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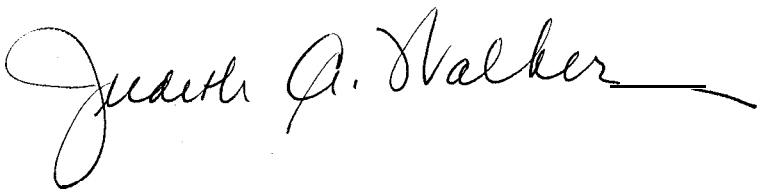

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Abstract

CITY CORE NEIGHBOURHOODS DESIGNED FOR SUSTAINABILITY: THE DYNAMICS OF LIVABILITY AND EQUITY

Humankind's ability to ensure sustainability of the biosphere depends upon the integrated and concerted efforts of all peoples in all places. This study examines the critical need to focus on the achievement of sustainability in urban centres, specifically in North America, and evaluates the potential for city core neighbourhoods to contribute to the accomplishment of this goal.

Four criteria are presented as necessary for the realization of urban sustainability, two of which, livability and equity of access, (identified as the 'social' criteria) become the focus of this inquiry. Community involvement at the neighbourhood level is also identified as necessary to the process by which sustainability will be achieved. The synergy of livability and equity to create a 'sense of community' and attendant community involvement is explored.

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood in Toronto serves as a case study to inform future efforts to ensure livability, equity, and the resulting community involvement necessary to achieve urban sustainability, and points to subtle but important lessons regarding the dynamism of various conditions within a neighbourhood that can contribute to this potential.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the culmination of my enquiry into an area beyond my purview just three short years ago when I plunged into the academic world at NYU. I owe much to many. Tom Colwell welcomed me into the academic arena again and for that I will be eternally grateful. Millard Clements contrived to make me become computer literate. Thank you. I also thank Eric Higgs, Greg Michalenko and George Priddle for convincing me that the University of Waterloo was where I should pursue my goals full time, and Maureen Grant who showed me the way.

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Dedication

This is dedicated to those who genuinely, unequivocally and with confidence and faith, encourage those they love who risk change.

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CHAPTER 1

CITIES
Where We Live

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

The focus of this thesis is city core neighbourhoods. The real issue, however, is the sustainability of our biosphere[1]. Contingent upon the continued vitality of our biosphere is our ability to continue to thrive physically, culturally and socially within it. Sustainable *development* is the term frequently used to identify the process of change that will ensure biospheric stability. William Rees defines this process as:

> . ..positive socioeconomic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated policy, planning and social learning processes; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities. (1989, p. 3)

This is a goal that many of us are hopeful to achieve, believing that it is

[1] I include humankind and human activity as being part of the biosphere. As William Rees argues, in terms of function, "there is only a single entity, the biosphere, and humanity has always been part of it." (1990, p.19)

imperative to do so in order to prevent impending global ecological disaster and ensure a stable environment for the future. This is not a goal that will be realized through the efforts of a few or initiatives within limited geographic boundaries. The protection of any valuable ecological function in isolation will not be sustainable, and will not be enough. Nor can we separate 'natural' environs from human habitats if we are ultimately to achieve our purpose. In A Theory of Good City Form, Kevin Lynch writes that "people and their cities are as much natural phenomena as trees, streams, nests, and deer paths" (1981, p.98 as cited by Crombie & Doering, 1991, p. 58). The environmental problems we face cannot be solved by any country, or grouping of countries, in isolation from others as recognized by participants in the 'Earth Summit' [2] held in Rio de Janeiro in June of 1992. Nor can these problems be resolved exclusively by those who seek to preserve the wilderness, or individual species, or unique facets of our cultural experience or heritage. The problems we face are complex and multifaceted. They require solutions that are themselves multifaceted and interdependent.

There are, therefore, an abundance of issues and foci requiring our attention to determine practical ways to accomplish our larger objective. We must address a plethora of problems in diverse geographic, social and political arenas in order to succeed. We must determine the essence and functioning of initiatives, actions, and undertakings that will allow us to ensure that we and. future generations will be secure in the knowledge that the richness of our world and its life supporting biosphere will continue. The enormity of the task and the inter-relatedness of all areas of concern demand that, as with a puzzle, we

[2] United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)

examine each aspect of the problem in the context of the whole. I have chosen neighbourhoods in North America at the heart of cities as the piece of the puzzle I will explore. It is in this arena I hope to define and enable change toward the broader goal of biospheric sustainability.

WHY CITIES?

Cities are where we live. By 1985, over 72% of the population of developed nations lived in urban centres. It is projected that by the turn of the century, almost half of the world's population will live within cities (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.100). In Canada, 98% of the population occupies a mere 1% of the land mass (Tyler, 1991) and in the US., more than 77% of the populace presently live within urban centres (VanVliet, 1992). "...[U]rbanization is the dominant demographic trend of the late twentieth century" (Brown and Jacobson, 1987, p.5).

Cities are also where we devour natural resources and where we pollute, seemingly uncontrollably. The environmental damage caused by city-dwellers is not limited to the physical boundaries of the city. The Brundtland Commission, in Our Common Future, indicates that cities "account for a high share of the world's resource use, energy consumption and environmental pollution" and that they "draw their resources and energy from distant lands with enormous aggregate impacts on those lands" (p. 241). "Indeed, it is the world's industrial cities that produce most of the world's solid and liquid wastes, consume most of the world's fossil fuels, emit the majority of ozone depleting compounds & toxic gasses, and give economic incentive to the clearing of the

worlds forests..." (UNEP, 1990 as cited in Roseland, 1992, p. 29). As William Rees states, "however brilliant its economic star, every city is an ecological black hole drawing on the material resources and productivity of a vast and scattered hinterland many times the size of itself" (Rees, 1992 as cited in Roseland, 1992, p. 21).

It is a matter of fact that Canada has the highest per capita energy use in the world (Olson, 1991; Richardson, 1992). And though this is often assumed to be due primarily to its cold climate, Sherri Olson, writing in Canadian Cities in Transition, points out that it is less due to the climate than it is to the form of Canadian cities. Their sprawling form results in half of the energy consumed by urban households in Canada being used in driving cars (Olson, 1991).

But there is a paradox existing within cities that offers hope for the future. Cities represent both environmental problems (as expressed above) as well as part of the solution. In contrast to the city which spreads outward at low densities, cities can offer "a compact alternative to the constant invasion of open space (wilderness) represented by modern sprawl" (Calthorpe, 1986, p. 1)[3] In fact, in his paper Bucolic Myths, Robert Paehlke argues that environmentalism, which stresses issues such as air and water pollution, population, energy use, resource depletion, occupational health, hazardous waste management and recycling, has a truly urban focus (1986, p. 1). Perhaps if city dwellers were to employ their collective strength to combat the numerous environmental problems we face, it is possible that solutions found within cities might have

[3] **For a more detailed discussion of environmental problems and opportunities within cities, see** *Shaping Cities: The Environmental and Human Dimensions* **(Lowe, 1991).**

important implications for the countryside.4

Also, as Michael Hough indicates, “in a world increasingly concerned with the problems of a deteriorating environment, be they energy, pollution, vanishing plants, animals or productive landscapes, there is a marked propensity to bypass the environment most people live in -- the city itself” (1989, p.5 as cited by Crombie, 1992, p. xix).

From an environmental perspective we must be concerned with resolving the problems of cities because they are home to so many of us, and will become home to even greater numbers over the next decade. We have concentrated problems of environmental degradation and deterioration within cities. And, if we don’t deal with these problems and change the way in which we live within our cities, these same problems and attitudes will continue to impact upon the suburbs, countryside and the world beyond, exacerbating our current dilemma. Cities provide us with an opportunity to improve the environment and quality of life within them and to alleviate, or prevent the environmental impacts they exert beyond their boundaries.

WHY THE URBAN CORE?

Of what interest is the urban core? At present in North America,

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4 In much the same way that Jane Jacobs argues that agricultural practices were first developed within cities and then transported to the countryside beyond them, cities, as centers of education and innovation might also be the birthplace of techniques and technologies for dealing with our environmental problems that might later have application beyond their limits. See Jane Jacobs’ The Economy of Cities (1970).

particularly in the United States, but to some degree in Canadian cities as well, the trend outward from city centres is of great concern. Urban centres are growing, but it is their physical size, rather than population that is increasing at a fast pace while core populations are declining (Lowe, 1991). Although cities are increasing in both population and physical size, they are doing so primarily as a result of urban sprawl. The cores of cites are being abandoned[5].

In the introduction to Edge City. Life on the New Frontier, Joel Garreau comments that the new 'edge cities' he writes about are not even recognized by us as new urban centres because unlike our older cities which are tied together by locomotives and subways, these 'edge cities' are tied together by freeways, jetways and jogging paths, only one of which would be valued in a sustainable urban centre. He goes on to say that, "the wonder is that these places, these curious new urban cores, were villages or corn stubble just thirty years ago " (1991, p. xx). It is surprising that he considers this development a 'wonder'. This is in fact the reality that Jane Jacobs foreshadowed 30 years ago in the closing chapters of The Death and Life of Great American Cities. Toward the end of a discussion regarding our schizophrenic attitude about nature, which she believes we sentimentalize and then destroy in trying to get closer (suburbia), she says that:

> Thirty years from now, we shall have accumulated new problems of blight and decay over acreages so immense that in comparison the present problems of great cities' gray belts will look piddling. Nor, however destructive, is this something

5 A discussion by David Ley in Canadian Cities in Transition(1991), would suggest that the question of why inner city neighbourhoods are declining, varies from one city to the next. He posits that the diversity of inner-city neighbourhoods based on their location and the social, economic, political processes which act upon them, as well as their age, results in an inability to establish a profile of the typical inner city neighbourhood and what causes its decline.

> which happens accidentally or without the use of will. This is exactly what we, as a society, have willed to happen . (1961, pp. 445,446)

Anne Whiston Spirn in her book, The Granite Garden (1984), suggests that fleeing the city will not change anything and believes that any escape to the suburbs or countryside is illusory. "The same attitudes toward nature responsible for degrading the city are now poisoning the countryside" (p. 264). In her book, The Living City, Roberta Gratz begins her Chapter on Urban Dispersal with a quote from Robert M. Stern's Pride of Place that concludes with "..when everybody moves to the country, all the benefits of the country disappear" (1989, p. 193). This exodus has environmental impacts within and without the city.

City cores throughout North America have suffered tremendous losses in the recent past in terms of economic vitality as business, industry and population decrease or fail to grow. Toronto, the largest metropolitan area within Canada, is experiencing a similar, though less severe problem. Over the twenty-year period from 1971-1991, within the Greater Toronto Area, Metro Toronto has experienced approximately 20% population growth, while the municipalities around the core of the GTA are experiencing increases in population of more than 200% (Church, 1993). Much of this reflects government initiatives to encourage this movement. However, as metropolitan areas face difficult economic times, and as our environmental consciousness is raised, there has been a shift in our planning for city growth. The last 10 to 15 years have seen diverse efforts on the parts of cities, large and small, to counter this occurrence, primarily because of economic concerns (Gratz, 1991). There are however, environmental

and social, as well as economic reasons to assist our city cores to thrive again.

Migration out of city centres into suburbia puts increased burdens on natural resouces through increased consumption of land and the attendant requirements of increased infrastructure. Also attendant with this migration is an increase in pollution, in particular that caused by increased auto use necessitated by greater distances between home and the workplace and the reduced availability of public transportation. There are diminishing efficiencies in terms of mass transit and existing services (van Vliet, 1992).

At the same time, large areas of city centres, once occupied by industry or, in many cases, by the railroad, are sitting idle near downtown cores, retail centres and public transportation. Rehabilitation or reclamation of these vacant areas within city centres is one of the ways in which municipalities can increase the efficiency of social services and infrastructure, while enlivening and enriching their social fabric. Peter Calthorpe, in Sustainable Communities, indicate that older cities offer the "framework and traditions for compact and efficient communities" and that, "reversing the flight to suburbs and making cities responsive to our current social and environmental needs is a design, an economic and a social problem" (1986, pp. 1,32). It is perhaps an environmental problem as well.

Environmental sustainability cannot be achieved if we do not concern ourselves with the problems of cities. One of the critical dilemmas facing cities at present is how to stop urban flight from the centre caused by a combination of suburban attractors (the perceived benefits of suburbia and the countryside), the

movement of industrial and business employment opportunities from city centres, and urban detractors (unaffordable housing, increasing pollution and decreasing safety) and increase the efficiency of the existing infrastructure and social systems within them. The same concerns are relevant to new urban centres that are arising about the perimeters, or edges, of existing cities. But how can we stop the movement outward from our urban cores (other than through legislation) and enliven our city cores? Can we create city centres that are desirable places to live and which are accessible to all who would choose to live there? Can we reduce their demands upon the environment and make these centres work within their existing ecological systems? My inquiry focuses on city core neighbourhoods and the extent to which the qualities of equity of access and livability within them contribute to this potential.

OBJECTIVES

I intend to explore the relationships between livability, equity and sustainability within the context of the city and demonstrate how these concepts function at the neighbourhood level.

My purpose is to explain how, why and under what circumstances we car achieve livable neighbourhoods within city centres that are accessible to individuals and families of all socio-economic levels, ages, cultures and abilities and to what extent these neighbourhoods contribute to sustainability in the larger urban context.

I believe that a better understanding of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood in

Toronto will contribute to a more informed development of criteria for sustainable urban centres. As Nigel Richardson points out in Sustainable Cities, the articulation of these criteria is essential for any real world attempt at achieving sustainability. For if we do not have goals and objectives, we cannot know how to proceed (1992). I intend to articulate these criteria and to explore the degree to which effective neighbourhood development can contribute to their attainment.

Michael Goldberg and John Mercer, in The Myth of the North American City (1986), point to the important and substantive differences that exist between Canadian and U.S. cities as a result of differing values and social settings, and political and economic systems. Their work is meant to demonstrate that only limited generalizations of the North American city can be drawn when looking at propositions about urban form, its growth and inhabitants. They also present information which confirms the differences between cities within each country which prevent broad generalizations of urban issues even within each nation. They also conclude that it is useless to talk about cities without recognition of their cultural contexts. However, like Terry Fowler in Building Cities That Work (1992), while I am aware that society, politics and economics vary between Canada and the U.S. and from city to city within each country, I believe that the relationships between physical form and socio-economic and political processes are similar.

I hope my findings will have implications applicable to communities, politicians and planners interested in sustainable urban development, neighbourhood building, and rejuvenation, throughout North America.

ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

I have employed what might be called a theory-building format for the presentation of this thesis. A discussion of the various elements of my concern are addressed specifically and in sequential order as I expand upon the relationships which exist between and among them. In this chapter I have presented the necessity of addressing the problems of cities if we are to achieve global biophysical sustainability and have argued that to achieve urban sustainability we must be concerned with neighbourhoods at the cores of cities.

Chapter 2 deals more specifically with the issue of sustainability in the urban context. In addition to a definition of urban sustainability, I present four conditions which I conclude must exist in unison, if sustainability is to be attained, and focus on the two which I consider the social criteria: livability and equity.

Chapter 3 offers further definition of livability and equity in the context of neighbourhoods, and explores how these two qualities function at the neighbourhood level, and to what end. The issues of physical diversity and density within neighbourhoods, and the degree to which they contribute to the development of a 'sense of community' are also examined. Finally, the factors which contribute to the realization of the criteria for sustainability are addressed.

Chapter 4 introduces the case study methodology I have employed to further explore how, why and under what circumstances we can achieve livable neighbourhoods accessible to all, in which a 'sense of community' and

concomitant community involvement is evidenced.

Chapter 5 is a presentation of my research findings regarding the St. Lawrence Case Study in Toronto. I assess to what degree the conditions of livability and equity were incorporated into the planning phases of the neighbourhood, why they were considered important, how they were to have been achieved and the degree to which they exist within the neighbourhood at present. Additionally, I examine the degree to which community involvement is evidenced in the neighbourhood and the factors which seem to promote the 'sense of community' which fosters this involvement. Lastly, I discuss the degree to which this neighbourhood may be said to contribute to the achievement of all four criteria for urban sustainability.

In Chapter 6 I draw conclusions about what further considerations ought to be entertained in the creation of neighbourhoods designed for sustainability and review the relevance of current thinking about neighbourhood planning as evidenced in the Sewell Commission's report, New Planning for Ontario, the work of the Toronto Waterfront Regeneration Trust regarding the Toronto waterfront and bioregion, and 'neotraditional neighbourhood design' which is currently being employed in both the United States and Canada. Finally, I draw some conclusions about this inquiry, and comment on the circumstances under which urban core neighbourhoods can contribute to the achievement of urban sustainability.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN SUSTAINABILITY
Definition & Criteria

INTRODUCTION

As David Crombie writes in the introduction to his book, Regeneration, "surely, sustainability is not possible in the long term unless we can soon find ways to regenerate our urban ecosystems, keep them in good health, and adopt more sustainable urban lifestyles" (1992, p. xix).

In this chapter I explore the recent evolution of interest in cities in terms of their potential to contribute to the achievement of environmental sustainability. I also explore the meaning of sustainability in the context of the urban environment and present a definition of urban sustainability. Subsequently, I outline the criteria necessary for sustainability within North American cities. I narrow the scope of my inquiry to focus on the conditions of livability and equity as two of the often overlooked or debated social criteria for urban sustainability.

Since the focus of my inquiry is the neighbourhood as a component part of the larger city, this discussion deals with the issues of sustainability and sustainability criteria as they relate to the city as a whole, and as they might be evidenced within neighbourhoods. A specific discussion of neighbourhoods and

their function within the city follows in Chapter 3 with further elaboration on the importance of livability and equity within the context of the neighbourhood.

THE CITY AND ENVIRONMENT

It is only very recently that attention has begun to focus on the city as an essential contributor to the achievement of environmental objectives and global sustainability. There have been writers, such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and William Whyte (1968), who in the 1960's accurately predicted the ever increasing environmental degradation that would result from continued urban sprawl. And Whyte, in his wonderfully, and paradoxically, optimistic book, The Last Landscape, pays abundant attention to the environmental advantages of centralization and densification of cities as a method of accommodating "more people and more open space" (1970, p. 395).

But despite the introduction of the concept of sustainable development at the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the impact of human settlements on the environment has only recently begun to emerge on environmental agendas; and then, is often discussed only in relation to third world cities. Coincidentally, also in 1972, Thomas Detwyler and Melvin Marcus published Urbanization and Environment which focuses quite narrowly on changes to the natural environment by humankind, the influence of physical processes on cities' growth and function, and the feedback between human action and environmental processes. But as they note in the preface of their book even these issues[6] had "scarcely been studied" previously.

[6]Urbanization and Environment is basically a summary of presentations which were part of an

In the early 1980's UNESCO's (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Man and Environment program broadened the discussion of urban centres and environmental sustainability when it considered the question of whether very large cities might be sustainable in the long run (White and Burton, 1983). Project Ecoville was undertaken in response to this question but its focus was limited to cities in developing nations.[7]

In 1986 Robert Paehlke wrote *Bucolic Myths: Towards a More Urbanist Environmentalism,* in which he considered the relevance of the city in achieving environmentalist objectives within the North American context. He noted that very few articles dealt with the city as a potential contributor toward these goals[8]. In his paper he suggests that environmentalism, an ideology which developed in part from the conservationist perspective, has a far more urban focus than the ideology from which it was born (1986). But despite this orientation, some environmentalists have espoused a vision which he calls 'bucolic'. They look to a more 'decentralized' future rather than a more 'urbanist' future. He argues that, "a perspective which combines urbanism and environmentalism might value both cities and wilderness" (1986, p. 6). He makes the case that high-density urban life has distinct environmental advantages and

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experimental course at the University of Michigan and was published because of the recognized lack of published material in this area.

[7] **In a report entitled** *Approaches To The Study* **Of The** *Environmental Implications* **Of** *Contemporary Urbanization,* **Rodney White and Ian Burton introduce Project Ecoville and its approach to the question of whether or not urban sustainability is possible in large cities within the third world. Some of the work they cite regarding ground rules for ecodevelopment in the third world (See Appendix A) has import for the evaluation of criteria and actions to be taken to achieve urban sustainability in North America.**

[8] **In 1986, Paehlke conducted a survey of environmental publications to discover this lack of articles on urban issues.**

he postulates that some urbanist perspectives (Mumford, Jacobs, Soleri) might also be called environmentalist perspectives. What Paehlke describes as the core goal of environmentalism, "the maximum reduction of energy and material throughputs in society and the economy that can be achieved with minimal losses in amenity" (1986, p. 7), I would argue is also the aim of sustainable urban development.

Since 1986, when Paehlke wrote Bucolic Myths, there has been a growing emphasis on sustainability in the urban centre. It was in 1987 that the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) released its report, Our Common Future, which furthered international recognition of the concept of sustainable development[9] and devoted a chapter to the urban challenge. Recently, books such as Green Cities edited by David Gordon, Toward Sustainable Communities by Mark Roseland, Sustainable Cities edited by Richard Stren, Rodney White, and Joseph Whitney and No Place Like Home: Building Sustainable Communities by Marcia Nozick have begun to address the issues raised in the consideration of urban sustainability. Journals, such as Alternatives , Plan Canada, Developments, The Christian Science Monitor, The Atlantic Monthly , Ecodecision, (which devoted a full issue in December, 1991 to 'Sustainable Cities'), and many others, have begun to address the complexities of the urban centre and environmental sustainability.

These same issues are also being addressed by numerous organizations

[9] Sustainable Development is defined by the Brundtland Commission as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987. p. 8).

around the globe. A Sustainable Cities Conference, attended by representatives of cities including Toronto, Vancouver, New York, and Paris was held in Montreal in 1991. The Mega-Cities Project, begun in 1987 and headquartered in New York City, is a network of fourteen cities in both developed and developing countries which anticipate that by the year 2,000 their populations will have grown to over 10,000,000 people. There are an additional nine cities in this category which are expected to become part of the network in the near future. The goal of Mega-Cities is to try to "find projects that are socially just, ecologically sustainable, economically viable and participatory" (Roberts, 1990). The Five Cities Consultation Project is another international initiative in which cities representing the regions of Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and North America have incorporated the comments of the public in preparing case studies of each of the city's environmental problems. And of course, in June 1992, cities around the world attempted to address their mutual problems at UNCED in Rio de Janeiro.

While much of the early discussion of urban sustainability is very theoretical in nature[10], recent discussions have become far more focused on the concrete issues of how to make urban sustainability a reality[11]. However, because there are numerous interpretations of sustainable development and what constitutes sustainability in the urban context, it becomes important to clarify how the terminology is interpreted in this document. (see Appendix B for various definitions of sustainable development).

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[10] **See Our Common Future, The World Commission on Environment and Development (1987).**

[11] **See Tomalty and Hendler, 1991; V. Maclaren, 1992; Roseland, 1992.**

SUSTAINABILITY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT

It is essential to understand the concept of sustainability as it is used in a universal sense prior to defining it in the context of the urban environment. In a book entitled The Green Economy, Michael Jacobs indicates that the concept of sustainability "arose from a need to define environmental protection" (1991, p. 79). According to him, and, I think, in keeping with the Brundtland Commission'& definition of the term, sustainability means that the "environment should be protected in such a condition and to such a degree that environmental capacities (the ability of the environment to perform its various functions) are maintained over time: at least at levels sufficient to avoid future catastrophe and at most at levels which give future generations the opportunity to enjoy an equal measure of environmental consumption"[13] (1991, pp. 79430).

William Rees contends that "true sustainability requires that we recognize the reality of ecological limits to material growth and the need to live on the interest of our remaining ecological capital" (1990, p. 21). Ecological health is integral to the achievement of sustainability. It is also inseparably linked to human activity. Rees argues that functionally speaking (in terms of the economy and the environment) "there is only a single entity, the biosphere, and humanity has always been part of it" (1990, p. 19).

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[12] **The World Commission on Economic Development was chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland and is commonly referred to as the Brundtland Commission.**

[13] **Jacobs suggests that this definition incorporates both minimal and maximal definitions of sustainable development. That environmental capacities are maintained over time to avoid future catastrophe would seem to be the minimal achievement of sustainability. Maximally, sustainability might allow future generations to enjoy consumption levels appreciated by the current generation. Perhaps he suggest that this is a maximal definition in acknowledgment of the fact that we may presently be over consuming.**

In the context of urban sustainability it is evident that we must seek, as Pell and Wismer put it, "to arrive at an integrative state of well-being in both ecosystem and human terms" (1990, p. 11)[14]. Though ecosystem health is requisite for urban sustainability, so is the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations since urban communities arose in order to fulfill many of these needs. Sustainable development is an alternative process of development which seeks to address the needs of human and ecological systems in order to achieve the state of well-being Pell and Wismer identify. They define development in the context of sustainability as "a social process[15] which has environmental and economic impacts" (1990, p. 6). Sustainability then is the goal, and sustainable development is the process of change by which we achieve it.

This development process described above implies "continuous, dynamic trade-offs both within and between the relevant overlapping sets of biological and resource, economic and social, systems" (Simon, 1989, p. 44). It is different from the predominant development process of today which tends to ignore completely the biological component. Changing this process will demand wide-spread acceptance of the need for change and pressure to force the change. Sustainability can only be achieved with the full support of the community through governments, social institutions and private activities (Rees, 1989).

Consideration of a sustainable city implies a political process that allows

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[14] **The need to achieve this integrative state is of course equally true for rural communities as well as urban centres in both developing and developed nations but the challenges to achieve the health of all actors is perhaps greater within the urban setting.**

[15] **WCED, 1987; William Rees** ,1989; **Michael Jacobs 1991; Robinson et al, 1990, all define sustainable development as a process of change.**

local responsibility and solutions, and decision-making that ensures community empowerment and involvement (RAIN, 1981 as cited in Roseland, 1992). Sustainability will be achieved by a process which allows, in fact, ensures, the active participation of the local community in the decision-making process. This implies equity of access to the process by all affected parties. In the discussion of sustainability, the term equity has importance, not only to the present community, but to future communities as well.

In 1915, The Canadian Conservation Commission stated that "each generation is entitled to the interest on the natural capital, but the principal should be handed on unimpaired" (Roseland, 1992, p. 5) This intergenerational equity is a key element of the concept of sustainability. After all, why is it important to sustain our environment if not for future generations? Equity is the reason "why" we need to achieve sustainability (Wismer, 1990 2).

In light of the preceding comments, I suggest that urban sustainability will be achieved by a socio-political process which integrates ecological and socio-economic imperatives and is accessible and responsive to all members of a community equally. For the purpose of this thesis, **urban sustainability,** the goal of this process, is defined as **a dynamic state of existence in which the urban form promotes and maintains the ecological systems upon which it is dependent, providing for the well-being (economic, physical and social) of all members of the present community and capable of meeting the needs of future generations as well.**

NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR URBAN SUSTAINABILITY

What characterizes a sustainable urban centre? The answer to this question is embedded in the above definition as well as in the definitions and descriptions of sustainability provided by a number of other authors. Julia Gardner and Mark Roseland suggest that the achievement of sustainability in general would be characterized by "the fulfillment of human needs, the maintenance of ecological integrity, provision for social self-determination, and the achievement of equity" (1989, p. 28).

In presenting criteria for a sustainable Canadian society, Scott Slocombe and Caroline Van Bers conclude that urbanization would be characterized by reduced urban sprawl[16], green space, increased economic self-reliance, and reduced energy and resource demands (1991).

Sim Van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe suggest that "what we term 'sustainable' was a reality in many pre industrial cultures" (1986, p. iv). They contend that in order to survive in the future, cities will have to be designed to reduce resource waste, balance long term consumption with sustainable production, and produce social forms of integrity and durability.

Writing about the Canadian experience in Sustainable Cities, Nigel Richardson suggests that sustainable urban development means "the continuing maintenance, adaptation, renewal, and development of a city's physical structure

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[16] **Though Slocombe and Van Bers suggest reduced urban sprawl, they would achieve this through decentralizing activity to reduce urban population as opposed to concentrating activity in existing urban areas.**

and systems and its economic base in such a way as to enable it to provide a satisfactory human environment with minimal demands on resources and minimal adverse effects on the natural environment" (1992, p. 148).

In presenting a history of thought about sustainable development, Wismer (1990 2) links the popular discussion of sustainable development with the term ecodevelopment which was introduced by Maurice Strong at the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. Ecodevelopment stresses local and regional self-reliance in meeting environmental challenges. "It advocates for development in which locally identified needs are addressed through locally determined strategies" (Wismer, 1990 2, p. 32). Authors who express diverse views on cities and neighbourhoods (Lewis Mumford, 1968 2; Marcia Nozick, 1992; David Morris, 1990) support this concept of self-reliance of communities. This increased self-reliance also demands greater community involvement. The importance of this community involvement and participation in decision-making is prominent in much of the work regarding urban sustainability[17].

I suggest that in order to contribute to the attainment of sustainability, the urban centre must also be a place in which people desire to live; a place in which people choose to dwell because of the state of well-being[18] they experience there.

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[17] **See Nozick, 1992; Roseland & Rees, 1991; Pell and Wismer, 1990.**

[18] **It is this quality of well being that Suzanne Crowhurst Lennard and Henry Lennard consider the essence of a livable city though their definition of well-being is limited to satisfying and enjoyable encounters and good experiences within the urban centre (1987, p. 2). However, as used here, well-being is intended to incorporate the economic, physical and social well-being of the community stated earlier.**

Aristotle remarked that people first come together in cities for security then stay on for the good life (Blumenfeld, 1967,185). Surely this experience of the good life continues to be one of the primary reasons we congregate in cities.

Today, if we are to reduce urban sprawl, people must choose to remain within denser urban centres (either in large urban centres or smaller clustered centres) rather than move outward to suburbia. The quality which will attract them to the city is therefore essential to the success of the city in achieving this objective. I define this quality in a city as livability. I use this term in the broadest possible sense to include the integrity of economic and social and ecological systems which contribute to the overall experience of well-being.

Based on the preceding discussion, I suggest that a sustainable urban centre would be characterized by four criteria:[19] minimal demands on natural resources, maintenance of natural ecosystems, livability, and equity.

Virtually everyone who researches and writes about sustainability and urban sustainability would agree that the first two of these criteria are necessary conditions for urban sustainability[20]. They relate specifically to the environmental issues from which the concept of sustainability arose. The issue of equity, though often articulated as fundamental to the achievement of sustainability[21], is rarely explained or justified except in the context of

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[19] **These four criteria are the necessary conditions for sustainability. No one criterion, or any combination other than the four, is sufficient for the realization of sustainability.**

[20] **See Gardner & Roseland, 1989; Rees and Roseland, 1991; Richardson, 1992; Slocombe and Van Bers, 1991; Van der Ryn and Calthorpe, 1986.**

[21] **See WCED, 1987; Wismer, 1990 2; Crombie, 1992; Van Vliet, 1992**

intergenerational equity and between rich and poor nations[22]. The quality of livability, though often discussed independently in terms of economic value and quality of life issues, is almost never directly related to urban (environmental) sustainability[23].

The characteristics of sustainability expressed above are compared in Table 1.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will assume universal acceptance of 1) minimal resource demand and 2) the maintenance of natural ecosystems, as necessary conditions for sustainability in the urban context. My focus, instead, will be on the necessity of the social criteria of equity and livability toward this end. However, because only in unity are the four criteria sufficient for the realization of sustainability in the urban centre, further discussions will not necessarily be exclusive of consideration of the ecological and resource-based criteria since the achievement of each of the four conditions is almost invariably linked to the achievement of one or more of the others.

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[22] Susan Wismer does address the issue of equity specifically. See Planning for Sustainable Development in Canada: A Community-Based Approach, 1990 2.

[23] Rees and Roseland however, do comment specifically on the need for livability in order to realize sustainable communities (1991). Authors including Roberta Gratz, Suzanne Crowhurst Lennard and Henry Lennard, Robert Cassidy and Wolf von Eckardt, who have written extensively about livable cities, do not draw the connection beween this condition of a city and sustainability.

Table 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Criteria:	Van der Ryn & Calthorpe Sustainable Urban System	Gardner & Roseland Sustainable Development	Slocombe & Van Bers Urbanization in a Sustainable Society	Richardson Sustainable Development
Minimal Resource	Compact Mixed Use Reduce Resource Waste Efficient Trans-portation		Economic Self-Reliance Reduced Energy & Resource Demands Reduced Urban Sprawl	Minimal Demands on Resources
Maintenance or Restoration of Ecological Systems	Ecologically Sound Systems	Maintenance of Ecological Systems		Minimal Adverse Effects on the Natural Environment
Livability	Social Forms of Integrity and Durability	Fulfillment of Human Needs Social Self-Determination	Green Space	Satisfactory Human Environment
Equity		Achievement of Equity		

Livability

In the context of a sustainable urban centre as previously defined, the quality of livability would be due, in part, to ecosystem health (resulting in clean air, land and water which would contribute to personal health) and economic vitality (ensuring employment opportunities). But these alone would not be sufficient to ensure this quality. There are additional attributes which make a city desirable as a place in which one chooses to live. Some, like safety and rich educational and cultural opportunities, may be quantifiable. Others, like intellectual stimulation, a sense of community and sense of place may be more difficult to quantify but of equal importance[24]. Livability is realized when a broad range of human needs and desires is met. This is what Gardner and Roseland (1989) describe as the fulfillment of human needs (economic vitality would be essential in order to achieve this) and social self-determination (which might be considered a human need by many).

In a paper entitled Social Implications *of a Sustainable* City, David Pell and Susan Wismer suggest that the practice of sustainable social development for the livable city in Canada must incorporate three central values which they define as the integration of environment/economy relationships, community, and equity (1990, p. 6). It is the synergy resulting from the coexistence of these values that I believe contributes to the livability of an urban centre and also to its potential for urban sustainability.

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[24] Tony Hiss, in The Experience of Place (1990), addresses the importance of 'place experiences' to people, and argues that we must be cognizant of the importance of this experience in designing or altering natural and built form in rural and urban settings. In Pride of Place (1986), Robert Stern presents the importance of architecture in the American experience of pride of place.

Equity

The possibility to share in the state of well-being[25] and fulfillment within cities must be accessible to all if an urban centre is to be sustainable. This accessibility reflects an equality of access by people of all ages and in all economic levels with varying lifestyles, physical abilities, racial background, cultural heritage and religious preference. No one would be excluded from access. It is this accessibility by all that Von Eckardt suggests constitutes "pluralism and social, as well as political, democracy" (1978, p. 222). The resultant diversity contributes greatly to the intellectual stimulation to be found within a city and its neighbourhoods and therefore contributes directly to the quality of livability.

Perhaps what constitutes the greatest relevance of equity to sustainability is that it provides for the well-being of the entire community. Indeed, the health of a community rests on this ability "to satisfy divergent needs" (Calthorpe 1986, p. 9). And although Von Eckardt suggests that the integration of all who wish access must be accompanied by their willingness to "improve the neighborhood, rehabilitate the houses and keep the streets and public spaces clean and green" (1978, p. 223), I suggest this is only possible if equity is achieved and the basic requirements of all members of society (good health, housing and employment opportunities) are met. Therefore, the attainment of this goal is fundamental to the achievement of sustainability.

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[25] **According to Ignacy Sachs, social desirability, economic vitality and ecological wisdom will be attributes of this well-being (Sachs, 1987 as cited in Pell and Wismer, 1990).**

In discussions of urban sustainability in developing countries, and particularly, in North America, the need for equity in order to achieve sustainability is often voiced but with an implicit assumption that the reader understands the contribution that equity can make toward the achievement of sustainable development. Often, it appears that the need for equity is based solely on the "moral" arguments to be made in its favour. Certainly I would agree that this a strong argument for the provision of equity. However, there are additional, perhaps more pragmatic reasons, to ensure equity. Researchers including Willem van Vliet (1992), Susan Wismer (1990 1; 1990 2) and Mark Roseland (1991; 1992) all discuss equity as a fundamental precept in the achievement of urban sustainability. Mark Roseland, in an article entitled *Toward Sustainable Cities*, states his belief that social equity is not merely desirable, but rather, essential. He contends that inequities undermine sustainable development and he uses urban housing as an example. In cases where urban growth management (designed to safeguard the environment and quality of life) tightens the availability of housing and drives up prices, low and moderate income families are forced from the urban centre to less expensive outlying communities thereby increasing commuting, traffic congestion, air pollution and resource demands. In addition to the preceding example, Willem van Vliet notes that similarly, hazardous and toxic waste dumps are more often located in poor communities[26] and that a study of six large cities in the U.S. has shown that people who are "poor, black, and in low-rent districts were more exposed to air pollution, disproportionately caused by better-off households" (McCaull, 1976 as cited by van Vliet, 1992, p. 198).

[26]van **Vliet cites Gould, 1986 and the Commission for Racial Justice (U.S.), 1987.**

David Pell and Susan Wismer call attention to the assertion of Indira Ghandi, at the United Nations Conference in 1972, that poverty is the worst form of pollution. Pell and Wismer go on to say that "there is plenty of evidence to show that it is people at the economic extremes - the poor and the rich - who are damaging the global environment we all share in the most serious and potentially irreversible ways" (1990, p. 7). The rich do so because of their consumptive lifestyles. The poor do so out of necessity. It will not be until the basic needs of the poor are met that they too, might actively participate in working toward the achievement of biospheric sustainability.

CONCLUSION

According to Mark Roseland, "sustainable communities will be cleaner, healthier and less expensive. They will have greater accessibility and cohesion and they will be more self-reliant in energy, food and economic security than our communities now are" (1991, p. 52). And as Rees and Roseland point out, "to the extent that improving the health, access, and livability of our cities contributes to the long-term survival of society, we all benefit in equal measure" (1991, p.20).

The challenge of achieving sustainability can perhaps be most effectively begun at the neighbourhood level. A discussion of why this is the case and a review of the contributions to be made by urban neighbourhoods, especially those at the core of a city, toward the achievement of urban sustainability follows in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

NEIGHBOURHOODS
Ensuring Livability & Equity

INTRODUCTION

It seems intuitive that the existence of lively neighbourhoods is intrinsically important to the greater attraction and health of cities. Good neighbourhoods are valuable. Wolf Von Eckardt asserts that,

> We live -- and ought to solve our human problems -- in neighbourhoods. Only our neighbourhood can give us a sense of belonging. Neighbourhoods are the foundation stones on which cities, suburbs and metropolitan areas are built. They must be the basis of urban planning and the focus of our attention. (1978, p. 160)

In this chapter I explore the validity of those comments in the context of urban sustainability. I begin with a further discussion of the meaning of livability and equity with respect to cities and their neighbourhoods. And, having maintained in the preceding chapter that the qualities of livability and equity are two of the criteria against which we can measure urban sustainability, I explore how they function at the neighbourhood level, and with what result.

In this chapter I also examine the issues of density and diversity as they

relate to a neighbourhood's livability and its potential for contributing to urban sustainability. My focus continues to be on city core neighburhoods for all the reasons addressed in the previous chapter, and because, as Hans Blumenfeld pointed out, they seem to have been "evaded in planning theory" (1967, p. 180).

LIVABILITY

As previously stated, the quality of livability is realized when human needs and desires are satisfied and a state of well-being is experienced. This state of well-being encompasses not only basic physiological needs identified by Maslow, such as food and shelter, but also intellectual, spiritual and cultural needs and desires. Livable cities and neighbourhoods provide for these needs and should also "foster privacy, identity, spiritual well-being and growth, sense of spaciousness, man's realtionship to nature, a feeling of neighbourliness and belonging and a sense of security " (Habitat Bill of Human Rights as cited in Von Eckardt, 1987, p. 233)[27]. The quality of livability within a city can be enhanced in numerous ways, including those that contribute to the overall health of the natural environment such as the planting of more trees and greenery which help cleanse the air, muffle noise and regulate temperature (Von Eckardt,1976, p. 217).

In their book, Livable Cities, Suzanne Crowhurst Lennard and Henry

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[27] Abraham Maslow concluded that people are motivated by a number of reasons which could be arranged in a hierarchy of human needs. The most basic of these he defines as physiological needs. The remaining four needs in order of their priority include safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs and self-actualization needs. Intellectual and aesthetic needs are also recognized by Maslow but do not fall clearly into one of the five categories in the hierarchy of five (Medcof, 1979). Most of these needs, excepting the physiological need for sex and the related love need, can be satisfied in a livable neighbourhood in which the spirit of community is fostered.

Lennard suggest that there are essential connections "between urban space design and forms of public and social life; between building use and the presence of persons on streets and squares; between aesthetic qualities of architecture and the attention and interest of city dwellers in their environments; between the form of the city's public places and city dweller's social, emotional and physical well-being" and that livable cities enable diverse groups of people to live in the city again (1987, pp. 3-4).

The Lennards focus their attention on the city core too, believing that the renewal of social processes, as well as commercial activity at the heart of cities is essential to the achievement of livable cities. I believe city cores are especially important because it is in them that we currently find significant unused land waiting to be woven back into the active urban fabric[28].

The quality of livability has important social, moral and aesthetic values as recognized by Suzanne and Henry Lennard, as well as important economic implications. Research has shown the direct relationship between a community's livability and quality of life, and its ability to retain existing businesses and attract new ones (McNulty, et al, 1986; The Conservation Foundation, 1987, p. 2 as cited in Tomalty, 1992). In the examples discussed by Roberta Gratz in her book, The Livine Citv, the imperative for inner city revitalization is typically, economic. This economic health of inner city neighbourhoods is fundamental to

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28 Currently in downtown Toronto, as an example, there are a number of sites near the core of the city which include the old railroad lands near the domed stadium and the area called the Lower Don Lands which is presently being studied by the Waterfront Regeneration Trust. The Lower Don Lands are approximately 1600 acres of underutilized, primarily old industrial land which includes all of the Ataratiri site and stretches to the east and south of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. Also see Roberta Gratz's The Living City for a broader discussion of the existence and use of deserted core residential and industrial sites.

the provision of diverse employment opportunities which are also requisite for the achievement of livability. The process is circular and synergistic in that economic vitality is fundamental to the achievement of livability and it is this quality of livability which fosters an environment in which economic activity thrives.

EQUITY

The opportunity for diverse groups of people to live within cities and to experience this sense of well-being described above is a prerequisite for the achievement of equity. And, as Jane Jacobs contends, the social, economic and political vitality of a city is realized, in large part, as the result of a diverse mix of people and activities (Jacobs, 1961).

This equality of access is not only morally and economically defensible, but is also fundamental to the achievement of environmental objectives such as urban intensification and reduction of auto-dependent transportation. There are some city centres where, as the result of economic imperatives, the poor are marginalized and forced to the fringes of cities and to the suburbs. Here, they often do not have access to the diverse offerings of city life because of the lack of public transportation. There are other cities where it is the wealthy who have fled the city centre along with vital commerce and industry, leaving a moribund core to the urban poor (Gratz, 1989). This case too is antithetical to the achievement of intensification and resource reduction objectives. Both situations demand a balance. Cities must offer equal access and appeal to all who would prefer urban living if they are to remain economically, socially and

environmentally healthy.

The quality of livability, which encompasses the broadest range of human needs and desires, is fundamental to the achievement of urban intensification because it is what attracts and keeps people within urban environments. Equal access to this environment helps acheive this condition. In the subsequent discussion of the concept of neighbourhood I explore how it is that livability and equality of access, as expressed by diversity, function at the neighbourhood level.

NEIGHBOURHOODS

In 1929, when Clarence Perry gave specific definition[29] to the concept of neighbourhood, he crystallized, as Lewis Mumford (1968 1) suggests, many previous diffuse efforts to give recognition and value to this physical/social entity. Since then, the contributions and strengths of urban neighbourhoods have been articulated by urbanologists, planners and a host of others who care about cities. Yet the concept of neighbourhood continues to be somewhat elusive.

Presently, it is widely agreed among planners, politicians and city dwellers, that strong, vibrant, diverse neighbourhoods which have a street orientation, contribute to a city's well-being. But surprisingly these beliefs are often not employed in the creation of new neighbourhoods and, when they are, are employed with the narrow objective to provide amenity. The benefits of

[29] Perry defined a neighbourhood's physical size in terms of a district's ability to support an elementary school (von Eckardt, 1978).

livable neighbourhoods must, I believe, be viewed in a much broader context.

Mumford, in effect addressing the issue of equity, recognized the benefits30 of neighbourhoods which reflect the population of the city as a whole (1968 2). He believed that all activities that are part of one's everyday existence should be represented in a neighbourhood, and additionally, that a mixture of social and economic classes should also be represented within them along with correlated housing types and occupations. He believed that these qualities resulted in a social benefit. Hans Blumenfeld likewise believed that neighbourhood consciousness and pride is fundamental to achieving sound urban social relationships (1967).

Wolf Von Ekhardt suggests the political importance of a neighbourhood. According to him, a neighbourhood "should be a clear, complete, and consistent political and administrative entity with some degree of self-determination and representation in city hall" (1978, p. 204). He, like Blumenfeld, recognizes the importance of neighbourhood consciousness and likens the mysterious sense of neighbourhood to that of "feeling at home" .

According to Gratz, it is "the condition of a city's fabric -- its street life, human scale, architectural variety, cultural and commercial diversity and blend of old and new" that provides the key to its ability to survive economic shifts and social change. Neighbourhoods which are diverse and alive, promote this

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30 **These benefits included the educational value of mixed neighbourhoods for children (non-segregated by income) and the tendency of these neighbourhoods to make democracy work. (Mumford, 1968** 2, 75)

possibility.

But as recently as 1961, when Jane Jacobs released her book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, her insights into the real workings and greater social implications of city neighbourhoods caused shock waves throughout the planning profession and among those interested in city form. Her book, an attack on city planning, has been described as having “the force of a sledgehammer”, “the shock of a cold shower",“the brilliance of an ordinary sunny day” (Fulford, 1992). Jacobs believes that certain characteristics of neighbourhoods, particularly diversity, concentration of use, and small scale, result in a variety of far more integrated social, economic, and political benefits than those stated above.

Diversity, Equity & Livability

In 1961, Jacobs compared urban planning to modern medicine when bloodletting was in vogue. The cure was often more fatal than the disease (McInnes, 1991). She was primarily referring to urban renewal which was widely practiced in the United States and, to a lesser degree, in Canada. It often meant that large numbers of people and communities would be displaced so that entire tracts of older existing communities could be bulldozed and ‘renewed’, or rebuilt. The result was, typically, fewer units than before, at higher costs, and the demise of community rather than the improvement of community.

But although urban renewal is no longer in vogue, functional homogeneity (large tracts of space for business parks, office towers, high rise

apartments) has continued to the present in both Canada and the United States. And, as Terry Fowler points out in Buildine Cities That Work, this homogeneity is held together, in fact is encouraged, by zoning (1992). Roberta Gratz suggests that when city functions and people are integrated, not separated, a fundamental ingredient for economic and social integration is realized. It is the result of this integration of people, form, and function at the neighbourhood level that I pursue in the following paragraphs.

Jacobs argues that diversity is essential to a neighbourhood's vitality. Diversity, as used by her, incorporates diversity of built form, old and new buildings, diversity of uses (stores, homes, work), diversity of people -- different ages, income levels, employment, habits, cultures, etc. Her arguments are strongly in favor of equal access by all socio-economic groups to a city's neighbourhoods in order to achieve economically, socially and politically vital centres. She also believes that the vitality of a city is dependent upon how much physical diversity exists. This diversity is enhanced by short blocks which maximize the number of personal encounters, and frequent corners which provide different visual and intellectual experiences. City neighbourhoods, as the city itself (defined by Jane Jacobs as a neighbourhood on the largest scale), are living, complex organisms which offer a multitude of opportunities and choices. Additionally, neighbourhoods, places that can be identified because of specific location or architectural or cultural characteristics, stimulate intelligence and give a sense of orientation and of personal identity as a result of their diversity (Fowler, 1992).

Jacobs contends that a diversity of uses, and people who come and go at different hours, offer the safety of "eyes on the street" at all times. There is also a

benefit to children, who learn from their experiences on the street and who are looked after, to a certain degree, by people with whom they are not intimate but who are known to them. These diverse neighbourhoods result in informal control and street management.

I believe it is the awareness of a neighbourhood's personal identity and participation in the informal control and street management within it which is expressed by neighbourhood consciousness and pride, a 'sense of community', or that feeling of 'being at home' as defined by Von Eckardt.

Fowler indicates that since World War II, cities have been designed with characteristics, such as long blocks and high rise apartment complexes, which tend to encourage crime. People living in high rises can't monitor what's going on in hallways, elevators and stairwells. In Fowler's test of Jacobs' ideas[31] regarding physical diversity and its relationship to urban vitality, he concludes that physical diversity is consistent with low crime. He contends that while high density itself doesn't equal crime, homogeneity and large blocks increase crime potential (1992).

Fowler also explores the relationship of a neighbourhood's social and econmic diversity to its self-governing qualities. He contends that this quality of self-government is missing from our existence in urban high rises where

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[31] In Building Cities That Work, Terry Fowler tests Jane Jacob's theories regarding the positive social and economic benefits of physical diversity. He audited 19 neighbourhoods within the City of Toronto and evaluated them based on the mix of building age, shortness of block length, concentration of use and land-use mix. He concludes that physical diversity is an important contributor to the social and economic health of a city's neighbourhoods (1992).

residents are distanced from interaction with the street and with others. As a result, they become distanced from social responsibility and political involvement as well. He argues that it is within neighbourhoods which incorporate street-related housing and in which people communicate and interact, where residents are more likely to take responsibility for choice and action in civic management. He further suggests that homogeneity, large-scale and deconcentrated forms of development (e.g. large commercial space and separate high rise apartment complexes) reinforce the distancing of people from civic responsibility. He believes that this concept of deconcentration is also reflected in the way people think within the political system and bureaucracies, as well as the built form. He contends that this results in the segregation of problems and provides a mechanism for overlooking and ignoring issues outside of the designated scope of one's responsibility or narrow experience. Hence, solutions to complex issues may not be found since the problems themselves may not even be considered.

This is an interesting perspective with important implications for the discussion of sustainable urban communities. Our thinking and planning must be integrative and holistic in order to resolve the complex problems arising out of the interplay of economy and the environment in today's urban centres (Redclift, 1987; Crombie, 1992; Sewell, 1993).

One of the conditions that Jane Jacobs identified as essential to generate "diversity in a city's streets and districts" is a "sufficiently dense concentration of people" (1961, pp. 150,152). Having hopefully provided some persuasive arguments that diversity of form, function and people is important to the

achievement of equity and livability in city neighbourhoods, a discussion of the importance of concentration of people and land use in contributing to these qualities follows.

Density, Diversity & Livability

Like Terry Fowler, Peter Calthorpe contends that much of our recent patterns of growth have been built on separation. He suggests that "sustainable patterns break down separations" (1986, p. x). He envisions more compact (dense) mixed-use neighbourhoods which will draw activities and people together, and through shared space, will re-establish community.

The deconcentration (separation of land use and urban sprawl) of cities and resultant low densities, not only have an impact on our social fabric as described above, but also have a negative impact on the natural environment in numerous ways. In addition to the consumption of rural and agricultural lands by the outward expansion of cities, and the increasing costs of infrastructure to meet the needs of a larger urban complex, sprawling urban centres also negate the ability to justify public transport which is dependent upon intensity of use. Auto use, a contradiction to efforts to reduce consumption of natural resources, and an important contributor to air pollution, has become indispensable and respected (as evidenced by the expressways in and around urban centres, as well as by planning requirements for parking on city streets)[32] in most urban centres.

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32 In the City of Toronto, the Main Streets initiative, to infill and mix residential and commercial activity in downtown neighbourhoods, has encountered extreme opposition by those who believe that as this mix increases, so must the availability of parking. This increased parking would seem antithetical to the goal of creating dense, mixed-use eighbourhoods where those who live within

Lewis Mumford pointed out more than twenty years ago, that if the problem of urban transportation is ever to be solved, it will be "on the basis of bringing a large number of institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home" (1968 2, p. 70). That is to say, dense development within cities and their neighbourhoods will help resolve the problems of urban transportation.

Although there are some fairly straight forward arguments to be made for increasing the density of land use with respect to the enhancement of community economic activity and environmental issues such as public transportation, increasing density is a contentious issue as it relates to the livability of neighbourhoods. There are many very dense communities which seem to foster something opposite to a livable environment. Examples include St. Jamestown and Regent Park in Toronto (Hulchanski, 1990)[33]. However, there are others like the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, also in Toronto and the focus of my case study to be presented in Chapter 5, which are considered very livable despite their high densities[34]. Certainly if we are to create urban centres which meet all of the criteria for sustainability as identified in Chapter 2, we must identify how to create neighbourhoods that are both livable and incorporate high densities[35].

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them might find their retail and employment needs met within walking distance of home (Barber, J., 1993).

[33] **St. Jamestown in Toronto is one of the most densely populated residential areas in Canada with a gross density of 218 units per acre (Hulchanski, 1990).**

[34] **According to Hulchanski, the St. Lawrence neighbourhood has an average gross density of 78 units per acre which he also considers very high. (1990).**

[35] **The specific degree of density able to be accommodated in a livable neighbourhood will need to be determined, perhaps through ongoing research and urban experimentation. This issue of density will be explored further in Chapter 5.**

Gratz suggests that although higher density[36] is currently "in" in planning circles, a distinction between high density and congestion is rarely made. She contends that an understanding of this distinction is important. I believe that it is key to designing high density neighbourhoods that are livable. Gratz makes the following distinction:

> [High] density comes when many people are in the same place doing things that gain strength from their interaction.
>
> Congestion results when there are so many of them that interaction becomes difficult, access in and out unpleasant, and frustration high. (1989, p. 25)

When Fowler tested likes and dislikes of individuals living in various Toronto neighbourhoods, he found that though people often stated they disliked high density (concentration of use), in cases where a neighbourhood included concentration of use combined with mixed used, short blocks and a mixture of old and new buildings, the negative aspect of high density, feeling crowded, disappeared. He concludes from his interviews that high density, when combined with diversity, promotes both intellectual and visual stimulation and adds to the appeal of a neighbourhood. He suggests it is the combination of diversity with relatively high density that encourages the human interaction and intellectual stimulation which fosters both a sense of community and social responsibility. It is when land use, in particular, is homogeneous that the unpleasant features of high density are felt much more strongly (1992).

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[36] Density is used here and in the following paragraphs to mean a high concentration of land use.

Livable neighbourhoods that will contribute to achieving environmental objectives as well as social objectives will need to integrate an awareness of the distinctions between crowding and high density, and will need to be designed with an appreciation of the value of diversity of people, form and function.

SUSTAINABILITY

As discussed in Chapter 2, the involvement of the local community in decision-making will be an important aspect of the development process which works toward sustainability. In the context of urban neighbourhoods, Roberta Gratz contends that "the city user, on-site expert" has an important role to play in urban planning(l989, p. 57). And in his book, Back To The Drawing; Board! Planning Livable Cities, Wolf Von Eckardt suggests that is will be through the political action of neighbourhood residents that "we shall get more environmental protection, historic preservation, sensible public transportation, and racial and economic integration "(1978, p. 211). The residents of neighbourhoods will have an important role to play in the achievement of urban sustainability. The importance of the neighbourhood in accomplishing the specific goals of sustainability is emphasized in this quote by the Global Tomorrow Coalition:

> Given the importance of cities, special efforts and safeguards are needed to ensure that the resources they demand are produced sustainably and that urban dwellers participate in decisions affecting their lives. Residential areas are likely to be more habitable if they are governed as individual neighbourhoods with direct local participation. To the extent that energy and other needs can be met on a local basis, both the city and surrounding areas will be better off." (May 1986 as cited by WCED, 1992, p. 43)

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the dynamics of livability and equity at the neighbourhood level. However, each of the four necessary conditions for urban sustainability -- minimal resource demands, maintenance of natural ecosystems, equity and livability -- will be achieved as the result of a number of responses to economic, social and environmental concerns which are in evidence at the neighbourhood level. Table 2, which follows, lists a number of factors which can and must be considered at the city and neighbourhood scale if the criteria for sustainability are to be achieved. Many of these actions will be mutually reinforcing, as are the four conditions for sustainability themselves. The factors listed in this Table are therefore not grouped according to their contribution to the accomplishment of any one criterion.

What I conclude in this chapter is that segregation of diverse economic, age, racial, and social groups is contrary to what Calthorpe has identified as a "sustainable pattern" and antithetical to the economically, socially, intellectually diverse neighbourhoods valued by Jane Jacobs. The integration of diversity and concentration of land use at the neighbourhood level contribute to the achievement of equity and livability. And, there is a synergy resulting from the qualities of equity and livability which fosters a 'sense of community' that is evidenced in social responsibility and community involvement in neighbourhood management. This 'sense of community' and correlative community involvement are important to the process of achieving urban sustainability. Finally, there are a number of issues that must be addressed at the

Table 2.

Necessary Factors for Achieving Sustainability Criteria

Land Use and Growth Management Which Encourages
- Density
- Mixed Use
- *Proximity To Public Transportation
- •Greenways Linking Built & Natural Systems
- *Rooftop Gardens and Composting

Transportation Planning Facilitating
- Walking & Cycling
- *Public Transportation

Air Quality Improvement Through
- *Reduced Auto Usage
- *Increased Green Space

Energy Conservation Through
- *Energy-Efficient Construction
- *Employment of Alternative Energy Systems
- District Heating
- *Solar Access
- *Tree Planting

Waste Reduction & Recycling

Water & Sewage Infrastructure Employing
- *Efficient, Conservation-Oriented Systems
- *Natural Drainage Systems (ground water recharge)

People at Different Economic Levels

Economic Development for Local Community
(would encourage greater reliance on locally-produced goods and services of all types).

Community Development
(would foster supportive community networks and active participation in all matters affecting the local populace)

Sources: This table has been compiled based on a review of issues addresesed by White and Burton, 1983; Wismer, 1990 1; Roseland, 1992; Tomalty, 1992;

neighbourhood level if all four of the criteria for urban sustainability are to be achieved and that these, too, function in a mutually supportive way.

In his book, Livable Cities, A Grass-Roots Guide to Rebuilding Urban America, Robert Cassidy suggests that cities are rebuilt house by house, block by block, neighbourhood by neighbourhood and that it is a neighbourhood movement that "may indeed restore the health of our beleaguered cities" (1980, p. 2) Certainly the comprehensive and informative work of Roberta Gratz would also support this contention. I suspect too, that it will be through the efforts of communities, neighbourhoods and local initiatives, with the encouragement and support of their larger political bodies, that the goal of urban sustainability will be achieved.

Chapter 5 is a case study of an urban core neighbourhood in Toronto which was conceived of in the mid 1970s and is considered to be one of the premier examples of effective new[37] neighbourhood design in North America. I assess the way in which the qualities of livability and equity have been accomplished, the level of community involvement in decision-making, and the degree to which the neighbourhood contributes to the achievement of all four of the sustainability criteria in order to better inform the development of city core neighbourhoods which can contribute maximally to sustainability in the urban context. A discussion of my research methodology precedes this assessment.

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[37] **New is used here to mean being newly created where none existed before.**

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY
Conversations about the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs advises that "cities are an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and design" (1961, p. 6). Though they are a living laboratory from which we should learn, we have "ignored the study of success and failure in real life" and "have been incurious about the reasons for unexpected success" (1961, p. 6). As we move into a future in which the social, economic and environmental issues are understood to be far more complex than they were thirty years ago, we must not ignore the lessons to be learned from our experience.

In the preceding chapters I have discussed the issues of livability and equity and have demonstrated that they are necessary criteria for the achievement of urban sustainability. I have also argued that these qualities should be addressed at the neighbourhood level. The literature reviewed in earlier chapters has served to help articulate and focus this inquiry.

My further purpose is to explain how, why and under what circumstances we can achieve livable, accessible neighbourhoods within city centres and to ascertain how, and to what extent, these neighbourhoods contribute to sustainability in the larger urban context. I have chosen to do a case study of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood in Toronto in order to evaluate the actual interplay of equity, livabilty and community at the neighbourhood level. A discussion of my rationale for employing a single unit case study and the protocol followed in carrying it out is provided below.

CASE STUDY

One of the questions that might be anticipated regarding this work is: how can you generalize from a single unit case study of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood? Yin points out that the case study does not represent a sample. Like experiments, case studies can be generalized to theoretical propositions (1990). This is what I have attempted to do in this case.

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is, in my opinion, a critical case[38] in that it is a neighbourhood that was purposely designed to be livable and to be accessible to people at diverse socio-economic levels. In 1979, Michael Dennis, then the City of Toronto's Commissioner of Housing, described the St. Lawrence as a new neighbourhood of ten thousand people that was to be self-sustaining,

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[38]Robert **Yin, in his book, Case Study Research (1985) argues that one rationale for a single case study is when it represents the critical case, meaning that it meets the conditions for testing a theory. This Chapter is reflective of much of Yin's beliefs and suggestions regarding the case study approach to research.**

containing a mix of uses, income groups and tenures. It also represents a rare case in that it was a totally new neighbourhood[39] designed at the core of a city.

As Yin points out, "the case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social and political phenomena" (1985, p. 14). This approach has in fact allowed me to address complex issues and to incorporate a wide variety of evidence in my research. This ability to deal with a full variety of evidence is what Yin sees as the case study's unique strength.

Document Review

In addition to the literature discussed earlier, I have reviewed considerable documentation specifically related to the design and development of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. These documents include a series of City of Toronto Planning and Housing Department reports, existing academic research and published papers regarding the St. Lawrence neighbourhood, as well as related newspaper articles. Additionally, I have reviewed archival records including census data and neighbourhood maps, and have directly observed the neighbourhood, its form and its community. For the reader's reference, a case study bibliography appears in Appendix C.

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39 The residential neighbourhood was designed on land previously zoned for, and occupied by, industry.

Interviews

Of particular importance, however, are the interviews which were conducted with the politicians, planners and community members who participated in the design and implementation stages of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood or who have lived and worked in the community since its inception. These were obviously non-random interviews with the individuals who were actively involved in the process. They were conducted in order to ascertain what it was this group hoped to accomplish, why, to what extent they succeeded, and how, in retrospect, they would evaluate their efforts in the context of designing a sustainable urban neighbourhood.

Initial interviews and conversations with David Hulchanski, who has published several research papers regarding this neighbourhood, George Cook, a former Commissioner of Housing for the City of Toronto, and staff members of the City of Toronto's Housing and Planning Departments, provided the initial list of individuals to be contacted. Subsequently, during the interview stage, each participant was also asked if there were individuals who she or he felt were critical to this inquiry. Ultimately, the same names were mentioned on a recurring basis and the list was completed.

In all, fourteen individuals who participated in the early design and implementation stages or who have lived and worked in the St. Lawrence area since, or predating its inception, were identified as being key informants. Of these, thirteen agreed to be interviewed. Six of the thirteen people interviewed currently work or reside within St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Participants were contacted initially by phone to introduce myself and my research objectives. Interviews were scheduled, and subsequently conducted at the participants' convenience, usually in their homes or offices, during the four month period from January 1993 through April 1993. One interview was conducted on the phone; one respondent chose to return written responses to questions I had delivered to his office. A list of the individuals interviewed, and their involvement in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood appears in Appendix D.

The interviews were simply, as defined by Berg, conversations with a purpose (1987). They typically ranged from forty-five minutes to three hours with the average interview taking about two hours. Conversations were recorded both by note-taking and by tape recorder. With the exception of one interview, all conversations were tape-recorded with the approval of the respondents.

The interviews were focused, but only semi-structured, and open-ended to ensure that a number of specific issues would be addressed by those being interviewed while also allowing for the articulation of additional, relevant information as identified by the key informant. Yin suggests that this type of format allows the respondents to suggest sources of corroborative evidence and to initiate access to such sources. (1985). This was certainly my experience and indeed enriched the entire process. The interview guide can be found in Appendix D.

Because some of the focused inquiry was dependent upon a specific interpretation of terms such as 'livable', 'sustainable development', 'urban

sustainability', and 'equity', definitions (see Appendix D) were provided to each of the respondents, not only for elucidation, but also to elicit their comments and interpretation of the terminology. Additionally, the list of four criteria for urban sustainability defined in Chapter 3 were presented for comment. The list of factors necessary to achieve these criteria was also presented and participants were asked to identify which of these factors were intended in the original design of the neighbourhood, why, and to what extent they believed they had been achieved. (A list of the criteria for urban sustainability and the factors necessary to achieve it, as presented to those interviewed, can also be found in the Appendix D).

In addition to the structured interviews, and as part of my observation of the neighbourhood, I also spent time talking to people of all ages whom I met during numerous visits to the neighbourhood.

The case study that follows in Chapter 5 is based on the information gathered by all of the methods discussed above. Suggestions for further evaluation and testing will be offered in the last chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD
Vision & Reality

INTRODUCTION

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood in Toronto is "a new[40], municipally planned and developed, inner city, high density, socially mixed neighbourhood" (Hulchanski, 1990). It was designed to be livable and to accommodate a diverse mix of people who wished to live at the heart of the City of Toronto. The aerial photographs in Figures la and lb indicate the proximity of the St. Lawrence site to Toronto's downtown and financial centre.

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood occupies 44 acres[41] near the municipal and financial heart of the city and was designed to accommodate approximately 3500 housing units and 9,000 - 10,000 people (City of Toronto, #1, 1974). It was, when designed, and is now, considered a relatively dense urban neighbourhood. It was designed to reflect the mix of uses (residential, commercial, light-

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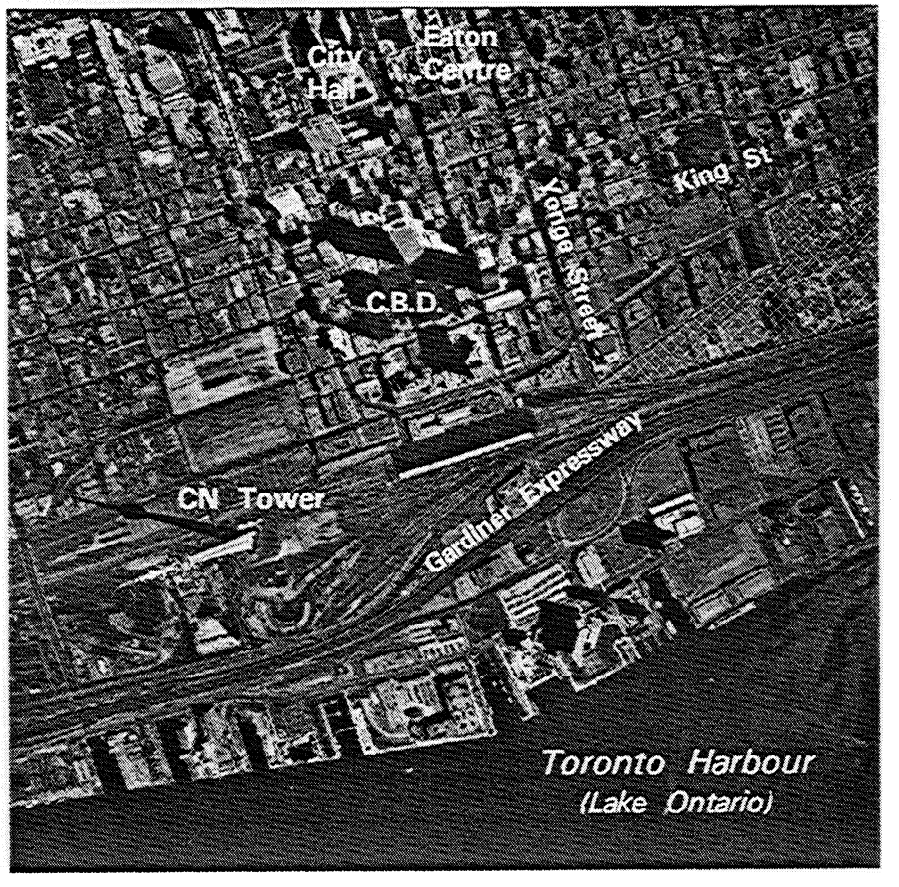
[40]Hulchanski **uses new here to mean "from scratch". There had been no previous residential component to the primarily industrial area (1984).**

[41] **Most documents dealing with the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood indicate its size to be 44 acres. This figure, as noted by David Gordon, excludes the streets. When they are included, the total area is 56 acres (1989).**

Figure 1 a: St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and Downtown Toronto



Legend

St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

N

1:18000

Sources: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources
Ontario Base Map Sheet 10 17 6300 483000
and Aerial Photograph 78.4346 64.260

Figure 1 b: St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and Downtown Toronto

Legend

St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

N

1:18000

Sources: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources Ontario Base Map Sheet 10 17 6300 483000 and Aerial Photograph 78.4345 64.260

industrial) in the surrounding area. The concept of mix also extended to the provision of housing "for a mixture of income levels and social classes" (City of Toronto, #1, 1974, p. 3). Similarly, this mix was also reflected in a variety of developers (private, non-profit, and municipal (Cityhome)), in the diversity of tenure types available and in the mix of apartment sizes within each of the facilities. The St. Lawrence neighbourhood was to secure desirable housing for families and income groups which were "losing in the competition for central city accommodation" (St. Lawrence #1, 1974, p. 5). It was planned during a period of a resurgence of neighbourhood power (Gordon, 1993) and at a time when the quality of life and livability of the city were considered planning priorities.

This neighbourhood has previously been the focus of academic and professional research. In 1984, David Hulchanski, then the Director of the University of British Columbia's Centre for Human Settlements, released a thorough review of the planning and development of St. Lawrence (Toronto) and False Creek (Vancouver), both new inner city neighbourhoods. In 1989, a conference was held at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto to discuss the planning lessons to be learned from the St. Lawrence. A number of professional planners and academics presented papers and participated in discussions regarding various aspects of the planning process and site design. It is my intention, however, to examine this neighbourhood and its development in a different, broader context.

Because livability, and equity of access by different socio-economic groups were both fundamental objectives of the St. Lawrence planners, the vision itself, the process by which the vision was achieved, the physical design elements

which were employed, and the results of these efforts almost 15 years after the first tenants moved in, can now be evaluated according to the criteria for achieving urban sustainability discussed in Chapter 2. I will assess the way in which, and the degree to which, the qualities of livability and equity were achieved, not in an effort to judge the success or failure of the planning function, but to gain an understanding of the circumstances in which these two qualities can be achieved and the degree to which they contribute to the achievement of urban sustainability at the neighbourhood level. The case study presented in this chapter offers further explanation of the synergy of processes and circumstances which create livable, accessible neighbourhoods at the cores of our cities that will contribute to the achievement of urban sustainability.

In order to assess the lessons to be learned from the St. Lawrence neighbourhood, it is important to consider both the socio-political context in which it was designed, as well as its geographical setting within the City of Toronto.

Socio-Political Context

During the 1970s, a shift in thinking occurred regarding the way in which social housing was developed in Canada. This thinking was in contrast to that which had recently produced large-scale, high-rise projects (Doucet and Weaver, 1991). During this time federal legislation began to encourage various forms of social housing initiatives. Amendments to the National Housing Act in 1973 aided co-operative, and private and municipal non-profit organizations to build housing that included units for low-income tenants. Private investors building

low-income units in combination with market units were also eligible for government loans. The approach to social housing in Canada during this period was to mix subsidized tenants with market tenants in low-rise units and it is this approach that would be evidenced in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

The development of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood resulted directly from the campaign platform of David Crombie who became Mayor of Toronto in 1972, and the fact that a majority of urban reform candidates were elected to City Council that same year. In response to an existing housing shortage, Crombie had campaigned on a platform that called for the city to become actively involved in the development of housing within the city for families of low and moderate incomes. Soon after the election he appointed a housing work group headed by Michael Dennis. Michael Dennis had recently co-written Proerams in Search of a Policy. Low Income Housing in Canada with Susan Fish, and was well suited to the task. In November of 1973, the housing work group presented the City Council with a report entitled Living Room: An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking[42] . This report resulted in the creation of the Toronto Housing Department. Soon after the release of the Living Room report, the City began to actively seek land to bank near the core.

In 1974, Cityhome was established. Cityhome is a non-profit housing corporation responsible for the acquisition, building, financing and management of rental accommodation for low and moderate-income tenants in the City of

[42] Land banking was a method by which the city could acquire lands that were currently zoned for industrial use (presumably at reasonable costs) and stockpile them until zoning was modified to allow residential use.

Toronto. It was set up to achieve specific assisted housing targets. In May of 1974, a recommendation to establish a neighbourhood on the St. Lawrence site was presented to the Toronto City Council. St. Lawrence was described in this first report as "a new integrated neighbourhood stretching between Yonge Street and Parliament Street, and between Front Street and the railway embankment" (City of Toronto, St. Lawrence #1, 1974). Although subsequent reports would more fully articulate the objectives to be achieved in this neighbourhood, this first report outlined those which remained constant throughout the process and against which the success of the neighbourhood has often been measured.

The goals and objectives outlined in this first St. Lawrence Report were the following:

- To create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate incomes.
- To provide housing in the central city.
- To ensure that redevelopment occurs in accordance with sound planning goals rather than *ad hoc* market forces.
- To create a neighbourhood which will benefit from the historic buildings which remain in and around the area and which will, in turn, revitalize what was once the Town of York (City of Toronto Housing Department, 1974, p. 7)

The goal of more housing for low and moderate income earners was to be accomplished in a "mixed neighbourhood" as recommended in Livine Room (1973). This mix was to encourage diverse land use (residential, commercial and light industrial), tenure types (rental, ownership and co-operative), as well as "a mixture of income levels and social classes, of age groups and of family and non-family households " (City of Toronto, #1, 1974, pg. 9). The mix was further

defined to include the participation of different public and private agencies in the development of the project. Meeting these goals was expected to result in a vital, dynamic and attractive new community on the edge of downtown Toronto. In 1977, construction began on the first phase of the St. Lawrence. Figures 2a and 2b show the Phases A, B and C of the St. Lawrence.

The socio-political context in which the St. Lawrence neighbourhood was developed was particularly auspicious. David Crombie and the reform Council were in place. Michael Dennis, who became the driving force behind the design and development of the St. Lawrence, had been named Commissioner of Housing. John Sewell, an alderman at the time who would later become Mayor of the City, was an active member of the St. Lawrence Working Committee representing the community in this initiative[43]. And, the federal financing that was critical to the ability of the City to even attempt a program like the St. Lawrence was available to co-operative, and private and municipal non-profit organizations during this time .

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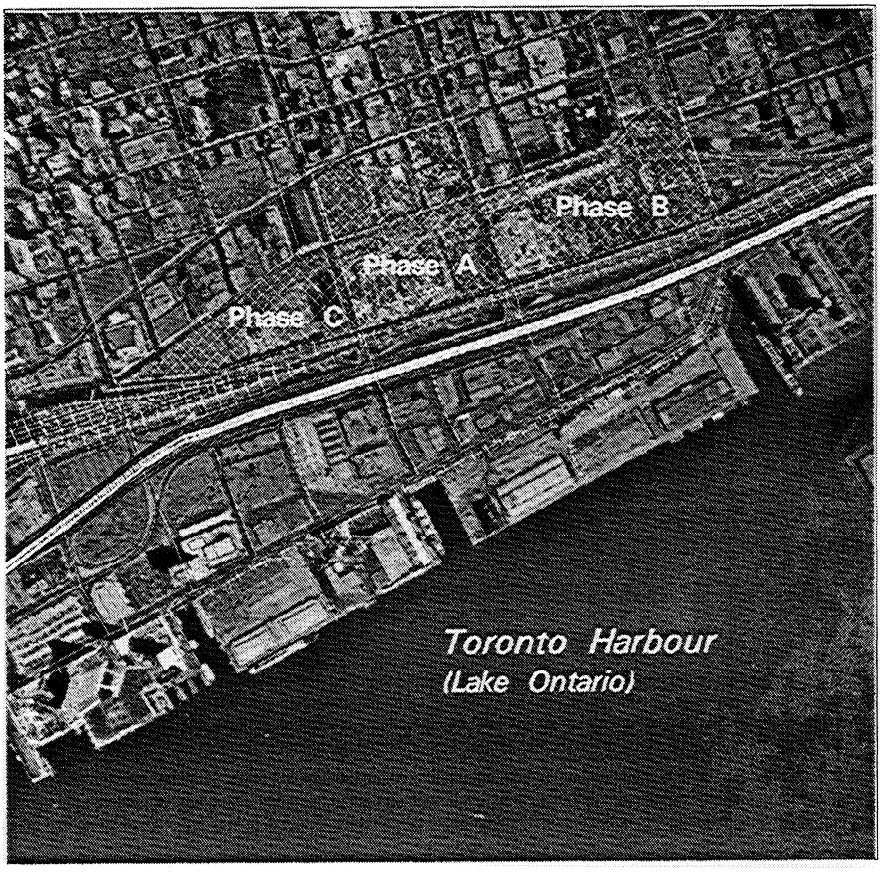
43 John Sewell had been considered a symbol of "community politics" as a result of his participation in the battle to save Trefann Court in the late '60s (Fraser, 1972). Trefann Court had been the site of a small scale urban renewal initiative in which the old neighbourhood was to be completely leveled. Community reaction and action blocked the City's intentions and resulted in a community informed plan to revitalize the neighbourhood. An active working committee which included area residents, an alderman, and members of the City housing staff participated in the process. John Sewell was an alderman in the ward at the time. His subsequent participation on the St. Lawrence Working Committee contributed a very powerful voice for the community. Also see Up Against City Hall (Sewell, 1972) for further discussion of Trefann Court and civic politics in Toronto at the time.

Figure 2a: Phases of Development



Legend

St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

Roads

Expressways

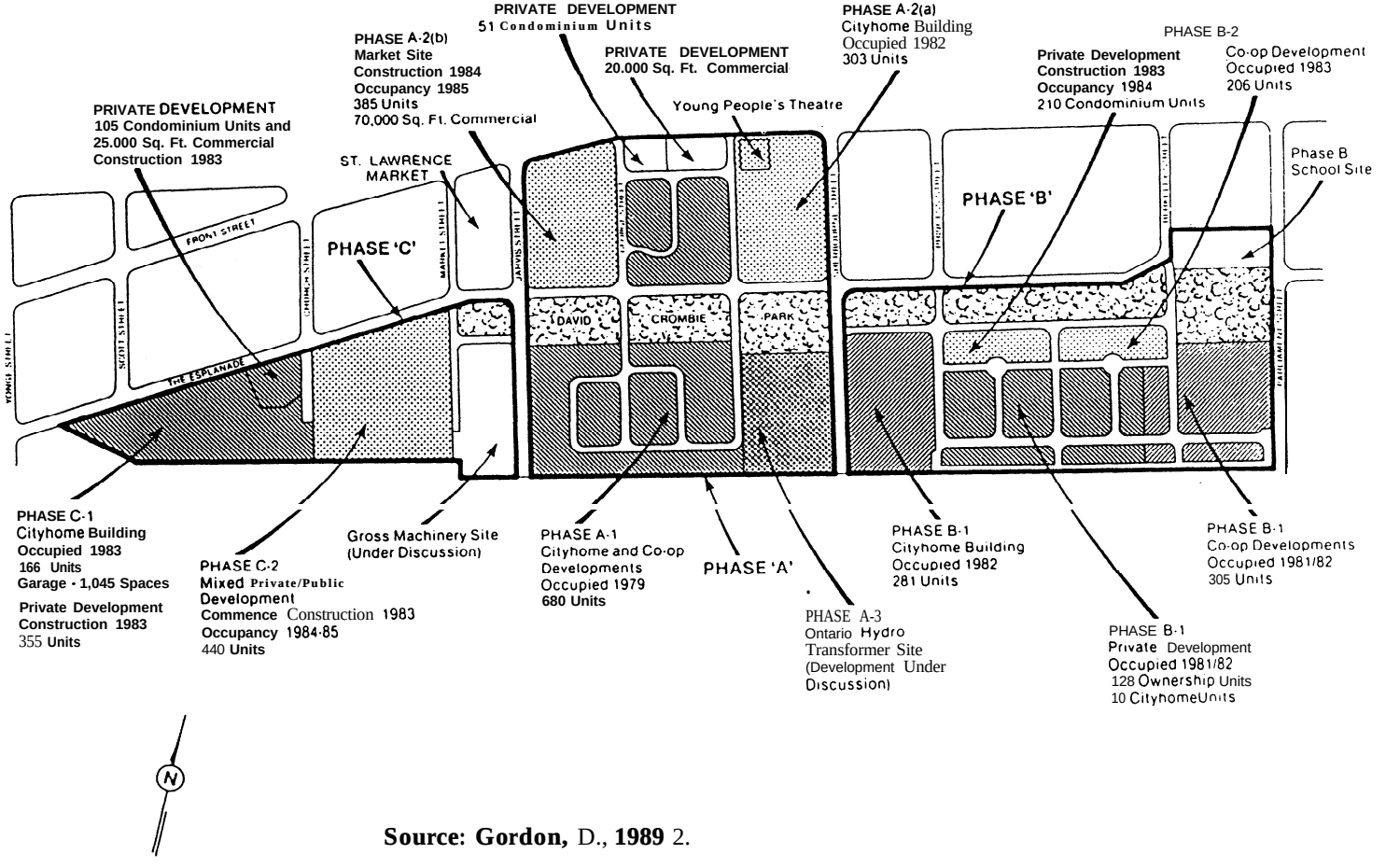
Railroads

N

1:15000

Sources: Ontario **Ministry** of **Natural Resources** Ontario **Base** Map Sheet 10 17 6300 483000 and **Aerial** Photograph 78.4346 64.261

Figure 2b: Phases of Development



Source: Gordon, D., **1989** 2.

Geographic / Historical Context

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is situated near downtown Toronto and immediately south of where the original Town of York was situated in 1793. Front Street, which is the neighbourhood's northern-most street, was the original shoreline of Lake Ontario (see Figure 3). In the 19th century, the area south of Front St. was filled and the Esplanade was created for public use. The area south of the Esplanade was later given to the railways and the area south of Front Street was developed for industrial use (Fong and Gordon, 1989) (see Figure 3).

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood lies just east of Toronto's central business district (CBD) and just south of what was a mixed residential-commercial-light industrial area. The area to its east was industrial land that was more than a decade later proposed as the site of Ataratiri, a new urban neighbourhood.[44] Figures 4 and 5 offer views of the neighbourhood from its eastern edge at Berkeley Street looking west toward the City. Figure 6 offers a view of the downtown from the middle of Crombie Park. Figure 7 is a view from the eastern edge of the neighbourhood looking east toward the Ataratiri lands.

As pointed out in the St. Lawrence Report #1, the site offered important locational advantages including: "proximity to downtown for shopping, employment and entertainment, to the waterfront for recreation, to cultural

[44] Due in large part to the extraordinary cost of both financing and the significant environmental clean-up that would be required, as well as a change of political leadership at the municipal and provincial levels at the end of the design phase, the Ataratiri project was canceled.

Figure 3: St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Front Street & The Esplanade

Legend

St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

Roads

Railroads

N

1:11000

Sources: Ontario **Ministry** of **Natural Resources** Ontario **Base** Map Sheet 10 17 **6300** 483000 **and Aerial** Photograph 78.4346 64.261'

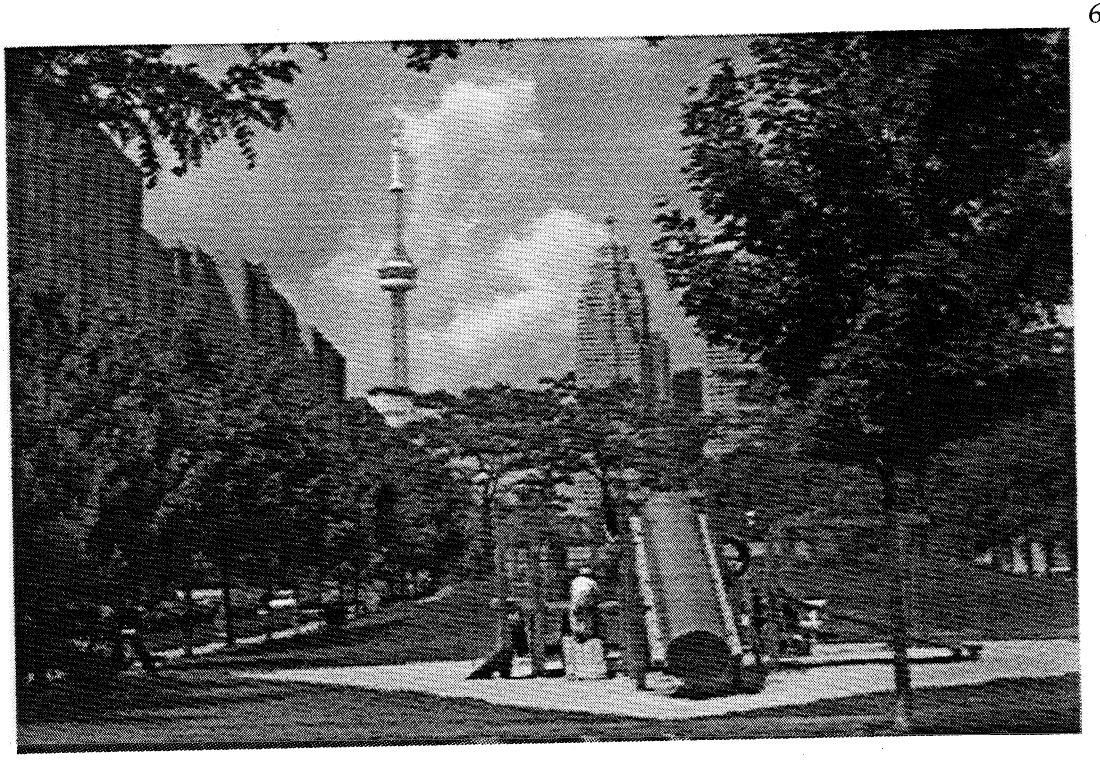


Figure 4: East End of Crombie Park, Looking West Toward Downtown

Figure 5: East End of Crombie Park at Berkeley, Looking West

Figure 6: Downtown Toronto from Formal Garden in **Crombie** Park

Figure **7:** East End of Crombie Park, Looking West Toward Ataratiri

facilities such as the O'Keefe Centre; to already existing social facilities such as hospitals and schools; to efficient public transportation" (1974, p. 3). The neighbourhood was to be built in an area (the original site of the Town of York[45]) with several existing historic buildings (see Figures 8 and 9). The neighbourhood showed potential for the development of a 'sense of place' in that several restaurants, commercial establishments and theatre groups had already recognized the potential of some of these older buildings and, the St. Lawrence Market (see Figure 10) was nestled into the corner of the neighbourhood at Jarvis and Front.

The location, however, was not without drawbacks. Its southern edge borders on the Gardiner Expressway and the railroad tracks. Soil, noise and air pollution from industry and transportation were very real problems. In addition, the high water table in the area because of its earlier reclamation from Lake Ontario precluded underground parking. It was expected, however, that most of these problems were not remarkably different from what other neighbourhoods at the core experienced and that the project planners would resolve them and even provide a model for other similar future initiative@.

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45 There is a plaque on Berkeley Street, at the east end of the St. Lawrence site which marks the original Parliament buildings in the Town of York, built in 1793, which were burned by American troops in 1813 during the War of 1812. (It was in retaliation for this act that the Canadian troops set fire to the White House in Washington, DC.)

46 Although soil pollution and a high water table were identified as problems at the time, it is only recently, as a result of increasingly stringent environmental regulations and work done on the Ataratiri site that the real extent and serious nature of the soil pollution on the St. Lawrence site has been identified. In addition to a high water table, it seems that the entire St. Lawrence neighbourhood lies within the flood plain of the lower Don River. This was not identified during the period when the St. Lawrence was being designed and built.

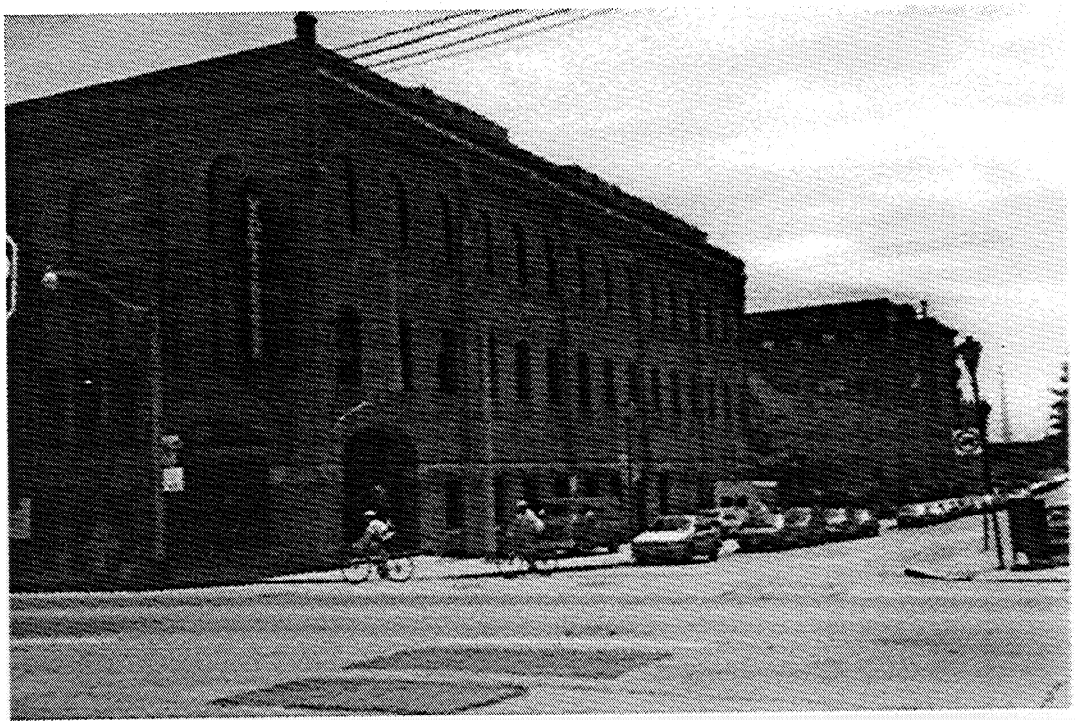

Figure 8: TTC Building, SE Corner of Front Street & Frederick

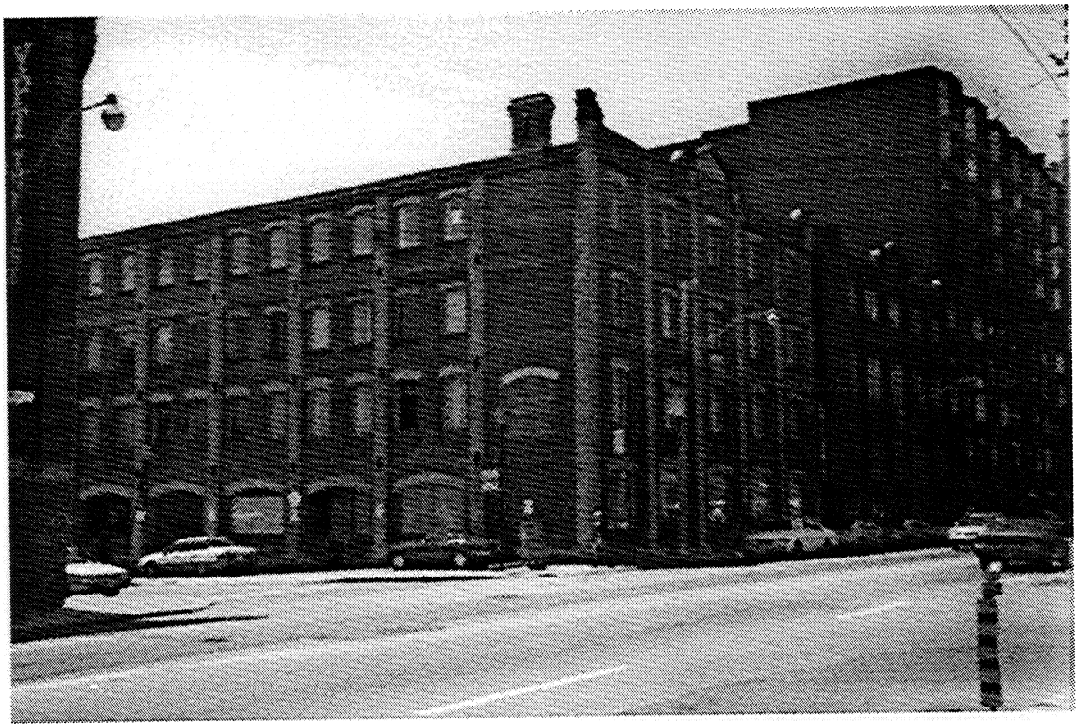

Figure 9: Johnson Building, SW Corner of Front Street & Berkeley

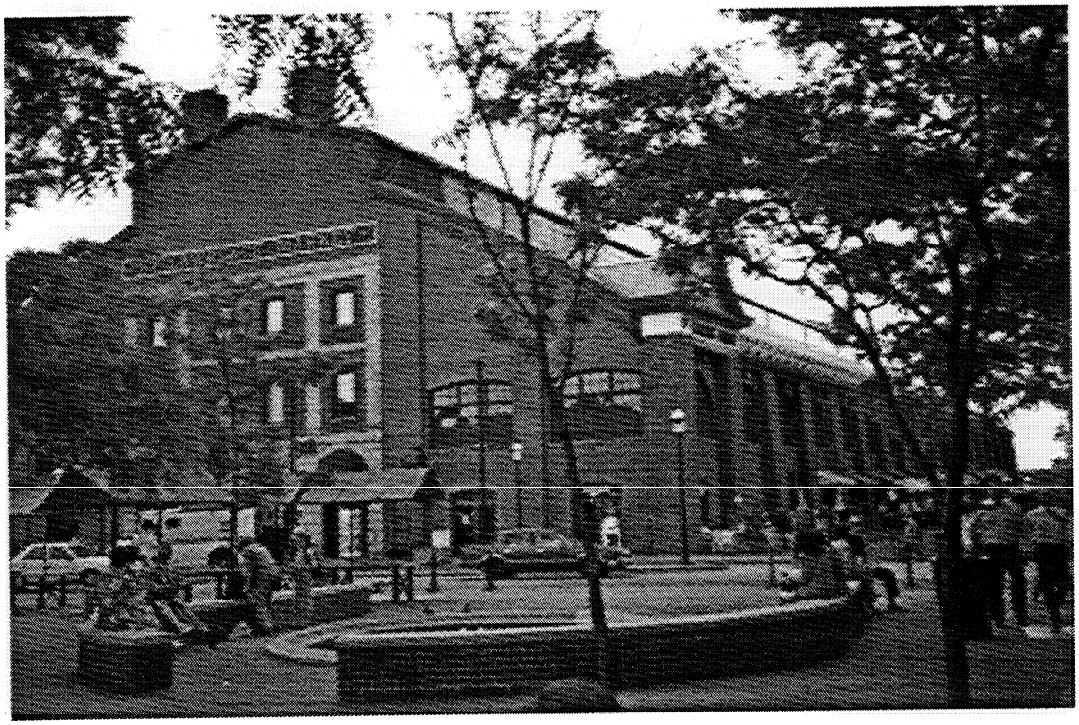

Figure 10: St. Lawrence Market at Western End of Neighbourhood

The 44 acres identified in the St. Lawrence Report #1 were considered "under utilized by any criteria" (1974, p. 13) and were, at the time, used for car parking, warehousing, and scrapyards. Figure 11a, which is an aerial view of the neighbourhood taken in 1978, gives some appreciation of the under utilization of this property prior to the development of the St. Lawrence. Figure llb shows specific land uses on the site in 1976[47].

The Living Room report had indicated the criteria to be employed in selecting sites for land banking. These criteria included:

- environmental suitability
- character of the area
- supporting facilities
- public transportation
- proximity to publicly-owned land
- availability of land and economic stability (City of Toronto, #1, p. 29)

The St. Lawrence site satisfactorily met these criteria, based on environmental knowledge and regulations at the time. It could boast of, and was proximate to, historic buildings and cultural activities. Public transportation was convenient to the location. And, the fact that almost 54% of the site (18.8 acres) was publicly owned made it extremely attractive for land banking purposes.

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[47] **Construction began on the** Cityhome **building and two schools in November 1977.**

Figure 1 la: Underutilization of Site

Legend

St. Lawrence
Neighbourhood

N

1:11000

Sources: Ontario **Ministry** of Natural **Resources**
Ontario **Base** Map Sheet 10 17 6300 483000
and Aerial Photograph 78.4346 64.261

VISION

The vision for the St. Lawrence neighbourhood was not only clearly articulated in early planning reports and presentations, but seems to have been widely understood in the larger community as well (Diamond, 1993; Dobb, 1993; Dunphy, 1993). The vision itself never varied or changed during the design through implementation stages, and all work done in the meanwhile served only to further inform those who were involved in the planning and design of the obstacles to, and opportunities for, achieving the vision.

The planning of the St. Lawrence took place in phases over the period from June 1974 through December 1975 during which time fifteen specific and detailed reports where assembled. These reports focused on topics which included existing buildings, soil analysis, environmental studies, design guidelines, block study, social services, site services and traffic, open space and zoning bylaws. They contributed factual information to assist the planners (all involved in the process) in realizing their objectives. (These are listed in the St. Lawrence Bibliography in Appendix C.)

The St. Lawrence planners envisaged a diverse, vital, livable neighbourhood at the core of the city. This neighbourhood would help to alleviate the severe housing shortage being experienced in Toronto at the time and was intended to help in the revitalization of the commercial-residential-light industrial areas which surrounded it. These goals were clearly articulated in the initial St. Lawrence Report. They were to be achieved through an open and democratic process which involved the public, through the social mix and diversity of tenure and unit types, and through the physical design of the

neighbourhood itself. It was believed that this process would prevent the loss of low and middle class families who had often been displaced by earlier 'white painting', or gentrification of other city neighbourhoods (Diaz-Delfino, 1984; Dobb, 1993). A livable core community was to be developed which offered equity of access and community involvement in decision making. A review of these aspects of the vision follows.

Public Involvement

Articulated in St. Lawrence Report # 1 is a recognition of the fact that government decisions should be made with the full consultation of the community and those affected by the decisions. This community participation in the planning process was in contrast to the experience of the previous decades and followed immediately upon the experience of Trefann Court in which a local community thwarted the plans of City Council to level and 'renew' their community.

As a result of the negative public response to earlier development efforts and growing neighbourhood-based community activism during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the City appreciated the importance of community consultation. But despite acknowledgment of this fact, the Housing Department kept the details of the St. Lawrence site selection and the acquisition of the private lands confidential. They felt justified in doing so in order to ensure that the property might be obtained without increasing land costs.

However, once the lands were acquired and the process began to move

forward, a Working Committee was established. This Working Committee was comprised of individuals representing different interests from within the Toronto community and these individuals were to act as surrogates for the residents of the new neighbourhood. Specifically, the committee included four members of City Council, representatives of the City Planning Board and public and separate school boards, representatives of public and private housing tenants' associations, private developers and a representative of the Planning Board's industrial sub-committee for the area (St. Lawrence Report # 16). The Council provided terms of reference to the Committee with provisions for the involvement of a wider public in the planning process to advise staff on terms of reference for proposed studies and to review all studies and reports before they were submitted to Council.

The Working Committee, as indicated in St. Lawrence documents and in personal interviews with its members, took their responsibilities very seriously and were directly involved in the planning and implementation of the project (Dunphy 1993, Moershel, 1993, Lewinberg, 1993. Lyon, 1993, Sewell, 1993). John Sewell, an important participant in the Trefann Court battle, became an active participant on the St. Lawrence Working Committee. His contributions, according to a number of sources, cannot be overstated (Moershel, 1993, Lewinberg, 1993, Littlewood, 1993). It was also expected that once the neighbourhood was established, members of the new community would take an active role in future planning and decision making for the community.

Social Planning

The City of Toronto's Housing Department recognized the opportunity for the City to secure "potentially desirable land for those groups normally excluded by the housing development process" through land banking (City of Toronto, #1, p. 52). Report #1 called for the city to ensure that these individuals were the beneficiaries of the City's actions regarding land banking policies in the St. Lawrence area. "It is the position of the City of Toronto to ensure that benefits resulting from acts taken by government should not accrue only to fortunate individuals, but to citizens of the City as a whole" (p. 52).

It was believed that the St. Lawrence area would help to alleviate a severe housing crisis in a manner consistent with the objectives of the recently adopted City policy statement on home banking and land banking. Report # 1 notes the first goal of this policy as:

> Redistributing the benefits of public action - land banking can be regarded as a tool to help people who might otherwise not have the opportunity to live in certain areas of the City. Public acquisition of land in those areas where, for example, zoning and Official Plan changes are being considered, would mean that land costs can be held at a level where more people in the limited income category might be able to afford housing. (Living Room, p. 48 as cited in Report #1, p. 53)

As David Hulchanski points out in a paper presented on the 10th Anniversary of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood, few neighbourhoods are socially mixed. Most neighbourhoods have one predominant housing type and tenure which results in one predominant socio-economic class living within. Most neighbourhoods are socially segregated (1990). The vision for the St.

Lawrence was in complete contrast to this norm. And, as Hulchanski points out, “social mix is a planning principle which addresses fundamental justice and equity considerations. The issue is one of democracy: equal access to a basic necessity (housing) in a good quality living environment (neighbourhood)" 1990, p. 13).

Interviews with others who participated in the design of the neighbourhood suggest that the benefits of providing equity in neighbourhood design include: compatibility with the larger city, a fair and morally just outcome, promotion of economic vitality as a result of diverse income levels working proximate to employment opportunities, and the creation of an interesting, heterogeneous urban centre (Lyon, 1993). It was believed that people who care about the city should have the opportunity to live within its communities.

The goals of social mix were to be achieved by the mix of tenures, housing types and market/non-market housing. Approximately 60% of the units are some form of non-profit housing that afforded accessibility to low and moderate income households. Each of the initial co-operatives provided 25% rent geared to income (RGI) apartments. This was the maximum allowable RGI component that would qualify for federal financing; however, at the time, there were members of the original Working Committee and Co-operative Boards who tried very hard to increase that percentage to forty. (As we will see, those percentages changed in later phases.)

Co-operatives were seen as powerful community organizing mechanisms

that reached beyond the co-op itself. In fact, the initial phase of the St. Lawrence[48] was almost exclusively comprised of non-profit co-operatives so that the community involvement inherent in this type of housing might spur similar involvement in the larger St. Lawrence community.

Interviews with those who participated in the design and planning of the neighbourhood indicate that it was viewed as extremely important to provide a housing mix in order to create a vital neighbourhood that would avoid a project atmosphere[49]. The inclusion of families in the mix was an important goal of the program and related not only to issues of equity, but to livability as well. It was widely held that low and middle class families needed to be allowed to remain at the core of the city and that this neighbourhood should meet their specific needs[50]. Additionally, the concern for mix extended to include individuals with physical disabilities. Wheelchair accessibility and provisions for emotionally and physically challenged children were incorporated into the earliest building designs.

"Diversity is the hallmark of healthy cities -- places where everyone can find what he [or she] is looking for, where many sorts of people can act out their

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[48] The St. Lawrence was to be built in 3 phases, A, B and C. Work began on Phase A in 1977 and on Phase B in 1980. Early plans for Phase C were approved as early as 1980, however, only three buildings have been built to date. In fact, work is ongoing in all three Phases, with the last site in Phase A being developed directly across from the St. Lawrence Market at present.

[49] In fact; avoiding a 'public project' through a neighbourhood which is socially and physically integrated was added to the original goals and objectives (listed earlier) when the Official Plan was released. See City of Toronto, St. Lawrence Official Plan Proposals (1976).

[50] William Michelson's study of 750 households in Metropolitan Toronto in the mid 1970s supported the fact that there is a group of people who prefer living in downtown single-family homes (as opposed to living in suburban or in other tenure forms within the city) (Michelson, 1977).

lives as they see fit" (Sewell, 1971, p. 5). A diverse neighbourhood such as the one envisioned for the St. Lawrence would also contribute to the stability of the neighbourhood since its diversity of housing units might also accommodate changes in lifestyles as the current residents aged. It was strongly believed by the planners of the St. Lawrence that it should reflect the variety that exists within the city itself. This reflection of the larger city extended to the design of the neighbourhood as well.

Design

In Living Room, The Housing Work Group had suggested a philosophy for municipal housing initiatives in which they stressed the importance of preserving and improving existing housing and neighbourhoods, and in the case of new housing, that it relate to the existing neighbourhood in form and appearance, that family housing be emphasized but be related to the existing streets, and that low income housing be integrated with the rest of the community (St. Lawrence, #16, 1979). The Living Room report of 1973 informed the decisions to be made in the design stages of the St. Lawrence.

Subsequent to the initial St. Lawrence report, a series of studies was undertaken to more thoroughly review all of the environmental and planning issues that had been raised (see St. Lawrence Bibliography in Appendix C for Reports 1 - 16). Report # 2, the Status Report (1974), addressed the subject of mix in greater detail and, in keeping with the Living Room report (1973), specifically articulated the need for the St. Lawrence to reflect the best aspects of existing Toronto neighbourhoods. This meant it would have family housing on inner

streets with medium rise apartment buildings mingled with commercial space along the busier corridors.

Family housing was primarily accommodated in the design of the neighbourhood in the form of low rise buildings and town houses with access at grade. Despite the expressed need for increasing density in this neighbourhood, it was also intended that family units should have private yards and access to back lanes. In fact, the Working Committee, led unofficially by John Sewell, insisted on employing back lanes wherever possible to maintain the essence of Toronto neighbourhoods in which they tend to function as a quiet and safe place for children to play (Moershel, 1993).

Early design recommendations by the Zeidler Partnership drew upon the experience of European and American cities. These were rejected. The final Site Plan emerged from an appreciation of what worked within the local context. This appreciation was reflected in the proposed built form presented in the Official Plan and was informed by a careful replication of built form design and dimensions in neighbourhoods which exemplified the vitality and safety the St. Lawrence planners aspired to achieve (see detailed illustrations in Appendix G).

The mix of purposes of the buildings warrants comment. It was a firm belief on the part of those who participated in the design of the neighbourhood that the mix of uses within buildings was essential to promote the objectives of a mix of people and uses outlined earlier and to achieve the densities incorporated in the design. As a result, one of the most extraordinary design features of the neighbourhood was the mixed-used Cityhome building, Crombie Apartments,

located at the southwest corner of the intersection of Esplanade and Jarvis. This building incorporates residential units, a medical clinic, and two schools. This was an extraordinary mix of uses at the time (and is still quite unusual today).

A community centre was recommended in the Social Services Report # 11 (1975). It was to meet the needs of all ages and recreational interests.

> The upshot of the foregoing discussion of recreation needs is to provide substantive support for the location in St. Lawrence of a community recreation centre which can serve all age groups. Such a centre would include a swimming pool, gymnasium, a teen-centre, kitchens, storage areas, various multi-use rooms for meetings, social events, crafts, hobbies and games and adjacent out-door space for playgrounds, court games, sports-fields, and for seating arrangements from which activity can be observed. (p.195)

It was also suggested that this facility be adjacent to, but not part of, an elementary school, which would allow the greatest possible use of the facility by school children and the community and could also serve as a focus of community interaction for all ages. It was suggested that this be part of the first of three phases of construction planned for the neighbourhood. Day care and primary health care facilities were also to be incorporated into the residential buildings (City of Toronto, # 14, 1976).

The principal exception to maintaining the character of the typical Toronto neighbourhood was the establishment of a visual focus. An eight-acre, six-block long park was designed to run along the Esplanade, down the centre of the neighbourhood. Although the park, which covers approximately 18% of the site, does not reflect the typical Toronto neighbourhood design, it too incorporated the principle of mixed use along its length. This open space was to be used

concurrently by schools, community facilities and neighbourhood residents. The park design also recognized and reinforced the fact that the streets of the St. Lawrence were the primary focus of public activity. The park was to be linked to the neighbourhood and beyond by all of the local streets. The Esplanade was to be tree-lined along its entire length. This would serve to unify the park which was to have a diversity of uses along its length.

The various units of the park, separated by through streets, were designed to incorporate the objectives of the Official Plan:

> Within St. Lawrence, the parks should be comprised of a series of different spaces, each performing different functions. For example, there should be a space which is quiet and "passive", where people may sit, stroll or eat their lunch; another should be designated to "contain" children at play, but at the same time, be visually accessible to adults, so that their activities can be readily supervised; another should be a specific activity area for sports such as ice hockey in the winter or baseball in the summer.
>
> The use of park space should be for both the working and residential populations of St. Lawrence as well as any visitors to the area. Moreover, the location of uses in various sections of the park system should accommodate the anticipated activities of surrounding populations. More specifically, the elements of the park adjacent to the schools should reflect their needs. The School Board and the City should thus jointly plan the uses of any shared portions of the park." (City of Toronto, Report # 15, 1976)

Aside from the park, which was to serve as a visual focal point and locus for community activity, the boundaries of the St. Lawrence were intentionally blurred so that is was not isolated from the rest of the city, and to encourage mix of buildings and tenures. Since the neighbourhood was to be an extension of the city, the existing grid pattern was maintained.

Proximity to public transportation was recognized to be important and it was understood that a dense urban neighbourhood of this type, near the downtown core and public transportation, would be useful in combating the use of the automobile. Consistent with this line of thinking was the fact that parking provision requirements in the St. Lawrence were reduced from the overall city requirements when the neighbourhood was designed. Typically, about 1.25 or 1.5 car spaces per unit were requested by the planning department. In the St. Lawrence, there are approximately 0.56 car spaces per unit (Gordon & Fong, 1989)[51].

Upon the completion and review of the diverse reports written over the period from June 1974 to December 1975, the Final Site Plan was presented in February of 1976. The following specific design objectives were articulated subsequent to this report:

- The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is to be an extension of the City and not an isolated "project"
- The streets are designed to act as the focus for all activities in the neighbourhood
- All family housing is directly accessible from the street level
- The buildings are to be erected by a variety of developers (public, private non-profit and entrepreneurial) to provide homes for a mix of income groups under a variety of tenures.
- Whereever possible, buildings possessing historical value will be retained and the general historical character of this area is to be restored and preserved.

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[51] **According to Jane Tennyson, part of the justification for reducing parking space per unit related to the fact that a significant number of low and middle income individuals were not expected to have cars (1987). The Resident Survey (1982) indicates that 48% of the households owned one care, another 6% owned 2 cars. (46% of the households did not own a car.)**

- Buildings serving a mix of purposes will be encouraged. (City of Toronto, 1977)

REALITY

It is now almost twenty years since the original proposal for the St. Lawrence neighbourhood was presented to City Council, and almost 15 years since the first occupants moved in. Enough time has passed to begin to evaluate the neighbourhood's success in meeting its objectives of livability and equity, and to look at the contributions such a neighbourhood might make toward an understanding of how to design city core neighbourhoods for sustainability.

In 1989, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute's School of Urban and Regional Planning held a conference to examine "the planning, design, implementation and social organization of St. Lawrence" (1989, p.1-1) in order to determine what lessons it held for the future. While the lessons learned were never specifically articulated at the conference or in the conference proceedings, all aspects of the design and development of the neighbourhood were addressed. In addition to the interviews I conducted, my own observations of the neighbourhood and informal discussions with residents, and a review of census data, the proceedings of this conference also served to inform the following discussion of the "reality" of the St. Lawrence.

It is the opinion of all those who were interviewed that the St. Lawrence has, broadly, realized the vision of its planners. The St. Lawrence is widely held to be a very livable neighbourhood at the core of the city which has succeeded in

accommodating diverse socio-economic groups.

Depending upon the individual interviewed, some of the specific design elements or particular components of the neighbourhood are considered more successful than others, but to a person, all expressed satisfaction with the achievement of the original vision. What these individuals believed to be the strengths and weaknesses of the design and resulting community, and what contributed to its overall success will be addressed specifically in the following pages.

Public Involvement

Paul Reuber, a Toronto architect participating in the Ryerson Conference on the 10th Anniversary of the St. Lawrence commented that "the democratic element of St. Lawrence is very exciting" (1989, p. 4-25). It seems that it has always been so.

As noted earlier, public consultation during the early 1970s had become an important element of the planning process in Toronto. The Trefann Court experience[52] and the voice of the community had forced this upon the system. And although the community was not involved in identifying the specific site for development, the St. Lawrence was part of the King-Parliament area in which community groups had actively been seeking land appropriate for the siting of

[52] **The public battle to stop urban renewal plans for Trefann Court began in 1966 and concluded with an agreement with City Hall in February of 1970. A working committee of Trefann residents and aldermen would replan the area (Fraser, 1972).**

new co-operatives (Dunphy, 1993). The Working Committee for the St. Lawrence followed the precedent of the archetypal Trefann Court working committee, and from the accounts of all those interviewed, acted as an equal partner with the politicians and planners. This did not result from a 'meeting of the minds' of city politicians, planners and working committee members on the issues to be resolved. Rather, there were very diverse viewpoints articulated throughout the process and the tension that existed between the diverse interests is credited by many of the participants as having positively influenced the outcome of the neighbourhood (Moershel, 1993; Lewinberg, 1993; Littlewood, 1993). There were no 'rubber stamps' and all aspects of the plans were carefully assessed by all parties. There were times when the tensions were extreme. At one point, members of the Working Committee representing the co-operatives and the non-profits left the committee due to disagreements regarding discussions over tenure type and economic mix in Phase B. Those who left the discussions had urged for more low income units to be made available in Phase B (Gordon, 1993).

Because the Working Committee represented, even if in a surrogate manner, the community (non profit and co-operative proponents and community representatives), it concerned itself with the very real impacts of the physical design on those who would live within the neighbourhood. This group was 'primarily concerned with issues of livability and equity.

Ongoing Community Involvement in Neighbourhood Design

The first phase of the project, Phase A (see Figure 2b), consisted almost exclusively of co-operative and non-profit housing. It is widely believed that the subsequent community orientation of the neighbourhood derived impetus from

the community involvement inherent in the co-operative movement (Dunphy, 1993). This community involvement continues to present as working committees are established from within the neigbourhood to participate in response to each new development proposal. These committees really have changed the face of some of the development projects in the neighbourhood. They may often be 'little things' that the developer wouldn't have done, but which make a difference to the way in which the neighbourhood works (Dobb, 1993). The objective of the original participants in the planning process, to transfer responsibility from the surrogate community members on the Working Committee to the actual community, has been realized.

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association (SLNA) with representation from the diverse tenure types, has been extremely active in the affairs of the neighbourhood. There are, naturally, tensions within the SLNA as a result of the differing perspectives of co-operative unit and non-profit unit members and private owners (Dobb, 1993). The SLNA deals with the issues facing the community as a whole and entertains debate on a wide range of issues which in the recent past have included the Community Centre and its relationship to the new elementary school, access to the school playground which is in the park across the street from the new school, and the nature of the environmental dangers caused by the Hydro transformer in the centre of the community.

Because of its active community role, and despite one especially divisive debate about the incorporation of a 100% rent geared to income (RGI) co-operative in the neighbourhood[53], the SLNA is an important community

[53] The Berkeley St. Co-op was greatly debated within the neighbourhood. Some members,

organization (Gordon, 1993) which must take into account the differing values of its diverse membership (Dobb, 1993).

The fact that the St. Lawrence Community Centre was not completed until just recently (late 1992) is one of the few sources of disappointment expressed by those interviewed. A community centre had been recommended in the Social Services Report # 11 (1975) as discussed earlier, and was to meet the needs of the local community, and specifically, the needs of teenagers, young adults, families and the elderly. Resident surveys conducted by the City of Toronto Housing Department in 1980 and 1982 clearly indicated the lack of this facility as one of the primary issues listed under dislikes.

Those who live within the community and who were interviewed expressed regret over the long delay in the construction of this facility. Most of them now take advantage of the new centre on a regular basis. And children with whom I struck up conversations in the streets were quick to list it as one of the things they liked most about the neighbourhood.

The original social services report suggested that the community centre be on the same site as a school. It was to be "a community facility which is shared by the school and not a school facility which is shared by the community" (City of Toronto, # 11, 1975; emphasis original author). Although the community

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primarily the private owners (who also see themselves as the most proximate to the site) were opposed to a 100% RGI development because it was contrary to the value of 'mix' that exists within the neighbourhood (Nicholson, 1993). Others, primarily co-op members, felt that although it would be a departure from the norm, it was an experiment worth allowing (Dobb, 1993; Moershal, 1993). The Berkeley Street Co-op is discussed later under the topic of social planning as well,

centre was built 17 years later, and not in Phase A of the neighbourhood as recommended, it is, in fact, adjacent to an elementary school which can share its facilities in the way originally envisioned (see Figure 12). Visits to the Community Centre confirm the active use of its facilities by people of all ages. And in keeping with the original vision of meeting the needs of all community members, the facility, as well as the swimming pool which has a long wide ramp leading to the water, is wheelchair accessible.

Most politicians and planners who were interviewed suggested that the planning of the St. Lawrence Community Centre, and the fact that it was not built at the outset, may have positively engaged the community in the planning of the centre itself and that this involvement was perhaps an important focal point for community-building. Indeed this may be the case, but perhaps a shorter period of five to ten years would have been sufficient to encourage public involvement. Whatever the case, the St. Lawrence Community Centre currently contributes considerably to the livability of the neighbourhood for all ages.

Fostering Community Involvement through Neighbourhood Organizations

As a result of the mixed building use that resulted in two elementary schools (public and separate schools) sharing commercial and residential space (see Figure 13), the school boards have been very vocal in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood . The school boards were opposed to the idea of shared space then, and are opposed to the idea now (Crombie, 1993; Lewinberg, 1993). In fact, some of the school board members who work with the St. Lawrence neighbourhood are among the only group who find much to complain about regarding the

Figure 12: St. Lawrence Community Centre Beside Market Lane School

Figure 13: Crombie Apartments - Residential Units & Two Schools

livability of the neighbourhood. Aside from not having independent space and separate play areas because of the mixed use of their building design, traffic is considered by some members of the Toronto Board of Education to have been given priority over children (Doiron, 1993). The question of whether or not to close traffic in front of the newest elementary school on the Esplanade (see Figure 12) was a great source of community debate in which the school board was a vocal participant[54]. Other participants in the debate were representatives of the SLNA and the City of Toronto, local business representatives and politicians. Traffic was not halted and an underground tunnel and elevator system was installed to allow children to cross safely under the street during recess (Nicholson, 1993; Doiron, 1993)[55].

The school board and organizations like the PTA spur community involvement and social integration[56]. And certainly co-operatives continue to encourage active community participation due to their very nature of tenant management. The Woodsworth Co-operative even publishes a regular newsletter updating its members on the status of various projects and initiatives such as the extraordinary success of its composting efforts and the activities of its Environment Committee (Moershel, 1993). Although the Woodsworth Co-

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54 Although this was a highly contentious issue, members of the Toronto Board of Education do not see this traffic problem as limited to the St. Lawrence neighbourhood (Doiron, 1993).

55 This tunnel itself was hotly debated as only one aspect of the issue. The cost of the tunnel is believed to have been in the $3,000,000 range and seems unjustifiable to many in light of suggested alternatives to stop traffic during school hours, or provide traffic guards during recess periods (Nicholson, 1993)

56 Mariolga Diaz-Delfino (1984) defines social integration as "social contact or interaction of different groups in a (socially) mixed neighbourhood leading to some form of neighbouring behaviour of its residents and, perhaps most importantly, to the development of a sense of community among all of the residents of the neighbourhood". I will use this definition to assess the social integration which exists within the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

operative seems to have more cohesion than others such as the Windmill Line Co-op (White, 1993), all co-ops depend upon resident participation. Interviews suggest a great deal of social interaction occurs within the various co-op groups, but not necessarily between these groups (Diaz-Delfino, 1984; Dobb, 1993).

Aside from the SLNA, co-operative boards, school boards, and the PTA, there are other active community organizations, including those individuals in the neighbourhood who formed the Board of the Berkeley Street Co-op and hired the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto to facilitate the building of a 100% RGI co-operative in Phase B of the site[57]. Another similar group is the Old York Club, a group of St. Lawrence seniors who have worked to construct a non-profit facility for the elderly in Phase C of the site. Based on the activities of some of the organizations listed above, community involvement in the neighbourhood seems real and ongoing.

Access to Decision Making

It has been suggested by Joe Springer, a Professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson, during the Ryerson Conference on the St. Lawrence, that civic involvement, however, may be limited to those in the mid-to upper-income ranges. He asks if RGI tenants "feel part of the decision-making processes, or do they allow themselves to be taken care of?" (Gordon,1989 1, p. 6-3)

While this is a question that cannot be responded to based on my research,

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[57] **This co-operative will be dealt with in the discussion of ongoing planning and construction. It can be noted here, however, that it is now unlikely that the cooperative will be built due to astronomical site remediation costs recently assessed ($7,000,000) (Kulczyski, 1993).**

> You mentioned something about low income people not having an input....But in our neighbourhood, we do, that's why I'm here, that's why a lot of people I know who are in my position in the St. Lawrence are helping with that neighbourhood. We don't necessarily sit on boards....1 belong to the SLNA because I was pushed into becoming the delegate for my building... I have been involved with the neighbourhood in various ways, and I have done a lot of significant work in St. Lawrence, you know, back door, low key. You will find that a lot of the people in our neighbourhood do that.
>
> That is why I invited you to come down and talk with us. Not to rely on your stats and your figures, but to come down and to see how the community works, because it does work. That is what we are proud of. You said that low income people would feel threatened by all those people who are higher income. Three to one. I don't feel threatened. I feel privileged to live next door to these people. I live in a building where there are doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, people who own stores, seniors, single mothers and disabled people. We talk to each other. We meet each other in the hallways, and we can live door to door, and we discuss the policies of the neighbourhood. That is probably one of the most important things in the neighbourhood. (Gordon, 1989 1 p. 6-31)

Although the question of whether all economic groups participate equally in the various community organizations in St. Lawrence cannot be answered based on the above comments, the findings of Ms. Diaz-Delfino's research and Mr. McLeod's experience suggests that further research into this question might be warranted. None-the-less, the fact that there are very active community-oriented groups at work within the neighbourhood is widely accepted.

Conclusion

The community involvement engendered by the composition of this neighbourhood (co-ops and diverse interest groups), and within a community that is comprised of a mix of socio-economic groups, is important to the discussion of sustainability in the urban context. As Pell and Wismer argue, the

first value in the practice of sustainable social development for the livable city in Canada is community. "Another implication is that the process of developing and evaluating the livable city must be community-based, involving extensive consultation in the planning stages and evaluation based on the direct experience of those whose lives are affected by any particular initiative" (1990, p. 7).

Tennyson, in an article entitled The St. Lawrence *Neighbourhood: An Evaluation* (1987), comments that there was not a framework in place for planners of the St. Lawrence to evaluate their successes and failures, and where there were existing possibilities to assess available data, the effort did not materialize. She contends that the concerns of the community voiced through surveys were not used in later planning efforts. The planning process in the St. Lawrence has been very consistent with the values of a process to achieve sustainability, yet there is room for improvement. The political arena in general, however, has been responsive to the voice of this neighbourhood (Dobb, 1993; Gordon, 1993; Nicholson, 1993).

Social Planning

The preceding discussion leads quite naturally to a discussion of how well the social goals established for the neighbourhood were met. The Official Plan for the St. Lawrence indicated a desire to avoid a 'public project' atmosphere or a situation where only one income group would be housed. While the provision of housing for low and moderate income earners was to be emphasized, the neighbourhood would also provide different forms of tenure (rental, ownership and co-operative) and housing for a mixture of income levels and social classes,

of age groups and of family and non-family households.

Socio-Economic Mix

A review of detailed data on all built and proposed units in phases A, B and C of St. Lawrence indicates that 62% are Assisted Units (Social Housing). (see Land Use Statistics in Appendix E). The remaining 38% of the units are available at market rate. This combination results in a wide variety of income levels within this neighbourhood. However, the actual number of low income earners who are housed within the neighbourhood has been questioned (Gordon, 1989 1) thereby calling into doubt the achievement of the mixed income goal. The number of RGI units available in each of the social housing buildings ranges from approximately 25% on the low end (Woodsworth Co-op) to 80% (in some of the Cityhome buildings) on the high end as funding restrictions and requirements have changed over time. The Berkeley Street Co-op is intended to be 100% RGI.[59] These data alone do not provide sufficient statistical basis for a satisfactory response however.

A review of the data from the 1986 Census sheds some light on this question. Table 3 provides comparative information regarding the incidence of low income in both the St. Lawrence neighbourhood and the City of Toronto. The data are based on Phases A and B of the St. Lawrence because at the time, Phase C was not yet constructed and is part of another census tract. At present, the St. Lawrence neighbourhood essentially exists within Phases A and B with only two of the seven proposed residential units having yet been built in Phase C

[59] **The Berkeley Street Cooperative has recently been put on hold due to extraordinary soil remediation costs.**

(see Land Use Statistics in Appendix E for details of buildings awaiting construction).

Table 3

COMPARISON OF INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME IN THE ST. LAWRENCE WITH THE CITY OF TORONTO

	ST. LAWRENCE PHASES A & B	CITY OF TORONTO
INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES	20%	16.5%
INCIDENCE OF LOW INCOME SINGLES	26.6%	35.2%
INCIDENCE OF PERSONS IN LOW INCOME FAMILY UNITS	22.5%	21.5%

Source: 1986 Census Tract Data, Statistics Canada Publication 95-164

The goal of the St. Lawrence planners (all involved in the process) was to provide a mix of socio-economic levels within the neighbourhood. And as David Hulchanski has suggested, perhaps the best definition of a "good" mix is one that reflects the mix of the larger community within which it exists (1984). The data in Table 3 would indicate that the percentage of low income families and individuals living within the St. Lawrence is consistent with that of the larger population, though there is a greater percentage of low income singles living within the city. A comparison of persons, however, in low income family units demonstrates almost identical representation. At the time of the 1986 census, the low income residents had been integrated into the neighbourhood in roughly the same proportion as in the rest of the city.

Lifestyles Accommodated

The goal of providing family housing within the neighbourhood was also achieved. Forty-one percent (41%) of the units have two or more bedrooms (Refer to Land Use Statistics in Appendix E). 1986 Census data indicate that families comprise 49% of the total households and of those, 65% are families with children living at home[60]. The 1982 Resident Survey indicated that approximately 69% of the families using day care depended upon the St. Lawrence day care facility (see Figure 14). Interviews with those living in the neighbourhood also indicated that, in addition to families and singles living within the neighbourhood, alternative life styles exist comfortably within the community of the St. Lawrence and in fact, find a supportive environment (Moershel, 1993).

In terms of tenure types, David Hulchanski indicates that in phases A & B of the St. Lawrence, 39% of the units were private condominium units, 30% were non-profit housing co-operatives and private non profit rental, 27% were municipal non profit rental, and 4% ownership townhouses.

Observation of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood and interviews with key informants also indicate that the physically disabled are accommodated here as well. In fact, many of those interviewed believe that there is perhaps a higher concentration of physically disabled individuals within this neighbourhood than

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[60] **The 20% sample of census tract data is not yet available for 1991. Therefore, to maintain consistency, all comparative data has been taken from the 1986 census. Any trends that may be recognized as emerging form the 1991, 100% tract data will be addressed.**

Figure 14: St. Lawrence Day Care Centre

in most others resulting from the planners and architects design sensitivity (Dobb, 1993, Van Varseveld, 1993). I was not able to garner any statistics to support or challenge this belief. Casual observation of the number of individuals in wheelchairs and the frequent presence of wheelchair accessible buses in the neighbourhood, contribute to the perception that this is the case.

Ethnic Mix

It would seem that a 'good mix, one that is reflective of the larger City population, would also ensure a mix of ethnic backgrounds as well as different household types and age and economic groups. Within the St. Lawrence there are several co-operatives which are ethnicity-based. Two are Czech, one is Russian, and another is French-Canadian. The 1980 Resident Survey indicated that 1 in 4 people spoke another language at home. 1986 Census data regarding ethnic representation in the St. Lawrence Phases A & B indicates that approximately 1 in 5 people in the neighbourhood lists a language other than English as his or her primary language. In the City of Toronto, that figure is closer to 1 in 4. However, data from the 1991 Census for the St. Lawrence Phases A & B indicate that the number of individuals whose mother tongue is other than English has increased to slightly more than 1 in 4, with a large new group of Spanish speaking individuals being identified in the 1991 data.

Conclusion

The ability to access this neighbourhood by people of different ages, physical abilities, ethnic backgrounds, household types and economic levels would seem to have been accomplished. The neighbourhood is often described as very stable with emphasis on the fact that family and friends live within the

neighbourhood. This is possible, in part, because of the diversity of tenure types and unit sizes. As people's household size changes, options are available to move within the community. And while several people noted instances where friends actually moved out of the neighbourhood, the primary emphasis was on the movement of people within the neighbourhood as needs changed (Moershel, 1993; Nicholson, 1993).

This neighbourhood provides equity of access to a wide variety of groups. This equality is essential to the achievement of sustainability in the urban centre. Equity is the second central value that Pell and Wismer attribute to sustainable social development for the livable city in Canada and, as they affirm, is "central to all thoughtful considerations of sustainable community" (1990, p. 7).

Design

Most of the goals articulated in the Living Room report regarding design guidelines for future housing initiatives in Toronto were achieved in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. It is the achievement of this element of the design that contributes most importantly to the physical qualities of a neighbourhood which promote its livability.

Housing design is reflective of the red brick of other traditional Toronto neighbourhoods[61] and because the neighbourhood is linked to the larger city by the grid pattern it is successfully integrated with the larger community to the

[61] Although much of the building design replicates the red brick style of traditional Toronto neighbourhoods, there were no explicit requirements to do so.

north and west (the railroad and Gardiner Expressway to the south and the Ataratiri site to the east prevent further integration in these directions (see Figure 1). The St. Lawrence design was meant to integrate the "necessity for urban densities with the familiar Toronto look of street-related family houses and private yards" (St. Lawrence, #16, 1979, p.8). It was successful in achieving its objective. Family housing on inner streets in low rise buildings and townhouses with access at grade contribute to the impression of low density despite medium to high densities achieved overall (see Figures 15,16).

Density

The 1992 *Draft Official Plan, Cityplan* for the City of Toronto, indicates that Phases A and B of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood achieve medium (to high) densities62 and Phase C, high densities. The townhouse component of Phases A and B represent the only low density units in the St. Lawrence, however even these, which average 55 units/acre, were developed at higher densities than similar blocks of row houses in older Toronto neighbourhoods (Diaz-Delfino, p. 18) (see Appendix E for a comparison of specific Floor Space Index (FSI) values, a measure of average gross densities).

Fears were expressed by various members of the working committee 'regarding the relatively high density planned for this neighbourhood. However,

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62 **The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department defines medium residential density in this Central Area location as gross floor area which does not exceed 2.0 times the area of the lot (Cityplan Final Recommendations, 1992). The gross site density as calculated by David Gordon for the St. Lawrence indicates 2.35 x coverage with net density averaging 4.11 x coverage (1989). See Appendix E for Gordon's calculations and definitions.**

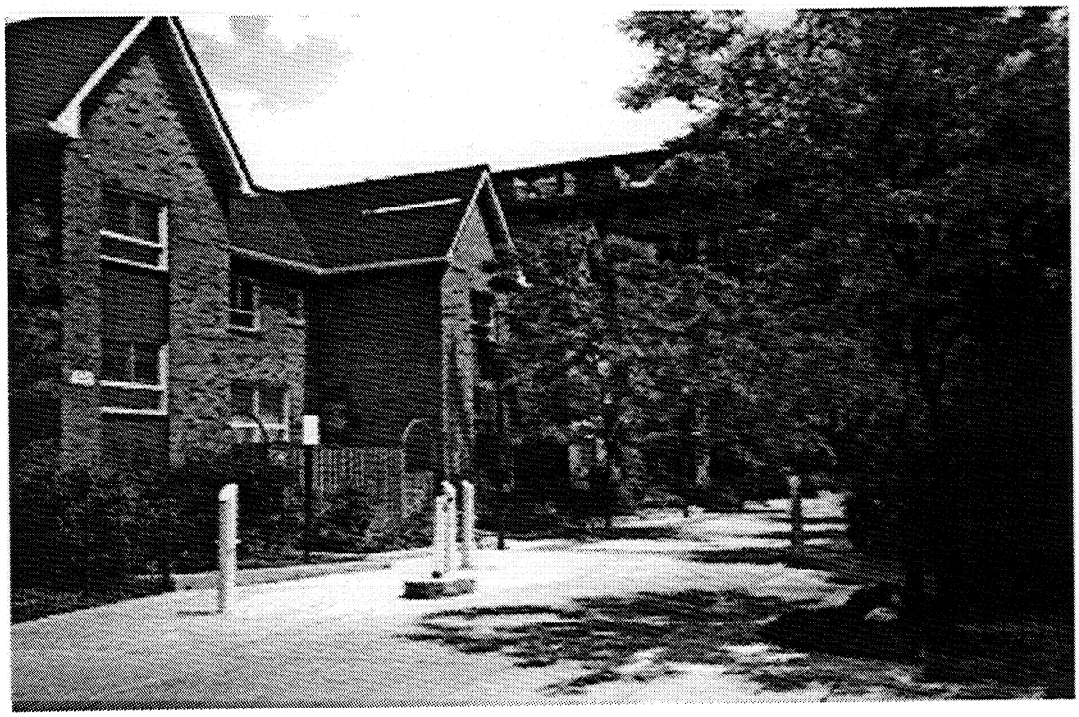

Figure 15: Laneway & Family Units Behind 176 Esplanade

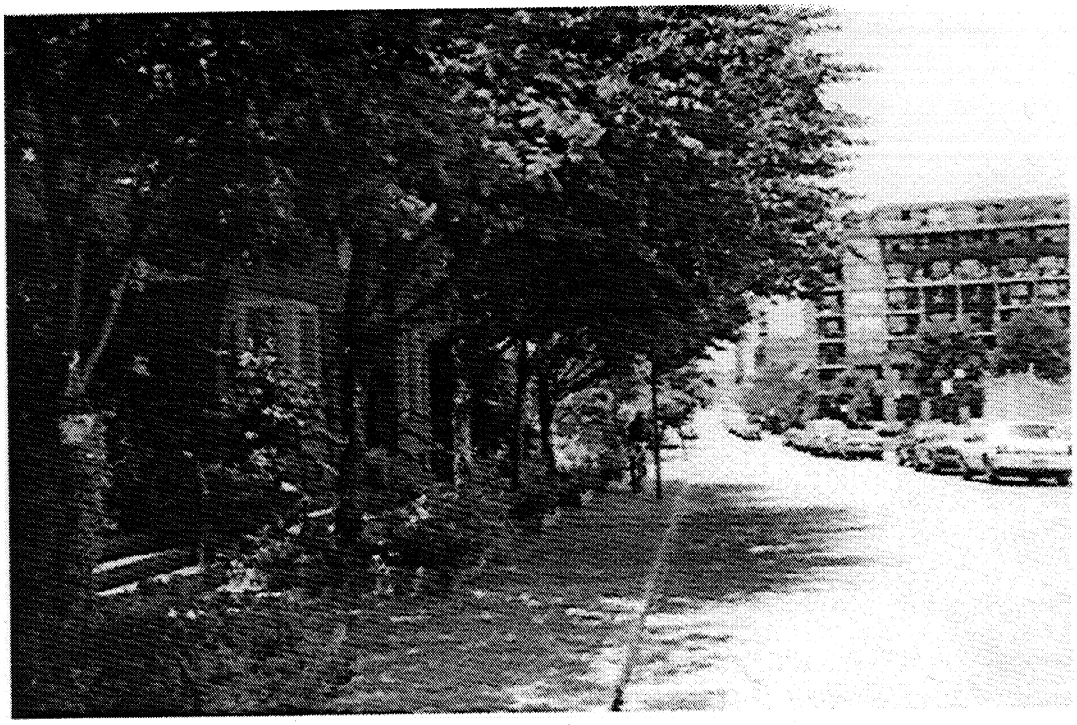

Figure 16: Townhouses on Frederick St. Looking Toward Crombie Park

what has been described as "very high" density by Hulchanski (1990, p.4) has not seemed to have impacted negatively on the neighbourhood. The resident survey conducted by the City of Toronto Housing Department in 1980 indicates overall satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Of the comments that expressed a negative attitude, the largest percentage concerned lack of facilities, such as the community centre. Within a smaller percentage of the negative response, comments regarding density are lumped with other miscellaneous concerns and are not quantified. Although a desire for a community centre is a prominent concern again in the 1982 survey, no mention is made regarding the density of the site in this second survey.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the effects of high density may be contingent upon other factors. The densities achieved in the St. Lawrence resulted from careful consideration of design. Instead of designing the most dense co-operatives and apartment buildings in the typical vertical form, these buildings in the St. Lawrence appear to have been laid on their side (see Figures 17,18). This meant that the semi-private/public space of the building disappeared, but the relationship to the street was maintained. This is important in light of the discussions of defensible space[63], and eyes on the street, monitoring of children and livability in general. And in fact, in interviews with those who live within the neighbourhood, the only comments made regarding high density were that it had been achieved. This was in response to a question about the environmental contributions made by the neighbourhood toward sustainability. Otherwise,

63 In his book, Defensible Space (1972), Oscar Newman identified building design characteristics that allow for continuous natural surveillance of the street. The St. Lawrence, while not built in a violent city, has employed the basic tenets of Newman's design theory.

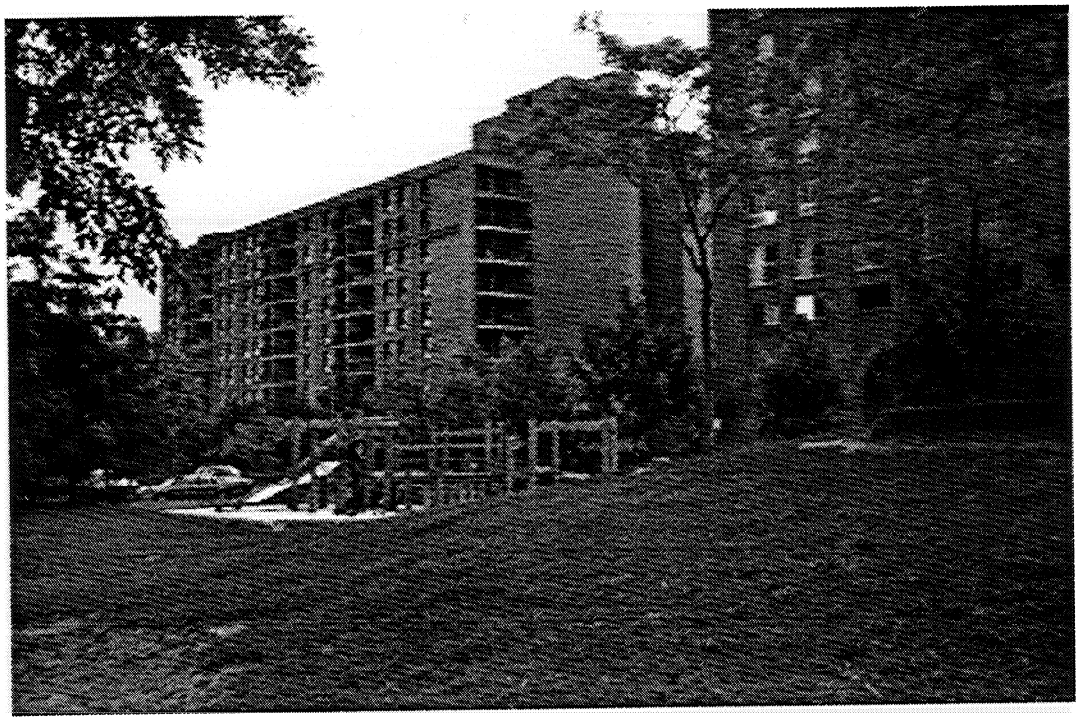

Figure 17: Place St. Laurent, Berkeley St. & Crombie Park

Figure 18: Archer Co-op, The Esplanade at Frederick

Figure 19: Young Ladies in Laneway Behind 176 Esplanade

Figure 20: Boys Who Grew Up in the Neighbourhood

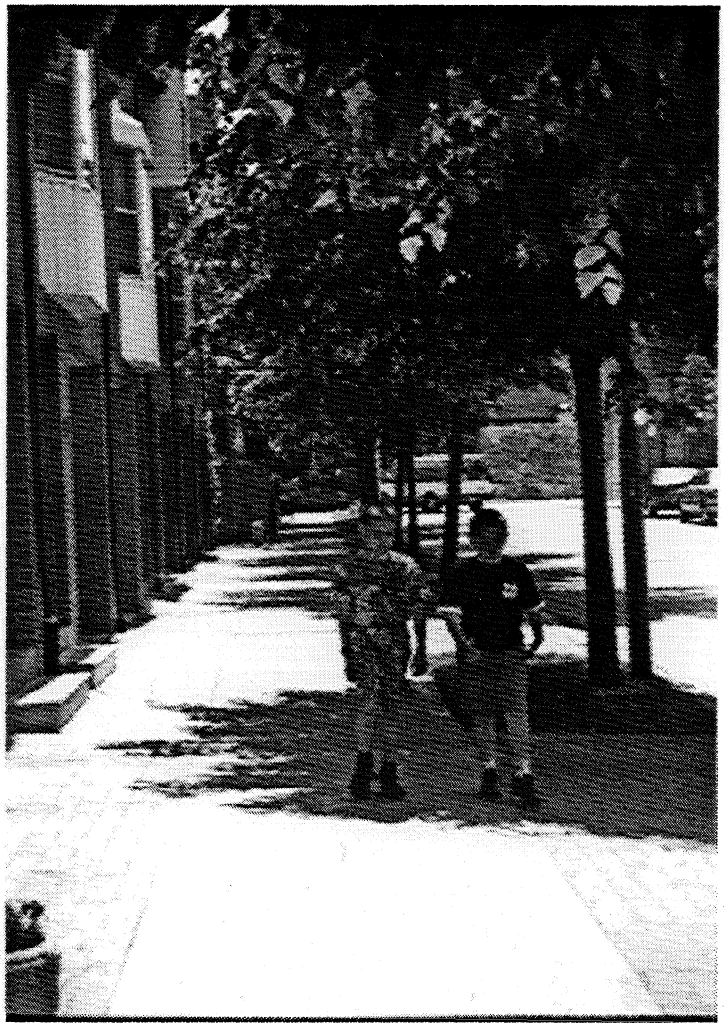

Figure 21: Boys Out for a Walk in the Neighbourhood

Figure 22: Children Playing Baseball in Front of Cityhome Apartments

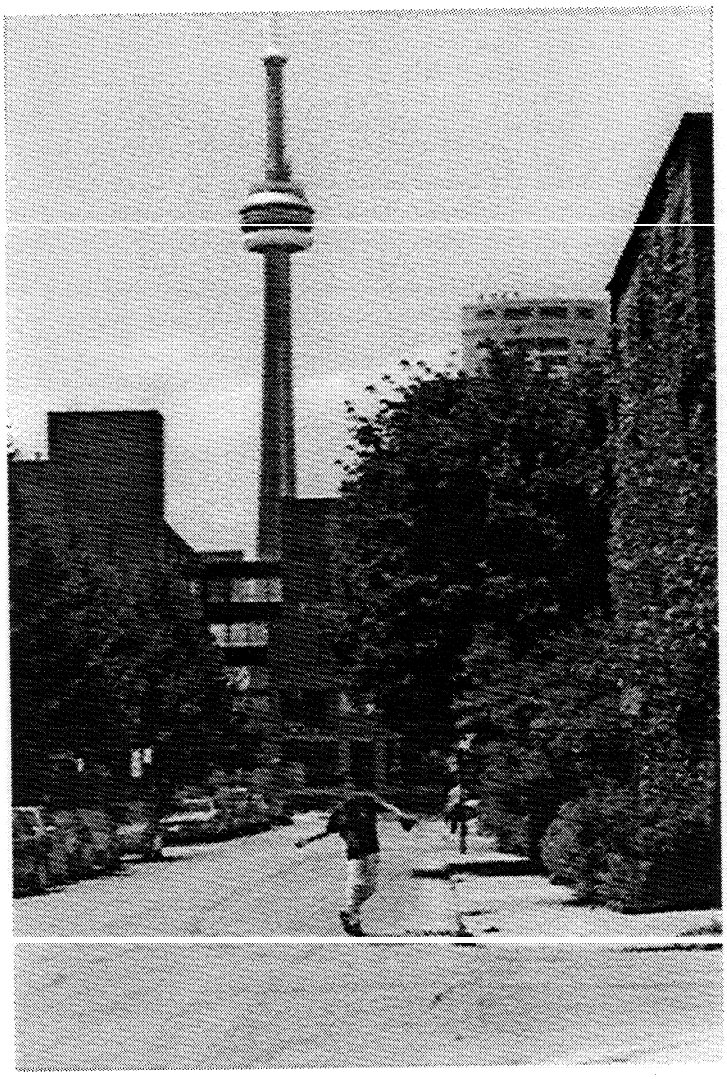

Figure 23: Playing Catch in Back Lanes Behind Woodsworth Co-op

Sense of Community

Based on a survey which assessed neighbouring patterns such as chatting outside with neighbours, sharing child care, exercising together, having coffee or tea with a neighbour, etc., Diaz-Delfino concluded, that a 'sense of community' exists within the St. Lawrence and this characteristic of the community "contributes to the general sense of friendliness and social support" (1984, p.75).

Several of those I interviewed commented on the fact that many of the Woodsworth Co-op townhouses along the lanes have their kitchen areas overlooking the street which ensures surveillance of the activities outside. A small town atmosphere exists. One person interviewed commented that if I wanted to get in touch with another individual on my list we might look out the window to see if she was working, as usual, in front of hers. Another suggested that because of the "eyes on the street" quality of the neighbourhood, neighbours do become involved when they see anything amiss. Many people shared examples of those occurrences with me.

The atmosphere is, paradoxically, also similar to that of the dense urban neighbourhoods described by Jane Jacobs in her discussions of the social networks that exist in diverse, dense inner city communities. An awareness of 'others and a willingness to help one another exists, but there is no intrusion into more personal space (1961). This quality is achieved to some degree, as described above, by the medium height buildings (6-8 storeys). The Cityhome apartments at 15 Scadding Avenue provide first floor family housing with separate entrances for apartments at grade level which also encourages direct

resident observation of the existing streets and laneways[64].

Interviews with those who reside within the St. Lawrence indicated that residents of diverse tenure types have a deep appreciation for the 'sense of community' that exists in this neighbourhood and which is fostered by the design of the neighbourhood. Shared back yards and common front entrances for co-ops, Cityhome apartments and private townhouses alike, allow residents to get to know their neighbours. The importance of, and value placed upon this involvement and sense of community, resonated in discussions with all who live within the St. Lawrence. Also, the sense of pride in the neighbourhood by all who live there, regardless of tenure type, was expressed frequently.

Physical Accessibility

As commented on earlier, all of the facilities have a number of wheelchair accessible apartments, including the first built, Archer Co-op. The St. Lawrence planners and architects were among the first to design a neighbourhood with at least some sensitivity to the needs of the physically disabled population. Crombie Park, a Cityhome building, which houses the first of two elementary schools in the neighbourhood, has 16 units which are wheelchair accessible and the Market Lane School provided two classrooms for the physically disabled. 'Cathedral Court incorporated 6 townhouses specifically designated for families with multiply-challenged children. Also, a map of the neighbourhood was specifically designed for people who must maneuver in a wheelchair (Dobb, 1991).

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[64] **Sixteen percent (16%) of the units in this neighbourhood allow grade access.**

Green Sauce

The park, meant to provide diverse options for its use, does serve as a focal point for the community and offers diverse ages the opportunity to engage in a variety of activities. But Crombie Park has been criticized by some (although by no resident with whom I spoke) for its linear design and the use of concrete, especially in front of the play ground of the two original schools and Crombie Apartments (see Figure 24). The park, however, is lined by an arcade of trees along the Esplanade (see figure 25) and in general provides a well-used and green resource. Although these trees were initially planted merely to establish the fact that something was to happen on this site (Lewinberg, 1993), they now result in the amenity of green, shaded walkways and the environmental benefits related to their CO2 absorbing characteristics along the street (Spirn, 1984).

Residents who were interviewed expressed a real appreciation for the park, and specifically, its design, excepting the concrete school yard. Activity in the park is apparent on any visit to the neighbourhood. Conversations with residents and interviews with key informants all attest to this fact. Some examples of the diversity of uses and users are depicted in Figures 26 through 32.

Walking, Cycling, Public Transportation

Because of the neighbourhood's location near the city's financial centre and the City Hall area, it was believed that walking and public transportation would be widely relied upon by residents of the neighbourhood (see Figures 33 and 34). All those who were interviewed and who live within the neighbourhood noted the convenience of public transportation, the proximity of

CITY CORE NEIGHBOURHOODS DESIGNED FOR SUSTAINABILITY: THE DYNAMICS OF LIVABILITY AND EQUITY

by

Judith Anne Walker

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presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Applied Environmental Studies
in
Environment and Resource Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1993

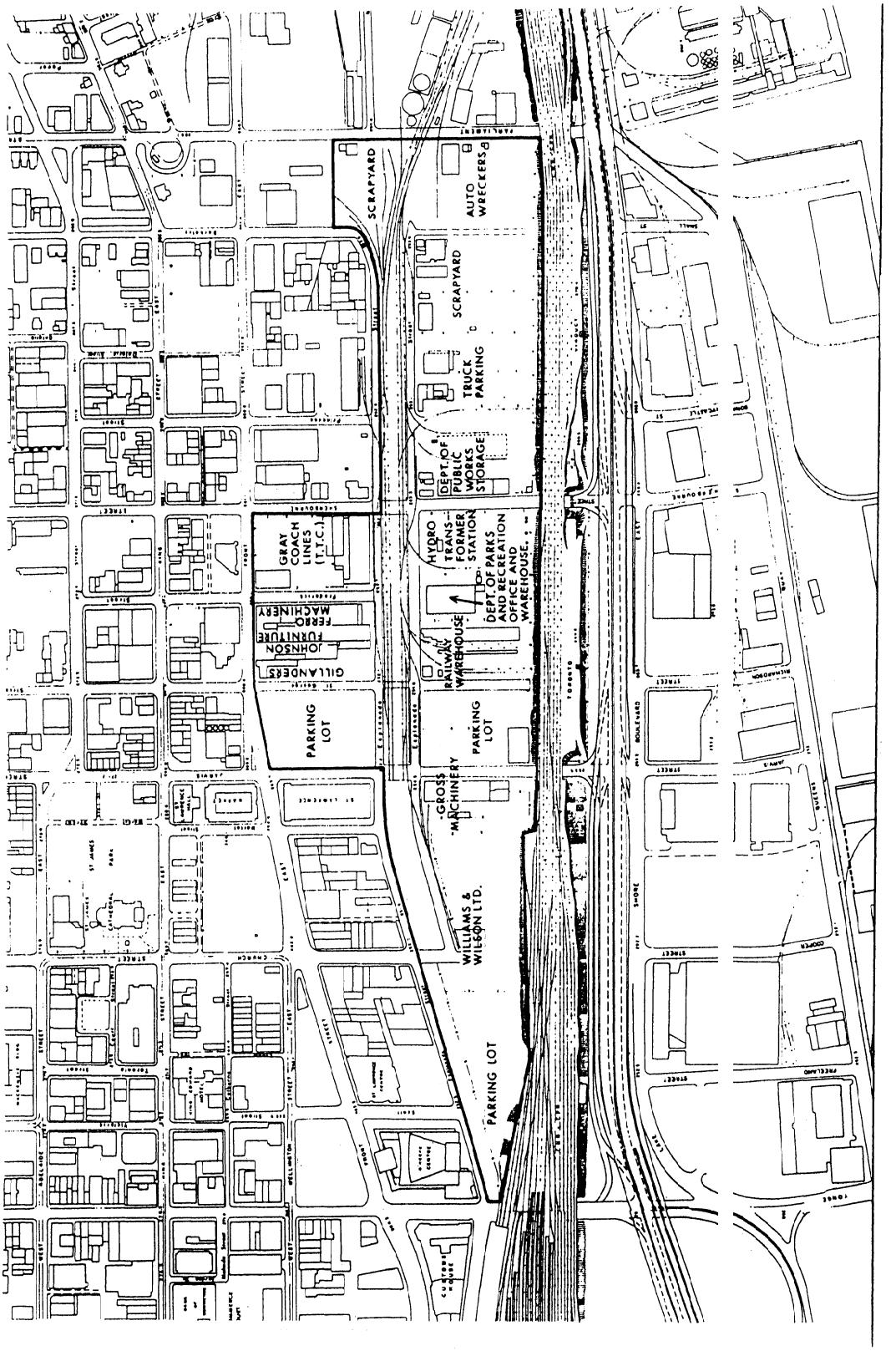

Figure 11b: 1976 **Land Uses on St. Lawrence Site**

Source: City of Toronto Planning Board (April 1976, p. 12)

I believe it is of considerable importance. In a thesis entitled The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: An Evaluative Study of the Social Integration of Its Residents, Mariolga Diaz-Delfino indicates that a high mix of social integration was achieved in the neighbourhood and that while social interaction typically occurred within the same residential building, class or economic status did not bound the interaction (1984).

Her data, based on a survey of co-operative and private ownership townhouse residents found that 85.7% of cooperative residents participated in formal activities within the neighbourhood while 57.7% of those in private ownership households indicated activity in community affairs (see Appendix F). Though she did not specifically compare response by income levels or RGI status, her data does indicate that the median household income in co-operative units in 1982 had been $20,000 (lower than the median income of $25,151 for households in the City of Toronto at the time) and $45,000 in private households (see Appendix F for tables of median incomes). While no conclusions can be drawn regarding RGI tenants specifically, it can be argued that civic involvement is not limited to those in mid- to upper-incomes.

A member of the audience during Professor Springer's presentation also attempted to address this question. Rob McLeod indicated that he lives in an RGI unit within the St. Lawrence. His wife is disabled and in a wheelchair and they receive a pension. He responded from his own experience[58].

[58] While I am not suggesting that his response reflects anything other than his personal experience, I think it emphasizes the need to pursue this issue in later studies.

those interviewed focused on the sense of community they experienced here, the extended families and friendships within the neighbourhood, the supportive, tolerant atmosphere at the heart of a city and the value of the park and back lanes which enhance livability for young and old alike (Moershel, 1993; Van Varseveld, 1993; Nicholson, 1993).

Safety

Interviews indicated that the physical design is very important to the neighbourhood's livability (Diamond, 1993; Nicholson, 1993; Van Varseveld, 1993). It was even suggested that the concept of spatial determinism might be proven here (Nicholson, 1993). All who were interviewed commented on the safety of the neighbourhood. Women feel comfortable walking home after dark, children play in the streets and playgrounds and are comfortable in their independent activities within the neighbourhood. Back lanes are used by children at play. Casual observation, conversations in the street and structured interviews all confirm this (see Figure 19 through 23). The neighbourhood is credited by several of those interviewed with being the safest neighbourhood in the city of Toronto (Lyon, 1993; Nicholson, 1993; Moershel, 1993). While I cannot substantiate that claim, statistical data from the 51st Police Division within which it functions, suggests that it is by far one of the safest in its division for 1992 (Metropolitan Toronto Police, 1993).

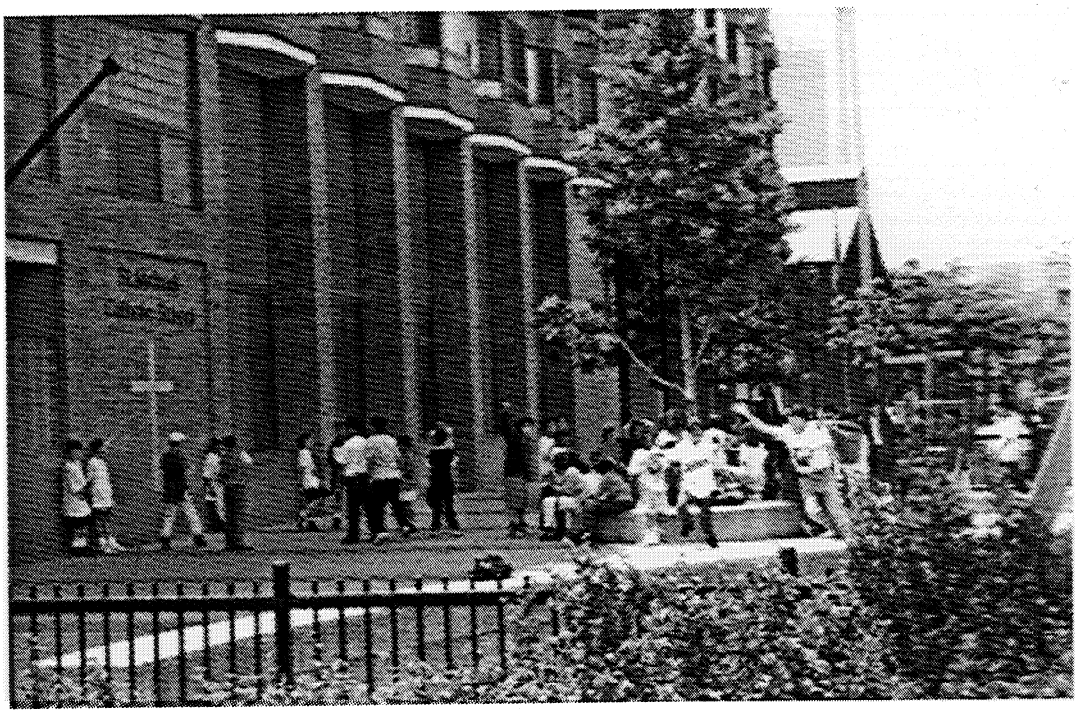

Figure 24: Concrete Playground in Front of Cityhome Building & Schools

Figure 25: Arcade of Trees Along The Esplanade

Figure 26: Midday Picnic in Crombie Park

Figure 27: An Afternoon in the Formal Garden

Figure 28: A Moment of Relaxation

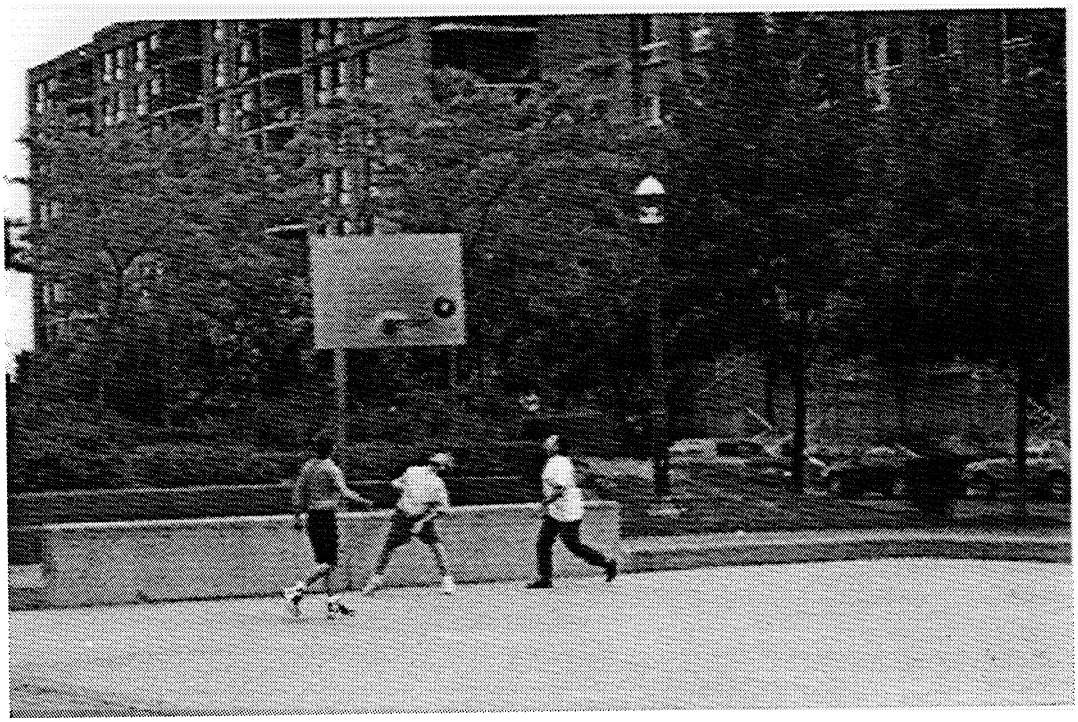

Figure 29: Basketball'

Figure 30: Conversations in the Park

Figure 31: **At Play in Crombie Park**

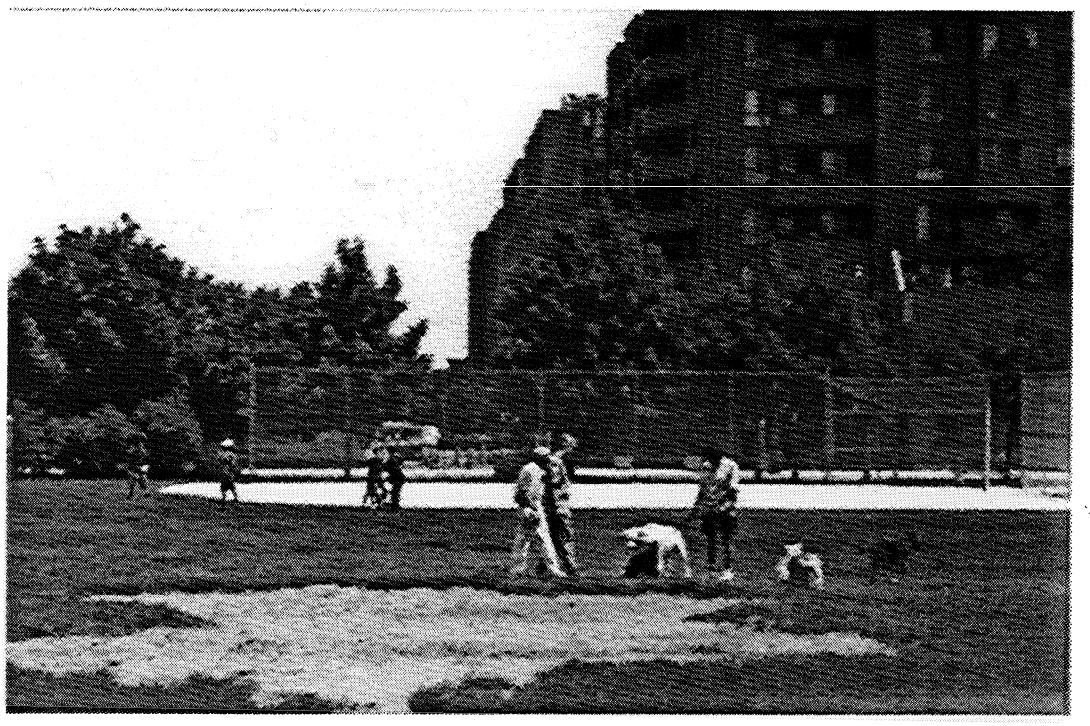

Figure 32: Walking the Dogs

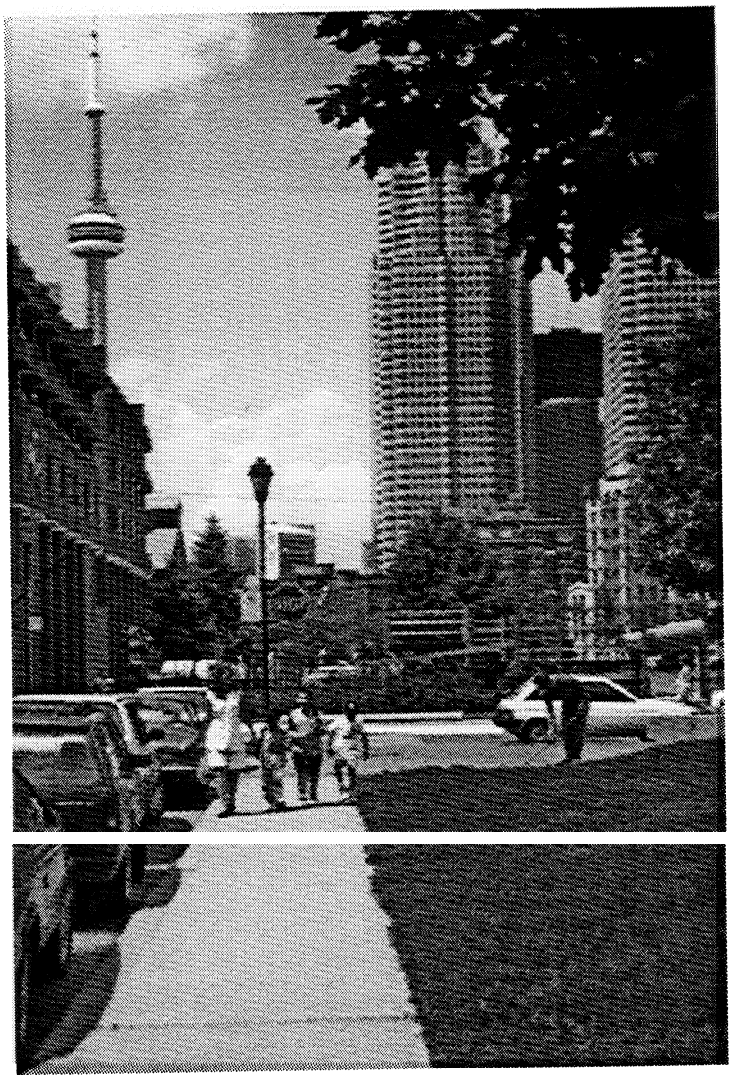

Figure 33: Walking Home from School

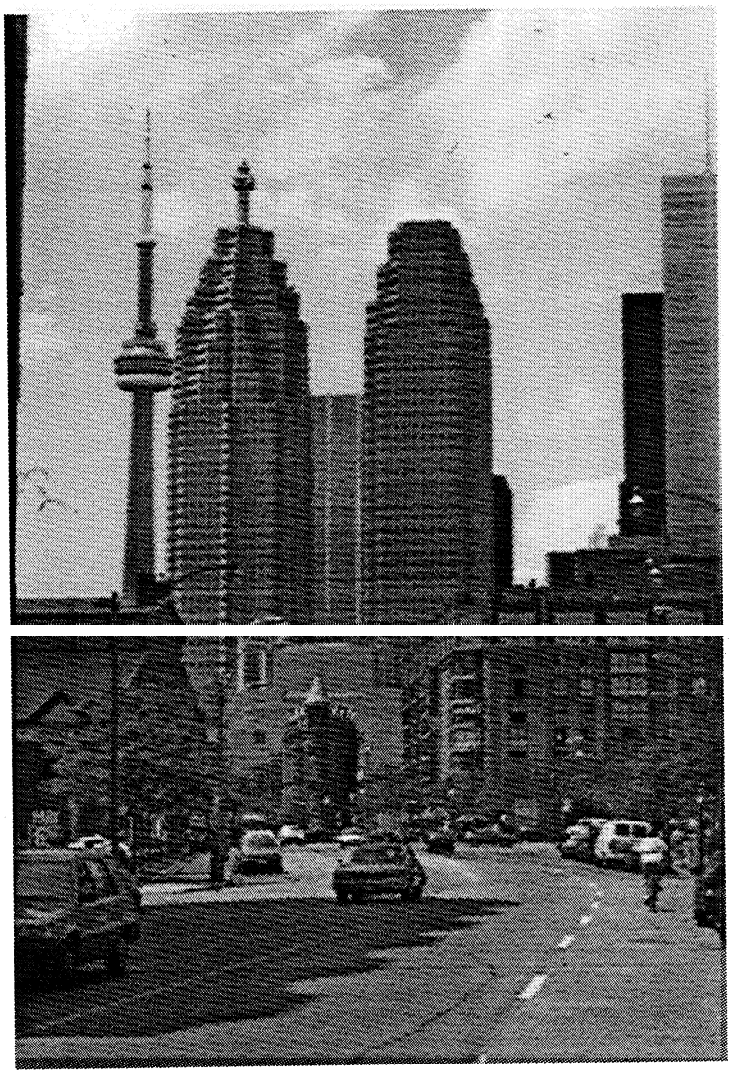

Figure 34: View of St. Lawrence Market & Financial Centre from Front St.

the neighbourhood to the financial centre of Toronto, and the variety of cultural attractions such as the St. Lawrence Centre and a number of theatres along Front Street to which they can walk. The resident survey conducted in 1980 indicated that, at the time, 78% of those who lived within the neighbourhood walked, cycled or took public transportation to work. In this first survey, some respondents indicated more than one mode of travel. A 1982 resident survey restated the question to address this problem. The 1982 survey indicates that 74% of the respondents either walk, cycle or take public transportation to work. Within Metro Toronto, only 38% of the population walk, cycle or take public transportation to work(Ontario Ministry of Transportation, Transportation Tomorrow Survey, 1986 as cited in Garland, 1991). There is every reason to believe that the core location of the St. Lawrence is responsible, in great part, for the high percentage of people who walk, cycle or take public transport to work. The convenience of public transportation is also influential. However, in the City of Toronto Waterfront area, which is also proximate to downtown, only 49% of its population walk, cycle or take public transit to work (Ontario Ministry of Transportation, Transportation Tomorrow Survey, 1986 as cited in Garland, 1991). The findings of the St. Lawrence surveys regarding transportation modes are quite impressive. Certainly if all city neighbourhoods were to achieve a similar percentage of non-auto commuters, the environmental benefits realized would be significant.

Mixed Land Use and Local Economy

The design of the St. Lawrence was also intended to include a mix of commercial and even light industrial use. By the time the final site plans were being drawn up, it was realized that light industrial was inappropriate for the

site, but the integration of commercial activity remained an important goal (City of Toronto, Official Plan, 1976). There are presently restaurants, a corner store, all night doughnut shop and other services which line the Esplanade (see Figure 35). However, these have appeared only in the recent past. If there is an area in which the St. Lawrence did not achieve its designated goals, it is in this one. However, many who were interviewed and who live in the neighbourhood suggest that while the specific planning boundaries of the St. Lawrence exist only along two blocks of Front Street, the community thinks of Front Street, along its length from Jarvis to Parliament, as part of the neighbourhood.

The Front Street area, at the north side of the neighbourhood, is a lively commercial street which has become revitalized since the development of the St. Lawrence (see Figure 34). This cannot be solely attributed to the development of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood since no specific evaluations have been made. However, activity within the neighbourhood and along Front Street has occurred over the past 15 years. The St. Lawrence Market, which used to be open only on Saturdays, is now open seven days a week[65]. Although these two commercial areas do serve some of the needs of the community, they are considered by some to be regional resources. There is still considerable need for additional 'local' commercial retail facilities within the neighbourhood (Dobb, 1993; Resident Survey, 1980).

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[65] Regrettably, the current downturn in the City's economy has affected the economic stability of the Market and the City has determined to turn it over to private operation.

Figure 35: Commercial Area Along The Esplanade

Conclusions

The livability of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood is identified by its appeal to a wide group of people, young and old, its green spaces, safe pathways, convenient access to cultural, social, and employment opportunities, and by the diversity of its form and residential composition. Much of this has been achieved through careful consideration of its design. This physical design, which has resulted in a very livable neighbourhood, helps to foster a sense of community and also results in important environmental benefits.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUSTAINABILITY

I have focused on the social criteria of livability and equity in this research paper. These criteria were among the stated goals to be achieved in this neighbourhood. I contend, however, that the four criteria -- minimal demands on natural resources, maintenance of natural ecosystems, livability, and equity -- exhibit a dynamic interaction which is necessary for the achievement of urban sustainability. They cannot, independently, achieve the goal.

The two issues which were raised by the school boards and the Toronto Board of Education regarding livability, demonstrate quite clearly that livability alone (when not compatible with environmental concerns) does not necessarily contribute to sustainability. The Board of Education has argued for reduced traffic to make the streets safer and more livable for children. In this case, as traffic is reduced, attendant environmental benefits such as reduced consumption of fuel and a reduction of CO_2 entering the atmosphere would be

realized; social and environmental needs are compatible and the resulting increased livability would contribute to urban sustainability.

However, sharing space with other commercial and residential tenants, which would also result in environmental benefits (through increased density and shared resources), was argued against by the school boards involved, in favour of independent space. This was in spite of a comparison of heating, cooling load, and operating costs of separate and combined library, school, and residential units which showed cost savings as the result of reduced energy consumption (City of Toronto, #14, 1976). The planners of this neighbourhood forced the integration of livability and environmental considerations and took an unusual and positive step in the direction of urban sustainability by insisting on this mix of uses. This was an extraordinary step toward urban intensification which has not been repeated since (Crombie, 1993).

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is characterized by livability and equity of access. In terms of reduced demands on natural resources, it succeeds to a limited extent. It is a dense urban neighbourhood which results in an efficient use of land and urban infrastructure. The fact that so many of its inhabitants do not rely on the automobile for transportation to work, also has a positive environmental effect. Yet, because the neighbourhood is so near the Gardiner Expressway, residents are, unfortunately, aware of considerable air pollution (Dobb, 1993; Van Varseveld, 1993). The neighbourhood enjoys some moderate success in terms of recycling and cornposting but otherwise, its achievements are minimal in this area.

In terms of maintaining natural ecosystems it fails completely. At the time of its design, there were no natural systems within its boundaries which could be maintained. In fact, it is built on highly contaminated soil and within the Don River Flood Plain, two facts that have just recently been recognized as the result of work done for Ataratiri and in light of more stringent environmental regulations.

Table 2 in Chapter 3, lists necessary factors for achieving the four criteria for urban sustainability. This list was shown to all who were interviewed to determine the extent to which they believed these factors were considered in the design of the neighbourhood, and the extent to which they were realized. Table 4 summarizes their response regarding the extent to which these factors were realized. Bold, double check marks (√√) have been used to indicate where the St. Lawrence has been successful. A single check mark (√) indicates only limited success.

It is apparent that issues of ecosystem maintenance will need to be addressed on a scale larger than the neighbourhood and probably on a watershed management basis[66]. But a quick glance at Table 4 indicates that the planners of the St. Lawrence (all involved in the process) were successful in many areas. They were least successful in areas which might, arguably, be easily addressed today by means of improved, energy-efficient technology. Examples of these include energy-efficient construction, employment of alternative energy systems, district heating, solar access, and efficient conservation-oriented water

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[66] **The Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront presented the necessity for this approach in their interim report entitled** Watershed **(1990).**

Table 4.

Necessary Factors for Achieving Sustainability Criteria

	Land Use and Growth Management Which Encourages
√√	• Density
√	• Mixed Use
√√	*Proximity To Public Transportation
√	•Greenways Linking Built & Natural Systems
√	*Rooftop Gardens and Composting
	Transportation Planning
√√	*Facilitating Walking & Cycling
√√	*Facilitating Public Transportation
	Air Quality Improvement Through
√√	*Reduced Auto Usage
√√	*Increased Green Space
	Energy Conservation Through
	*Energy-Efficient Construction
	*Employment of Alternative Energy Systems
	• District Heating
	*Solar Access
√	*Tree Planting
√	Waste Reduction & Recycling
	Water & Sewage Infrastructure Employing
	*Efficient, Conservation-Oriented Systems
	*Natural Drainage Systems (ground water recharge)
√√	People at Different Economic Levels
√	Economic Development for Local Community (would encourage greater reliance on locally-produced goods and services of all types).
√√	Community Development (would foster supportive community networks and active participation in all matters affecting the local populace)

Sources: This table has been compiled based on a review of issues addressed by White and Burton, 1993; Wismer, 1990 1; Roseland, 1992; Tomalty, 1992;

and sewage infrastructure. Employment of these technologies were mentioned by those interviewed as the ways in which the neighbourhood could be improved in the context of urban sustainability. If these factors were accepted as necessary for future development, they could easily be incorporated into the design and implementation phases.

As maintained earlier, the livability of a neighbourhood is reinforced by the quality of its natural environment as well as by social and cultural conditions. Therefore, the environmental benefits achieved by dense neighbourhoods also contribute to the livability of a community. And certainly, human activity has direct consequences for the natural environment, and the natural environment, consequences for humans. A city that is livable but does not offer equity, will not be sustainable, and a city that does not conserve natural resources and maintain the functioning of its natural systems will not be livable or sustainable. The synergy among the four criteria is essential to the achievement of urban sustainability.

REASONS FOR SUCCESS

According to the key informants, there are few other new neighbourhoods which have achieved the success of the St. Lawrence in meeting similar objectives@'. Several individuals attributed the success of the neighbourhood to the persistence of its original vision and goals over the entirety of the process[68]

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[67] **The False Creek neighbourhood in Vancouver, British Columbia is the neighbourhood that was consistently mentioned by those interviewed. Frankel** Lambert **in Toronto was identified by several of those interviewed as achieving similar objectives to the St. Lawrence.**

[68] **Indeed, the objective of social mix continues as Phase C is developed. The New Hibret**

(Lewinberg, 1993; Littlewood, 1993; Millward, 1993). The active participation of diverse interest groups in the process was also believed to be critical (Dunphy, 1993; Moershel, 1993; Sewell, 1993). Additionally, the lesson was learned that relatively dense neighbourhoods can be livable (Crombie, 1993; Dobb, 1993; Lewinberg, 1993). This livability is very much related to the physical design and emphasis on the relationship of housing to the street (Dobb, 1993; Diamond, 1993; Dunphy, 1993; Lewinberg, 1993; Littlewood, 1993; Lyon, 1993). And although innovative thinking and an emphasis on values, rather than rules, dominated the planning of this neighbourhood (Moershel, 1993), its objective to provide an 'ordinary' neighbourhood for 'ordinary' people was what contributed to its extraordinary success (Crombie, 1993; Sewell, 1993).

The political context in which it was designed and implemented has been recognized by all those interviewed as essential to its success. They acknowledge the importance of the full support of the Mayor, City Council, diverse political parties and the community itself. Additionally, the funding arrangements available at the time, through federal programs, provided the opportunity for the establishment of a large number of co-operative and non-profit residences within the neighbourhood. Co-operatives, as a form of tenure, are believed to have contributed in important ways to the initial establishment of community within the neighbourhood (Crombie, 1993; Dunphy, 1993; Moershel, 1993); this sense of control over one's living environment, gained in a co-operative residence, fosters

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Housing Co-op, whose sponsors include an Ethiopian group, a single women's group and New Visions which focuses on housing for the severely disabled, is building a 141 unit, family housing facility in Phase C. Approximately 9% of the units will provide wheelchair accessibility (White, 1993). Other planned facilities in Phase C include a non-profit building for seniors sponsored by the Old York Club and a non-profit, 138 unit building sponsored by the Older Women's Network.

a predisposition for community involvement and responsibility (Crombie, 1993; Moershel, 1993). The mix of people of diverse abilities, ages and socio-economic status that was achieved in this neighbourhood also contributes to its success, and ultimately served to inform the Central Area Plan (CAP) advanced by the City of Toronto in the mid 1970s (Millward, 1993; Sewell, 1993).

The geographic location, which has been identified as important to the neighbourhood's success, is not believed to be critical, though the public transportation links which connect it to the City centre are (Littlewood, 1993; Sewell, 1993). It is felt by those who were interviewed that there are lessons to be learned from the St. Lawrence that are applicable to other cities in Canada and the United States regarding the relationships of urban form, density, and socio-economic mix (Crombie, 1993; Diamond, 1993; Lyon, 1993; Littlewood, 1993; Sewell, 1993). These relationships however, need to be considered within the context of each city's unique culture (Crombie, 1993; Littlewood, 1993; Millward, 1993; Sewell, 1993).

The Brundtland Commission in Our Common Future, concluded that "sustainable development must rest on political will" (1987, p.9). Virtually all who were interviewed agreed that perhaps the fundamental ingredient for the 'success of this particular endeavour, and future endeavours toward a sustainable community, was and is, political will with the support of the public (Crombie, 1993; Dobb, 1993; Dunphy, 1993; Littlewood, 1993; Moershel, 1993; Sewell, 1993). Several also emphasized the importance of having one person, or small group of persons, solely dedicated to seeing this will carried out (Crombie, 1993; Lewinberg, 1993; Sewell, 1993).

In terms of how the neighbourhood might have been done differently to achieve the criteria for sustainability, the only changes most would make are related to increased energy and water conservation, implementation of storm water treatment, and waste separation. Otherwise, there is little that most who were initially involved would change.

The original vision, to create more housing for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate incomes in the central city in conjunction with sound planning rather than ad hoc market forces, and to have this neighbourhood benefit from historic buildings and help revitalize what was once the Town of York, was achieved. The result, a livable neighbourhood in which a diverse group of people exhibit pride and a willingness to participate in decision making regarding their community, may have surpassed, in some ways, the expectations of the planners. The success of this neighbourhood is succinctly recounted in this quote from the 'General Comments' section of the 1980 Resident Survey:

> This is a wonderful place to live - it is human, well-designed - effectively incorporates a diverse group of people. This makes it a much more natural and healthy living environment.

CHAPTER 6

LESSONS LEARNED
Designing Neighbourhoods For Sustainability

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

This exploratory research paper has examined the relationships between livability, equity and sustainability within the context of the city and at the neighbourhood level. Based on the literature which addresses environmental sustainability, I have argued that in order to achieve global biophysical sustainability we must address the enormous resource demands and environmental impacts of city dwellers. I have posited that if we are to achieve urban sustainability, we must break the pattern of urban sprawl and maintain, restore, enliven and make accessible to all, neighbourhoods at the cores of our urban centres.

Four criteria -- minimal resource demands, maintenance of natural ecosystems, livability, and equity -- have been presented as being necessary for the attainment of urban sustainability. I have focused specifically on what I consider the two social criteria: livability and equity. Livability has been identified as being essential to the achievement of sustainability because it encompasses the qualities of both a healthy natural and socio-economic

environment in which personal health and safety are experienced and in which political, cultural, social and employment opportunities are available to all who seek them. I maintain that it is a city's livability which attracts and retains city dwellers. Social equity is valued for a number of reasons. They include moral rectitude, the pragmatic realization that until equal access to decent housing and employment opportunities exist, the poor will have little ability to turn to the larger concerns of the biosphere, and because equal access by all socio-economic levels to cities and their neighbourhoods contributes to the diversity and subsequent economic stability within them.

I have also suggested that local community involvement in decision-making is fundamental to the process by which sustainability will be achieved. I conclude that the integration of diversity and concentration of land use at the neighbourhood level can contribute to the achievement of equity and livability, and that the synergy resulting from these qualities fosters a 'sense of community' and correlative community involvement. I suggest that many of the factors identified as necessary to achieve the four criteria of sustainability can be addressed at the neighbourhood level, and are, to some extent, mutually supportive.

Having examined the potential for diverse, relatively dense neighbourhoods to promote the mutually reinforcing dynamics of livability, equity and community involvement, I have presented a case study of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood in Toronto. Because the vision for this neighbourhood included the achievement of both livability and equity, it has served as a critical case and has provided an opportunity to explore the conditions which serve to promote the dynamic interaction of livability and equity which results in a

diverse and vital community characterized by community involvement.

After reviewing the case study (Chapter 5), it is evident that both the qualities of livability and equity (for diverse populations within the city) were substantially achieved in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. Similarly, a considerable degree of community involvement, achieved through a number of avenues, is in evidence in the neighbourhood.

It would appear that in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood these qualities (livability, equity and community involvement) result from the relationships between and among the built form (buildings and blocks that are relatively small scale with a large percentage of family housing at grade), densities, street design (maintenance of the city grid pattern which is uninterrupted, back lanes, and public green space within close proximity to all units), social mix (resulting from different tenure types and variety of unit sizes), and the existing predisposition for community participation (as promoted by the co-operative component of the neighbourhood).

Those who designed the St. Lawrence, the planners, politicians and community representatives, seem to have recognized that concentration of land use achieves certain environmental and social benefits, but that it must be in combination with diversity in order to result in livability. They recognized that the physical design of the site and the relationship of housing to the street would have an impact on the degree to which safety and a ‘sense of community’ would be experienced. They understood the importance of site design in achieving high density without the feeling of being crowded, and the value of multiple use,

accessible public green space as a focal point of activity. They also believed that it was necessary to provide for all socio-economic groups if a truly stable, economically-healthy inner city was to be maintained. And they valued the lessons of their own, local Toronto experience in meeting their objectives. Lastly, they understood that the most effective, positive and lasting benefits would be realized through a process of decision-making that involved the community.

The lessons learned from the St. Lawrence, which can inform future efforts toward urban sustainability include the following:

- A vision, clearly articulated and with the full support of local politicians and citizen groups, will be important to the success of any similar effort.
- Political will, with the support of the community, is necessary for the achievement of sustainability, in general, and for the attainment of municipal goals regarding future neighbourhood design and development, specifically.
- The planning and design process must involve all interests, including future residents or appropriate surrogates.
- The form of future development needs to be cognizant of, and work to enhance the local cultural, social and physical character of the existing local community.
- Livability can be achieved with relatively high densities; the scale of development and street-related character of housing seems to be an important factor in accomplishing this.
- High rise apartments are not the only solution to achieving relatively high densities.
- Equity can be achieved by providing access to a variety of housing types within livable communities.
- The integration of all income levels can result in a livable, politically active community in which all socio-economic levels experience a sense of responsibility and pride. This can be achieved through the integration, rather than segregation of income groups within individual buildings as well as broadly

within the neighbourhood.

- Co-operative housing has a role to play in community building; Co-operatives foster a sense of control over one's environment, as well as a 'sense of community'.

- Access to funding must be available to co-operative and non-profit housing forms to encourage both equity of access and the community-building dynamic which results from this form of housing.

- The synergy resulting from the achievement of equity and diversity results in a community-oriented neighbourhood in which the community involvement necessary for the achievement of urban sustainability is fostered.

- Livable neighbourhoods accessible to all, that are also designed to meet the biophysical criteria of minimal resource demands and maintenance of natural resources, have the potential to contribute substantially to the attainment of urban sustainability.

CURRENT PLANNING & URBAN DESIGN INITIATIVES

Currently, initiatives are underway in the Toronto area which would seem to advance the possibilities for the achievement of the sustainability criteria presented in this research. There are also development forms, such as 'neotraditional neighbourhood design', which are. receiving considerable attention in both the United States and Canada. It is interesting to consider some of these efforts and design suggestions in the context of their potential to contribute to the achievement of the four conditions outlined in this thesis as necessary for the attainment of urban sustainability.

At the present time David Crombie and John Sewell, both prominent in the design and development of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood, are involved in initiatives that impact directly on the ability of Toronto and other communities in

Ontario to achieve biophysical sustainability@.

Waterfront Regeneration Trust

David Crombie, Commissioner of the now concluded Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront, is presently Commissioner of the recently established Toronto Waterfront Regeneration Trust. Both the Commission and the Trust have been concerned with the development and effective management of the Toronto waterfront in a way that integrates concern for the environment with the economic exigencies faced by the city within an area governed by diverse municipal, regional, provincial and federal jurisdictions. The work of the Royal Commission resulted in the report, Regeneration (Crombie, 1992), which recommended an ecosystem approach to planning for sustainability which emphasizes the necessity of watershed management within the Greater Toronto bioregion.

In a background report prepared prior to the release of Regeneration, entitled, *Housing and Neighbourhoods* , the following policy principles were articulated as contributing to a livable waterfront:

> The waterfront is a good place to live and opportunities to live there should be available to all income groups and household types, including families.
>
> Waterfront housing should be part of neighbourhoods that are integrated communities. Integration will include different forms

69 Both Crombie and Sewell personally refrain from using the term 'sustainable development'. Both find the term ill-defined and unclear in meaning (Crombie, 1993; Sewell, 1993).

> and tenure of housing, and a range of income levels and employment opportunities, all of which will in turn generate a complete range of local services.
>
> Housing and jobs should be situated close to each other.
>
> Mixed land uses, including non-noxious industry, contribute to neighbourhood vitality and are an appropriate solution to competing demands on the waterfront. (1989, pp. 20-24)

The ecosystem planning approach suggested by the Royal Commission, and the policy principles for waterfront neighbourhoods presented above, emphasize the position taken by the Commission. The provision of livability, equity, and ecosystem management are considered integral to future development efforts.

One of the initiatives currently underway at the Waterfront Regeneration Trust is the preparation and implementation of an integrated strategy for environmental protection/remediation, land use, community and transportation planning in the Lower Don Lands within the City of Toronto, based on the ecosystem approach, and principles for sound economic planning. The Community Work Group participating in this initiative, lists two of its goals as follows: to arrive at an understanding of community as this relates to housing, social services, security, employment, recreation, diversity and equity; and the 'description of the process by which sustainable planning and development strategies and plans might be implemented (Waterfront Regeneration Trust, 1993).

These efforts demonstrate ongoing inquiry into the ways in which we might achieve the conditions necessary for urban sustainability. They are

exciting and hopeful. The Waterfront Regeneration Trust does not, however, have the ability to ensure that its conclusions are employed in future public and private development initiatives. It will be relevant to the further exploration of the ability of urban centres to achieve sustainability to assess the degree to which this initiative ultimately informs public opinion regarding the future, and the extent to which the complex planning and political jurisdictions can be modified to incorporate principles, and allow action, which would promote the achievement of urban sustainability.

New Planning for Ontario

John Sewell currently heads the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario. The Commission was convened to recommend changes to the *Planning Act.* In the New *Planning for Ontario Final Report Summa y & Recommendations,* the following recommendations are listed in response to the Commission's mandate to protect public interest:

> Planning decisions must be consistent with provincial policies that:
>
> - protect the natural environment and ecosystems;
> - promote community development and efficiently manage infrastructure;
> - promote a variety of housing to meet housing needs;
> - protect quality agricultural areas;
> - conserve energy and water;
> - protect non-renewable resources. (1993, p. 4)

Certainly these recommendations are consistent with the criteria for achieving sustainable communities. However, their impact will be dependent upon the degree to which they can be imposed and are adhered to.

In the section of *New Planningfor Ontario Final Report Summa y & Recommendations* which presents recommendations and policy statements, the stated goal under housing policies is "to provide opportunities in each municipality for the creation of housing that is affordable, accessible, adequate, and appropriate to the full income and age range of present and expected future households" (1993, p. 19) While these are admirable goals, mechanisms to ensure that the affordable housing provided is matched to need (in terms of unit size and tenure type) do not presently exist. Under the category of conservation policies, energy conservation, water conservation and the reduction, re-use and recycling of waste are encouraged. However, the degree to which these policies are embraced and the extent to which they will be monitored will ultimately determine the ability of future development to reduce resource demands[70]

New Planning for Ontario incorporates concern for those areas identified as necessary for the achievement of sustainability. It will be informative to assess whether the mechanisms are in place to ensure that the stated objectives are achieved.

Neotraditional Neighbourhood Design

Andres Duany and his concept of neotraditional neighbourhood design has received much attention in planning circles in the past few years. Neotraditional planning places an emphasis on community and draws primarily on planning principles characteristic of traditional US communities of prior

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[70] See New Planning for Ontario for complete list of recommendations (Sewell, Penfold, Vigod,1993).

generations. It is a concept which recognizes the importance of street relationships, front porches, back lanes and a visual focus. Though neotraditional design values mixed use of buildings, short blocks and pedestrian traffic over the automobile, there is no explicit environmental concern attached to the concept. And although the physical design can accommodate different sized units to accommodate different economic status, the concept does not intentionally deal with the issue of equity, or encourage the provision of equal access by diverse socio-economic groups[71]. Densities tend to be higher than the typical suburban model, but lower than most Canadian inner city neighbourhoods[72]. Though the neotraditional neighbourhood may have some residual environmental benefits (more green space, reduced dependence upon automobiles) in its present form, this concept is a good example of how to achieve a livable community with some residual environmental benefits. It does not expressly work to maintain natural ecosystems or promote equity of access by various socio-economic levels.

Neotraditional neighbourhood design is currently being employed in Markham, Ontario as well as in other communities in Canada and the United States. It would be informative to evaluate the objectives and principles of neotraditional neighbourhood design against both the principles of the Waterfront Regeneration Trust, and the policy statements of New *Planning for*

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71 See Duany and Plater-Zyberg, 1991; 1992; and Kanch, 1989 for further details regarding the vision, and design components of neotraditional planning.

72 Currently, the town of Markham, Ontario, has endorsed a community based on the neotraditional model and is considering a gross density of up to 8 units per acre (Planning & Development, Town of Markham, 1993). Although this density is higher than many suburban models, it is far less that the 55 units/acre density of the low-density townhouse blocks of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Ontario. Will the concept evolve in terms of concern for issues of ecosystem maintenance and reduced resource demands; if so, what form will this take? And, how will neighbourhoods designed in this style accommodate the New Planning Act's requirement for the provision of 30% affordable housing in residential intensification and new development (providing that these recommendations of the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario are enacted)?

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

While this enquiry has argued that equity and livability are necessary criteria for urban sustainability, it remains to be proven that this is the case. Further deliberate and specific research regarding these criteria is warranted.

In looking toward the future and assessing the ability of municipalities to achieve urban sustainability, it will be useful to evaluate the initiatives identified above in terms of the extent to which, and by what methods, they actually influence the form and process of future development.

There are also a number of areas specifically related to housing which merit further inquiry regarding the achievement of livable, equitable neighbourhoods designed for sustainability. Certainly the degree to which co-operative housing fosters a 'sense of community' at the neighbourhood level should be studied further. A variety of alternative housing forms (co-housing, 100% RGI co-operatives) should be examined to determine the extent to which they too have the potential to foster community involvement. A comparison of community activity

and involvement among co-operatives with differing percentages of RGI units[73] would also be informative to future neighbourhood design and the establishment of community involvement. It will likewise be important to monitor the progress of initiatives like the Berkeley Street Co-op which will be 100% RGI, if it proceeds. It will be valuable to determine the degree to which a community like the St. Lawrence integrates a facility which provides all RGI units.

Another important area of research regards suburban development and sustainability. If development does continue in suburban areas, can the same criteria presented in this paper be useful to the design of neighbourhoods outside city cores? If the criteria are appropriate, how can the suburban community be persuaded to pursue them?

In assessing the St. Lawrence neighbourhood, David Hulchanski (1984) concludes that the site plan, social planning and the democratic process employed in its design, contributed to its success. I believe that these three factors, which were essential to the achievement of a livable and equitable neighbourhood, also fostered a 'sense of community' in the St. Lawrence which has resulted in the ongoing involvement of the community in local decision making. This experience informs models for future neighbourhoods designed to contribute to urban sustainability. In order to benefit from the St. Lawrence experience, we must understand the dynamism of the principles employed in its design and the subtle lesson to be learned regarding the synergy which results from the achievement of equity and livability, and the ways in which they reinforce one another.

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[73] It has been suggested by Ann White of Chris Smith Associates, that such a study, may be funded by CMHC to compare the Woodsworth Coop which is 25% RGI and the Windmill Line Co-op which is 40% RGI

APPENDIX A

PRINCIPLES & CRITERIA FOR ECODEVELOPMENT

The Derivation of Ground Rules for **Ecodevelopment.**

Principles	Fundamental Considerations	Ground Rules for a Continuing Process
. Recognize limits of the closed system, the inter-relationships between its subsystems, & that Man should not unduly disturb their balance	1. Pursue sustainable growth a. Respect natural capital (fossil fuels, etc.) b. Respect Man/environment relations c. Respect Man/society relations	Longer term planning Minimize erosion of natural capital :avoid "se of, or husband, non-renerables :stress durability of technological products :utilize renewables Minimize erosion of tolerances of natural environment :avoid pollution of water aquifers, foster recycling Minimize erosion of human substance :maintain good physical & mental health :avoid exploitation of individuals & groups
	2. Respect natural environment (i.e. in its own right, not just as a support In sustaining Man's immediate needs	Minimize Impact on nature Plan with nature for settlement systems, e.g. avoid building on flood plains Monitor environmental change Utilize appropriate technologies Maintain nature's complexity & diversity, stability & resilience, productivity & energy flows,.
	3. Keep options open	Minimize inevitable change Minimize irreversible damage
. Seek to maximize human satisfaction through optimum pattern of consumption (rather than to maximize consumption through optimal productive effort)	4. Enrich & diversify developmental environment	Increase mixture of activities & reduce distance between activity areas Utilize & enhance productive capacities of non-renewable & renewable natural systems :provide jobs for all with continuing possibilities for improvement and more free time :redirect unused potential in natural systems to extend or improve habitat (e.g. cooling of towns through wind diversion) Foster interaction with environment by increasing biological diversity
	5. Reduce disparities between rich 6 poor	improve equality in access to resource opportunity; education; employment; culture Internalize all benefits & costs of developmental activity Utilize taxation for redistributive purposes
	6. Reduce waste consumption	Utilize appropriate technologies (vis-a-vis need, capital requirements, & operating resource requirements) Uti I ize comprehensive development projects to ensure that effort expended in one area is supported fully by Investments in other
. Utilize institutional structures & decision processes reflective of self-development & group development (including international cooperation)	7. Enhance citizen participation and local leadership In decision-making	Identify & mobilize Interests Decentralize power over capital, land 6 decision making Develop institutional structures of processes reflecting local capacities
	8. Foster local inter-group, inter-governmental, & International cooperation	Aggregate different interests bearing upon development issues Utilize networks for exchanges of information & experiences

Source: Miles, (1979), page 13 as cited in White and Burton, 1983, 29

APPENDIX B

DEFINITIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Definitions of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

WCED, 1987, p. 8.

"The management of our resources in such a way that we can fulfill our economic, social, cultural and aesthetic needs without permanent impairment to the resource base and the life support systems on which we all depend."

Environment Council of Alberta, *Conservation Strategies in Canada* as cited in Rees, 1989, p. 5.

"Sustainable development is an integrated approach - including social, environmental, cultural and spiritual well-being, as well as economic progress in its field of endeavor. It places particular emphasis on ecological balance and social equity in development of planning, promoting, for example, decentralization and democracy in the workplace and the broader community."

Wismer, *Sustainable Development an Urban Life,* as cited in Rees, 1989, p. 5.

"Sustainability is the persistence over an apparently indefinite future of certain necessary and desired characteristics of the socio-political system and its natural environment."

Robinson, J. G. Francis, R. Legge and S. Lerner, Defining a Sustainable Society. Values, Principles and Definitions, 1990, p. 39

"Sustainable development is a community-based process directed toward achieving optimum states of human and environmental well-being without compromising the possibilities for other people, at other times and places to do the same."

Pell and Wismer, 1990, p. 6.

"...sustainable development - a development strategy that manages all assets, natural resources, and human resources as well as financial and physical assets for increasing long-term wealth and well-being. Sustainable development, as a goal, rejects policies and practices that support current living standards by depleting the productive base, including natural resources, and that leave future generations with poorer prospects and greater risks than our own."

R. Repetto, *World Enough and Time: Successful Strategies for Resource Management* as cited in Rees, 1989, p. 5.

"Sustainable development is an approach to development which increases the long-term wealth of the earth's inhabitants. It opposes policies and practices which support economic growth by depleting natural resources or degrading and destroying the earths natural potential. It supports the planned and controlled use and extraction of renewable and non-renewable natural resources.

Sustainable development respects and enhances the capacity of local communities to maintain and develop sustainable livelihoods without destroying the economic, social or resource base. It respects and maintains traditional livelihoods and indigenous culture and societies. It recognizes that communities must define and develop their own solutions to environmental and development problems and that those who are closest to the environment know best how to preserve and protect it. In the long term, it will increase the capacity of local communities to adapt and respond to the changing environmental, social and economic conditions.

Sustainable development must be set in a broad economic and political context. It works towards shared power and participation, at the local, national, and international level. It must take into account employment and income-generation needs at the community level, and broader economic issues (debt, trade)."

Canadian University Students Organization (CUSO), Sustainable Development: A CUSO Education Program as cited in Rees, 1989, p. 5.

APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX D

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS & INTERVIEW MATERIALS

Kev Informants

David Crombie, Commissioner of the Toronto Waterfront Regeneration Trust, was Mayor of Toronto, 1973-1978, during the initial planning stages of the St. Lawrence.

Jack Diamond, Architect and a principal of A. J. Diamond, Donald Schmitt & Co. worked in the St. Lawrence area predating the St. Lawrence construction. He renovated the 'Berkeley Castle' building on the Esplanade and Berkeley Street, in which his office is currently located.

Ken Dobb is a past president of the SLNA and long time resident of Woodsworth Co-op where he has also served as president of the co-operative.

Joan Doiron, Trustee, Toronto Board of Education, Wards 5 & 6, has represented the St. Lawrence neighbourhood uninterrupted since 1979.

Noreen Dunphy, a co-operative housing activist currently with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, was a member of the St. Lawrence Working Committee and previous member of the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario and Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto where she was project manager for the Woodsworth Co-op.

Frank Lewinberg, a principal of Berridge Lewinberg Greenberg Ltd, was a member of the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department in the early 1970's and was responsible for identifying the St. Lawrence site.

'Alan Littlewood, a principal of Littlewood Hesse Architects Ltd., and present Chair of the Community Work Group for the Lower Don Lands initiative of the Waterfront Regeneration Trust, was the site plan designer for the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Barry Lyon, President of N. Barry Lyon Consultants Limited and currently Chair of the Economic Development Work Group for the Lower Don Lands initiative of the Waterfront Regeneration Trust, was a member of the St. Lawrence Working Committee.

Robert Millward, Commissioner, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, was Director of Housing Planning at Cityhome during the planning and design phase of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Marianne Moershel was been a member of the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto's Woodsworth Co-op project team during its design phase. She has lived in the Woodsworth Co-op since its inception and has served on the SLNA. She currently provides freelance contract services to the non-profit housing sector.

Corey Nicholson has been an active and long-time member of the SLNA. He has lived in one of the private-ownership townhouses in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood for almost 14 years and works in Toronto's downtown financial centre.

John Sewell, Chair, Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario, was an alderman from 1969 through 1979 and was the unofficial head of the St. Lawrence Working Committee. In 1978 he became Mayor of Toronto where he served until 1980.

Gail Van Varseveld is a long-time resident of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood and tenant of Archer Co-op where she has continued to play an active role in the affairs of the co-operative.

Interview Questions

Catalysts & Vision

1) What do you believe was the main catalyst for the creation of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood?

2) Was there a vision for this neighbourhood? If yes, describe the vision.

3) a. Were there objections to the vision?
b. If so, what were the objections?

4) To what extent was the vision realized?

Equity and Livability (see attached definitions)

5) a. Was the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood designed to provide equity?
b. How was this accomplished?
c. Could the same result be accomplished today and how?
d. To what extent was the community involved in the planning stages?
e. Would there be greater or lesser community involvement today?

6) Is there an inherent benefit in diversity within a neighbourhood? If so, explain.

7) a. Was the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood designed to be livable?
b. In what ways was this accomplished?
c. To the best of your knowledge, is this consistent with the 'healthy cities' objective?

d. How important is the physical form of the neighbourhood to its success?

Sustainable Urban Development (see attached criteria)

8) a. Would you accept the attached criteria for sustainable urban development?
b. If not, how would you modify this list?

9) a. Do you believe that neighbourhoods, as component parts of cities, can contribute to the broader goal of sustainable urban development?
b. If not, why? If yes, in what ways?

10) Given the attached list of criteria for a sustainable urban centre, to what degree do you believe each of these issues has been addressed in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood?

11) If the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood were to be redesigned in a framework of sustainable urban planning and using the attached list of criteria, what do you believe might have been done differently, or additionally?

Additionally:

12) a. Has this Neighbourhood changed in any fundamental ways in the past decade?
b. If so, in what ways and why?

13) a. Was the success of this neighbourhood dependent upon the Toronto context in which it was created? (geographic)
b. Was its success dependent upon the political context in which it was created?

14) Are the lessons to be learned from this neighbourhood relevant to other North American cities (Canadian and U.S.)?

15) In your opinion, what are the primary lessons?

16) Are there other neighbourhoods which you believe have undergone a similar, successful revitalization or reclamation in North America and if so, which?

17) Is there anything further regarding this neighbourhood or sustainable urban development that you believe I should consider in working on my thesis?

18) There were a number of planners, politicians and citizens who have been very involved in the design and activities of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood over the past 10 to 20 years. Are there any individuals who you feel would be particularly important to speak with regarding this inquiry?

Definitions

Equity

With respect to sustainable development and sustainable urban development, equity is used to mean "the fairest possible sharing of limited resources amongst our contemporaries and between our generation and our descendants" (Gardner and Roseland, 1989, p. 28). As is indicated in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms and in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, the principle of equitable rights includes "security of the person and the attainment for everyone of a standard of living adequate for individual and family well-being" (Wismer, 1990 2, p. 7).

Livable

In Livable Cities, Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard and Henry Lennard define livability as "the experience of well-being in cities..." "Livable cities pay attention to the creation of architecture, streetscape and public space design that facilitates the presence of city dwellers in the public domain and in the heart of the city" (1987, pp. 2-3). Livable cities are designed to enable all populations (many with special needs) to live and work in comfort and safety within them.

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development, in its broadest sense, has been defined by the WCED as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987, 43). Julia Gardner

and Mark Roseland suggest that success in achieving this goal is dependent upon four principles: the fulfillment of human needs, the maintenance of ecological integrity, provision for social self-determination and, the achievement of equity" (1989, p. 28).

Sustainable Urban Development

Sustainability in the urban context has been defined by Nigel Richardson as: "the continuing maintenance, adaptation, renewal, and development of a city's physical structure and systems and its economic base in such a way as to enable it to provide a satisfactory human environment with minimal demands on resources and minimal adverse effects on the natural environment" (1992, p. 148).

Criteria for Sustainable Urban Development

Criteria which would define a sustainable urban centre:
1) Equity
2) Livability
3) Reduced demands on natural resources
4) Enhancement of natural systems to maintain ecosystem integrity

Sustainable Urban Centres would be characterized by:

People at Different Economic Levels

Land Use and Growth Management Which Encourages
- *Density
- *Mixed Use
- *Proximity To Public Transportation
- •Greenways Linking Built & Natural Systems
- *Rooftop Gardens and Composting

Transportation Planning Facilitating
- •Walking & Cycling
- *Public Transportation

Improved Air Quality Resulting From
- •Reduced Auto Usage
- @Increased Green Space

Energy Conservation Through
- ● Energy-Efficient Construction
- *Employment of Alternative Energy Systems
- ● District Heating
- •Solar Access
- *Tree Planting

Waste Reduction & Recycling

Water & Sewage Infrastructure Employing
- *Efficient, Conservation-Oriented Systems
- *Natural Drainage Systems (ground water recharge)

Economic Development for Local Community
(would encourage greater reliance on locally-produced goods and services of all types).

Community Development
(would foster supportive community networks and active participation in all matters affecting the local populace)

APPENDIX E

ST. LAWRENCE LAND USE STATISTICS, PHASES A, B, C

St. Lawrence Land Use Statistics, Phases A, B, C

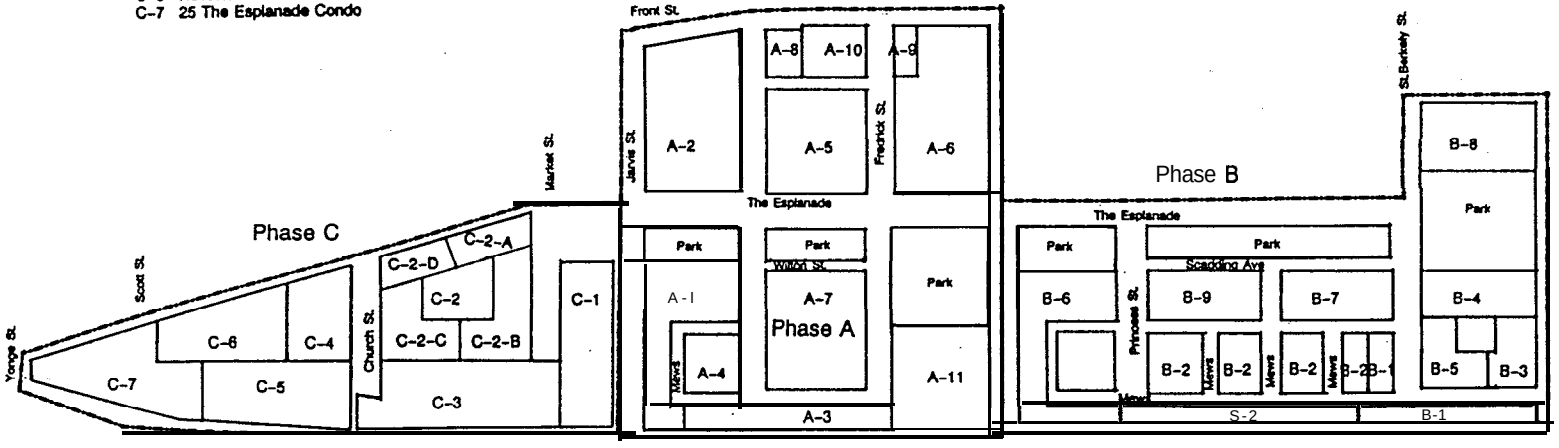
ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD

TORONTO

Phase C
C-1 Gross Machinery
C-2 C-2
C-3 Pat Garage
C-4 Chen Development
C-5 55 The Esplanade/P.A.T. Garage
C-6 Novatel
C-7 25 The Esplanade Condo

Phase A
A-1 Cromble Park Apartments
A-2 A2B Market Pkg Lot
A-3 Cathederal Co-op
A-4 Harmony A Co-op
A-5 Archer Co-op
A-6 176 The Esplanade
A-7 Woodsworth Co-op
A-8 Old York Condo
A-9 Young People Theatre
A-10 145 Front Street
A-11 Ontario Hydro

Phase B
B-1 Caroline Co-op
B-2 Freehold Townhouse
B-3 Harmony B Co-op
B-4 Place St. Laurent
B-5 New Dimensions
B-6 15 Scadding Ave.
B-7 Windmill Co-op
B-8 Berkely Co-op
B-9 St. Lawrence-on-the-Park Condo



Source: Gordon, 1989 2

St. Lawrence Land Use Statistics, Phases A, B, C

ST. LAWRENCE LAND USE STATISTICS — JANUARY 16, 1991

PHASE A — DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)

PARCEL	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	COMM.	NR	TOT	TOTAL	SITE AREA	FSI	BACH	RESIDENTIAL UNITS 1 BED	2 BED	3+ BED	TOTAL UNITS	ASST UNITS	PARKING RESID	PUB	TOT
CROMBIE PK APTS.	E	13,304	2.256	0	4,351	6,607	19,911	5,458	3.65	88	89	la	12	207	207	56	D	56
CATHEDRAL CD-DP	E	9,569	0	0	166	166	9,735	3,121	3.12	0	17	28	24	69	69	62	28	90
HARMONY CO-OP	E	2,883	0	0	0	0	2,885	2,069	1.39	0	4	4	22	30	30	30	0	30
ARCHER CD-U'	E	18,093	383	42	137	562	16,655	6.572	2.84	34	78	44	35	191	191	75	0	75
176 ESPLANADE	E	21,706	1,964	0	0	1,964	23,670	10,372	2.28	29	125	126	23	303	303	97	0	97
WOODSWORTH CO-OP	E	17,260	0	0	0	0	17,260	a.014	2.15	0	72	80	42	194	194	71	D	71
OLD YORK CONDO	E	9,123	926	0	0	926	10,049	1,323	7.60	0	9	43	0	52	0	60	0	60
A2B MKT PKG LOT	P	46,050	3,580	3,280	620	7,480	53,530	10,607	5.05	53	334	155	a	550	100	486	419	905
YOUNG PEOPLE THR	E	0	0	0	2,404	2,404	2,404	910	2.64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
145 FRONT ST.	E	0	0	9,120	0	9,120	9,120	1,257	7.26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YET TOTAL		137.988	9,109	12,442	7,678	29,229	167,217	49,703	3.36	204	720	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384
PARKS		W/A	R/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10,725	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ONTARIO HYDRO	E	0	0	0	165	165	165	9,576	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	534	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	U/A	18,587	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OTHER RDAOS		N/A	N/A.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,178	N/A	N/A	Y/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GROSS TOTAL		137,988	9,109	12,442	7,678	29,229	167,217	94,303	1.77	204	728	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384
										13%	46%	31%	10%	100%				

PHASE B — DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)

PARCEL	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	COMM	NR	TOT	TOTAL	SITE AREA	FSI	BACH	RESIDENTIAL UNITS 1 BED	2 BED	3+ BED	TOTAL UNITS	ASST UNITS	PARKING RESID	PUB	TOT
CAROLINE CD-DP	E	7,288	0	0	0	0	7,288	3,124	2.33	0	18	24	18	60	60	30	0	30
FREEHOLD TNHOUSE	E	20,815	0	0	0	0	20,815	11,755	1.77	0	11	17	110	138	10	103	0	103
HARMONY II CO-OP	E	6,350	0	0	0	0	6,350	2,350	2.70	0	42	21	15	78	78	46	0	46
PL.ST.LAURENT	E	10,549	0	0	0	0	10,549	2,966	3.56	0	80	55	0	135	135	67	0.	67
NEW DIMENSIONS	E	5,112	0	0	0	0	5,112	1,614	3.17	0	0	6	26	32	32	la	0	la
15 SCADDING AVE	E	24,542	0	0	225	225	24,767	8,098	3.06	98	82	91	10	281	281	138	0	138
WINDMILL CO-OP	E	19,681	0	0	0	0	19,681	3,258	6.04	0	88	a6	32	206	206	114	0	114
BERKELEY ST COOP	E	9,192	0	0	0	0	9,192	3,489	2.63	0	40	39	20	w	W	56	0	56
ST.LAW.PK.CONDO	E	24,695	0	0	0	D	24,695	3,702	6.67	1	87	159	2	249	0	114	0	114
WET TOTAL		128,223	0	0	225	225	128,448	40.356	3.18	w	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	16,994	N/A	N/A	R/A	Y/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Y/A	2,066	Y/A	N/A	W/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PUBLIC LANES		W/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,340	N/A	H/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LDCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	17,914	N/A	H/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Y/A	N/A	R/A
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	W A	N/A	5,553	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Y/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
CROSS TOTAL		128,223	0	0	225	225	128,448	85,231	1.51	w	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686

Source: Gordon, 1989 2

St. Lawrence Land Use Statistics. Phases A. B, C

PHASE C		DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)									RESIDENTIAL UNITS						PARKING	
PARCEL	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	SPEC	NR TOT	TOTAL	SITE AREA	FSI	BACH	1 BED	2 BED	3+ BED	TOTAL UNITS	ASST UNITS	RESID	PUB	TOT
CHEN DEV.	P	0	1,400	11,000	3,086	15,486	15,486	2,426	6.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65	65
25 TNE ESPLANADE	E	55,260	2,410	0	0	2,410	57,670	5.144	11.21	287	225	59	0	571	0	119	0	119
NOVATEL	E	0	0	0	14,816	14,816	14,816	2,350	6.30		266 ROOMS					0	0	322	322
55 THE ESPLANADE	E	15,264	0	0	30,019	30.019	45,283	6,221	7.28	14	76	57	19	166	166	0	1,059	1,059
PAT GARAGE	C	0	0	0	28,340	28,340	28,340	6,032	4.70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	945	945
GROSS MACHINERY	P	17,269	2,878	2,878	0	5,756	23,025	5,756	4.00	26	78	52	17	173	0	173	58	230
C-2A WMNS N'WORK	P	13,500	242	400	0	642	14,142	12,298	4.45	0	115	26	1	142	142	23	0	23
C-26 NEU HIBRET	P	14,550	0	0	380	380	14,930	C2	C2	0	57	48	36	141	141	a3	0	a3
C-2C CITYHOME	P	12,250	0	0	0	0	12,250	C2	C2	0	41	51	23	115	115	58	0	58
C-2D OLD YORK	P	12,200	1,150	0	0	1,150	13,350	C2	C2	0	96	32	0	128	128	16	9	25
RET TOTAL		140,293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	40,227	5.95	327	688	325	96	1,436	692	4R	2,458	2,929
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1,180	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	613	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	866	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.612	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,256	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GROSS TOTAL		140,293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	47,754	5.01	327	688	325	96	1.436	692	472	2,458	2,929
											23%	40%	23%	7%	100%			

TOTAL ST. LAURENCE		DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)									RESIDENTIAL UNITS						PARKING	
PHASE	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	SPEC	NR	TOT	TOTAL	AREA	FSI	BACH	1 BED	2 BED	3+ BED	TOTAL UNITS	ASST UNITS	RESID	PUS	TOT
PHASE A		137,988	9,109	12,442	7.678	29,229	167.217	49,703	3.36	204	728	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384
PHASE B		128,223	D	0	225	225		128,448	40,356	3.18	w	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686
PHASE C		140.293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	40,227	5.95	327	688	325	96	1,436	692	472	2,458	2,929
NET TOTAL		406,504	17,189	26,720	84,544	128,453	534,957	130,286	4.11	630	1,864	1,321	495	4,310	2,687	2,095	2,905	4,999
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28,899	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,255	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,748	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	39,113	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,987	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GROSS TOTAL		406,504	17,189	26,720	84.544	125.453	534,957	227,288	2.35	630	1,864	1,321	495	4,310	2,687	2,095	2,905	4,999
											15%	43%	31%	11%	100%	42%		

LAND USE SUMMARY

USE	SQ.M.	HA.	ACRES	
BUILDING PARCELS	130,286	13.0	32.2	57%
PARKS & OPEN SPACE	41,154	4.1	10.2	18%
STREETS	55,848	5.6	13.8	25%
TOTAL	227,288	22.7	56.2	100%

Source: Gordon, 1989 2

Gross Site Densities

LAND USE AND GROSS SITE DENSITY IN ST. LAWRENCE				
	ST. LAWRENCE			ST. LAWRENCE
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	TOTAL
Total Units	1,596	1,266	1,476	4,310
Total Floor Area	167,200	128,400	239,300	535,000 m^2
Net Site Area	4.97 ha	4.04 **ha**	4.02 ha	13.03 ha (57%)
Public Parks	1.07	1.70	0.12	2.89
Public Open Space	0	0.21	0.06	0.27
Other Open Space	0.95	0	0	0.95
Total Open Space	2.02 ha	1.91 ha	0.18 ha	4.11 ha (18%)
Public Lanes	0.05	0.23	0.09	0.37
Local Streets	1.66	1.79	0.26	3.91
Other Roads	0.52	0.55	0.23	1.30
Total Streets	2.43 **ha**	2.57 ha	0.58 **ha**	5.58 **ha** (24%)
Total Site Area	9.43 **ha**	8.52 **ha**	4.78 **ha**	22.73 ha (100%)
Gross Site Density **(FSI)**	1.77 x	1.51 x	5.01 x	2.35 x
Gross Site Density **(UPH)**	169	150	300	190 uph
Gross Site Density **(UPA)**	69	61	122	77 **upa**

Source: Gordon, 1989 1

Net Densities

Net Density

Net site density is defined as the total building gross floor area (GFA) of the site divided by the net site area. The dedicated public roads, lanes and parks are eliminated; net density is simply the total GFA divided by the total building site net area for the neighbourhood. It is perhaps the most useful density comparison of neighbourhoods for the purposes of examining built form.

Net Density of St. Lawrence

	ST. LAWRENCE			
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	TOTAL
Total Units	1,596	1,278	1,436	4,310
Total Gross Floor Area (m_2)	167,200	128,448	239,300	535,000
Net Site Area (m_2)	49,700	40,350	40,200	130,300
Net Site Density (FSI)	3.36 x	3.18 x	5.95 x	4.11 x
Net Site Density (UPH)	321	316	357	331 uph
Net Density (UPA)	130	128	144	134 upa

The net floor space index in St. Lawrence is 4.1x coverage. It is interesting to note that actual net densities in St. Lawrence are considerably higher than the 2.5x average which is the commonly held understanding St. Lawrence, based upon the estimates in the original 1974 report. The net site density of 134 units per acre would be considered high density development in most communities. The medium rise, high density human scale of Phases A and B is achieved by rigorous reduction of meaningless semi-public open spaces and zero-lot line development.

Source: Gordon, 1989 1

Glossary of Density Terms

Gross Site Area	Total area of neighbourhood
Gross Block Area	Total area of individual block
Net Site Area	Gross Site Area - (dedicated public streets, lanes, parks)
Net Block Area	Gross Block Area - (dedicated public streets, lanes, parks)
Gross Site Density	$\frac{\text{Total site units/total slte gross floor area}}{\text{Gross Site Area}}$
Gross Block Density	$\frac{\text{Total block units/total block gross floor area}}{\text{Gross Block Area}}$
Net Site Density	$\frac{\text{Total site units/total site gross floor area}}{\text{Net Site Area}}$
Net Block Density	$\frac{\text{Total block units/total block gross floor area}}{\text{Net Block Area}}$

Source: Gordon, 1989 1

APPENDIX F

COMPARATIVE DATA
NEIGHBOURING & COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

COMPARATIVE INCOME DATA
ST. LAWRENCE & CITY OF TORONTO

Comuarative Communitv Participation Data

Degree of Participation by Project Type

	Cooperative	Ownership	Total
Active	85.7%	57.7%	72.2%
Inactive	14.3%	42.3%	27.7%
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Formal Community Involvement by Project Type

	Cooperative	Ownership	Total
Neighbourhood Group	64.52%	46.15%	56.14%
Recreation Committee	3.23%	3.85%	3.51%
Parent/Teacher Assoc.	3.23%	---	1.75%
Other	6.45%	42.31%	7.02%
None	12.90%	7.69%	26.32%
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Diaz-Delfino, 1984

Comparative Income Data

St. Lawrence: Median Incomes by Household Size

For Different Sponsor-Housing Projects (1982)

Sponsor	Household Size (No. of Persons)				
	1	2	3	4	All Households
Cityhome	$14,100	$18,655	$20,000	$28,000	$18,000
Cooperative	$18,000	$20,000	$24,000	$27,000	$20,000
Private Non-Prof.	$12,094	$20,500	--	--	$17,350
Private	$35,500	$45,000	$47,500	$40,000	$45,000
All	$16,500	$22,000	$26,000	$30,000	$20,000

Household Income in the City of Toronto

and in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood (1981)

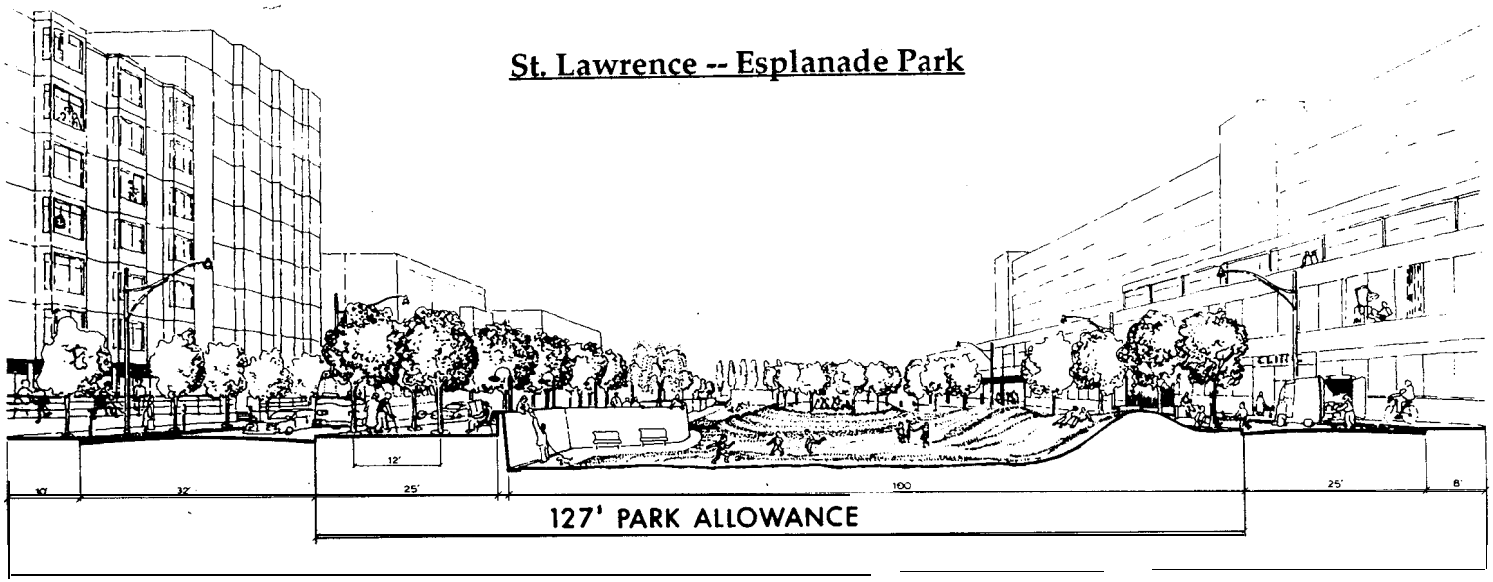
Household Income (1980)	City of Toronto		St. Lawrence	
	No	%	No	%
Under $5,000	58,105	5.6	105	13.0
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	103,555	10.0	90	11.1
$10,000 - $14,999	111,730	10.7	110	13.6
$15,000 - $19,999	117,825	11.4	175	21.6
$20,000 - $24,999	124,925	12.0	105	13.0
$25,000 - $29,999	120,095	11.5	65	8.0
$30,000 - $39,999	187,195	18.0	85	10.5
$40,000 and over	216,915	20.9	75	9.3
All Households	1,040,335	100.1	810	100.1
Average Income	$28,765		$19,972	
Median Income	$25,151		$18,059	

Source: Diaz-Delfino, 1984

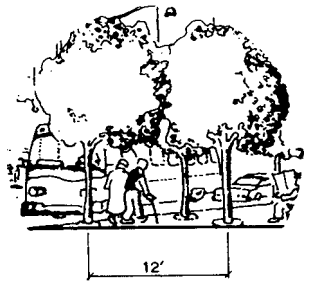
APPENDIX G

ST. LAWRENCE SITE PLAN ILLUSTRATIONS

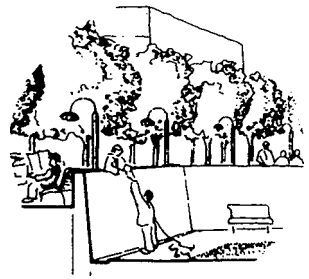
St. Lawrence -- Esplanade Park



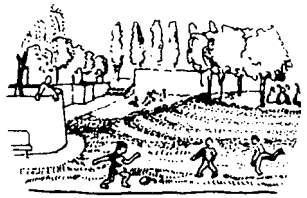
LOOKING EAST FROM JARVIS



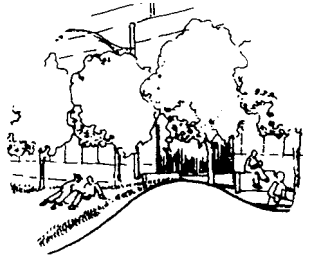
PROMENADE



WALL



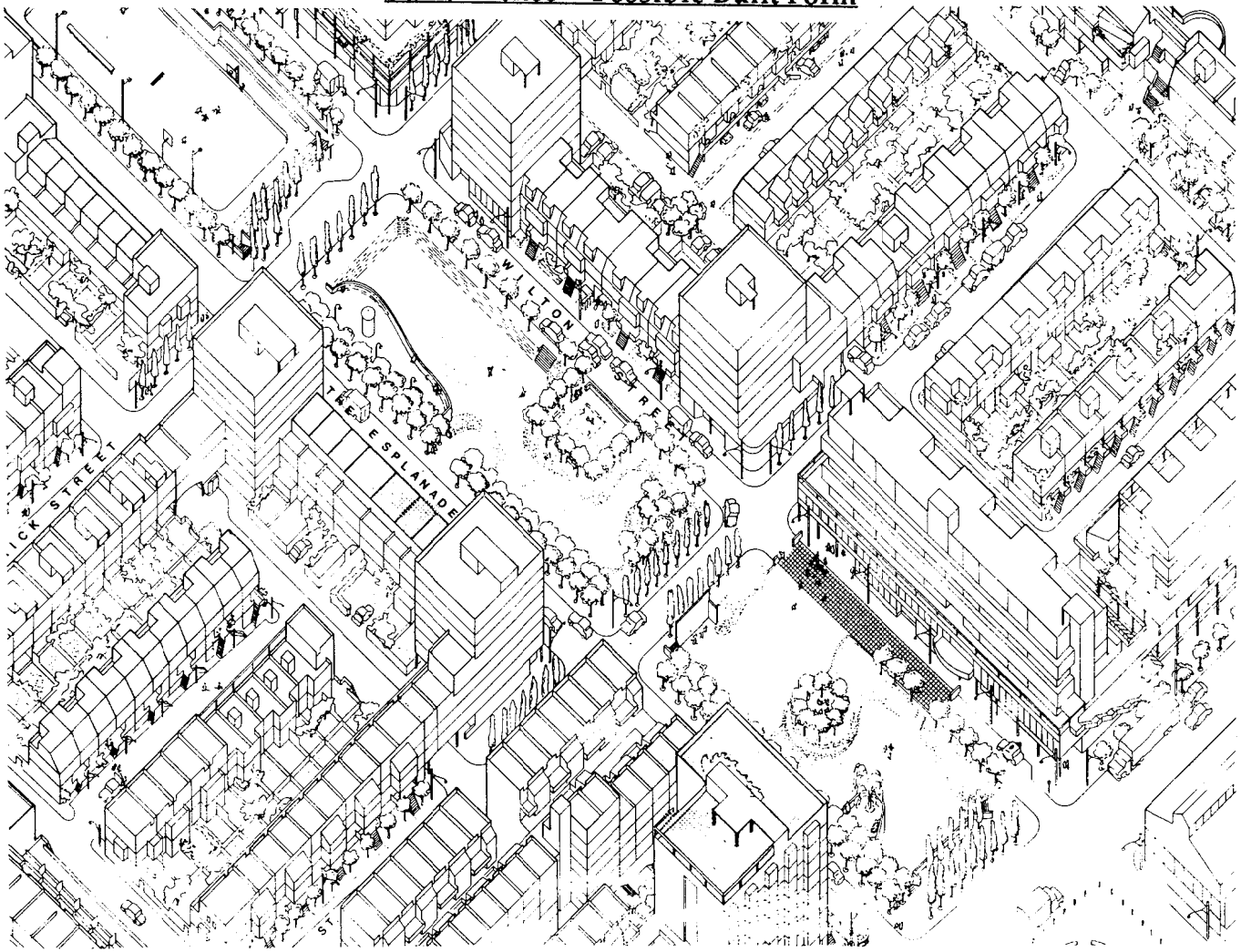
PLAY SPACE



BERM

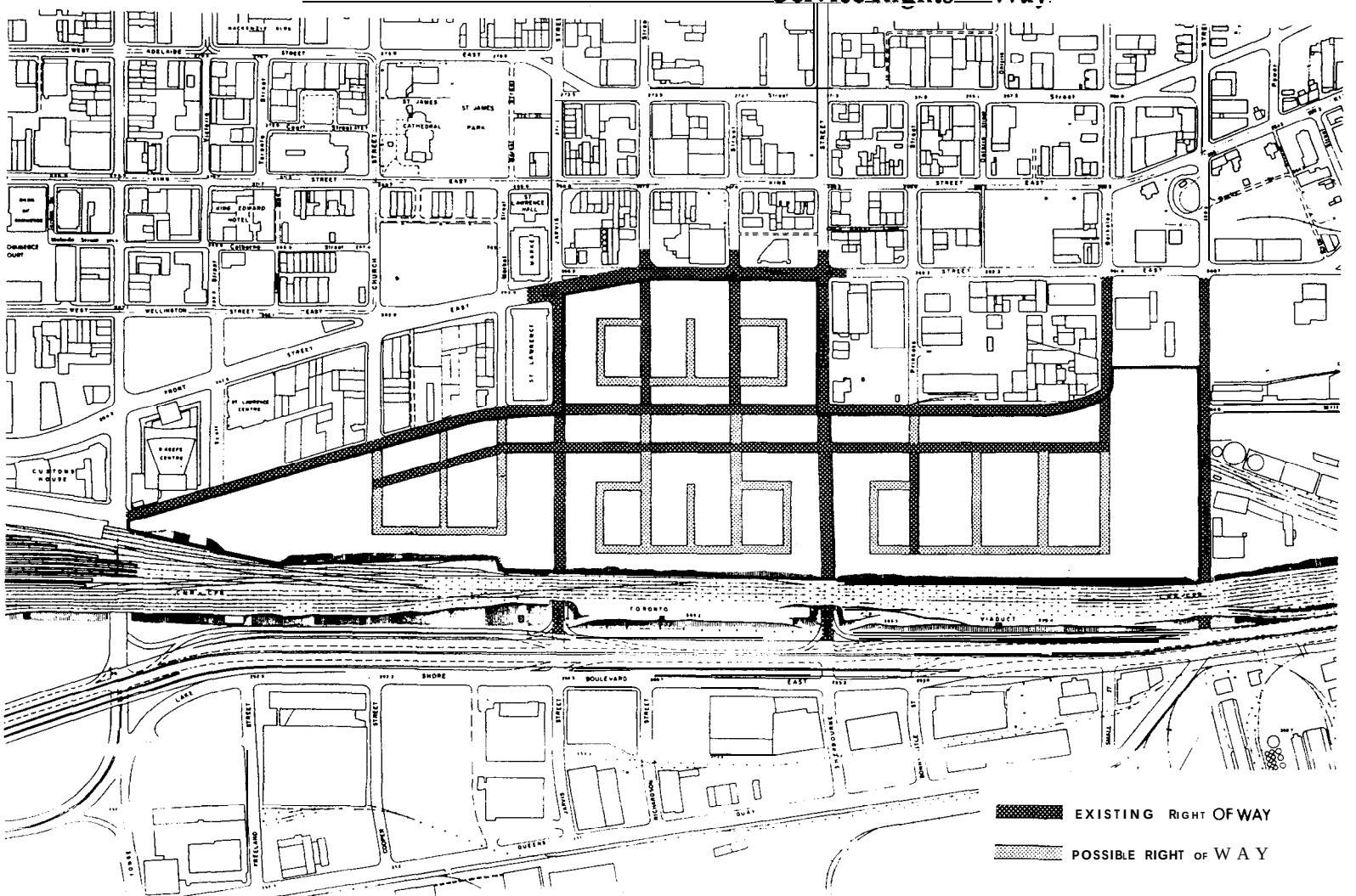
Source: St. Lawrence Official Plan

St. Lawrence -- Possible Built Form



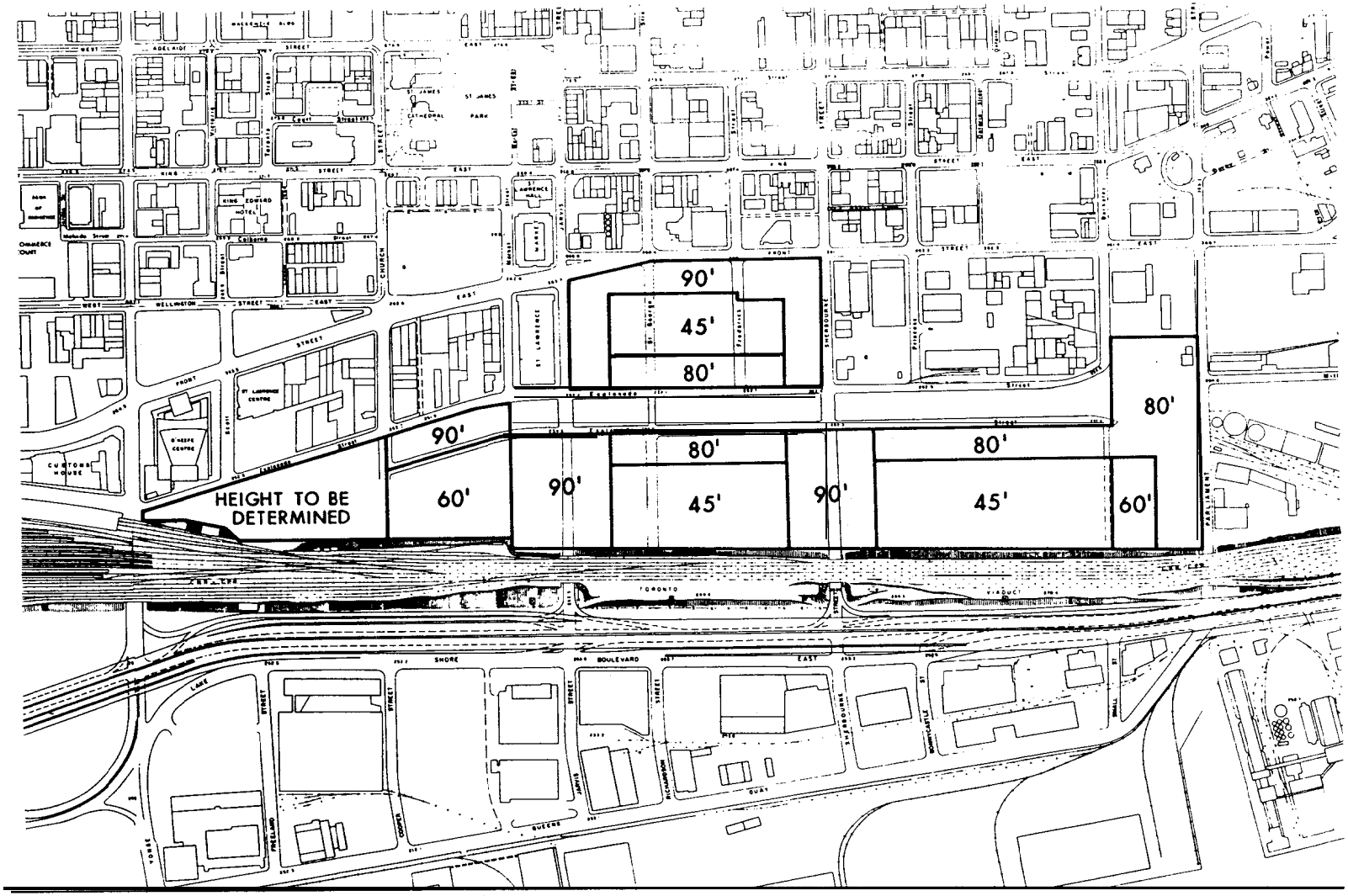
Source: St. Lawrence Official Plan

St. Lawrence -- Existing and Possible Service Rights of Way



Source: St. Lawrence Official Plan

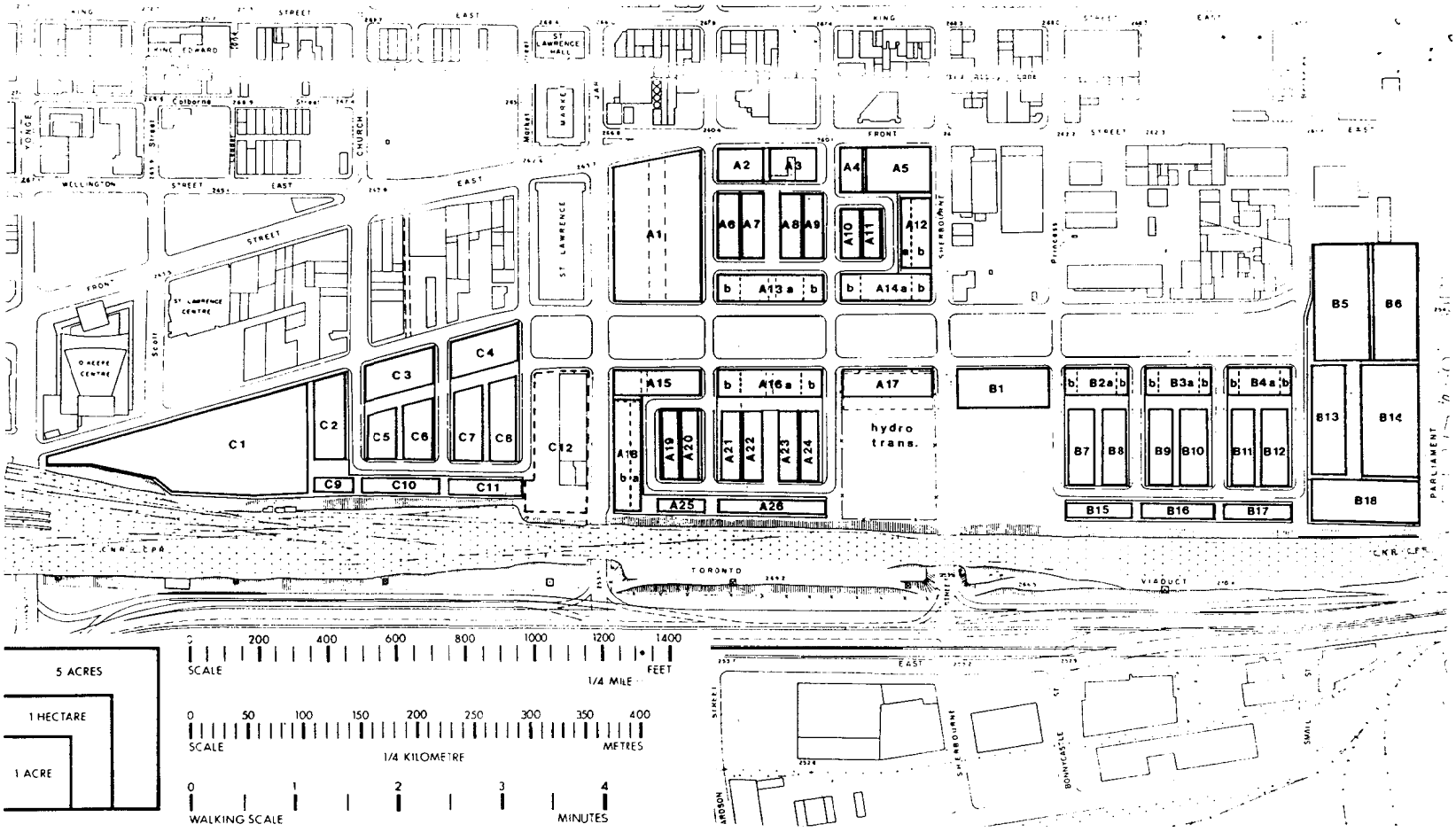
St. Lawrence -- Height Precincts



Source: St. Lawrence Official Plan

0 500 FEET

St. Lawrence -- Minimum Building Parcels



Source: St. Lawrence Site Plan

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