of concerns with, barriers to, and perceptions of public spaces which inhibited them from using public space. A central question of my study focuses on whether or not public spaces are venues for meeting and mixing with neighbours, yet I began to discover barriers that residents felt in using particular public spaces in the first place. Most residents reported that they use a variety of public spaces quite regularly; however, places that produce an unwelcoming atmosphere or foster exclusion also exist.

Many original residents in Regent Park experienced changes over time that the redevelopment has brought. Many of these same residents can compare the old Regent Park to the new one being built. The stories shared illustrate the tensions that some residents feel about their changing neighbourhood. The residents who live in market rate units also discussed some interesting stories about their neighbourhood as they experience the redevelopment that surrounds them. While theoretically, access to public space is granted to all residents of Regent Park, and in most cases, to the wider community, it became apparent that there were practical barriers that led residents to feel as though they were not welcomed

or did not have access to certain public spaces. An example of this was the Farmers' Market. In 2013, there was a pilot Farmers' Market which was initiated as an effort between food security groups and other collaborators in Regent Park. A goal that Daniels Corporation and TCHC had for the Farmers' Market was for it to be a place where residents of Regent Park and across the city could come together in Regent Park (KI03). This goal implies that everyone in the community has the same access to the Farmers' Market, and while theoretically this may be true, some residents provided an alternative view. A resident with two small children who has lived in the neighbourhood for a number of years described her experiences with the Farmers' Market:

> "Farmers' market is good but not for the low income people because the food is very much expensive. So I think maybe this year they just do some pilot project, and next year they will focus on things, because if the things, especially for Regent Park community, they can think something cheaper. If people come to Fresh Co. and get something cheaper than Farmers' Market, why they come to the Farmers' Market? They're not coming. They just come, walk, and go back. And they just think, "This is not for me"." (LR06)

For low-income families, disposable income may be a challenge to acquire, and venues like the Farmers' Market may feel out of reach due to the family's financial situation. In the interview quoted above, this resident brings up the point that the supermarket in the area has food that is more affordable than the Farmers' Market, and so low-income residents can feel 'priced-out' of other events or programs in the neighbourhood. This speaks to the idea of access because it illustrates a way in which a goal of having the market is not being

met. Because the Farmers' Market completed its first year, it has had the opportunity to work out some of these issues. As part of my participant observation, I attended a few weeks of the Farmers' Market in Regent Park. It appeared to me that some of the vendors were low-income families from Regent Park. This may have been an innovative way to earn some money, but the dynamic that it produced was more complex. While this made the demographic spread of the Farmers' Market wide, it did not appear that residents were all at the market in the same capacity. It was apparent that there was a mix of people present; however, the kinds of access differed. Other low income residents whom I interviewed stated that they attended the Farmers' Market and they noticed a mix of people, so this venue may produce varied forms of access, but was a setting for potential mixing to occur.

A public space worthy of investigation is the Aquatic Centre. This space was not part of the original plan of redevelopment in 2005; however, municipal funding became available through Section 37 of the Planning Act (KI04). Section 37 allows the municipality to gain cash or other contributions from developers in exchange for increased density. During the discussions of the redevelopment and through community consultation recorded in the form of the SDP, there was a proposal ready, and the money was awarded for a City of Toronto Parks and Recreation Aquatic Centre facility. The design of the facility was influenced in large part by the community (KI03). The centre opened late in 2012 and through the significant work of local Councillor Pam McConnell in partnership with residents it was designated a priority centre in early 2013. This means that registration and drop-in fees are eliminated. Consequently, this space produces no financial restrictions for any residents, or the wider community. Because the Aquatic Centre is run by the City of Toronto, it is open to

everyone. This particular facility is an award-winning unique design and received a lot of good media press, and thus has become popular in many parts of the city. Many residents with whom I spoke discussed the Aquatic Centre with some dissenting opinions. One resident reported a positive perspective, saying:

> "The swimming pool was huge big deal. Very accessible and very inclusive, program-wise. There is a female only program that is very accessible and very private. That's one of my favourite parts of the swimming pool. So I don't know how to swim and I'm learning how to swim right now." (LR12)

This resident not only speaks highly of the facility, but makes note of important programs that allow different users to have access to the pool. One of these design features and programs is the female-only swim times. At these times, screens come down to cover the glass windows in order to allow women of all religions and ethnicities to feel comfortable swimming. This is an important part of making this facility accessible to all demographic groups in Regent Park, and the wider community. Another resident explained her experiences with the Aquatic Centre. She was part of the resident group who fought for the facility to be declared a priority centre. She said,

> "Actually, you know, especially when before they open the Aquatic Centre, we have lots of hope, but after that I really lost my hope because that time, the conversation thing is Regent Park residents get the first priority. Now they've open and free for all the community, all the GTA, this facility is not big enough. … I feel it's not a free space, or community space for us. Maybe they can change 'free for Regent Park', but some limited time, and for rest of

community, one or two days, not all the time. Because if [it is] free for

everybody, now for me also, because I apply for my kids for swimming lessons,

but we are on the waiting list, but whoever come from far away, they are

already in. So I feel, really bad because we work hard for this Aquatic Centre,

and if we not get the services, we really upset." (LR06)

This resident is speaking to the facility being busy and thus impeding access for those who

require the priority status. Her point of view shows a concern with having amenities in the

neighbourhood that are high-traffic spaces which can deter local residents from accessing

them because people from outside the community are enjoying them. Another low income

resident who is also a parent provided a different viewpoint, arguing that this pool is City run

and should be opened to everyone. She said,

"There's some residents that were saying "why should people from Finch come

over here? Or people from other places come over here?" It's a city swimming

pool. You cannot tell who can come to this pool and who cannot come to this

pool. I go, I go to Riverdale swimming pool, I go to Christie, I go to the one by

the Beach, and they don't tell me "oh you can't come here". It's open to

anyone. You cannot say "you don't belong here so you can't come here"."

(LR19)

She acknowledged that access to facilities is not necessarily contingent upon them being

within the boundary of Regent Park – there can be facilities in the wider community that are

also open to Regent Park residents. A condominium resident also weighed in on the topic of

the Aquatic Centre and stated her point of view:

"The Aquatic Centre we use on the weekends a fair bit. It's become really busy

actually. We sometimes avoid it because it's so packed on the weekend, or at

least the time you're allowed to go with little ones, which is great. We also see a

lot of folks come from outside of Regent Park to use the Aquatic Centre which

is great, but also means that it's really busy." (MR10)

She provided an understanding perspective, that it is just the reality of having a nice facility

in the neighbourhood; it draws in people from everywhere. It is clear that the Aquatic Centre

is a source of contention within the community as it is intended to serve the purpose of

community building, and to increase the quality of life for residents (KI04); however,

residents relate to the space differently and have their own perceptions of the kind of access

they experience.

Another feature that produces differential access is related to the cost of events,

programs, and public spaces. In Regent Park, there were not many public spaces or prior to

redevelopment, and what did exist were not quality public spaces as Francis et al. (2012)

determine to be important for community. A resident discussed her feelings about public

spaces that require payment. She said,

"I've gone when there's activities and stuff. In the summertime, there's always

something going on there in the summertime. So it's good, but at the same time,

the arts and culture, it's beautiful, but there's times there are shows. As the low

income people, and we have brought it up, when there's a performance or show,

tickets are too expensive. So we're just going, "oh well. That's not for us". And

you see people coming in their beautiful cars, all dressed, wow. I can't buy. I'm

not going." (LR19)

This is a significant factor in determining who has access and who does not; if events

and spaces require payment to attend, low income people may not be able to

participate, which creates a division in terms of access in the community. This resident

also explained another scenario where she felt unable to access programs in the

community for her children because they were too expensive.

In addition to some programs that feel exclusive for some residents, there are retail

and commercial spaces that were also discussed in the interviews. There are particular public

spaces that emerged as being more contentious than others; one of these was the Paintbox

Bistro. The Paintbox Bistro is an upscale restaurant in Regent Park which also hosts musical

performances, caters events, and trains culinary students. I believe it is necessary to

acknowledge that this is a for profit business which operates within Regent Park and serves

the wider community as well. It relies heavily on partnerships with organizations within

Regent Park and works to employ local residents through programs and partnerships across

the city (KI02). It has a socially minded mandate, and a representative of the Paintbox Bistro

said "the goals are much bigger than realizing success of Paintbox" (KI02). In this way, there

was attention given to the idea of social mix by engaging in partnerships to employ local

residents, and also initiatives that aim to have mixing happening in the space. An example of

this was the $5 or pay what you can buffet lunch to attract a diversity of community

members. It ran for about six months and then it was stopped because gradually low-income

people were not coming out to it anymore and thus the goal was not being met.

The contentions around this particular public space lay in the price of the food as it is the only restaurant within the boundary of Regent Park. Despite partnerships existing and being socially minded, the lack of access lies in the financial restrictions for some, and not for others. One resident reported that he had been to the Paintbox Bistro when it first opened, but found it to be out of his price range (LR07). Even though he enjoyed the food and the atmosphere, he did not feel that he had the full value for his money. Another resident also reported that the Bistro is expensive and that low income people cannot afford to eat there (LR06). In this way, low income residents can be priced out of accessing certain spaces that could be potential venues for social mix to occur. Nearly all of the condominium dwellers who were interviewed had reported going to the Bistro for a meal, and none mentioned price as an issue. A different way that low-income people are involved with the Bistro is through partnerships which have allowed them to use the kitchen space to make food to sell at the Farmers' Market, or use the kitchen to gain kitchen skills and experience required for a Food Handlers Certificate (KI02). In this way, low-income residents who may not be able to afford a meal at the Bistro have a chance to use the space in a different way. A low income resident who has lived in the community for a number of years and has forged many relationships informed me about her use of the Bistro kitchen for volunteer cooking (LR12). While these partnerships are important for capacity building in the community, it still remains a contentious space due to the nature of the for-profit business. It is because of this that there is a division in access to the space. A young resident described his thoughts on how people are using space in Regent Park drawing on his experiences as well as media sources. He said,

"Most people are saying that the rich people are acting as snobs and they don't

want to come out because, from some of the stuff I've read, they don't want to

come out because they see us as different. I would say I feel that vibe

sometimes. You really see the Paintbox people just sort of, congregating in the

Paintbox. They have this restaurant there, the Bistro, and I think it's probably

the people from the condo acting as if it's their cafeteria or something."

(LR02)

In saying this, he acknowledges that there are divisions in the community around space. He is

describing a feeling of exclusion in that he does not feel welcomed in that space. In a

community that is changing so dramatically, it is important to acknowledge the level of

comfort and acceptance that residents feel in a variety of spaces that are intended to bring the

community together and improve the quality of life of residents. Access to and use of public

spaces that are in the Regent Park neighbourhood is an integral component of the

revitalization (KI01; KI04; KI05; SDP, 2007).

It is not just low income residents who experience challenges with access to spaces

in the community; residents from the condominiums discussed the way they use public

spaces and their feelings toward events in the community. Most residents from market rate

units use some public spaces at least fairly regularly; however, certain public spaces and

events were discussed that illustrate a picture where some market rate residents did not feel

welcomed. Because Regent Park was considered family housing prior to redevelopment,

many of the annual events were family focused such as Sunday in the Park and Block-o-

Rama. In interviewing a representative from Daniels Corporation, I learned that

approximately 30% of the condominium units to date are two bedroom units and about 5% are three bedroom units (KI06). This means that there is some potential for family housing in the market rate units; however, a much larger percentage of units are studio apartments and one bedroom units. This is a significant change from the original composition of the neighbourhood, and my sample of market rate residents included three participants who had children and seven who did not. This context is important to understand because in discussing events and services in Regent Park with market rate residents, I found that there were some perceptions that events were family oriented and consequently single people or couples did not feel welcome. Some examples include the services of the Employment Centre, the Centre of Learning, and some events including Sunday in the Park and Block-o-Rama. A resident who has lived in the neighbourhood with his girlfriend for just over a year discussed his lack of interest in seeking services in the neighbourhood. He said, "They are not really driven towards me. I think it's more towards families, and more arts stuff that I really don't like to do" (MR01). It is apparent that he perceived that services are family oriented and thus not for him to access. Although, in theory, he can physically access those services, his perception that the services are not geared to him is a barrier to him using that space. Another example is with events that some market rate residents perceive to be family oriented. A single male condominium owner who has lived in the neighbourhood for approximately three years describes his involvement with some community events:

> "I've been to the Farmers' Market they had over the summer, but those
>
> Sunday in the Park or Block-o-Rama always seem more family geared. I don't

know if they actually are. I should probably go. But for me it doesn't fit in the

type of things I usually do." (MR17)

The perception that events are geared toward family can dissuade single residents from

attending, and this resident proposed that they might be, and then showed a potential

willingness to participate anyway. In this case, he saw a barrier to participating despite this

event being open to the community and city. A resident who lives alone pointed out that

there are services in the neighbourhood that people who are moving in from different parts of

the city will not need or use (MR15). He said:

"The people who are owners and are moving into the community don't also

have the needs for some of the community services – a bit of a generalization

– but they don't have the need for some of the services that are being provided

in the community. I don't need to go to the learning centre. I have a degree. I

have a Masters, and I have a job that's stable…I don't need the services at the

Centre for Learning, because I already have my own. I think people who are

owners are in a socio-economic position that either they can afford it, or have

the education they need in order to afford a condo. They don't need those

services." (MR15)

He is explaining that many of the new owners in Regent Park do not need to utilize some of

the services that are present in the neighbourhood as they have resources in different areas of

the city, and other means of acquiring them. Even though this is likely the case, and was

largely confirmed by the sample that I interviewed, these spaces are still public spaces, and

therefore are included in my study. This resident also made it clear that he attended events at

the Centre of Learning, but did not access the services provided. Having a diverse range of resources, services, and events in the community is a positive thing, particularly as new public spaces come online. These public spaces, by definition, are able to be accessed by all; yet, it has become apparent that people use spaces very differently.

5.2 'Right to the City' in Regent Park

This concept, coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1996, can be used in the field of Planning to understand processes of redevelopment, and entrench the rights that urban citizens have to change their neighbourhoods through collective power. 'Right to the city' has two central components: the right to participation, and the right to appropriation (Purcell, 2002). Both of these tenets are important in mixed-income neighbourhoods, as it has been argued that low income residents' 'right to the city' hangs in the balance as wealthier residents move in (Duke, 2009). Thus, it is critical to recognize that the rights of urban citizens can be in jeopardy as their neighbourhood, sense of ownership, quality of life, and access to urban resources change. A second important point about 'right to the city' is that it is not limited to physical integration; it has been shown to determine certain social aspects as well (Duke, 2009). This is particularly important in a case like Regent Park where the change in the demographic by the end of the redevelopment will be significant, and thus, as original residents return to their community after relocation, or move directly into new units, they should be able to continue to fully participate in the community, despite a lack of monetary power which their new neighbours have.

Current housing policies globally are increasing support for socially mixed neighbourhoods, and this can have tangible impacts for original residents. It is because of

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these changes that happen to[6] neighbourhoods that 'right to the city' is so important. The

'right to the city' is an avenue for securing the rights of low income residents who may

otherwise experience segregation (Duke, 2009), lack the mobility to return (Popkin, 2010), or

have their use value surrendered for the exchange value of their wealthy neighbours (Duke,

2009). This concept does not exist on its own, rather, the idea of access to spaces and

resources is very much related to 'right to the city'. In this way, in light of the differential

access that residents of all tenures reported, it is critical to enshrine 'right to the city' as part

of the approach of creating a mixed income neighbourhood.

This section will discuss the initiatives that have been taken to include the voices of

residents in decision making processes, and the feelings that residents report having toward

the ownership of space in Regent Park. I invoke Lefebvre's (1996) concept of 'right to the

city' to understand and analyze resident experiences in these ways. The aim of this section is

to provide an account of how residents have shaped the redevelopment through their

participation in decision making processes as well as their ability to change, create, and use

the neighbourhood they live in.

5.2.1 Right to Participation

Throughout my interviews with key informants, the idea of original residents having

a voice in the redevelopment emerged. Representatives from Daniels Corporation, TCHC,

the City of Toronto, and local service agencies all mentioned this as an important factor in

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[6] Note that I have used the phrase 'happen to neighbourhoods' as opposed to 'within' because these changes
are not occurring at a grassroots level; rather, they are being done to the community from outside sources,
and particularly through the use of public-private partnerships. The significance lies in that 'right to the city'
advocates for changes to happen through an approach that allows urban citizens to claim the right to change
and participate in their city and neighbourhood.

the redevelopment. Through my field work in attending Community Consultation Meetings and Tenant Update Meetings, there were many discussions about this very phenomenon. In speaking to residents, I was able to understand 'right to the city' more holistically and the challenges that accompany implementing a concept like this into urban settings that are undergoing immense change, at a time when the concept holds particular importance.

Firstly, I must clarify what voice refers to: the Regent Park community's housing used to be reserved for low-income individuals and families, and now there is the introduction of different types of housing. Although original residents have lived in Regent Park for varied lengths of time, there is a recognition that the voice of residents speaks to the needs and desires of the community. Because the original residents comprise a group of individuals without monetary power, it is possible for their voice in the redevelopment to be lost. While there is no singular or homogenous voice to represent every resident, this generalization of voice is important because it is indicates that there is a difference from the voices of residents who own property in Regent Park now (those with monetary power). In this way, the SDP was created and is used to ensure that original residents are part of the redevelopment and have some stake in the outcome. It was also a chance for original residents to identify areas and facilities that they believed would benefit the community (KI01). An important goal of the SDP is to preserve the voice of original residents throughout the changes that redevelopment brings because there was concern that in moving toward a mixed community TCHC residents would lose their voice (KI01).

Through my participant observation research in conjunction with the interviews I conducted, it became apparent that residents were highly engaged in the redevelopment and

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in the Regent Park community at large at a number of levels. Turnout at the Tenant Update Meetings and Community Consultation meetings was high with the 300 seat auditorium full of residents from Regent Park and the surrounding community. In conversation with residents, eight out of ten TCHC housing residents, and four out of ten market rate residents reported that they were part of clubs and organizations that operate in Regent Park for the betterment of community. A representative of the City of Toronto said "I have never seen a community as engaged as Regent Park to be completely honest. They have meetings about everything. They have a team and in multiple languages will talk to community leaders so that as many people as possible know what is coming down the pipeline" (KI01). For City staff to acknowledge that Regent Park residents are engaged is an important part of the planning process, particularly as this redevelopment boasts itself to be participatory. A representative of TCHC said:

> "From an engagement perspective, we still have lots of work to do. I have seen a shift in terms of the culture around redevelopment from the residents' hands and service providers. I see people more generally asking questions…When specific people were asking questions because they wanted to know, and not because they wanted to be smart and sarcastic, I think we have been able to achieve that and also we are able to demonstrate our commitment to our tenants and residents, one, in keeping them informed, two, in making sure they participate, and three in making sure that there is the space for them to connect among themselves on their own time." (KI05)

It appears that TCHC is invested in community engagement; but it is also prudent to acknowledge that they only have an obligation to their tenants. As a result, their work in assessing engagement only pertains to some residents within Regent Park.

Residents of all tenures were concerned with the voice of the original residents being prominent. To provide the contextual situation, at the time of data collection, TCHC was putting forward a proposal to the City of Toronto in collaboration with Daniels Corporation to increase the density in Regent Park and include more market rate units. In this way, the percentage would shift from 60% market rate and 40% TCHC housing to approximately 70% and 30% respectively. In light of this, I asked residents what they thought about this change and this question brought a range of answers. Some original residents expressed concern about their place in the redevelopment as the percentage of units change. Part of having a voice includes being listened to. A young low income resident who has been living in Regent Park for about a year commented on how this change might affect the voice of original residents saying:

> "Some people think that when you're paying a full rent, they're going to listen
> to you. People who are renting rather than people who are community housing,
> for instance, they are calling and asking "this is a problem I'm having". Will
> those people be given favour over people who are using community housing,
> who are living in community housing?" (LR08)

There are concerns in the community around the changes that the new mixed income neighbourhood brings. Part of this concern lies in how low income residents will be treated, particularly as new residents with monetary power and potentially higher socio-economic

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statuses move in. Some residents expressed this concern, but did not necessarily attribute it to the changes to only new residents coming into Regent Park, but additionally to the surrounding community. A long-time resident of Regent Park who is very involved in the community discussed her frustrations with the participatory planning process:

"[TCHC] has a habit of here, the City, or anybody that has come to build from the beginning to talk to us about getting resident involvement. I've gone to meetings of the swimming pool, I've gone to meetings of the park, I've gone to meetings of everything to talk to residents. They ask, "what would you like?" We go, we ask what we would like to see, and at the end, "sorry, yours is not in there"… When it's people from Cabbagetown that has money, or around here, people that have homes, "oh yes, we'll take yours"." (LR19)

This resident goes on to further explain how the 'right to participation' is not being honoured. Even though residents are asked for their input, she felt like she wasn't being listened to. Part of this she attributed to the lack of unified voice from the original residents. She said:

"The voice has been getting changed from the residents of Regent Park. And I always tell the residents of Regent Park, you guys need to speak up. Because they're always like… for me, if I speak up, it's only one voice. I don't have the back-up. That's not going to help me. But if it's all of us getting together, it does help. But for all the condominium getting together, they are going to listen to them, because they have more voice. They're not going to listen to me, because there's only one of me." (LR19)

Other residents agreed that asking for resident feedback is a veiled attempt at fulfilling a planning procedure that requires community consultation. For example, a long-time low income resident described an interaction that he witnessed while attending a meeting about the Regent Park Athletic Grounds. A fellow resident expressed concerned with the field and commented about this to the facilitator.

> "But the lady who was facilitating this had an interesting remark. She says "we're familiar with that concern and the reasons why they're going with the opposite direction is this, this and that." So it feels like even though they're receiving input from the community, they're well prepared to answer back. They're well prepared to go along their interests… His concerns have already been answered to them at least, because they've heard the concern and answered back in a way that makes sense to them, why it shouldn't be what he's saying." (LR20)

This resident has indirectly discussed Lefebvre's concept of 'right to participation' arguing that in this way, these urban citizens do not have a real opportunity to shape their city through being a true part of the decision making process. A low income resident reported her experience with attending meetings put on by TCHC and the City of Toronto in order to get feedback from the community. She said:

> "Every meeting you go to there is a new change, or a new proposal. Something new is going to happen, and they are not truly always clear about what they are presenting. They come and present they have their own set agenda. This is what we're going to cover in the meeting and let's save the last 10 minutes for

questions. And not everybody's going to get to answer all their questions.

People by that time get frustrated because it's the same repetitive information

being given to them. "We made this change, no no we made that change". And

after you sit there for 2 hours, you just get up and leave. You're not going to

give any answers to me. If you had any answers, you're going to give them to

me in 2 hours. I wish there was bit more communication. There's a lack of

communication." (LR08)

The changing Master Plan, which has officially happened three times, has been a source of

frustration for residents who will experience relocation. In my experience at Community

Consultation Meetings, there is approximately half an hour of a two hour session dedicated to

answering residents' questions. This resident (LR08) expressed that this is not a sufficient

amount of time to answer all of the questions from residents, and is discouraged because she

felt that the decision makers are not fully truthful about what is happening. A long term

resident who has raised his children in Regent Park

"You meet and there's collaboration to highlight the decisions that are already

being taken. I always prefer inclusiveness. There should be a way of bringing

people into what we are doing right from the foundations before the

implementation so we can all go through the same thing, and say oh yeah, I

knew someone suggested this among the tenants. But most of the tenants have

deliberated about there are changes in the height of the houses and all that you

know, but it was the other neighbours voice that was had and it was brought

down." (LR14)

As it relates to the right to participate in the decision making process, these residents are all referring to a lack of real decision making power in the hands of residents. Alternatively, other residents shared some positive experiences with being part of the planning process. A long-time low income resident of Regent Park stated that he feels as though he had the chance to participate in the discussions about redevelopment (LR07). Another resident reported that changes are made because residents are listened to. In her experience, she asked for changes at the Aquatic Centre and they were granted. She said:

> "If I have a problem, like let's say Saturday's packed if you come out.
> Sometimes you cannot move around. And I say, listen, you need to extend the
> hours or you need to do it two days. There is a need. So they do listen and when
> a community member has a problem they come to me and tell me, "this is
> packed, we want another day or extend the hours at least we could swim." And
> I go there and speak to them and they extend the hours and they do listen and
> we do work together in order to help the community members." (LR12)

It was not only low income residents who discussed their voice being part of the redevelopment; market rate residents also mentioned their concerns with the voice of original residents being retained in the redevelopment. A resident who moved to the neighbourhood approximately two years ago and became involved in community organizations stated:

> "I do love the sense of community and my concern is less with the owners
> coming into the community. My concern is more the voice of the residents who
> exist in the community. I don't want them – it's starting to sound quite
> paternalistic which bugs me – but I don't want to come to a space where I've

caused people to feel like they're being forced out. That upsets me. That bothers

me tremendously. Do I think we need one voice? Not necessarily. I think we

need to have many voices that can interact together." (MR15)

He is acknowledging that there may be many voices in Regent Park that need to be heard, but

lends a particular importance to the voices of original residents. Another market rate resident

who had contact with the Regent Park community for years before moving to it echoed this

point as redevelopment shifts the density to reflect the 70% and 30% split by stating "I think

it will make it more difficult for the social housing folks to have a voice" (MR16).

Although some market rate residents expressed that low income residents may have a

hard time making their voice heard due to redevelopment, other market rate residents

reported that the voice of residents is being heard. A market rate resident who has lived in the

neighbourhood for about two years expressed his thoughts on residents shaping

redevelopment and being part of decision making processes. He stated he liked that residents

feel heard and gave the examples of meetings where the City and developers take to heart the

concerns of residents. He gave a more specific example, referring to the six acre park under

construction and set to open in June, 2014. Although he was not in attendance of the meeting,

he relayed a conversation he had with his friend:

"She said that the City was going to manage the park and the City at first said

"great, we are going to give you like 3 acres of nice green grass for everyone to

use." And the residents basically said "we don't want just acres of green grass,

we want to have a playground we want to have water features, we want to have

a community bake oven." So they had another meeting where residents were

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encouraged to bring clippings of different park feathers that they had seen at

other locations. So they basically gathered all of those ideas and took them to

the developer that then designed the park based on the input from the residents.

So, we're getting a community bake oven, we're getting water features. We're

getting the playground." (MR13)

This example was corroborated by a representative of Daniels Corporation who stated that

part of the process includes changing the plan to reflect the residents and how they will use

the spaces, and referred specifically to the Park (KI03). This key informant also mentioned

that this element, involving residents in processes, is explicitly entrenched in the twelve

guiding principles of redevelopment, created through the SDP.

Another avenue for maintaining the voice of residents is through RPNI which serves

as a neighbourhood organization for all residents. The SDP was created by original residents

who were low income and part of the role of RPNI is to "make sure that the SDP doesn't end

up by the wayside, but that it becomes a living breathing document that is revised, that makes

sense, so that at the end of all of this, we have something to hold up and say "here's what

worked, and here's what didn't"" (KI07).

A young market rate resident who has lived in Regent Park for almost four years

reported that his involvement in the redevelopment process was minimal, but that he believed

that he has the opportunity to make his voice heard if need be. He commented:

"I haven't had the chance to voice [my opinions] because I haven't had the

time. So I find it reassuring, for example, that our City Councillor lives in the

building, lives in the neighbourhood. Even just that gives me some reassurance

that things are going along well." (MR17)

Residents have conflicting views about whether there is truly the right to participate in

decision making processes, and both views have specific examples to illustrate their point.

Although there are specific planning processes that are set out by the Planning Act such as a

Community Consultation Meeting being required after a preliminary report to Community

Council, the question of whether there is genuine consideration for the input from residents is

under scrutiny.

5.2.2 Right to Appropriation

The right to appropriation refers to the right of residents to be able to produce or

change spaces that they determine are needed, and access them without barrier. This right

enfranchises urban citizens to use those urban spaces, and ensures that the "use value aspect

of urban space must therefore be the primary consideration in decisions that produce urban

space" (Purcell, 2002, p. 103). Prior to redevelopment, well-resourced and quality public

spaces in Regent Park were lacking. However, there are some cases where residents took

their right to the city and made changes that they wanted and required in their community.

An example is the Community Centre which is a point of pride for residents as they asked for

a Community Centre and the City did not oblige. As a result, residents organized and raised

money to build it. In 1986, a Community Centre was built by the City with municipal and

provincial funding (Yarhi, 2012). The money that residents raised was put into a fund, known

as the Legacy Fund, which the community is now deciding how to use. Currently, there is a

new Community Centre under construction; it is replacing the old Community Centre which

was built by the community. A long-time resident who knows this history reported, "[the Community Centre] was built through residents of the community, and they put the City to shame, because the City didn't have the money and stuff, so residents got together and built that Community Centre." (LR19). This is an example of the community taking ownership and creating what they needed. Residents raised money to build a Community Centre in the neighbourhood. The City then built one, which is currently operation and will be demolished once the new one opens. Another example of the right to appropriation being exercised prior to redevelopment was reported by a long-time resident who used to be a tenant rep. He used his role to invite the other residents in his building to communicate any changes they wanted made to their building (LR07). These examples show that the original community members were attuned to making their voices heard, and creating and utilizing spaces that they needed, within their capacity.

Through community consultation and the SDP public spaces are an integral part of the redevelopment. "Right to appropriation" ensures that these spaces not only come to fruition, but that they are used and changed according to the needs of urban citizens. An example of this is the Aquatic Centre. A young mother who has lived in Regent Park for just over three years explained how the old pool in the neighbourhood did not serve the needs of the residents. This pool, located in the heart of the north section of Regent Park was outdoors and not well maintained. This resident discussed how the Aquatic Centre has changed that through residents being listened to:

"The problem was for Muslim men. I know that history because Muslim people

are [to be covered] in front of people. So then they are talking with tenants and

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representative and everyone, [and] TCHC decided that, "we will start new

pool." Everyone can swim independently, [for example,] women. So, this is

like… everyone voice raised and it's done by TCHC." (LR05).

This resident is referring to the screens that come down in front of the glass exterior of the

Aquatic Centre to obscure the view into the pool area during women-only swim times. In this

way, the space was created through resident involvement, and was changed to suit the needs

of the resident population, not only for Muslim women, but for all women who want to

attend those swim times.

I spoke with a young resident, Ismail Afrah, who discussed his concerns about the

redevelopment and noted that he has experienced tension related to the ownership of space.

He grew up in Regent Park and has connections and attachments to the neighbourhood. He

was forthcoming and shared with me a spoken word poem that he wrote about these feelings.

"In Between Love and Hate Lies Home, Poverty, Arts and Culture, Confusion and Gratitude,
and Possibly a Contradiction
"I love Toronto Housing.
I hate Toronto Housing.
I love because I have a home.
I hate because it will never be mine.
I love Regent Park because we are a community.
I don't like Regent Park because poverty makes me live here.
But post Regent Park is post poverty and an even greater community to live in.
Look at arts and culture, at the Daniels Spectrum. All of that is really nice, I can personally
testify.
But who is Daniel and how long will it be his centre?
You are confused. Yes, but I am equally grateful. Seriously.

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I love that this is not a contradiction.

And guess what, I hate that it is a contradiction."

By: Ismail Afrah

The Daniels Spectrum was built as an Arts and Culture Centre was identified as a need in the SDP. In this way, the space was created through resident involvement in the decision making processes. However, this poem illustrates the changing community and that both positive and negative things accompany this change. Look particularly at the line "But who is Daniel and how long will it be his centre?" It illustrates a perspective that redevelopment is changing the ownership of Regent Park; what was once community led development initiative and grassroots organizing is now happening alongside a larger project that is being imposed on the community. In explaining this poem, he said:

> "What that poem was talking about was having to be in a community where
> you identify with, but at the same time, because you see the total changes that
> is happening, the new rises in the buildings, the new activities that's going on
> at the arts centre. It feels at the same time that this is not an output you're
> giving. This is not coming from within the community. The community itself
> is poor. So this is coming from an outside investment, an outside interest. So
> even though you might feel a sense of gratefulness, a sense of joy, that things
> are changing, and you see a lot of positive things, at the same time you're
> concerned that these are not for you, or this is going to impact you in some
> sense. It's a fear, and at the same time a sense of gratitude you might say."

There is a perception that the redevelopment brings about changes that are not for original residents. It means that some residents do not feel that the redevelopment of their community affords them the same access or sense of ownership as others in the community. Despite the fact that public spaces are by nature open to everyone, and that a goal of the redevelopment is for all residents to be able to use and enjoy them (KI01), residents expressed that they did not feel a sense of ownership of some spaces. This was not limited to residents who live in public housing units; residents across tenures discussed their perceptions of public spaces in the community. Another example of a lack of ownership to new spaces in the community was told me by another young resident who also grew up in Regent Park. He expressed concern with these changes in the community not being genuinely from the community and a need for more community involvement:

> "I have to say, I've been a bit… it hasn't really struck me as a positive vibe they're giving to the community. It seems to be more outside events that come to the Daniels Spectrum pretty much daily, and not too much community participation. So I don't know how much that centre is community friendly... I think especially with Daniels, they could do lot more to invite community participation. It just seems like a lot of the times it seems like corporate events going on there and very little authentic community events are in that particular building" (LR02)

This resident is sharing his concern that the original community is being left out, and in this way, despite there being public space open to everyone, the sense of ownership of public spaces is changing. Although Daniels Spectrum was built as a community identified need by

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low income residents, the use value is being forgone for the exchange value in the view of this resident.

A low income resident discussed the redevelopment in more general terms, looking at location and money as being major factors that are driving the redevelopment. She said:

"Its prime real estate in Regent Park, surrounded by Eatons, Leslieville…These areas, these neighbourhoods are being developed because this is prime real estate. As much as we want to say, "oh it's for the residents of community housing," it comes down to the fact that this is prime real estate. Steps away from nature, everything is available. Why didn't anyone think of building a big park around here? Oh because there is Riverdale park right there…It comes down to it, it's prime real estate. Within 15 or 20 years I don't even think there is going to be community housing left." (LR08)

This is an example of the exchange value taking precedence over the use value of Regent Park as a whole. The fact that low income residents are questioning how their standing will change speaks to the idea of 'right to the city' in the sense of their use value being forgone in order for the exchange value to flourish so that the new wealthy residents moving in benefit. This concept is applicable to Regent Park as original residents lose their space to accommodate condominium buildings as well as an increase in density.

5.3 Social Mix in Regent Park

Regent Park is not faced with a unique situation; the shift from concentrated poverty to a mixed-income neighbourhood more closely reflects the City of Toronto in general. In

fact, it was residents who wanted a redevelopment years before it was decided. As a representative of RPNI said,

> "This is an urban town in the middle of the city. We're not an anomaly. We're like other urban quarters. And if we can get it right, we can really change the landscape of urban planning moving forward. So it's worth it. What I do know is that leaving Regent Park the way it was wasn't good for anyone. Concentrated poverty doesn't work anywhere and it certainly didn't work in Regent Park. It didn't help the immediate community, or the communities around us. It created barriers. Is what we're doing now better? Yes. Will it end up perfect? I have no idea. We're going to see. We're going to try really hard and see where it goes." (KI07)

This is indicative of the changes happening in Regent Park as being part of a normal urban trajectory. However, a unique aspect of this redevelopment is just that: it is a planned redevelopment of existing housing stock. Other areas of the city that have become mixed through more of an organic process, as opposed to the interventionist approach taken in Regent Park. Along with this, there are residents who called Regent Park home, with a strong sense of community, friendships, and cross cultural bonds. Through the process of redevelopment, the introduction of residents who will not be on social assistance will change Regent Park. A resident discussed his feelings of moving forward in the redevelopment. He grew up in the neighbourhood and is now beginning to get involved in the redevelopment at a grassroots level. He said:

"It's frightening to me at least, I think because Regent Park, what Regent Park meant, was at least we had a sense that we were the same type of people. At least we had a sense that the guy beside us was going through the same things. So it felt like all of us were, I can put it in a dramatic way, the same hostages, you could say."

(LR20)

A large part of studying social mix in Regent Park lies in the fact that the redevelopment boasts itself to be a positive change for low income residents (Regent Park, 2014) and social mix tends to takes that pejorative stance. Documents like the SDP were created with the intention of ensuring that the Regent Park community does not result in divisions between groups of residents (SDP, 2007). In order to have a healthy, cohesive, and socially integrated community, there must be a sense of whether people are mixing between tenures.

This section will discuss residents' relationships to Regent Park in terms of their experiences with the neighbourhood and perceptions of redevelopment. Secondly, there will be a section dedicated to reporting the findings on whether people meet at public spaces, and how they meet in general. Then, I will discuss the feelings toward mix, and lastly the benefits that the newly socially mixed neighbourhood has brought to Regent Park.

5.3.1 Relationships to Regent Park

The residents whom I interviewed had varying experiences in Regent Park; however, all of them have a home there. Although it is becoming more common to have a community outside of a physical geography, the immediate surroundings of a person are an important part of their life. Consequently, I asked residents how they felt about Regent Park and the

redevelopment, and heard insightful responses. This section will describe the relationships that residents have to Regent Park.

Between all residents, there was a prevailing sentiment that people have strong positive feelings about living in Regent Park. Nineteen of the twenty residents I interviewed indicated that they enjoyed living in Regent Park, and seven of those used the word "love" to describe their feelings. There were two predominant reasons that emerged from all residents; the first was Regent Park's proximity to the downtown core and the convenience that it affords. Residents say that it is easy to walk downtown, access transit, and have many needs close by including grocery stores, shopping centres, and entertainment venues. The proximity to downtown is noted on the map in Appendix C. It is important to note this proximity to downtown because downtown land is highly coveted and thus, social housing units in this area are a challenge to access due the high demand and relatively low supply. Many residents of TCHC noted feelings of gratefulness to live in units that are proximal to downtown, and many residents of market rate housing explained their desire to live in the neighbourhood was due to the price of the downtown units. The second reason that residents cited as being an important reason for their positive feelings toward Regent Park was the feeling of a sense of community. More than half of the total number of residents described Regent Park as a community with friendly neighbours. Specifically, residents living in social housing units mentioned family living in the area as a contributing factor for coming to Regent Park; it was not only that they knew people in the area, but also the reviews of family members in the area were persuasive.

A finding of my research was that despite the recognition and experience that Regent Park was publically stigmatized, many original residents discuss their attachment to Regent Park and describe a strong sense of community amongst original residents. A long-time resident of Regent Park discussed her experience:

> "When I told people I'm living in Regent Park, they're like "oh my god, you can't live there, they'll kill you over there," so I got kind of scared. But when I came over here and started to get to knowing people and stuff – you know what? This is my home. This is my family, and this is where I grew up. And this is where I know everybody. And people here, like where I live in my building – we all help each other up anyways." (LR19)

Despite the public stigma, the internal original community in Regent Park is strong. This resident is proud of the community that has been built, and values the relationships that have developed over the years. This connection to Regent Park is important because it signifies a viable community that is subject to changes determined from the outside (despite public consultation sessions, the decision makers are not Regent Park residents). The ties that are formed in the community transcend a public housing project – they are important because they bring the neighbourhood to life. While these residents discuss that stigmatization, they also acknowledge that there may be changes that accompany the redevelopment.

While residents discuss many positive things about Regent Park, they also mention some realities about living in the neighbourhood that they are not happy about. A low income resident explained that the old buildings are problematic and a big reason for not enjoying living in Regent Park (LR02). This same resident also stated that crime in the area and

having police patrolling were elements of living in Regent Park that he did not like. I also spoke with a resident who was renting a condominium unit. He was unaware of the redevelopment in Regent Park and moved in because he desperately needed a place to rent for him and his family. In discussing whether he likes living in Regent Park, he became tense and was unwilling to take a stance. He explained to me that he believes the redevelopment is controversial because he had heard that it is an example of gentrification (MR18). Alternatively, a condominium owner explained to me that he is very happy living in Regent Park, but wished that there were more shops and stores in the area (MR15). This is a concern that will be addressed in further phases of the redevelopment, as the plan indicates commercial space along Parliament Street, Dundas Street and Gerrard Street (KI06). Another resident was satisfied living in Regent Park, but describes the surrounding area as being unpleasant (MR01). He is a condominium owner who has lived in the area for about one year and he said "I like living here. It's nice. It's sometimes not as enjoyable in the evening or at night, I would say. But I wouldn't attribute that to Regent Park. I would attribute that to the surrounding area around Regent Park" (MR01). He makes the distinction that the undesirable behaviour he refers to is outside of the boundary of Regent Park. This is an important point because it indicates that people feel differently about the interior of Regent Park than outside.

All residents of Regent Park have different stories, experiences, and relationships to the neighbourhood. Their experiences are informed by the length of time they have lived there, their housing type, and a variety of personal factors. As a consequence of this variation, there are different perceptions and changes that are noticed and discussed by the

participants in my study. These points are indicative of the relationship to Regent Park that residents have cultivated.

Firstly, a resident explained to me that an important change that he noticed was that this was the first time that politicians were keeping their promises (LR14). For people who are in the social housing system, my field research has indicated that there is a prevalent sentiment that there is a reluctance to believe in the promises that authorities make. In light of this, the fact that a resident reported his belief and gratefulness in this fulfillment is significant. He also notes that there must be thanks given to the tenants who rally and stay to witness the change. A second positive outcome resulting from the changes in redevelopment came from a resident who has been living in Regent Park for more than twenty years. She reported to me that communication between TCHC and residents has improved greatly (LR19). She attributes this change in communication to residents who have fought for it. About half of the residents I interviewed agreed that the new buildings and opportunities coming into Regent Park are positive changes. One resident who has lived in the neighbourhood for more than ten years said:

> "We had nothing at all when we had the old regent park. So, there was no service, there was hundred percent TCHC. Even though there was convenience store on Parliament Street, but not inside the boundary of Regent Park. So there was no service at all. If you want swimming, you just go another community. We had a swimming, but it was outdoor. Outdoor swimming and it's limited. You just swim in summertime and that's it. So we go for swimming somewhere else. If you want a service you just go another community." (LR12)

The redevelopment has brought to the area commercial establishments, City of Toronto facilities and programs, space for arts and cultural events and activities, services including a pharmacy, health care, and religious centres. Low income residents also reported their neighbourhood to be cleaner, and more attractive to people from outside of Regent Park.

Although there are positive changes that the redevelopment has brought, there are some significant drawbacks that are also present. A resident who has lived in Regent Park for more than twenty years described to me a change that he noticed since the redevelopment as residents become mobile due to relocation. He explained "People that were here are more scattered. It's hard to get in touch with residents that were here before building started coming down. It's a slightly different feel" (LR04). This sentiment is also apparent in other original resident interviews, where residents explain that their friends and neighbours have moved out of Regent Park either during relocation or permanently which made it hard to maintain relationships, particularly if they would not return (LR19). Another change that a resident who was living in old housing but was getting ready to move into a new unit expressed was his concern with the new units being smaller (LR14). A result of the redevelopment is that density is increasing dramatically as there is the introduction of more units through building upward by way of higher towers and smaller units. Having had the opportunity to visit friends in new units, this resident has recognized the size of his new unit to be concerning due to the redevelopment.

There were noteworthy changes that original residents mentioned that were portrayed as neither positive nor negative, but observations. One resident observed that there was a different demographic moving into Regent Park; he says that there are more single people

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(LR04). Notably, there was no singular change that residents of social housing units remarked on; however, nine of the ten market rate residents mentioned that they noticed changes to the built form with the introduction of more new buildings and public spaces including the Aquatic Centre, stores, and the Paintbox Bistro.

5.3.2 Separate Buildings and Social Mix

A critical point of redevelopment is that buildings are not mixed. The old Regent Park was entirely TCHC social housing, and marked by concentrated poverty. The introduction of a mixed neighbourhood is by street, not building. This is a significant point because it therefore means that mixing has to happen outside of the living area. In Regent Park, there are many well-resourced public spaces and these are places where mixing can occur in the neighbourhood. However, throughout my interviews, it became apparent that people mixed within their own building. One market rate resident said, "Most of the people that I meet are in the building" (MR01), and six other market rate residents reported the same thing. Low income residents also reported a similar sentiment; however, there was more diversity in those answers. These residents reported meeting people through their children, over time in the community, in meetings, and through their ethnic community. As one market rate resident described:

"I mean, frankly, I will always know way more people in the condos than I will in Toronto community housing, and in part that's just because in my condo, I'm a member of the garden committee, so I automatically meet all the people in that committee. I see people in the hallway, I'm standing in an elevator with, I'm getting my mail and my kid is like, in their way or whatever. And so I'm

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just a little bit more, like, physically in their space more often. So as a result

there's a little bit more interaction. So I will always know more people in my

own building than I will in someone else's." (MR10)

This indicates that a resident is more likely to interact with someone in their building many

times, particularly with the opportunities present to get to know people in the building. In this

way, there is more effort required to meet and form friendships with people that are outside a

resident's building. A low income resident who has just relocated to another building in

Regent Park reported that even in the short time he'd been in his new building, he has had

many interactions with residents in his building.

"I guess you meet people in the elevator sort of thing and just general

community things, like when the shooting happened … they locked down the

building and everybody had to go outside. So I think that's also a particular part

where I imagine a lot of relationships were forming. They locked down the

building, and they brought TTC buses outside. So we all just crammed

ourselves into that the TTC bus. And I imagine that was an opportunity where a

lot of people got to meet their neighbours, and a lot of my neighbours, quite a

few of them knew me." (LR02)

Meeting neighbours can happen in a variety of circumstances, and this is one example where

unfortunately the catalyst was something tragic that brought people together. Another

example came from a market rate resident who discussed his involvement with events in his

condominium:

"I can say that my condo, they have done a good job to build community there. Once a month they have a networking event, and they give food, the property manager, they give snacks, and people buy their own drink. I've never been there, but I find that it's nice. The other thing is the community garden. …By participating in those events, you can build community, and can know different people." (MR18)

He also reported that this was a setting where he met people in his building. His friends in the building are those he met during the community garden meetings and has subsequently continued a close relationship with (MR18). A low income resident stated that he knew who was in his building through his involvement as a tenant representative (LR07). Another low income resident reported a similar sentiment saying, "everybody in my building, we know each other" (LR19).

Residents that live in townhouses have different experiences with knowing their neighbours as they have fewer of them in their geographic location. Additionally, it is impossible to know which townhouse is market rate and which belongs to TCHC as they look identical from the outside. In this way, mix may be said to be more authentic because the scale of mix is different; a direct neighbour may be of a different tenure. A market rate resident who lives in a townhouse stated that she knew who her neighbours were, but did not know them personally, and did not feel the need to (MR03). A low income townhouse resident reported that his social relationships in Regent Park centered mostly on people from his ethno-cultural background and did not report on his direct neighbours (LR20).

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There are different perceptions about whether this redevelopment is truly creating a mixed neighbourhood as mixed buildings are not a reality. A long-time low income resident discussed his view on separate buildings preventing mixing:

"Accessibility is limited to whichever building you are in. The tenants has no way of mixing with the condo owners because the owners have their own way… When you have one for condo and you have the other one for [TCHC residents] there's no way for meeting… It's no accessibility to one another. You know? They could not access us, and we could not access them… If you put condo from 1 to 10th floor, and you put subsidy homes between 10 to another floor, to whatever number of floors you want to put in the same erection, then we will be able to meet together. Maybe in the elevator, maybe we are in the common thing, or maybe you're making your bus late, or maybe you invite one or two to come to the common area to meet. There are no chances like that. The system is not really harmonizing the two. It's giving one to the other. If you take, for instance, 252 Sackville is for seniors, the next building to it is a condo. How will you meet?" (LR14).

This resident is pointing out that the separation of buildings does not make the scale of mix conducive to people meeting each other. However, other residents feel differently. Another long-time low income resident stated that despite the buildings not being mixed it is still a mixed neighbourhood, "Yes [it is mixed] just not as well as it could be. It would be so much better if it could be mixed within the building, but yeah. Not as good as it could be" (LR04).

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In discussing divisions, a market rate resident indicated that this kind of mix is reflective of

the City:

> "It's always going to be a division, whether you want to keep it quiet or not.
>
> The problem is, is that's city living. So I don't see it as a division… You got a
>
> great street and a [bad] street, a great street, and a [bad] street… And that's
>
> mixed living. To me, I don't see it as the way they're like putting so much
>
> emphasis on it. We're always going to have different opinions. And that's like
>
> that in any area downtown. That's how it is; it's mixed living. It's city living."
>
> (MR03)

Although concentrated poverty is not reflective of the City at large, it is also important to

recognize that residents who were living in Regent Park before redevelopment are still

existing residents who have ties to the neighbourhood. In order to preserve these ties, there is

a commitment from TCHC that residents have a right to return to Regent Park, and the SDP

enshrines the social requirements of introducing a mix of tenures.

> A market rate resident who bought a condominium when he moved to Toronto not

knowing much about the redevelopment at the time stated that he was disappointed to learn

that the buildings were not mixed:

> "I was actually disappointed when I found out, when I bought my unit that the
>
> buildings were segregated. Like, I do think from the get go, that was maybe a
>
> bit of a planning oversight – or, ideally I would prefer if the buildings were
>
> mixed, that would immediately make it so much easier to interact." (MR17)

Mixed buildings would afford easy access and opportunity to meet and mix without the pressure of seeking out mixing. Other market rate residents describe a similar feeling that it would be easier to interact if residents of different tenures lived in the same building (MR15). A low income resident reported his disappointment about the buildings being separate; when I asked if he still considered it a mixed community, he said:

> "No. Nothing is perfect, you could say. You could still see the separation. Just the mere alluding to the statement right there, really gives me the feeling that separation is intentional, that it's not accidental that this a concern coming from them, that what it would mean to share the same building is problems for them…That it's not going to be the same, nice, comfortable place. That's disconcerting. That actually pisses me off. …That is not a community. That's just weird. You're trying to convince me we're all a community, and at the same time you're creating these structural, intentional barriers. Individuals will say I have nothing to do with that and I just wanted to live in a neighbourhood, and I moved in, and it's the Daniels people that setting this up. So I think the Daniels people were trying to see what appeals to the 60%. I think the 60%, they felt, might have had a concern living with the poor, and one of the ways they legitimated them was to say, "Wait a minute, even though you're living with the poor, you're going to be living in separate buildings." That hurts. That's awful. Just thinking it out loud troubles me. But what can I say; I always knew that the world was not an equal place." (LR20).

Segregated buildings can reinforce divisions, and thus, having particular attention paid to the idea of social mix can be beneficial in creating a cohesive and healthy community. Within buildings, particularly the condominiums, there are events and programs which enable the tenants to meet each other. One market rate resident reported barbeques in the summertime (MR09), another reported condominium socials (MR13), and another discussed a Halloween party (MR11). Amenities within buildings are another potential venue for mixing. The old Regent Park buildings were without quality spaces within the building (LR12, LR08, LR19); however, the new TCHC buildings are well-resourced (LR04, LR20, LR02, personal observation), as are the condominium buildings (MR09, MR11, MR15, personal observation). These are all potential venues and events for mixing to happen; but the separation of buildings impedes that potential, thus rendering public spaces in the community plausible venues for mixing and interacting.

5.3.3 Mixing and Public Space

An important aspect of the Regent Park redevelopment is that it is not just about housing; while a main goal is to replace housing, another goal is to improve the quality of life for residents on a social level (KI05). Part of this goal is being achieved through increasing the capacity of the community through infrastructure. There are many public spaces that are now provided within the neighbourhood which are intended to encourage community building. In this way, because buildings are not mixed, public spaces are integral to creating a cohesive community, as laid out by the goals of the SDP. As a representative from TCHC said, a mandate of TCH is to build healthy communities, and part of this means a cohesive community (KI05).

In discussing public spaces with residents, it was clear that they are well known by my study participants. Most of the residents with whom I spoke listed numerous public spaces in the neighbourhood, whether or not they used them. Eighteen out of twenty residents self-reported that they use a variety of public spaces in Regent Park. While some public spaces may produce barriers for some residents to access (as discussed previously), there are other spaces that did not have perceived barriers. Retail spaces such as Tim Horton's and Fresh Co. were reportedly very well used by all residents, and many discussed using the public spaces for meetings with clubs and organizations they are part of, such as the Daniels Spectrum and the Centre of Learning. A market rate resident reported:

"The Aquatic Centre we use on the weekends a fair bit. It's become really busy actually. … We go to Paintbox Bistro. We've done some things at Spectrum, not as much as we liked to just because we have a little one so it's harder to get to a play at night. We use all of the services. Like, the banking, the Tim Horton's, the walk in clinic, we have a doctor somewhere else in the city just from where we used to live, but we still use the walk-in here in Regent Park as a go to just for minor things or things that you want to check in quickly. We use the daycare, [and] some of the businesses [in the area]." (MR10).

Low income residents also reflect this and reported that they use many spaces that are provided in Regent Park (LR12, LR05), and others stated that they are grateful for the new opportunities and spaces in Regent Park (LR06, LR20). There were some residents from both tenures who reported that they were not interested in using public spaces in the community either due to a lack of time, or a lack of interest. A low income resident stated:

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"Every time something new opens I try going there to see what's there and get

some more ideas. Do I use any of those? No. …I went to it when it opened up.

My sister uses the Aquatic Centre and the Daniels Spectrum. And my nephew

goes to the art program. They seem to use it a lot. And myself, time and time I

go to those things, but I don't normally consistently use it." (LR07)

There is a continuum of use of public spaces; some residents use many spaces often, and

others rarely use spaces. Still, others use some specific spaces. A market rate resident stated

that timing was an issue for him:

"I haven't gotten to the Aquatic Centre yet. I want to go… but I was kind of

busy so I didn't have time. … I am actually really looking forward to the park

that's going in. I think I'm going to use that a lot. The Daniels has the Spectrum

which has art and shows that go on, but I don't go. There was one that I wanted

to go see, but I wasn't here. Whenever there's something that I want, like today,

actually there's a market they just started. I want to go to the market, and I

wanted to go last week, and I was away I couldn't go. But, in terms of the old

community centre and things like that, you know, for me there's nothing there

yet." (MR01)

Although this resident knows about public spaces that exist, he is unable to attend due to his

lifestyle, working and having a social circle outside of Regent Park. In the absence of using

public spaces, it is a challenging task to meet neighbours who do not live in the building. In

this case, this resident reported that he has met only one acquaintance through a friend from

the Paintbox condominium building who he not in close touch with, and has not met anyone from any social housing building.

There was some mixing between buildings discussed in some interviews. In one instance, a low income resident reported a reported a situation that brought people from different low income buildings together that was a unique circumstance:

"It was actually a fire alarm in our building in December I believe or January and it was really cold, and we had somebody from the next building … opened their door and they called a lot of people in to sit inside, which was like, wow. Because I had my cats with me, and there were busses and stuff, but they still invited people in, and they asked them for tea, and if [we] need anything, they gave us blankets because it was so cold. They were very nice." (LR08)

This example illustrates that relationships between buildings can occur, however; it is also the case that there was an impetus to meet. Perhaps with some kind of reason to mingle, residents would be more apt to do so. A market rate resident, who has lived in Regent Park for about a year with his family, is not convinced that public spaces encourage residents to meet. He stated:

"I find that it's very important to have a leader, or community leader or whatever to try to develop new activities and try to invite people to different events, but having a kind of procedure to engage people and to mix each other. And across the street, they just finished a public building. I find this very interesting, when you have a middle class building, and then you have a public building. But again, I find it's important to have some activities and some

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professionals that are aware of this differences, to deal with this new

neighbourhood that is growing there." (MR18)

This resident is referring to the potential need for a catalyst to encourage mixing as opposed

to just having space available. In lieu of mixed buildings, public spaces become the main

venue for potential mix. The use of public space was high among my study participants, but

it was not necessarily the case that people were meeting at these spaces. Some residents did

not report meeting people at public spaces, but through events or programs that provided a

catalyst for meeting and mixing.

Although all residents agreed that having public spaces in the community was

positive, some residents made an effort to specifically discuss that programming was

essential to bringing space to life. A market rate resident said:

"You often see Daniels [Spectrum] sitting there empty – nobody in it. I think

the events and the community planning is essential, even if it is ad hoc, like the

meetings at the Presentation Centre or whatever, but I think the community

planning is essential. I think space is just that: space, until you find a purpose

for it." (MR15)

In this way, it is not necessarily that space is going to bring people together, or encourage

mixing, but that an event, program, or leader can be an essential element in making the space

a venue for mix.

In my sample, there were two low income residents who reported not meeting anyone

from the market rate housing. One of these resident said that he did not frequently use public

spaces, and also had not met new people in the neighbourhood (LR02). Although he was

involved in Regent Park Focus Youth Media Arts Centre, it mainly consisted of a group of original residents (LR02) and so it does not afford him the access to residents from the market rate housing. The second resident used three separate public spaces frequently but had not met anyone from the other tenure (LR20).

Five other low income residents reported meeting a few people from the other tenure. One of these residents stated that he did not use public spaces frequently, but has met two or three market rate residents at meetings for organizations that he is a part of (LR04). Another low income resident had met two people from the other type of housing at his place of worship, and had even had the chance to see one of their condominium units (LR14). The third resident met two market rate neighbours who were friends of his brother, but neither of whom he knew well (LR07). A resident who was beginning to get involved in organizations in Regent Park met two market rate neighbours the night before our interview at an event (LR08). The fifth resident who is very involved in the community knew a few market rate residents, and some of them quite well (LR19).

There were three low income residents who reported that they knew many people from the other tenure. One of them is an active community member who believes in engagement of all residents and who has actively sought out relationships with residents from the other tenure (LR12). Another resident who lived in a social housing unit was volunteering with a local agency met many people at public spaces due to her work in the neighbourhood (LR05). She reported that people were friendly and that she has met people from market rate housing in public spaces, as well as through her young child's school (LR05). The third low income resident works in the neighbourhood and discussed that she

meets people through her work at public spaces (LR06). In her personal life, she has met people at various public spaces, but has not kept in touch with them (LR06). Being part of the community through local groups such as RPNI, the Christian Resource Centre, the Community Centre, the Yonge Street Mission, and various other agencies has helped residents meet people in the community from all tenures.

Of the market rate residents, five of my sample residents reported that they did not know anybody from social housing units. The first resident said that he did not use public spaces in the neighbourhood (MR01). The second used some public spaces, and was beginning to recognize some faces (MR09). Another had a full time job outside of the neighbourhood, but used some spaces within Regent Park (MR13). He took a swimming class with his son at the Aquatic Centre, but this was not a place he felt comfortable making friends. The fourth resident is involved with organizations within his building, but not in the rest of the community (MR18). Although he used public spaces, he did not meet anyone from the other tenure (MR18). The last resident lived is a townhouse and reported being friendly to her neighbours, but did not feel the need to know them personally (MR03).

Two other market rate residents were in a unique situation where they had past experiences with the community and thus had a social network formed prior to moving in. The first resident volunteered in the neighbourhood and had one contact from a social housing unit prior to moving in and had a chance to visit this resident's unit (MR11). He reported that he used public space frequently, and met another at an event that he attended (MR11). The second resident also volunteered prior to moving to the neighbourhood, and had many friends from social housing units who she has close friendships with (MR16). She

reported using public spaces frequently alone and with her friends from the other tenure, and is also part of RPNI (MR16).

Of the market rate residents, there were three who reported that they knew many people from the other tenure. The first was involved in a local organization and met people through his work there (MR17). He also reported using public spaces frequently (MR17). The second is a member of RPNI and has met people from the other tenure through the organization (MR15). He stated that he uses some public spaces in Regent Park, but more frequently attends events and meetings (MR15). The third is also a member of RPNI as well as other local organizations and has taken an active role in learning about the community (MR10). She reported frequent use of public spaces as well as high attendance at meetings and events (MR10).

It is apparent in some ways that people who are involved with local organizations, clubs, and who use public spaces are also the residents who tend to know more people in the neighbourhood in general, as well as people from another type of tenure. An interesting finding was related to gender. Of the ten low income residents, the five male residents did not have strong relationships with people from the market rate units, and were less involved in community on goings than their five female counterparts who reported stronger relationships with market rate residents and who are generally more involved in the community. Alternatively, of the ten market rate residents, four of the seven males were not very involved in the community and did not have any ties with low income residents, and two of the three females were involved in the community and well connected to market rate residents. Perhaps a point to consider was brought about by a market rate resident. He said,

"I think with the swimming class there really isn't much social time. It's sort of, as soon as you arrive, you're in the pool and the instructor is leading you through games and then afterwards people sort of go their own way. I'm one of the only men in the swimming class. It's all moms and their kids. And I know that my wife, she made friends with some of the people that she was doing swimming classes with, with our son. But it's a little bit different when it's a guy. It's like, "Hey ladies, want to go for coffee after swim class???" (MR13)

He is making a point that his gender can play a role in whether or not he mixes with people in the community. He also comments that culturally, different gender roles can determine whether or not there is interaction.

"I have no problem striking up a conversation with other people. But that's my background and my upbringing. Is that something that is found like, in every culture? Would a woman fully clad in a burqa come up to me and start talking to me? I don't think so. That would be considered inappropriate in some cultures. So, likewise, I might be uncomfortable approaching, because I don't know what's the cultural norm, what's considered taboo." (MR13)

In these ways, public spaces do encourage some mixing, but there are barriers that exist which can impede mixing from happening even if residents from different tenures are in the same space.

5.3.4 Feelings toward Mix

Meeting other residents at public spaces can be challenging for some residents who feel like they do not have the time, nor have any interest in what the spaces offer or services

that are provided. Additionally, there are other ways that people can meet that do not necessarily revolve around public space. This section will discuss how residents feel about mix in general.

Some residents are invested in seeing the success of their community, and part of what that means is forging relationships with all residents in Regent Park, and being attuned to the changes that are happening. A market rate resident who is fairly new to the neighbourhood stated that mixing was good, but more simply, having a sense of community was important (MR13). He said, "For me, I really like knowing people in my neighbourhood. I like seeing the same people over and over again. It just makes for a stronger sense of community" (MR13). Other residents specifically stated that mixing was an important part of the new neighbourhood. This idea of knowing neighbours was discussed by numerous residents who also believe that it is important for the health of the community. A low income resident stated that knowing neighbours in the community is vital:

> "Yeah, this is important because sometimes it create hierarchy and it isn't good.
> …All are residents of Regent Park, this is the identity of us. So why we create
> like, separation like condominium or rental or social housing, no. It's the …
> what do we need? New culture that mixed culture. Not like, hierarchy." (LR05)

This hierarchy that she refers to is referenced in the literature as an "us vs. them" dynamic where divisions are created based on the socio-economic status of residents, which is ultimately an unhealthy dynamic that affects the neighbourhood negatively. A sense of community that transcends the type of tenure can be beneficial for the community to maximize its capacity. This is partly a goal of the SDP: to create a cohesive community in

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order to benefit the neighbourhood. The importance of mixing between tenures was attributed largely to the health of the community by various residents. A socially justice minded market rate resident discussed the importance of mix:

> "I think it is important and I think it's part of having a healthier neighbourhood. I think it's a part of the vision. … I didn't move here to change people, I moved here to change housing. I moved here to improve housing. And that's happening. So, I think it is important that it not become a neighbourhood of 'us and them'. I think healthier neighbourhoods are more diverse and not just ethno-culturally, but also in terms of socio-economic status and I think there is more to be learned for our kids. It's a better reflection of what the rest of the world is like… and so I think it's hugely important. Hugely." (MR10)

Another market rate resident posits that mixing would be beneficial to the health of the community:

> "Otherwise you're going to get an 'us versus them' mentality and it'll just breed distrust and barriers and cause bad feelings and insecurity. We're no better or no worse than one another and that's really what Toronto is all about is recognizing our shared humanity and our shared responsibility towards one another because ultimately, a good life that might be enjoyed by any one member of society is dependent on others having equal opportunities and realities of their lives and their part." (MR11)

His view is optimistic; mixing will bring positive results to the community and diminish barriers. A low income resident agreed, commenting on her relationships with market rate residents saying:

> "Oh yes. We do exchange contacts. Some of them work outside of the community, but as I say with everyone, we see each other we do catch up and we plan to have a tea and breakfast together. We did in the past. One of them lives, she works outside of the community, she's busy and I invite her for breakfast. We had a breakfast together. And we do help each other and we do cross and have our relationship with them." (LR12)

She also discussed the importance of knowing neighbours regardless of their socio-economic status and gave an example of a situation that she encountered:

> "Not all of us have family here. So having the neighbour that you could count on, check on them if they need, you if you need them, in different capacity, I think it's very important. And, let's say I had one of the community members, she had surgery in her feet. And we had a relationship before also, and she called me, "I'm in pain and come and get me a painkiller." And I said, "Seriously, you were supposed to call me when you went for surgery!" and "I never know it will happen to me like this, now I'm really pained and I just walked in and walked out". And I went by and get her a prescription and get the medicine and give her and whatever she needs and so on. We do count on each other if we need help. I think it's very important." (LR12)

While she brings a positive attitude and view about mixing, there were residents who were more wary about having a socially mixed neighbourhood Some residents expressed that there is uncertainty about the redevelopment in a number of ways: whether it will benefit people, concerns about gentrification, whether original residents will be able to move back, and what mix will look like. In discussing social mix, a low income resident believed that the mixing of people from different tenures would be a positive thing for the community, but was unsure as to how it would take place. He said:

> "I think it would be helpful for the idea for project. I don't know how much
> mixing there actually will be because people circumstances are different and I
> just don't know. I don't know if it's important, I think to make one big
> community would be helpful if everybody did it, all depending on how many
> new people either have or start families and have their kids go to schools here
> would make it helpful, would make it easier for mix.(LR04)

Children were relied upon as the demographic most likely to mix with each other. Three residents who have children reported that their children were a catalyst for their efforts at mixing, both for children and their peers, and also parents. A low income resident stated that mixing would happen with children first because barriers are not as apparent at that age (LR08). A market rate resident without children speculated that mix was happening in that age group, saying "I do see with the kids though, they hang out with each other which is totally different. Because the schools are the same, the daycare the same, and they don't see that difference. The kids are all Canadian. It's with the parent and it's with the communities"

(MR03). Another market rate resident who does not have children commented that mixing is important and would happen within that demographic:

> "I think it's very important because you're going to get people from all aspects of life living together and I think that they can help each other more than if they are living separately, which is kind of what is still happening now because there is no place for everyone to get together. … It could be happening now, but I think it's more of, I see a lot of young families here, so I think the families would definitely intermingle more, with the kids playing and everything, but I think as being like a professional who works downtown, and who doesn't have kids, I don't want to go to the Aquatic Centre when it's play time for the children. … That might be one thing: I guess maybe my age bracket or my demographic. I might be missing out on some of the things that do happen for mixing."(MR01)

He acknowledges that it may be his lifestyle that presents an impediment for mixing. Another market rate resident reports that he has a desire to be part of the community, but is busy and cannot take on much more:

> "I'm making an effort to get to know the area, and I like when I meet different people, but in terms of the amount of time I have, I'm not actually actively engaged to create new meaningful relationships at the moment. Because with school and the friendships I have in the city, my life feels kind of saturated. So it's hard for me to say, how hard or how easy it is. But I've met lots of people. And it's becoming easier and easier as there's more things to do in the

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neighbourhood, it's easier and easier to do that, because it's these spaces to

bring people together." (MR17)

Meeting and mixing takes time and effort and residents have to have a willingness and ability

to be part of the community in a meaningful way. It is because of these challenges that

Regent Park is under a spotlight from the academic community as well as the media where

outside people are interested in whether and how mixing is working. Some residents

expressed their disdain with the emphasis put on mix. A low income resident said:

> "That's what a lot of institution and universities are watching right now. How is
>
> this working? Like, seriously? Guys, relax. We are fine. We do get along, and
>
> nobody's pointing to anybody. Everything is working well." (LR12)

She was frustrated with the emphasis being put on how people are getting to know each other

and how the project is going. A market rate resident shared this view saying, "I think the

pressure they're putting on to make this the community, let it happen naturally" (MR03). One

important part of the redevelopment is that it spans fifteen to twenty years, and consequently,

if mixing is not paid any attention, a divisive neighbourhood could result. A representative

from RPNI stated that part of their role is to do research in order to guard the community

against the ills of social mix and be attuned to how best to achieve a successful

neighbourhood (KI07). A low income resident had a critical view of the project:

> "Is it really just a thinly veiled project, as a lot of people claim they're throwing
>
> out the poor people to get in the rich people, again, time will tell. You'd love
>
> that that would happen that people of mixed backgrounds come together and be
>
> neighbours, and again so far I haven't seen that at all." (LR02)

Although he recognized that social mix is a goal of the project, he was not convinced that it is happening in reality. Another low income resident stated that mixing between income groups was important, but was not a reality:

> "P – I don't see that happening. That the thing. I still find people are so… apart. With them too, they're doing their own thing. They get into their apartment and get out and move on to their work, and I never see people out and about and talking or anything like that… you know what I mean. It's definitely foreign. I would say Toronto-wise or, like, moving it's different to have a sense of community. I just feel like it's not really happening, people are not really mingling I guess.
>
> I - What do you think would encourage them to mix?
>
> P - More public space I guess like parks. People do use them, I guess. That's one thing to get to see them or know them I guess. Or community programs or something, for fun or, I don't know. I don't know some program to integrate everyone, getting everyone together." (LR07)

Like this resident who did not believe mixing between people of different income groups was happening, other residents agreed. A market rate resident who moved to the area largely because of the price of the unit had a critical view of social mix. She suggested that mix is too lofty a goal for any mixed income development because of the divisions that exist (MR03). She stated,

"It's never going to be us hanging out with them. I can't see that happening as a community…. They were all in the same class, they were all on assistance. If you all were on assistance, you're all equal. They're not all equal now. I mean, you think about it, you live in a house, and you have someone driving up beside you in a Porsche. Do like that person, or are you jealous of that person? It's a natural feeling. I'm not saying if it's better or good, but it's a natural feeling. There's going to be a little bit of, you know? Everyone was the same. It's not the same now. … There will always be a little bit of resistance there will always be a little bit of negativity, which is human nature." (MR03)

Part of the concern for having a mixed income communities is the divisions between different income groups that may occur; however, in recognizing that this reality is not desirable, the SDP plays a role in mitigating those community dynamics, as well as efforts made by the community partners including TCHC, the City of Toronto, and Daniels Corporation, as well as individual residents. An avenue that could help mitigate divisions is familiarity. A low income resident reflects that through time, social mix will happen due to the familiarization that happens with living in a neighbourhood. He said:

"It's different park in Regent Park because Regent Park has a name that most people are trying and working hard to make sure it's erased. It's not a place of anger; it's a place of living. … Time will bring us together again, and after some time, familiarization. But once, oh, that place is for rental, don't go to that building, this building is for condo, you can come to this building. Then, you are still discriminating one to the other." (LR14)

Familiarization may happen over time; however, the density of Regent Park is also going to increase dramatically and this may have an effect on whether you see the same faces or not. Thus, attention to mix and inclusive space is critical. Other residents discuss the importance of mixing for building a cohesive community. A market rate resident reflected on his decisions to move to the neighbourhood and his thoughts on mixing. He said,

> "I think it's important for the services to be accessible, and for it to not be segregated and I know that there is a strong community solidarity before the development and I think it's important not to lose that. I haven't quite figured out yet what that means for me and what part I can play in that, but I definitely don't – you hear sometimes, and I think it's the minority from the condo people, but there is sort of an attitude of wanting to actively gentrify and bring up the level of the neighbourhood in an active way that's not necessarily inclusive of those who were there before. And my vision for the neighbourhood is very much an inclusive, mixed neighbourhood, and I think that was one of the first things I said when you asked what do you like about regent park was how diverse it is." (MR17)

The idea of diversity and mixing emerged across interviews. Another market rate resident who was involved with local community groups stated, "I think that [mix] is important. Even though I don't want necessarily unity, I do think we need diversity and people coming together to understand each other's perspectives, and I think that's how we achieve people feeling comfortable and people feeling like they belong in the community" (MR15). The idea that cohesion reduces the community to one voice is dispelled by this resident; he and other

residents argue that diversity is the strength of the society, and this is reflected in a neighbourhood like Regent Park.

In doing participating observation, I attended yoga classes put on by the Centre of Learning. The coordinator of the sessions made a specific effort to encourage participants to get to know each other. I noticed that after classes, fruit was provided for participants in cups that were not disposable. In speaking with the coordinator, she said that the intent was for participants to stay and chat with each other, and even verbalized this to the class. This was an avenue for social mix to occur, and through my observations, it was successful. This is an example of 'doing' social mix, where people are consciously valuing mixing and making efforts to ensure that it happens.

5.3.5 The Benefits of Socially Mixed Neighbourhoods

The literature on social mix posits that there will be benefits granted to the low income residents living in the community when they have higher income neighbours. Alternatively, there has been literature that describes social mix to be a neoliberal tool that is rooted in maximizing profits as opposed to being an avenue for social justice. This section will attempt to discuss some of the benefits that have emerged in Regent Park as a result of the newly mixed income neighbourhood.

One theme that emerged was the changing stigma of Regent Park that the redevelopment brought. Regent Park was badly stigmatized by the rest of the city and the redevelopment has brought a variety of people to the neighbourhood who otherwise would have no reason to be in the area, consistent with the findings of Dunn (2012). A market rate resident who had some familiarity with the neighbourhood before moving there said:

"[Regent Park] had a stigma of being a centre for drugs and violence and gangs

and so that's gone, I'm happy to say. You know, I walk out at all hours of the

day or night through areas where apparently even the police wouldn't go."

(MR11)

The issue of safety is one that has been a long time issue in Regent Park; the Secondary Plan

addresses this concern stating that the redevelopment will create a neighbourhood where

"residents have a high level of security and safety and convenient access to public space"

(Regent Park Secondary Plan, 2007, p. 1). Two representatives from the City of Toronto, as

well as a representative of Daniels all stated that safety was an issue being addressed in a

number of ways within the public realm (KI01, KI04, KI06). One long-time low income

resident reported that he felt safer in the neighbourhood since the introduction of market rate

housing (LR07), and three market rate residents said they felt safe in the neighbourhood

(MR03, MR09, MR10).

Another change that is happening in Regent Park is that people from outside the

neighbourhood are coming into the area. Prior to redevelopment, the streets were dead ends

and apart from housing, there were minimal public amenities. As a result, people from

outside the community did not go to Regent Park because they had no reason to; this

contributed greatly to the social isolation and segregation that the Regent Park

neighbourhood felt. A City of Toronto representative stated, "There was no grid or road

network that went through RP and caused it to have a sense of isolation and it also caused

safety issues about police not being able to figure out which apartment called for assistance

and so there was the reintroduction of the grid" (KI04). The reconnection of streets draws

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people in, in addition to the renowned amenities such as the Aquatic Centre which has won an award from the Ontario Association of Architects, the Daniels Spectrum which is a venue for plays and home to the Centre for Social Innovation, as well as the Paintbox Bistro. Having people from other parts of the city come into the neighbourhood is one avenue for diminishing the social isolation that Regent Park faced prior to redevelopment.

A low income resident discussed a benefit of having the redevelopment and including mixed income units to be that low income residents can feel more comfortable inviting friends over to their house:

> "So I don't know how many people are opened, and how many people would welcome their friends to their houses. I think when the condos come and the housing is nice and clean, maybe you don't want people to know that you're in community housing. So that will help in that sense. … So you'll have some sense of pride, some sense of comfort, especially for kids. They'll feel part of, not as Regent Park, but as part of Toronto and part of Canadian society."
>
> (LR08)

This resident is referring to the changing neighbourhood stigma which can enable residents to feel more secure in their housing and feel a sense of pride about their neighbourhood. The physical appearance of the buildings is indistinguishable; this is called 'tenure blind' (KI03). The neighbourhood is mixed in the way that outside people coming into Regent Park will not be able to tell which buildings are condominiums and which are public housing simply by looking at the buildings (KI03). However, a resident makes the point that although it may be indistinguishable to outsiders, residents would know which building is which (MR17). He

said, "You have this funny set up where everything kind of looks the same, but if you live in the neighbourhood, you know exactly which buildings are which, right?" (MR17). The intentions of tenure blindness may be to ensure equality among residents; however, if buildings are separate, it is possible to know which buildings hold which tenure.

In addition to outside citizens feeling more comfortable and welcomed in Regent Park, a benefit of social mix lay in the ability to gain outside employment. The access to employment has been a factor discussed by residents across tenures. A low income resident stated:

> "I think it's better to live in a community that you don't know for a fact that everybody in there is housing or everybody and there is market. So a lot of the kids have been complaining for a while that if they use their Regent Park address will never find a job they want get it was because they Regent Park address. That makes it real hard to do now. You can't just say no because the Regent Park address." (LR04)

Prior to redevelopment, stigmatization created a barrier to gaining outside employment. However, now there are opportunities afforded to low income residents as the stigma of living in Regent Park changes. Part of these benefits lie in the expansion of social networks within Regent Park. As more people move into the neighbourhood with their connections to the wider community, and as mixing happens, resident's social networks have the potential to expand. During the interviews, many residents mentioned networking as a factor in the redevelopment, specifically as it relates to employment. A low income resident discussed the intersection of social mix and networking:

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"Yes I think it's very important. It's very important, not because Community

Housing people will benefit or condos will benefit, but the younger generation

will benefit from it. So when kids are going, if you're living in Regent Park and

are living in Community Housing, there's always that stigma attached to that.

So if you know people whose parents are maybe lawyers, or whose parents are

maybe doctors or engineer or work in a bank, and they go to the same school,

and live in the same area as you, that gives you a little bit of more sense of

pride." (LR08)

Along with a sense of pride, this resident is discussing the value of having diverse networks,

and neighbourhood redevelopment brings this potential for networking. Another low income

resident discussed how mix can be beneficial to the community:

"It's very important because let's say the same way, whatever I know you could

give information if you know that person. Let's say I'm looking out for a job or

my husband lost his job. Do you know anybody or whatever that you might

know hiring in this position? Oh, I have your email or phone number so I could

forward you that information." (LR12)

A market rate resident gave an example of how networking happened. She said:

"A friend of mine who I know through Toronto Community Housing, I ran into

her one day, and I said "I haven't seen you in forever" and she said "well my

contract ended at one agency and so now I'm sort of looking for work and

thinking of going back to school". So I asked her to send her resume to me

because I thought she'd be great at my office, so that she could pass it along."

(MR10).

This example of networking happening in the community is important as it signifies that social mix can have tangible benefits for low income residents. Although it was not certain if this low income resident was successful in obtaining employment through MR10, the connections made in the community can be beneficial.

Another benefit to social mix is not for low income residents, but rather for the more affluent residents moving to the neighbourhood. Social mix literature presents a pejorative discourse that low income residents will learn from their middle and high income counterparts and benefit from the resources they bring. However, it was the middle and high income residents who brought a different view to light: the learning and benefits can happen both ways. A market rate resident stated:

> "I think [mix] is helpful for one thing: if you know people in a different income
> bracket from you, it makes you more aware of their needs and their struggles.
> You don't live in your own little bubble of affluence. I think it's important
> where you live because it shapes what you see and what you know firsthand….I
> also think it's very useful for folks who are struggling, to know people who
> have connections into the wider community…. So I think the mixing is
> beneficial both ways." (MR16)

Another market rate resident echoes a similar sentiment, that mix is beneficial to everyone in the community:

"I think still Regent Park is a tale of two communities that's still being

written....I love being a part of something that's growing and developing, and

an opportunity where you have things that one part of the community can learn

– where both parts of the community can learn from one other. So, the new

residents and owners who are coming in can learn a lot from the social housing

folks, and the social housing folks, hopefully have opportunities because of the

increase in revenue in the area, like money coming into the area. Hopefully the

increase of services in the area is good. So I hope it's a two way benefit."

(MR15)

These residents who discuss mix being beneficial to both are also the same residents who are

social justice minded and are involved in the community in different ways. In any case, it is

important to hear these voices that are willing to recognize that this redevelopment is a

process that will benefit more than just one social group. A low income resident discusses the

pejorative nature of social mix, arguing that the benefits are not reserved for low income

residents.

"I think you're good to know the same concerns you have, they have. The same

issues you face, they face. You will see them for who they are, and they will see

you for who you are: somebody who's equally concerned with life. It won't be

categorical. We won't categorize each other. And I think much of the solutions

will come only if – for instance much of the concern, what is poverty, poverty is

a real issue, however, those who can answer and provide the solution for the

poverty problem, is those people who are capable, those people who are

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working. So I think if they encounter these people and poverty is no longer a

concept but a reality, and if you talk to them and say "how was your day" and

they literally tell you stories of life and then you say, "Is that poverty? Did I just

encounter the poor?" So I think if this happens, I think much of the problems

will get solved." (LR20)

This resident further discussed that an important part of the redevelopment is including

various voices and valuing differences. In this way, the benefits of the newly socially mixed

neighbourhood are many; however, it is important to acknowledge that the project is about

halfway done and many of these reported benefits reflect a snapshot in time.

Chapter 6
Discussion

The redevelopment of Regent Park is the first of its kind in Canada. The rebuilding of the public housing stock and the new densification of the area are intended to bring positive changes to the stigmatized neighbourhood. The public realm is changing dramatically with the introduction of through streets and the injection of well-resourced spaces and services. This study seeks to understand how residents use public spaces in Regent Park, and the role that these public spaces may play in forging a cohesive community between residents of different tenures. An objective of this research is to bring to light the voices and experiences of residents who live in the neighbourhood and are experiencing changes.

The findings from this research were primarily derived from personal interviews with twenty residents of different households, phases, and within various tenures, all of whom were living in Regent Park at the time of the study. Additionally, seven key informant interviews were conducted with representatives from TCHC, the City of Toronto, Daniels Corporation, and other local organizations. This sample size is relatively small and thus presents a challenge for generalizing the results; however, using Yin's (2003) idea of 'analytic generalization' it lends generalizability to the concept of social mix and the phenomenon of having public spaces present in a redevelopment project. In this way, the data collected from this relatively small sample of residents provides important information about experiences with the newly socially mixed neighbourhood and public spaces. In particular, this data provided insight into

the various interests present in the redevelopment. The interviews also revealed the concept of 'right to the city' as a way of explaining how attachment to Regent Park informed resident willingness to engage in the newly socially mixed neighbourhood. Finally, the interviews provided a solid basis for understanding social mix in Regent Park. In light of the findings from the interviews conducted, there are some similarities and divergences with the literature. This section will provide a discussion of the findings from this study as well as how they relate to other studies.

6.1 Varied Interests in Redevelopment

Residents discussed their concerns with being able to access housing in Regent Park due to redevelopment. They not only spoke of their own situation, but expressed concern about the barriers that other low income people may experience as a result of redevelopment. In this way, access refers to the ability to be placed in low income units. As of 2011, the number of households on the waiting list for social housing in Toronto was 67, 714 (City of Toronto, 2011). This illustrates a larger systemic problem of the inability of the City to meet the needs of its citizens requiring affordable housing. The City's budget and lack of adequate federal and provincial support does not provide enough subsidized housing. Hackworth and Smith (2001) argue that local governments are faced with financial challenges and this pressure brings a pursuance of redevelopments as methods for increasing tax revenue. In the case of Regent Park, an increase in units and population by nearly 7500 and 10,000 respectively will generate an increased tax base for the City. Secondly, Hackworth and Smith (2001) suggest that the "shift towards post-Keynesian governance has unhinged the state from the project

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of social reproduction and as such, measures to protect the working class are more easily contested" (p.464). In this way, although the predicament local government faces may be a challenge to negotiate, engaging in public-private-partnerships to provide redevelopments of old housing stock garners potentially conflicting priorities. A for-profit corporation may not have the true interest of low-income citizens at heart.

Even if a redevelopment is promised and fulfilled, it not only does not always benefit low income residents, but can deny them access to their original neighbourhood. Graves and Vale (2012) discuss this idea as it manifests in Chicago where "researchers found that residents did not have equal access to all housing types, for both structural and procedural reasons" (p. 464). The issue of screening residents to require them to meet certain criteria disallows some residents from returning. This was also an issue that emerged in the interviews; three residents brought up their concern that screening out residents was happening in Regent Park. TCHC has assured residents that they have a 'Right of Return' meaning that anyone who was living in Regent Park before the redevelopment will have the right to return to new housing. This is not a system used in all redevelopments; for example, in Chicago, Popkin (2010) discussed tactics that the Chicago Housing Authority employs in order to screen residents which results in few residents being able to return to the mixed-income development, and consequently denying access to many original residents. Popkin (2010) suggests that in HOPE VI sites, it is not uncommon to find that return rates are less than 10%.

The interviews have illuminated different stories in Regent Park. The lived experiences that were shared with me created a snapshot of how the redevelopment is perceived and how residents interact with physical and social infrastructure. Residents were forthcoming and candid which allowed me to understand their experiences more fully. For example, the theme of access emerged as residents discussed their acute financial situation. A low income resident discussed that it is not uncommon that her priorities of ensuring food on the table and making rent trump opportunities in the neighbourhood that require payment (LR19). This speaks to a larger trend of divisions between residents being able to access services and opportunities and others who cannot. This is a direct result of redevelopment and it is a complicated dynamic because low income residents can also benefit in other ways from redevelopment that do not price them out of event, such as the Aquatic Centre or free events. However, it creates a power dynamic between people who can afford to attend shows or put their children in music class, and those who cannot. These issues were, to some extent, to be addressed in the SDP. There are three sections specifically that address the issue of access in terms of affordability. Firstly, Regent Park services providers are addressed, and are required to "ensure that services are appropriately distributed by reserving spaces in services for low-income, vulnerable or marginalized participants as necessary and appropriate" (SDP, 2007, p. 42). The second addresses the City of Toronto, and requires that the Parks, Forestry and Recreation Division provide provisions for the "continued affordable access to space and programs in Regent Park" (SDP, 2007, p. 55). Lastly, services providers are also required to ensure that services are distributed

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across income groups appropriately and affordable for lower income groups, and the example given relates to offering free access to low income families (SDP, 2007). These specific recommendations are intended to address the issues that have emerged in my research: resident access to spaces and programming. At this time, there is a strategic plan being created by the SDP Stakeholders' Table and its working groups to assess the recommendations of the SDP; however, it seems that some of these recommendations need more careful evaluation to ensure that they are being met as the experiences and feelings that residents have shared with me conflict with the recommendations.

Through the analysis of residents' use of public spaces, I have found that particular demographic groups experience barriers to accessing some of the public spaces in Regent Park. This is significant because of the intentions behind creating these public spaces: to create spaces for all residents of the community and city to enjoy, and to ensure compliance with the SDP. Although the SDP was created through community consultation, not everyone who asked or advocated for space can now access it. For low income residents, a major factor in creating barriers to space was financial. Having events, shows, or programs that require payment can result in the exclusion of some residents within the Regent Park community. Part of living in a mixed-income neighbourhood is that new spaces open up to serve the community; however, this dynamic shift affects original residents. When residents of different incomes live in the same neighbourhood there can be barriers to accessing those spaces for some residents. In other words, original residents experience changes to their neighbourhood, and part of this may include barriers to new spaces in their community. On

the other hand, market rate residents are new in the community, and come with their own experiences, connections, and financial situations. As a result, they may be able to afford different things in the community and thus access certain spaces, but they may also feel unwelcome to participate in events or programs that they perceive to not be for them. All of these perceptions change the kind of access that residents experience with public spaces, and consequently, they can create barriers for the potential mixing that could occur in these spaces. For this study, a goal of understanding how residents use public space was to set the stage for understanding the context surrounding the mixing of residents of varying tenures. Simply put, if residents experience barriers to space, it minimizes their chances of mixing.

6.2 Rights and Relationship Building

The creation of public spaces in Regent Park was largely attributed to the guidelines in the SDP as well as partnerships that were forged over time. In Regent Park, as the wealthy neighbours move in, the voice and use value of low income original residents should not be foregone; rather, Lefebvre (1996) recommends that there should be the rights to the city respected for those residents. Preserving these rights is a critical element of a successful community; in a case without the guidance of 'right to the city' low income residents may lose their power and place in the neighbourhood. Lawton (2013) found that urban practitioners cited liveability as a goal for having public spaces in redevelopments; however, he argued that public spaces were created in mixed income communities where the spaces favoured the private housing market as it abided by the social norms of the affluent. In this way, the exchange value of the market rate residents trumped the use value for low income residents which diminished the right to the city for low income individuals. In the case of

Regent Park, this can manifest in a number of ways such as resident organizing, ongoing communication and dialogue with TCHC, steadfastness of documents such as the SDP, and openness from other community partners.

TCHC has a commitment to their residents which does not include the market rate residents. In fact, there is minimal contact between TCHC and market rate residents who do not forge that relationship. While this is an enforcement of a division by its nature, it is perhaps positive as an authority with decision making power can advocate on behalf of low income residents. It is important that TCHC is attuned to resident engagement as part of the redevelopment through the SDP which has required resident participation. In this way, it can be argued that the SDP works to enshrine parts of 'right to the city' for low income residents who may otherwise experience challenges in fully participating in decision making, and shaping the trajectory of urbanization in Regent Park. Of significance is the communication between TCHC and its residents. This relationship must be strengthened, and while some residents reported that communication has improved, still others were not satisfied with TCHC as they felt that a lack of communication and respect was afforded to residents, particularly around relocation which is a challenging process for many.

This redevelopment has brought about major changes to the physical and social landscape of the Regent Park community, and will continue to bring changes. Documents like the SDP serve to preserve the voice of original residents who continue to live in Regent Park as the community changes, particularly in light of the changes to the Master Plan. As a concept, 'right to the city' plays a role in determining how residents are able to use, change, and create their neighbourhood using tools like the SDP. However, the SDP must be

evaluated and the recommendations monitored in order to achieve the goals that it sets out to achieve. The SDP Stakeholders' Table is working on their communication between agencies in order to streamline the work being done.

Through my participant observation and interviews with key informants, the idea of the voice of original residents emerged. These decision makers spoke about the importance of incorporating the various voices of residents in the redevelopment. It is significant to hear that 'right to the city' is a concept being given attention to by the decision makers in this process. It is also important that these decision makers have the authority to support the concept of 'right to the city' being applied in the case of Regent Park. However, the decision making processes are shrouded in some secrecy, and while residents are provided opportunities to participate, it is unclear as to how much influence they have. In the interviews, this point was discussed by many residents who had conflicting views. Market rate residents generally reported that they felt heard in the decision making processes. For those market rate residents who did not attend meetings, they reported that if they felt strongly about something, they were confident that they could make their voice heard. Among low income residents, it was not as simplistic. While some felt that they were listened to in an authentic way and felt that they had a role in the decision making process, others felt that their input was not seriously considered. This challenge exists when different points of view emerge; however, the participatory planning process is critical and allows residents to feel part of their community in a real way and have a sense of ownership in the decisions made through consultation sessions, charrettes, and dialogue.

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The RPNI is an organization that functions to serve the whole community and represent the voices of both low income and market rate residents. It has a membership and board that include residents of different tenures, puts on events throughout the year to draw people together, and advocates on behalf of residents to have a voice in decision making processes. This is an avenue to entrench 'right to the city' within the community as it provides the opportunity for residents to get to know each other and have a dialogue about decisions in the community. In my interviews, residents who were part of RPNI reported feeling involved and part of the community, and also reported knowing residents of other tenures. A case study from Milan conducted by Mugnano and Palvarini (2013) illustrates that the local neighbourhood association was a main factor in residents' perceptions of cohesion in the community. They found that members of the association reported that they felt more socially included than residents who were not part of the association. Although my research did not seek to understand this phenomenon in Regent Park, my sample of residents included six residents who were part of the RPNI, the neighbourhood association in Regent Park. These same six residents reported similar feelings of inclusion as those residents part of *Quelli de Villaggio* in Milan.

At the time of data collection, there were three TCHC buildings inhabited, 246 Sackville, 252 Sackville, and 1 Oak Street. Additionally, there were a number of TCHC townhouses as well. As of February 2014, of the Phase 1 and 2 residents, 487 households returned to Regent Park and were in new housing. This includes 230 Sackville, a new building that opened right after my data collection was complete. Of the private market buildings built and in operation at the time of my data collection, there were four buildings as

well as townhouses, including One Cole, 25 Cole, the Paintbox Condominium, and One Park West. Both residents from the market rate housing, and original residents discuss their concerns with the rate at which social housing buildings are coming online, in comparison to condominium buildings. From the total number of units, there were more market rate units that were occupied than TCHC new units at the time of my data collection by approximately 400 units. In light of this, in February 2014, the Director of Development, Heather Grey-Wolf announced at a Tenant Update Meeting that a priority for TCHC in the following phases is to get residents into new housing as soon as possible. This is part of having open communication and building strong relationships between the TCHC landlord and their tenants.

6.3 Social Interactions in Regent Park

From my research, it seems that the simplest way for people to meet in their neighbourhood and mix with their neighbours is within their building. In discussions with representatives from TCHC and Daniels Corporation, mixed buildings were considered, but due to the financial model of condominiums, were not feasible. Because each unit is owned, that owner has a vote in decisions made. If TCHC owned multiple units within the same building, they would have more than one vote and making decisions could get complicated. For example, condominium maintenance fees may become a challenge as the condominium board sets the fee and has the authority to change it. These details of ownership make the mixing of buildings complicated, according to TCHC. Although mixed buildings exist in other countries and contexts, it does not exist within TCHC's portfolio yet. Residents of both tenures expressed interest in this becoming a reality in the redevelopment.

During the interviews, it became apparent that most residents believed that there was an importance to knowing neighbours. Some residents stated that it is not essential, but that knowing neighbours would make living in the neighbourhood pleasant. Exclusively market rate residents stated that knowing people within your building is important, but not necessarily in the wider community. Additionally, the importance, or lack thereof, of resident mixing between tenures was discussed. In this case, even more people said that it was important to mix in the neighbourhood. However, in spite of residents believing that knowing and mixing with neighbours was important, mixing was fairly minimal between residents of different tenures. In other words, it seemed as though there was a disconnect between people believing that mix is important and knowing your neighbours is import, but not actively making efforts to mix.

The findings of this research do not clearly indicate whether or not social mix is happening in Regent Park; this sample is too small to accurately assess the degree to which people are mixing. Additionally, as the neighbourhood is in the midst of redevelopment, perhaps it is too early to tell if mixing is happening. However, from my sample, I analysed resident experiences in three ways to determine how mixing was occurring. Firstly, if residents did not know anyone from a different tenure than their own, I considered this to be a situation of no mixing. In this instance, eight out of twenty residents reported that they did not know anybody from a different tenure than their own. Secondly, if residents knew at least one person in the neighbourhood from a different tenure than their own, I considered this to be basic mixing. In this way, residents were utilizing space or networks in order to meet their neighbours in at least a superficial way. From the interviews, six of twenty residents stated

that they knew one or a few people in Regent Park that were of a different tenure. Thirdly, if residents had any intentional meeting with other residents of a different tenure than their own, I considered this to be social mixing as these meetings had the greatest chance of resulting in a cohesive community that benefits various income groups and emerging an ethno-cultural mix. In this case, six of twenty residents reported having relationships with residents from other income groups than their own. Through this method of determining mix, it is apparent that basic mixing and true social mixing are happening in Regent Park.

This way of understanding mixing is not foolproof; it can be argued that social mix is immeasurable because it relies on the perceptions of people to report whether they have made friendships, mixed with others, and/or feel included in their neighbourhood. This research study indicated that six of ten low income residents reported that they did not feel as though mixing was happening, however, seven out of ten reported that they knew someone in some capacity (or multiple people) from the other type of housing. Alternatively, five of ten market rate residents reported knowing at least someone in the neighbourhood from a different tenure. Thus, the perceptions of mixing are to some degree divergent from people's experiences.

The results of this study are in some ways different from the current literature. In the literature, many researchers suggest that despite urban policy to support socially mixed neighbourhoods, actual mixing is not happening. For example, Lelevrier (2013) found that in a French housing development, the mixed neighbourhood resulted in spatial proximity, but social distance between people of different incomes. In a HOPE VI project in Seattle, Washington, Kleit and Carnegie (2011) found that mixing between tenures was a challenge

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for residents, particularly because of the phased nature of the redevelopment they were going through – similar to that of Regent Park. Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn (1998) found that there was minimal interaction between residents in Lake Parc Place in Chicago. In terms of social networks, Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) find that networks are not developed equally among across social groups. In other words, simply introducing mixed income housing is not enough to impact the social networks of low income residents.

While many studies have produced results that are different from what I have found, the results of my study do have similarities with some literature. For example, Chaskin and Joseph (2010) reported that in Chicago, social interaction occurred between residents of different incomes, but that it was limited due to monetary and time constraints among other factors. Although it was happening, it was slow and in particular ways, similar to what I found in Regent Park.

Although the finding that social mix is happening to some degree in Regent Park is not congruent with the literature, there are some possible explanations. Firstly, the sample that I recruited was not necessarily representative of the community as a whole; the people selected in the study are prone to be biased in favour of the work that I was doing for two reasons. Firstly, the newcomer residents who have purchased or are renting market rate units tend to be people who believe in the project of the Regent Park redevelopment. They believe that it is a positive change happening and want to be part of it. Secondly, my recruitment strategy employed volunteer sampling, and thus, the residents of all tenures who agreed to be part of the study tended to be socially active in the neighbourhood already. In this way, I may not have gathered a truly representative sample, and thus my results show that some social

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mixing is happening as these residents tend to be invested in the social wellbeing of the neighbourhood. Residents tended to believe that social mix was a good idea; a key informant even said "So [redevelopment] is worth it. What I do know is that leaving Regent Park the way it was wasn't good for anyone" (KI07). There is a general regard among my sample that the redevelopment in Regent Park is a positive change for the neighbourhood. It is because of this that residents tended to have an interest in making the effort to participate in mixing, and cited the use of public spaces as a venue for that social interaction to occur.

Despite the difference from the literature, the fact remains that some people who are moving in Regent Park do believe in the redevelopment project and the goals it aims to achieve, these are the people who tend to make the effort for mixing as they believe it is important. Another possible explanation for the difference in my findings and the literature could be due to the contentious issue of racial segregation that has plagued United States history has not been as prevalent in Canada. In this way, the diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds of Toronto residents, including Regent Park residents, makes for a different cultural landscape. As a result, it is possible that residents in Regent Park are more willing to participate in social interactions cross-culturally as racial barriers do not prevail in the same way as the United States.

Prior to redevelopment, Regent Park was a place of relatively easy placement for people on the waiting list for social housing as many low income residents described to me. As market rate units open up to the public, there are a variety of reasons to move in to the neighbourhood, and the results of my study indicated that price was a main factor for some market rate residents, for both renting and purchasing.

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These same residents who cited price as a main factor were less involved in the community than those market rate residents who were socially minded and believed in the project. These latter residents showed empathy toward their neighbours and were invested in minimizing the social distance between them and their low income counterparts. In Lelevrier's (2013) study of three sites of redevelopment in France, she found a similar dynamic between affluent residents who were empathetic toward the neighbourhood which involved participating in local business, using public amenities, and being open to difference. Alternatively, in my Toronto study, there were those affluent residents with an attitude of distance, disengaging with social interactions and focusing on their networks elsewhere in the city. Affluent residents who moved to Regent Park have different intentions and goals for moving there, and from my sample, they generally fit into the two attitudes described by Lelevrier. The attitudes brought into their new neighbourhood either encouraged or discouraged them to mix with different income groups.

The role that public space plays in Regent Park is significant; having amenity space that is accessible to all residents can encourage mix if done properly. Many of the public spaces are quality spaces which Francis et al. (2012) indicates can be a main factor in whether these spaces are in fact settings for mixing to occur. Communication and advertising of events and services was discussed as a factor that affects whether or not residents partake. This is an avenue for encouraging mix; if residents are knowledgeable about events, organizations, and service in the community and have an open attitude to participating.

Chapter 7
Recommendations

The redevelopment of Regent Park is about half way through, just beginning Phase 3 of five phases. At each phase turnover, there is an opportunity created through the Hold provision to reassess redevelopment, as discussed in Chapter Two. Additionally, within the TCHC and City of Toronto social housing portfolio, there are other neighbourhoods experiencing redevelopments to create a socially mixed neighbourhood including Alexandra Park and Lawrence Heights. It is of critical importance to reflect on the lessons learned throughout these processes to ensure the missteps are reworked and successes are transferred. This section serves to take advantage of the opportunity to make recommendations for the subsequent phases in Regent Park, as well as other redevelopment projects in the Toronto context and elsewhere. Additionally, this study was a small part of understanding the complexities present in the redevelopment, and thus recommendations for future research will be discussed.

Firstly, if a cohesive community through social mix is a true goal of the redevelopment of Regent Park, attention must be given by those charged with providing social housing units to creating mixed tenure buildings. I recommend that buildings contain units that are market rate for ownership as well as RGI units. Although it was explained by a key informant that the financial structuring of TCHC property and condominium buildings are incompatible, serious consideration should be given to negotiate this. In my research, I found that most residents knew people in their buildings, and that meeting neighbours was the easiest way to get to know people. This scale of social mix is a critical step in building a

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cohesive neighbourhood. Market rate residents expressed a desire for mixed buildings, and some even conveyed surprise to learn during the interview that buildings were not mixed tenure. Additionally, low income residents communicated feelings of sadness and anger about this separation. Westhaven Park and Oakwood Shores in Chicago are examples of sites undergoing public housing redevelopments that have mixed income buildings onsite (Joseph and Chaskin, 2010). Additionally, Lake Parc Place in Chicago is another example of a mixed income housing development where people of various incomes live in the same building (Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn, 1998). In the case of Regent Park, the main barrier to achieving mixed buildings was presented as the financial structuring of the programs; however, these precedent cases show that it is possible.

Secondly, for other redevelopments, I recommend that those charged with the rebuilding of public housing stock give significant thought to building public spaces in the neighbourhoods undergoing redevelopment, particularly if buildings are separated by tenure. Regent Park is a neighbourhood service and resource rich in the public realm. Further, there are quality public spaces which have been shown to be a factor that can encourage mixing (Francis et al. 2012). Other redevelopments may not be afforded similar amenities or as well-resourced a public realm, and in these cases I recommend that part of the redevelopment include attention paid to the value of having quality public spaces. A well-utilized method of securing funding for public spaces in Regent Park has been through partnerships. This is worth consideration in other redevelopments.

Lastly, I recommend that the right to the city remains in the hands of original residents in Regent Park throughout the redevelopment, and beyond. These rights, in some

way enshrined in the SDP, should be ensured to persevere during relocation and as the population increases. Through this qualitative research, it came to light that the rights to the city in Regent Park were not experienced by all low income residents. Although the SDP was one method of affording residents the right to the city, other methods to strengthen the relationships between original residents (and other low income residents) and their community, should be utilized. Lefebvre's concept is a tangible way to safeguard the voice and rights of low income residents who do not have the monetary power to challenge their market rate counterparts. It is also a way for public service stewards to protect the rights of those for whom they have a responsibility to. In other redevelopments, having a document such as the SDP is a method to preserving rights to the city. Additionally, I suggest that in the creation of other SDPs, ways to evaluate and monitor the recommendations produced be included.

The redevelopment is currently at the end of Phase 2 and beginning of Phase 3. In addition to all of the public spaces that have come online in Phases 1 and 2, there are three public spaces slated for Phase 3. First is the six acre park located beside the Aquatic Centre, which is set to open to the public on June 21st 2014. Second is the Regent Park Athletic Grounds which is located near River Street and Shuter Street. Lastly, there is a linear park slated to connect these two green spaces, and is located on the east side of the Daniels Spectrum. Although some of these spaces were mentioned in my research, these new spaces to come online are an area for the further investigation of public space in Regent Park. Additionally, the concept of gender and social mix emerged in my research (on page 128) but was not well developed. The role that gender plays in forming connections between Regent

Park residents is an area worth exploring. Lastly, because the redevelopment is not yet complete, additional research is required to assess how the population increase in the area may affect both groups of residents as well as the efforts to forge an inclusive community.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

This research focuses on the experiences of twenty residents in various phases of redevelopment in Regent Park. This redevelopment project spans many years and is nearly halfway complete. Unique to this neighbourhood and redevelopment are the public spaces and services that have come online. Buildings themselves are not mixed, and thus public spaces act as the primary venues for mixing between neighbours to occur. Residents had varying degrees of input in decision making processes in the form of the Social Development Plan and consultation meetings. Findings from this research show that although public spaces were created with the intention of community building and were to be accessible by all, residents experienced differential access to some public spaces. Residents reported barriers that they experience in accessing certain public spaces. Some efforts have been undertaken in some instances to minimize those barriers. For example, the Paintbox Bistro had developed partnerships in the community to employ and train local residents which minimizes the potential financial barrier of accessing the space.

Prior to redevelopment, residents played a role in determining the trajectory of the redevelopment through consultations and in development of the SDP. In this way, residents were able to participate and change space in order to suit their needs. As redevelopment continues, new residents who are more affluent enter Regent Park and the power dynamics shift. It is because of this shift that "right to the city" is critical step in enshrining the rights of low income residents to make an active contribution, not only throughout the redevelopment, but after as well. Organizations like the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative are

instrumental in maintaining the voice of original residents and balancing that with also representing the voice of the rest of the community. The findings of this research show that measures have been taken to ensure that original residents maintain some right to the city. In speaking with residents, I found that market rate residents felt as though they were able to voice their concerns, but that there was contention among low income residents about this same issue where some felt that they were genuinely part of the decision making processes and others felt their views were not adequately considered. As the population increases, 'right to the city' becomes more important for low income residents to preserve their interests that cannot be made heard through financial means.

Lastly, social mixing in Regent Park is a topic under consideration. My sample size was too small to be able to draw generalizations about the community at large; however, my research indicated that some mixing between residents of different tenures was happening. Those market rate residents who were social justice minded and had an open attitude to meeting people, they generally were more successful at mixing with residents outside of their tenure. For low income residents, those who believed in the redevelopment generally had higher instances of mixing with other residents of different tenures.

This research study is not intended to attack any organization operating within Regent Park; rather to highlight resident attitudes, perceptions, experiences, and thoughts regarding redevelopment, public space, and getting to know their neighbours. I hope the results of this study are useful in other redevelopments within the Toronto context as well as throughout North America.
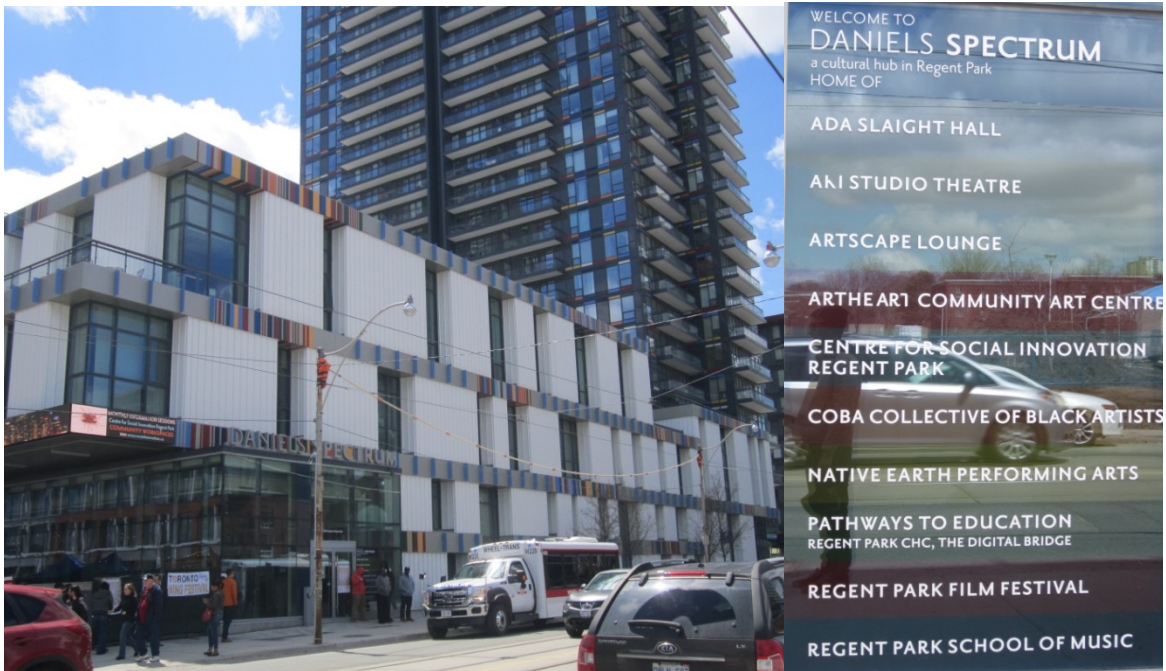
Appendix A

Images of Public Spaces in Regent Park

All photographs are taken by the author.

Daniels Centre of Learning (above). The Paintbox Bistro (below).

The Daniels Spectrum and various programs it houses as listed on its door (above). The Aquatic Centre (below).

Commercial spaces: Fresh Co. supermarket (above) and Tim Horton's (below).

The Regent Park Community Centre currently operating but slated for demolition (above).
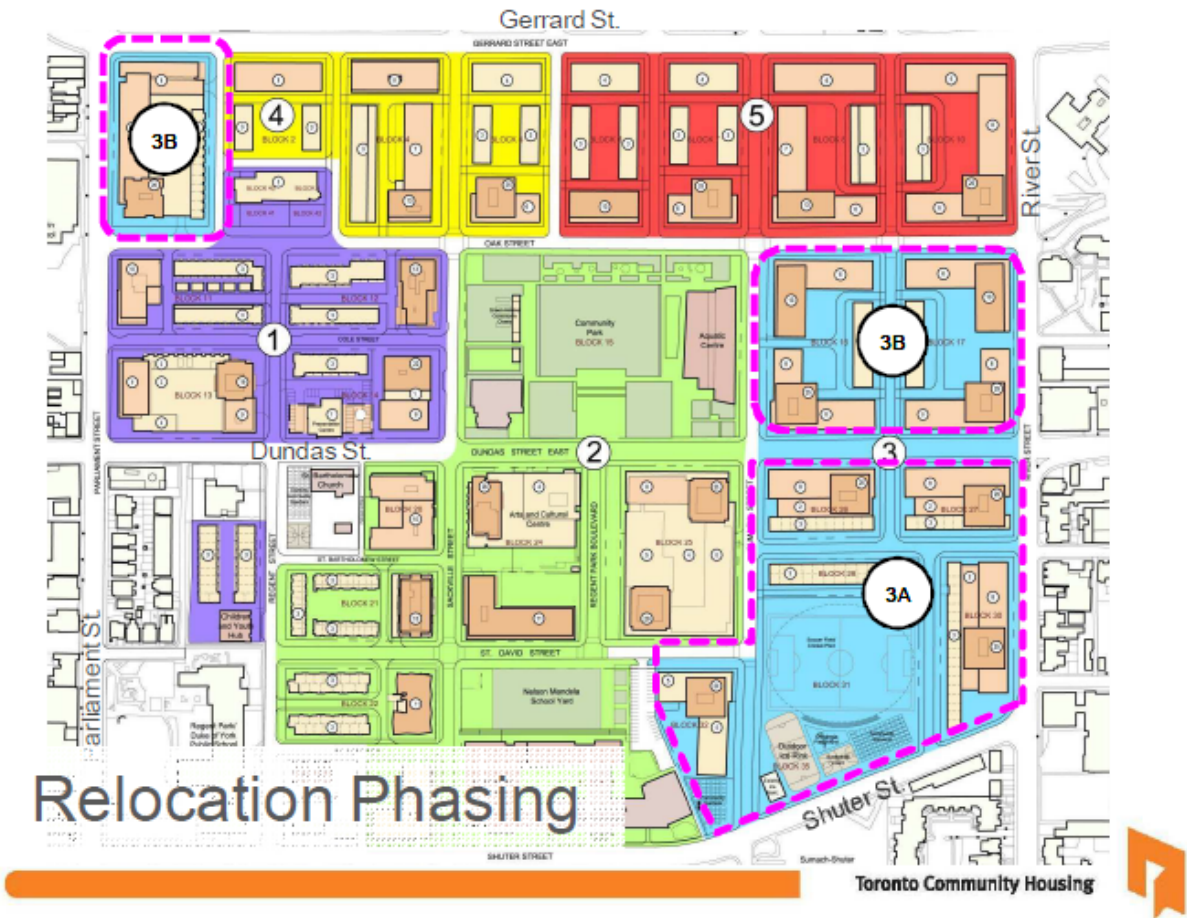
The Christian Resource Centre (Below)

The three images below depict the Regent Park Park which is set to open to the public on June 21, 2014. The first image shows the sign that is displayed on Dundas Street, the second shows the grassy area of the park beside the Aquatic Centre, and the last image displays the steps and gathering area.
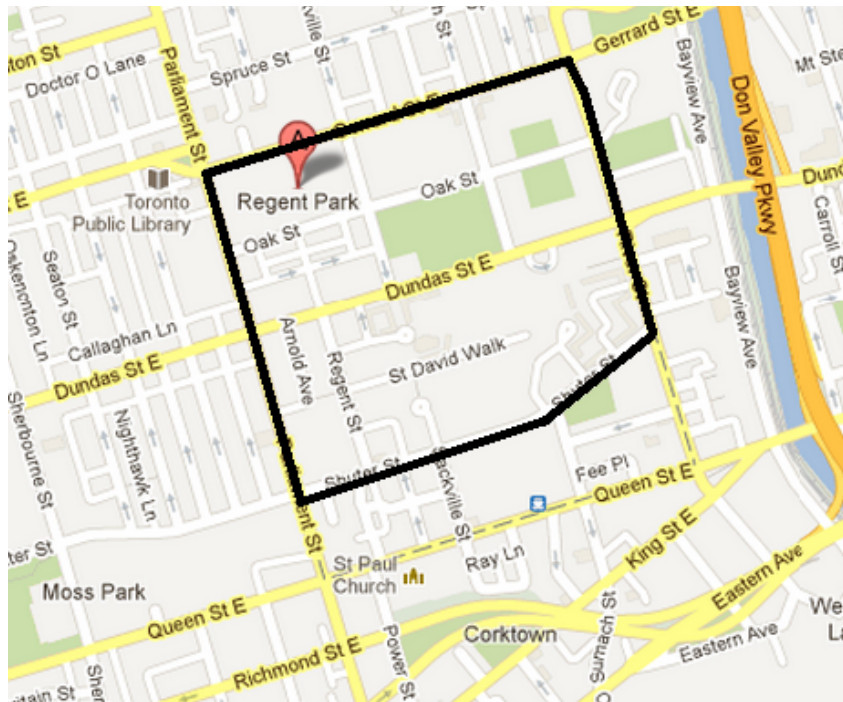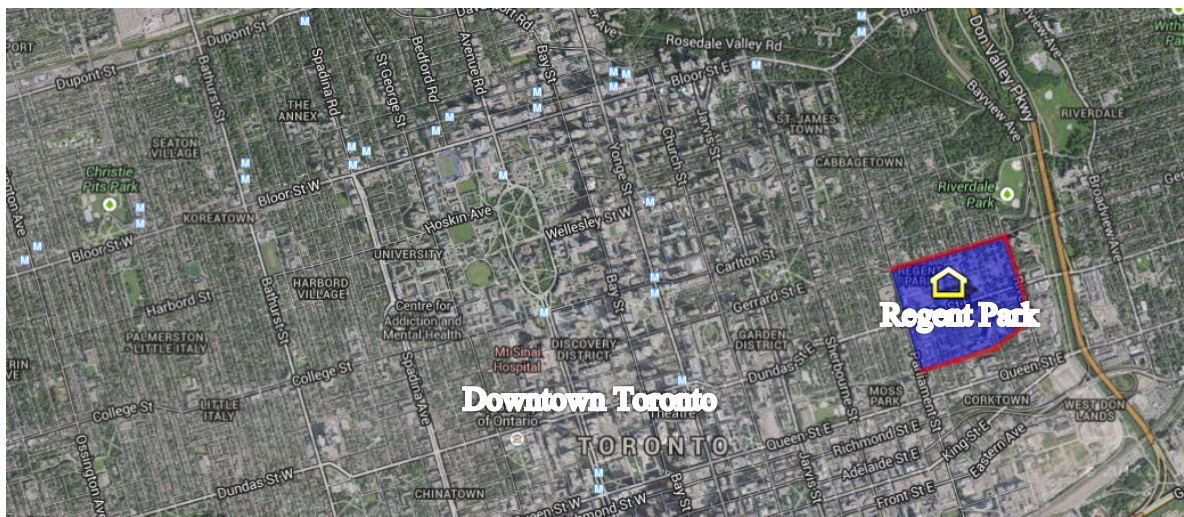
Appendix B

Phasing Map

Relocation Phasing Plan, highlighting Phase 3. (Source: TCHC Tenant Update Meeting, February 18, 2014).

Appendix C
Map of Regent Park

Aerial view of Regent Park, the black lines denoting the boundary. (Source: Google Maps 2012)

Aerial view of Regent Park and its proximity to downtown. (Source: Google Maps 2014)

Appendix D

Consent Form

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

_____

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Stephanie Fernandes of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Laura Johnson. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

☐YES   ☐NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E

Information Letter

University of
Waterloo

SCHOOL OF PLANNING   Faculty of Environment
University of Waterloo, 200 University Avenue West, Waterloo, Canada N2L 3G1
519-888-4567, ext. 36564 Fax 519-725-2827 **www.environment.uwaterloo.ca/planning**

Dear Participant,

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Laura Johnson. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

Over the years, public-private-partnerships have been growing and playing an important role in shaping neighborhoods. For public housing projects, this means redevelopment necessitates the presence of a mixed-income community. Theories around this new neighborhood structure suggest that benefits can arise, namely in the form of social capital. A way to gain social capital is through interactions. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to elucidate the role that public spaces play in fostering social interactions in Regent Park.

This study will focus on resident experiences with the well-resourced public spaces that exist within the Regent Park boundary, and look to gaining insight as to whether these spaces act as a venue for social interactions between people across a variety of income brackets. When presented with potential venues for social interactions, it is important to understand how residents use these public spaces. Therefore, I would like to include you as one of several residents to be involved in my study. I believe that you will have valuable insights and are well suited to speak to the issues of this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 45 minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained for 2 years in a locked office in my supervisor's lab. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated

risks to you as a participant in this study. Participation in this study will *not* affect your status with the Toronto Community Housing Corporation or any other housing agency.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 647-654-0852 or by email at s2fernan@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Laura Johnson at 519-888-4567 ext. 36635 or email lcjohnson@uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to the development and redevelopment of future public housing projects in relation to the importance and preservation of quality public space, and additionally, to the broader research community.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours sincerely,
Stephanie Fernandes

Appendix F

Interview Guides

Resident Interview Guide

1. Please tell me about your living accommodations. How big is your home? Who do you live with?
2. How long have you lived in Regent Park?
3. Do you like living in Regent Park? Why or why not?
   a. What made you come to Regent Park?
   b. What are some differences since the redevelopment? How has it changed?
4. Do you spend a lot of time in Regent Park?
   a. Are you employed, a student, a volunteer, or other? What do you do?
5. If you are a TCHC tenant, what phase of redevelopment are you in? (relocated, resettled)
6. Do you use some or any of the spaces provided within Regent Park (such as the Aquatic Centre, Daniels spectrum, learning centre or any others)?
   a. How often?
   b. Do you use them alone, or with someone? Who?
7. Have you met people at these places? **(if NO, go to question 18)**
   a. How many? Were any of them from the other type of housing?
   b. What was the nature of these interactions?
8. Of the people that you have met, how many have you kept in contact with? How? Who (RGI or Condo)
9. Have you met again purposefully?
10. Would you consider any of them a friend?
    a. What is the nature of your relationship now?
11. Have you received information about a job or an event through someone that you met in a public space? Did you get the job or go to the event?
    a. Have you ever heard of this happening?
12. Do you think you would have met this person if the *space* was not provided? Why or why not?
13. Do you think that these public spaces help or encourage people to meet?
14. Do you belong to any organizations or clubs in Regent Park?
15. Do you think it is important to live in a neighbourhood where people know each other?
16. Do you think it is important for people to "mix" in Regent Park?

a. How would we know if "mixing" was happening? How would we know if it wasn't working?

17. Please tell me a little about yourself. Where were you born? How old are you? Address? What is your highest level of education? Does your household have a car?

<div align="center">*</div>

18. Why don't you use any public spaces?
    a. What would draw you to use them?
19. Do you belong to any organizations or clubs in Regent Park?
20. How do you meet people in Regent Park?
21. Have you met anyone from the other type of housing? How?
22. Do you think it is important to live in a neighbourhood where people know each other?
23. Do you think it is important for people to "mix" in Regent Park?
    a. How would we know if "mixing" was happening? What would the community look like?
    b. Alternatively, how would we know if it wasn't working?
24. Please tell me a little about yourself. Where were you born? How old are you? Address? What is your highest level of education? Does your household have a car?

Key Informant Interview Guide

1. What is your position in your organization? How long have you held it?
2. How long have you been working at the Regent Park site?
3. What has been your involvement with the Regent Park Revitalization?
4. What are some of the main goals of your organization?
5. Do you think it is important to create neighbourhoods where people know each other? Why?
    a. Does your organization discuss this?
6. Can you tell me about public spaces in Regent Park? What exists, what is new, what your organization has?
7. How were they decided upon?
    a. How much input did your organization have?
    b. Who financed them?
8. What was the intention of having these spaces? In general, and from the point of view of your organization?
9. What kind of outcomes are you asking about?
10. Do you think it is important for people to "mix" in Regent Park?

a. Has the "mixing" of people from different incomes been a consideration (when discussing public spaces)?
b. Have any measures been taken to foster interaction?
11. Was there any attention given to "social mix"?
a. What does that mean in your organization?
b. Do you think it has merit?
c. How has your organization encouraged or discouraged social mix?
d. How would we know if "mixing" was happening? How would we know if it wasn't working?

Appendix G

Sunday in the Park

Sunday in the Park poster (source: Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative July newsletter)

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