ADDRESSING NIMBYISM
STUDENT CASE STUDIES

CITIES IN THE FEDERATION | POLITICAL SCIENCE 2294G

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Canada is an urban nation, with more than 80% of the population now living in cities. Canada's cities provide a high quality of life, fuel the nation's economic growth, and sustain critical services and amenities accessed by millions of Canadians every day. However, Canada's cities are also the places where many of the nation's greatest social, economic, environmental and political challenges are most concentrated. Are Canada's cities equipped to deal with these challenges? Do they have the power they need to meet the needs and expectations of their residents? And, how do they make progress, even when communities are divided?

These are the questions examined in Huron's Cities in the Federation course. In partnership with the City of London through CityStudio London, students were asked to focus in on a specific urban challenge: encountering organized NIMBY-style opposition, while trying to make progress on a larger urban policy objective.

Students selected a policy challenge of their choice and researched a specific project, initiative or development in one Canadian city aimed to address this larger policy challenge — and, an instance where the project or initiative was met with organized local opposition. This document includes the cases prepared by the students, including key learnings which are hopefully of value to our City of London partners.

So what, exactly, can be learned from these cases? The class identified the following patterns which extend across the cities and examples studied:

- The relationship between local government and the community can be strained, making meaningful interactions more challenging. Consultation "feels like checking a box" where the decision has already been made, and residents are in a position of relative powerlessness. This makes conversations harder, and makes building trust of paramount importance.

- Conversations with the community should start at a goal level, building broad support for the priorities that matter to a community. When residents engage first at this level, building their support for specific projects becomes much easier.

- Process matters! Consulting with residents early, often, and in a neutral and straightforward way is essential to building trust, making progress, and successful outcomes.

- Similarly, language matters. Being clear about the differences between consultation vs. engagement vs. other forms of building dialogue with residents is an important step towards a successful process and outcome.

- Cities are not homogenous places, and there will always be a range of opinions on most issues. Therefore, leadership matters — and sometimes cities need to be prepared to act, even in the face of public opposition.

CASE STUDIES

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A Pyrrhic Victory: Case Study on the Meadowvale Islamic Centre (MIC)

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25 March 2020

Intro:

The term, NIMBY (Not in my Back Yard), indicates citizens' appeals to prevent particular land use to be planned near their communities and homes. NIMBYism is commonly deep-rooted in community fears and suspicions of change in the neighbourhood. The differences that typically trigger NIMBYism include race, income, national origin, ethnicity and religion. Sometimes it can relate to institutions like half-way houses for convicts or adult stores. Mariana Valverde, a professor at the University of Toronto has conducted research on this subject and found that reasonable objections of planning developments for marginalized communities tend to mask deeper apprehensions (Gee 2018). The NIMBY attitude affects individuals and groups excluded from community, as well as communities enjoying the benefits of diversity. The idea of a diverse community enhances life experiences and opportunities to live our country's ideals. This report examines a case of a mosque relocating in Mississauga that overcame NIMBY opposition through counter strategies and the involvement of elected officials.

The City of Mississauga is located within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Mississauga has experienced a rapid growth in population (City of Mississauga 2018). The growth has been a result of global migration over the years as the city has become quite diverse. The Muslim community in Mississauga has grown immensely. However, the city's political culture and visible institutions may mirror a different demographic. The Muslim community did not previously have a permanent religious building for their growing community.

Case:

The Meadowvale Mosque in Mississauga proposed the development for a permanent worship space in 2002 to create the Meadowvale Islamic Centre (MIC). The mosque had been renting gymnasiums and church spaces for many years and proposed a site across from the Erin

Mills Town Centre shopping mall (Braganza 2015). This proposal was eventually shut down

with residents concerned that the property was not large enough and the location would cause

traffic issues (Braganza 2015). After eight years of research they found a large enough lot at

6508 and 6494 Winston Churchill Boulevard in the Meadowvale neighbourhood which would

need to be rezoned (Herhalt 2015). The MIC was proposed to be a 12,000-square foot mosque

with prayer rooms, classrooms, and a gymnasium with an expected cost of $4 million (Herhalt

2015). The proposal was brought to the city Planning and Development Committee after years of

planning efforts and stakeholder engagement addressing resident objections (Braganza 2015).

The municipal councillors initiated a public forum for the consideration of the development

directing input from the neighbourhood to council. Residents of the neighbourhood and the

councillor for the Meadowvale ward brought forward opposition to the development. There were

public hearings and planning documents were circulated amongst the residents. The development

proponents were met with an unruly response. Some residents were direct in objecting to the

mosque's relocation to Winston Churchill Boulevard by distributing flyers denouncing the

proposal and implying the development would lead to increased violence and crime (Braganza

2015). The resident, Kevin Johnston, who circulated these flyers and created an e-petition on a

website at stopthemosque.com, had previously run for the mayor in Mississauga (Braganza

2015). Following the planning and development committee meeting, Mississauga Mayor Bonnie

Crombie remarked that the "proposal met all of the city's requirements, including zoning and

parking requirements and addressed traffic concerns" (Herhalt 2015). The flyer that was

circulated by Johnson was subsequently condemned by Mayor Crombie at the committee

meeting. She described the petition to halt the building of the mosque as 'hate-mongering'

(James 2015). However, Johnston's campaign was successful in stoking fear and gained support

amongst the residents of the neighbourhood to oppose the project. Although Mayor Crombie

condemned this response, the media reporters provided Johnston a public forum to reach many.

They also aired the views of the local councillor who opposed the mosque. Mayor Crombie

supported the MIC project wholeheartedly and vocalized her opposition to the associated hate-

mongering (Herhalt 2015). She noted that Mississauga is a diverse city and welcomed the idea of

people of all faiths to have a place to "worship and celebrate as a community…in Mississauga"

(Mayor Crombie, 30). The local councillor who opposed the mosque out of concern for

constituents, maintained that their objections were solely on planning issues. A few concerns in

particular were highlighted in the residents' opposition. The first was increased traffic and its

effect on the safety of children attending area schools (Herhalt 2015). This element was taken

into consideration by council. Second, residents stated concern for overflow of parking onto

streets during prayer times (Herhalt 2015). Third, other residents were concerned with the size of

the building and its effect on the neighbourhood (Braganza 2015). At the public meeting for the

MIC, 26 people were in line to speak against the proposal while hundreds of residents were in

attendance. One resident, Cheryl Pounder said that "despite city staff approval of the project, it is

too close to other homes in the neighbourhood and doesn't "fit" in the community, given the

increase in traffic it will bring" (Herhalt 2015). Pounder also stated that "you are building on top

of a community, you're building on people's homes, and it isn't fair" (Herhalt 2015). She

continued to say that "I respect everyone in this room, I believe everyone should have a place to

worship, I really, really do – it's just the wrong location" (Herhalt 2015). In turn, the Muslim

community advocated for the MIC to be built and tried to defend their religion and worldview.

Pat Saito, ward councillor in opposition of the development, vocalized that she would be

supportive of the proposal if it was made smaller. As well, she emphasized that the opposition of

her residents on the appearance of the mosque was in no way driven by Islamophobia (James 2015). The opposition to the development of the MIC for reasons of architecture and design were on the basis on the concern with the minaret and dome being too large and advocating for the removal from the design entirely. The most incendiary points related to Johnston's website and the e-petition. This included statements that the MIC development would not only result in lost property values and an increase of traffic, but remarkably a loss of Canadian values, as well as rape and untold violence (James 2015). Notably, most of these issues had been brought forward and addressed through the previous 2 years of stakeholder engagement during the application process. The applicants worked hard to accommodate all legitimate concerns of the residents during that period. Notably, they reduced the height of the minaret and dome based on previous recommendations from the council's planning and development committee. Later, the MIC rezoning application arrived at a final vote. When the vote was called, the MIC development plan won eleven to one in the Planning and Development Committee (Braganza 2015). The Site Plan Application for the MIC was approved on February 14, 2019 (MICI.org).

Case Analysis:

The neighbourhood residents voiced concerns over traffic and building appearance almost immediately. However, the opposition to their plans may have been based on other considerations that they were not wanted in the area by residents. Explicit motivations behind neighbourhood opposition to a development for religious practices are difficult to establish. There were longstanding traffic problems in the area which residents feared the mosque might compound. As well, residents who opposed the development of the MIC spoke about the need to preserve the character of the residential neighbourhood.

Lesson:

Lessons are far and wide from the case of the development of the MIC in Mississauga. One lesson that can be extracted is that the city should be explicit on the requirements and specifications for religious structures to minimize delays and community hostility.

In this case, we can infer that the initial opposition to the development of the MIC was partially based on prejudice. Although this was not vocalized, it was implied as an underlying condition – at least with some involved parties. The opposition was publicly based on traffic concerns, safety and character of the neighbourhood, but may have been based on fear. Opposition was at least partially determined to be based on prejudice in respect to the mosque and the community of worshipers. For example, a church development in the same place may not have had the same experience.

In a 1999 study by the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement in Toronto the centre discovered that 17 of the 35 GTA municipalities experienced at least one fight between immigrant communities and the municipal government on developments for mosques or temples (Isin and Siemiatycki 11). Notably, the "most compelling was the fact that in fourteen of these seventeen instances the conflicts involved zoning disputes over land use" (Syed 67). The "most typical were conflicts over attempts to establish or enlarge mosques which occurred in at least nine municipalities" (Syed 67). This suggests that the difficulty in establishing a development for religious practice is common and the challenges are still continuing after 15 years of the study being conducted.

Stein (1996) suggests that public reactions underlying NIMBY are not usually vocalized out of concern for the issue and their moral compass. According to Stein, when neighbours scream "not in my backyard", they sometimes feel guilty for breaching their own ethical standards of sacrifice and charity. This guilt often triggers anger: anger directed towards the

project sponsor for triggering the moral dilemma and their own terrible feelings (Stein 2). There

is opposition from the neighbourhood mainly based on the unknown. These fears and prejudices

can be addressed through awareness, education and by engaging the opposition in the processes

from the very beginning. True acceptance can only come when people feel a part of a

community.

The MIC development had overcome opposition through city planning committee and

boards. NIMBY did not prove to be a strong enough opposition to derail the development.

Providing the MIC with lasting community acceptance requires that these organizations find

strategies to address the tasks concerning ongoing community relations, education and public

awareness. While we can hope for a sympathetic, well-versed and open community, this is not

always the case. Fear drives much of the intolerance. The presentation of facts through education

and awareness in important to combat fear of the unknown.

NIMBY opposition involves a hierarchy of concerns and issues. Each and every type of

opposition has to be addressed and opponents should be engaged in the development process.

For some, NIMBY comes from the lack of participation of stakeholders in the process, their lack

of knowledge and their fear of the perceived threat of the development towards the community.

These underlying issues must be built into the planning and design stages of project

development. Stakeholders must be involved in the process to reach satisfactory outcomes.

Addressing NIMBYism is about enacting meaningful change. The issues beneath the surface

level are at the root of the NIMBY opposition. Focusing on the stakeholder's apparent and

underlying issues, the city can strategize on "prevention". That is to signify getting to the sources

of conflict and taking measures to avoid conflict, including alterations in institutions and social

policies, rather than just preventing conflict by deterrent threat or suppression**.**

In order to reduce, manage and potentially prevent NIMBY, strategies need to be designed and built into both the broader policy framework. The following set of practical recommendations for the City of London come from lessons learned from this and other cases. They can help manage, predict and prevent NIMBY reactions in the future:

<u>Municipal Government Policies and Actions</u>

- Work with the community to ensure that approval of developments are conditional on a demonstration of community consultation and community support to reduce the likelihood of future issues.

- Develop specific policies geared towards new immigrants and religious communities

- Establish a community or planning committee in council to create public awareness activities to help minimize strong opposition

- Modify the approval process to move the formal public solicitation earlier in the application. This helps everyone feel their voice is heard early and provides the applicant with some tangible suggestions for improvement. An open public consultation prior to voting often becomes a theatrical forum where reasonable and practical discourse is obscured by alarmism. As seen in this case, the applicant had addressed almost all the reasonable suggestions from earlier stakeholder engagement. The democratic process would still be upheld through the usual methods of council procedures.

<u>Resident and Developer Engagement and Education</u>

- Resources for developer, in this case community, to push their development forward with the use of public education campaigns, engagement of the media, address NIMBY issues

- Provide methods of follow-up and engagement for residents to voice their concerns effectively in a condensed time frame through online resources

- Include the media with accurate information on the goals of the development and how they align with the city

Conclusion:

The case of the MIC in Mississauga is unfortunately not unique. The influx of immigrants in Canada and worldwide has spurred the rise of cultural politics which means spatial implications. Although, the MIC application was successful and went forward with development, the process left the Muslim community with a feeling of uneasiness and exclusion that will take a long time to abate. By improving the development process, the City of London can help avoid a Pyrrhic victory – where even success brings long-term adverse effects. In this way, a better process can achieve a more successful outcome for everyone.

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2294G Final Report – Patrick Carlton

One of the most pressing issues currently facing Canadian cities is the development of housing to keep up with the rapid urbanization of Canada's population. Today, the percentage of Canadians living in cities is roughly 80% (Plecher, 2019), and that percentage is only expected to continue to rise if current demographic trends continue. To put this demographic shift in perspective, that same percentage was only 41% in 1911 (Stelter, 2015). This demonstrates the rapid increase of Canadians living in cities. Alongside a rising population driven by increased levels of immigration and the growing "number of temporary immigrants, both workers and students" (Statistics Canada 2015), the issue of sufficient housing will only become more important for Canadian cities in the upcoming years to resolve. So far, Canada's largest cities have struggled mightily in addressing this issue for a variety of reasons. In general, purchasing and developing land is extremely expensive for developers, so houses are expensive for homeowners as a result. This is due to there not being enough housing in the market to keep up with the population increase in Canada's big cities. Deputy Chief Economist of CIBC Capital Markets Benjamin Tal says that, "the main issue facing Vancouver and Toronto is supply. There is simply not enough supply, while demand is rising due to demographics" (Naidu-Ghelani, 2018). He "describes the unaffordable markets in Toronto and Vancouver as "just the beginning" unless the government changes policies to allow more supply in the market" (Naidu-Ghelani, 2018). It seems obvious that the solution to the problem is to facilitate the development of housing within city limits, with bylaws in order to reduce urban sprawl and also keep up with the increased demand, yet it has not been so simple. NIMBY (Not in my Backyard) stakeholders have proven to be a powerful actor in slowing down the development of new housing in the places that need it the most. NIMBY "describes the phenomenon in which residents of a

neighborhood designate a new development (e.g. shelter, affordable housing, group home) or change in occupancy of an existing development as inappropriate or unwanted for their local area" (Homeless Hub, 2019a). The causes of NIMBY are usually based off assumptions that there will be negative consequences to their neighborhood as a result of a new development close by. These perceived consequences typically revolve around issues such as increased traffic in the neighborhood, increased crime, loss of property value, pollution, loss of neighborhood's heritage and/or many other reasons. "NIMBYs" have proven to be very powerful in the local political sphere. To begin with, they are highly motivated because they are directly impacted by the proposed development by the City. This is a huge advantage in municipal politics, which has lower voter turnout, because a motivated opposition against a development within a ward will have great power over the councilor that represents the ward if they want re-election. This has led to the cancellation and delay of many developments across Canadian cities that were enacted to address the urgent need of new housing. Some of these development projects are in planning for years before being scrapped due to NIMBY interference. Homeowners have a right to look out for the wellbeing of the largest financial investment of their lives, but they have to realize that it is impossible to avoid change in a rapidly changing urban landscape.

One of the worst examples of Canada's housing problem is in the city of Toronto. Toronto is one of the fastest growing cities in North America "with 77,000 more residents living in Toronto in July 2018 compared with the same time 12 months previously" (Scrinco, 2020) yet "the construction of new and affordable buildings was down by 24%" (Scrinco, 2020) in 2019. This, in addition with a highly regulated "supply of land designated for residential construction" (Wilkes, 2019) has brought the Toronto housing issue near a crisis point. A global ranking done

in 2019 by UBS Global Wealth Management ranked cities based off value versus real estate prices of homes and Toronto ranked as the second most overpriced housing market in the world (Montgor, 2019). The Canada Mortgage and Housing Company (CMHC) considers housing to be affordable "when a household spends less than 30% of its pre-tax income on adequate shelter. Households that spend more than 30% of their income on shelter are deemed to be in core housing need. Those that spend 50% or more on shelter are in severe housing need" (Homeless Hub, 2019b). However, in Toronto, residents "would need more than 74 per cent of their income to cover the cost" (Naidu-Ghelani, 2018) of owning a home in the city. This illustrates just how bad the housing market has gotten in Toronto due to the limited supply of housing in the region which has skyrocketed the prices to purchase a home. Still however, there is fierce resistance to much new development in the area from NIMBY Torontonians.

A specific example of NIMBYism in the city of Toronto took place over the last few years in the Annex neighborhood, right in the heart of downtown Toronto. The Annex is one of Toronto's nicest neighborhoods to live in, with a five-bedroom house recently selling for $3.6 million dollars in the area (Selley, 2017). The Annex is one the most expensive places to live in the city due to its proximity to downtown with "medium-sized-to-enormous Edwardian, Victorian and stylistically endemic homes" (Selley, 2017). As a result of these high-priced homes, the composition of the residents living in the neighborhood are not your typical NIMBY opposition. World famous writer Margaret Atwood has a house close by in the Annex, Loblaws CEO Galen Weston Jr. lives there and Cleophee Eaton, the heir of the department store Eatons, is a resident as well in the neighborhood. All three used their power to pushback against a proposed midrise development on 321 Davenport Rd in the north end of the Annex near their

homes. Proposed in 2016 by Alterra Developments, the development was originally outlined to be an 8-story luxury condo project that would house 16 residential units (Landau, 2017). Midrise development is seen by city-planners has a key to curbing the housing crisis in the city. They argue that, "lining the main streets with four- to 11-storey buildings … would provide housing for thousands without overwhelming the neighbourhoods of which they are part" (Hume, 2017). Toronto cannot solely continue to expand its housing to the outer reaches of its city limits and expand urban sprawl even more than it already is at. Urban sprawl is terrible for the environment and reduces the little amount of rural areas we have left. It also increases pollution and congests transportation due to all the people that need to take long journeys into the city for work. Urban sprawl developments are also typically low-density, one family households, therefore they are not efficient in reducing the housing problem with very limited space. City planners in Toronto know that the way to improve the housing capabilities of the city is high-density development to keep up with population growth. Despite this, when the development was proposed in 2016, there was fierce backlash from the neighborhood's well-known residents. The proposal wanted to demolish an "existing two-storey commercial building" (Powell, 2017) and then replace it with the 8-storey midrise condo. The proposed structure did not conform with Toronto bylaws at the time as it exceeded height and density rules, so it required zoning bylaw amendments. However, this is "typical of most condo building applications in Toronto" (Powell, 2017) due to the city's strict building regulations.

Once the proposal became public, multiple high-profile residents voiced their concern to Councillor Joe Cressy over the development which they perceived to have negative consequences on the area that they live in. Their comments regarding the development

exemplifies the NIMBY ideology perfectly. Atwood wrote in a letter to Councillor Joe Cressy in 2017, "I join my neighbors in their concerns about setbacks that violate bylaws, and about privacy issues, and about the precedent such large violations of bylaws would set, not only for the neighbourhood but for the city" (Powell, 2017). She also expressed her concern over the impact that the development would have on "six privately owned trees located on three neighbouring properties" (Powell, 2017). She states that "Neighbours must get permission to alter or damage a shared tree. It is against the law to act otherwise" (Powell, 2017). Her husband was even more blunt with his comments, suggesting the plans "hover close to a brutal and arrogant assault on a community that has been here since the 19th Century" (Powell, 2017). This touches on the widespread NIMBY belief that any change to the neighborhood is damaging to its culture and heritage. Next up was Loblaw CEO Galen Weston Jr. and his wife. Their email to Councillor Cressy in June 2017 stated that the development "designed as is, will change the neighbourhood in such a negative capacity and will devalue all of the assets we currently love about living here; it will no longer be the ideal place for our young family to grow up" (Powell, 2017). This associates with the other NIMBY fear over loss of property value due to new development. However, the proposed development was for luxury condos, not affordable housing or something along those lines. The couple also added that "this building is an invasion on our privacy, our community and an environmental assault on our neighbourhood" (Powell, 2017). Cleophee Eaton and her husband emailed a long list of objections to Councillor Cressy as well. One of their issues was with balconies that would allow people to view into the backyards of surrounding homes. They suggested that the balconies should face Davenport or "they should be Juliette-style balconies" (Powell, 2017), meaning that you are not able to walk out onto the balcony. These comments came at a time when the development planning process had already

been underway over three years. However, due to the high-profile of the residents in the neighborhood, the comments carried a lot of weight and forced Councillor Cressy to pass a motion in 2017 for Toronto City Council to "put off a decision on whether to support the application … and called for a mediation session between residents and the developer in the hopes of reaching a settlement without a full-blown OMB hearing" (Gray, 2017). The Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) was an independent administrative "tribunal charged with adjudicating land-use planning disputes between local governments, citizens and property developers" (Filipowicz, 2018). Their process for handling appeals is long and arduous so Councillor Cressy wanted to avoid this. Cressy stated that his "hope and expectation here is that when everybody rolls up their sleeves and gets in a room together there will be an agreement that everyone can be a part of" (Bordonaro, 2018), so they would not have to go through an OMB hearing. There was considerable amount of backlash online, especially on Twitter (McQuigge, 2017), from Toronto residents that viewed the wealthy Annex residents' comments as elitist and counterintuitive towards tackling Toronto's drastic need for new housing. This led to two years of negotiations and compromises between the parties involved before the OMB still eventually had to step in to make a final decision in early 2019.

The development had both the support of the developers and the Toronto City Planning department. The city supported it because they "held the opinion that the mid-rise density was appropriate for one of Toronto's downtown-adjacent avenues like Davenport" (DeBergh, 2019). The development aligns with the City of Toronto's Official Plan as well. The plan designates the site within the Annex region as a "mixed use area" which are supposed to provide for "a broad range of commercial, residential and institutional uses, in single or mixed-use buildings"

(Toronto Community Planning, 2017). "The site is also located within the *Downtown* in the

Official Plan, where intensification is anticipated and encouraged where contextually

appropriate" (Toronto Community Planning, 2017). Accordingly, the "2-storey commercial

building that currently occupies the property represents an underutilization of the site. The

property has the potential to accommodate increased density given its location on a Major

Arterial road, and proximity to transit infrastructure, such as the Dupont subway station and TTC

bus routes" (Toronto Community Planning, 2017). For these reasons, the City and developers did

not back down from the NIMBY outcry from the residents, but they were still willing to make

many compromises in order to keep the development going forward.

On March 21, 2019, the Local Planning Appeal Tribunal (LPAT), formerly OMB, issued

their approval of the rezoning and site plan (City of Toronto, 2019). The final plans made some

changes in order to satisfy the issues brought forward by the residents in the neighborhood

through public mediations and emails to the councillor. To satisfy Atwood's concerns over the

trees, Alterra hired an arborist to conduct a study on the trees within the area and determine the

best route to preserve them while moving forward with construction. Compensatory trees were

negotiated with the adjacent landowners (DeBergh, 2019). In addition, "tree protection zones"

were set up around the site to "prevent root damage, soil compaction and soil contamination"

(Alterra, 2019) during construction which were to be monitored City Urban Forestry staff. They

also established a maintenance program for the trees pre-construction, during-construction and

post-construction, which would inspect the trees two times per year for a minimum of 2 years

after construction. (Alterra, 2019). To address concerns over privacy and encroachment of the

building, the Site Plan "increases the west setback by 3.6 metres to improve the relationship with

the 19th century annex houses it abuts with a 45-degree angular plane begins stepping back at the

7th floor" (DeBergh, 2019). Also, "the concave northeast elevation has been redesigned to

incorporate a four-storey glazed projection that follows the curve of Davenport Road, while

lowering the main frontage's stepback" (Landau, 2017). Concerning the residents' issues over

balconies encroaching privacy of surrounding homes brought forward by Cleophee Eaton,

Alterra made several changes to the original plan. "Landscaped planters have been provided on

the rear balconies and terraces to limit downward views onto the backyards of adjacent

properties" (Toronto Community Planning, 2017), "the south façade of the proposed building

does not directly face any windows on adjacent properties" (Toronto Community Planning,

2017) and "the south and north elevations will also include windows constructed of fritted glass"

(Toronto Community Planning, 2017), which makes it more difficult to see clearly out of them.

The rhetoric of the NIMBY pushback against the development was mostly solved through the

compromises by Alterra and City planners in order to move along with much needed housing

development in a location of Toronto that was targeted as being ideal for increased density.

This case is demonstrative of how much power NIMBY's have in the municipal sphere.

They were able to delay a development almost 6 years from the beginning of the planning

process to the ruling of LPAT in 2019 over an 8-story luxury condo because they did not want to

see change in their neighborhood. The conflict was exacerbated by the fact that developers and

the city were up against some of the wealthiest and most powerful citizens across the country

who did not want to see the housing get built. Despite this, developers and the City were

ultimately able to move forward with the development of the condo. Therefore, a lot can be

learned by municipal governments on how to deal with NIMBYism in their specific city based

off the lessons learned in the Annex condo development case. Primarily, this case demonstrates how when local leadership is willing to act as a liaison between developers and NIMBY's, progress can be made. Councillor Cressy delayed the vote in city council regarding the approval of the development and opened it up to public mediations after the outcry from the residents within his ward. He knew that the appeal process would have taken even longer through the OMB if he proceeded with the vote before further mediations between the public and the developer. The result of this decision was that the developer offered many compromises and re-worked their original plan in order to meet some of the concerns of the residents. This led to the preservation of trees in the neighborhood and the limitation on privacy encroachment on surrounding homes as discussed earlier. Developers are highly motivated to get development underway, so they are willing to make small changes to conform with public opinion. Cressy acted as a broker between the two parties to ensure some of the needs of the residents were met, even though it was clear that the development had every right to go forward based off Toronto's Official Plan. This case also demonstrates how online coalitions can make a difference against NIMBYism, especially in cases when they are outright wrong. Atwood's comments brought an onslaught of local columnists and discussion online that condemned what she said because they were "not in the best interests of the city" (McQuigge, 2017). Atwood eventually had her lawyer come out and soften her comments, saying that "Ms. Atwood and her neighbours do not oppose a mid-rise building on the site. But they are concerned that the proposal does not conform with the neighbourhood protection policies in the city's Official Plan or with the city's own guidelines for mid-rise buildings" (Gray, 2017). This was proven to be untrue regarding the city's Official Plan and "other mid-rise developments have been built in the area" (Gray, 2017). Atwood could have been forced to soften her position due to the backlash she received, which exposed her to views

of people of more diverse economic backgrounds. Whether the online backlash forced residents to re-evaluate their positioning on the issue is unclear in this case because Atwood, Weston and Eaton had no further public comments about the matter after their original statements. However, this case demonstrates how a local government could utilize the internet and social media to dispel the more negative aspects of NIMBY ideology. A municipal government could help educate people on the topic through social media posts or on their websites, so residents are not making uneducated comments regarding new development in the city. The cheapest unit in the condo is now being listed as over 2 and a half million dollars (Precondo, 2020), so the same demographic of people would be moving in than already live in the neighborhood. There is no threat to the property value or culture of the neighborhood. In addition, if citizens are more aware of how dire a situation the housing crisis is in Canada compared to everywhere else in the world, they might be more likely to accept a new development in their neighborhood if are aware of the benefits that it is bringing. This can be done through increased online engagement by local governments that help to inform the public on the housing situation in their city and the new developments being considered. By applying the lessons learned in this case in downtown Toronto, local governments across Canada can improve the mediations between NIMBY's and developers, while also reducing the amount of NIMBY interference in general through a more informed public.

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March 21, 2020

<div align="center">Saving St. Clair: A NIMBY Case Study</div>

In the City of Toronto it is no question that citizens want better public transit; 70% of

citizens say they are concerned about the state of public transit in the city, citing overcrowding,

unreliable service, lack of subway lines, and a myriad of other issues (Wilson). Yet despite this

concern and strong desire for better public transit, as soon as transit improvement projects fall

within one's own neighbourhood, outrage ensues. This somewhat hypocritical objection to

development in a resident's own locality is known as NIMBYism, labelled by an acronym

referring to 'not in my backyard'. Nearly every major transit project in Canada has faced this

form of opposition, yet few others have reached the scale of outcry that happened with the St.

Clair streetcar project. The following paper will outline what led to the creation of the St. Clair

streetcar right-of-way, the opposition that ensued, and what can be learned from this specific

case.

The St. Clair streetcar dates back to when the road itself was constructed, with the entire

road being designed with right-of-way streetcar lanes built in, separating streetcars from

competing car traffic; this right-of-way did not last long however, with the rise of the automobile

contributing to its elimination in the 1930's (Harding). As the street continued to grow into a

busy corridor lined with many highrises and small businesses, car traffic and congestion

similarly grew, leading to a streetcar that had become slow and unreliable; an estimated 70% of

all delays and 30% of all variability in route travel time on the St. Clair streetcar in 2006 could be accounted to the elimination of the dedicated right-of-way (Osman, et al., 86).

In 2002 the tracks on the St. Clair streetcar line were due to be rehabilitated, and recognizing the service issues on the St. Clair streetcar, the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) came up with a relatively modest plan to not only fix the tracks, but improve transit service along St. Clair Street: for only $7 million more than originally earmarked for the rehabilitation, the TTC proposed giving the streetcar its right-of-way back by installing six-inch curbs, separating the streetcar from competing traffic (Bow). Mayor David Miller, as well as the TTC Chairman and several other councillors, were in favour of the project, with some pushing hard and saying it was the only possible way to fix transit in the area (Harding).

Before community meetings on the project had even begun, a group of local business owners and citizens named Save Our St. Clair (SOS) formed in opposition to the project, concerned about "disruption of construction, the loss of parking space and the reduction of road capacity" (Bow). Similarly, a supportive YIMBY (yes in my backyard) group called SCRIPT (St. Clair Right-of-way Initiative for Public Transit) formed to show their support for the project, arguing that a right-of-way would improve the neighbourhood (Harding). Consultations quickly became increasingly polarized, with the opposition feeling that the city was biased and had already decided that the project was going to happen no matter what; during consultations it was noted that in several 'before and after' drawings, the after drawings were made to be more appealing beyond the scope of the project, and several design decisions were made beforehand without any solid reasoning given (Bow). The city did however make several concessions, agreeing to build parking lots nearby to mitigate the loss of parking, and allowing more on-street

parking for streets connected to St. Clair (Osman, et al., 86). A complete design was reached and city council approved the project in September 2004, followed by the Ontario Municipal Board, and construction began shortly thereafter (Grant).

Opposition did not halt once construction began however, with Save Our St. Clair appealing the decision made by the Ontario Municipal Board to the Ontario Divisional Court, arguing that the city had not adequately consulted the community, and that the term 'surface rapid transit' that the city had been using to refer to the project was not approved in the city's official plan; although it was a legal technicality, it was enough to convince the panel of judges who proceeded to order the city to freeze construction effective immediately (Bow). The move satisfied SOS, however it also brought significant criticism to both the group and the city, with construction disruptions being prolonged as vacant machinery sat in the street for months (Spacing). The city appealed the ruling on the basis that one of the judge's on the panel was biased against the project, further angering opposition groups (Lewington and Gandhi). Eventually after spending $2.7 million on the lawsuit, the Ontario Divisional Court ruled in favour of the city, and an entirely new construction schedule had to be made causing a delay of nearly a year (Bow).

Once construction restarted however, the consultations did not end; community demands increased and slowly the scope of the project expanded to other areas such as burying hydro lines, further increasing construction delays and blowing through the project's original budget by over $40 million (Kalinowski). Even though these delays and cost overruns were largely due to the city trying to appease residents, they became "frustrated about just when the 'pain' of disruption would actually end and just when 'gain' of improved transit would actually begin"

(Kelman and Soberman 4). In an attempt to expedite construction times, the TTC had hired numerous small contractors to perform specific functions; this backfired however as there ended up being over twenty different contractors working at once on the site, leading to a lack of coordination in a complicated project that was constantly evolving with new additions (Grant). This manifested itself into portions of the road being ripped up multiple times over, and more embarrassing incidents such as shelter signs being misspelled (Bow). As a result of these numerous systematic issues, mistakes were made and the line ended up opening well over a year later than intended, and 63% over budget (Bow). Furthermore, it was estimated that approximately two hundred commercial interests along the route failed during construction (O'Toole).

Despite the numerous struggles, the right-of-way did accomplish much of what it set out to do; ridership on the St Clair streetcar line rose 13% after the right-of-way was introduced, pedestrian motor vehicle collisions dropped 48%, and round trip travel times fell 14% on average. (Gee; Richmond, et al., 222; Kalinowski). The numerous interruptions and heavy polarization during construction largely overshadowed these accomplishments, scaring many away from future surface rapid transit projects; politicians often played into this view, with Mayor Rob Ford referring to the St Clair streetcar line as a 'disaster', pointing to the very vocal opposition as proof that 'nobody likes streetcars' (Gee). Rather than blaming the mismanagement of the project as the problem, citizens labelled surface rapid transit in general as being too disruptive. Further fueling the fire, a consortium of businesses along St. Clair launched a class-action lawsuit against the City of Toronto shortly before the grand opening of the line, accusing the TTC of "gross negligence in the construction and delivery of the project; the

province of breaching its duty of care through insufficient oversight; and Toronto of public abuse

of authority" (O'Toole). The numerous delays, new Mayor's rhetoric, and two very public

lawsuits culminated into a project where merely mentioning the name brought about significant

controversy and debate.

The TTC readily admitted that the execution of the project had numerous faults, issuing a

report outlining several of the lessons that could be learned from this project for the future; the

report mainly focused on the ever-expanding scope, poor project management and contracting,

and consultation process that lacked closure (Kelman and Soberman 4-5). That last point proved

to be a crucial element, as several of the forthcoming issues could have been prevented had the

consultation process been conducted in a more productive manner. Three main lessons on how to

combat NIMBYism can be taken from the St. Clair streetcar line, namely the importance of city

officials neutrally entering consultations early in the process, clearly communicating the nature

of the consultations, and completing all consultation before implementation.

Consultations by their very definition are supposed to be a discussion, not a lecture, yet

many citizens during the consultations for the St. Clair streetcar project felt the city was

attempting to persuade the public rather than listen due to its late and biased entrance. Before the

city had even begun consultations, the city had already published a report studying the possibility

of a right-of-way for St. Clair (Harding). By putting money into a study analyzing one option

before even asking residents if they were interested, the city had effectively shown itself to be

invested in a certain outcome. One of the key contributors to the increase in NIMBYism is the

"growing distrust of governments, experts, and project proponents" (Wexler 92). Citizens

distrust in government and experts means they do not trust decisions that take place largely

behind doors. While it may be more convenient for city planners to come into consultations with all the facts and research ready, "the earliest possible community inclusion will reduce suspicion and lay the groundwork for a more equitable, cooperative solution" (Black and Siroky 400). Instead of coming to the community after the majority of the work is already complete, come to them right in the beginning with all the broad questions and take them along the journey of learning that staff undergo in their research; in the case of St. Clair, instead of coming to the public with multiple different iterations of the same solution and asking for the community to pick the best one, come to them when all that exists is the general question of how to improve transit in the neighbourhood. This flipped approach would be a social learning strategy, designed to "empower citizens to accept their responsibility as community steward" (Black and Siroky 401). Instead of consultations portraying the government as a parental figure metaphorically forcing residents to eat their vegetables, it gives the power to the residents by allowing them to engage fully in the process, understanding the reasoning and research behind every decision being made. This makes it much more likely for citizens to embrace change, as they were an integral part in forming it. Through entering projects with an open mind and agenda, citizens will do the same and NIMBYism thereby be reduced.

Although consultations are not a lecture, they are also not a referendum, and this needs to be heavily emphasized to community members. In much of their opposition arguments, including their initial lawsuit, Save Our St Clair claimed that the city had not conducted enough consultation. Yet the city did in fact conduct a vast amount of consultation, to the point that it was still occurring even after construction had begun. This incongruence stems from two different parties viewing consultations as two different things; NIMBY objectors tend to "view

consultation as an exercise in policy determination by the public rather than as public input into the representative democratic process whose ultimate use is to be defined by the elected decision‑makers" (Kane and Bishop 87). When objectors come into a consultation with the expectation that they themselves will get to decide the entire outcome of the project, and city officials deny them of this, it fosters anger simply by virtue of reality falling below their expectations. In fact, many people who complain that consultations have not taken place simultaneously can not define what a consultation is (Cowan 384). This lack of knowledge surrounding the reasoning for consultation leads to many residents developing a variety of different ideas of what constitutes a consultation; the reality is that a consultation can only meet one of those ideals, meaning many are left to believe that a 'proper' consultation did not take place. In order to avoid this, city administration must "confront this issue directly" (Cowan 384). Directly informing participants from the very beginning of the nature of the consultations assists in taming any unrealistic expectations, preventing lack of consultation being used as an issue of objection. A clear communication of what consultations entail helps guide citizens expectations and reduce misidentification of improper consultation.

Consultation may have been bountiful during the St. Clair project, but the decision to begin construction before its completion disrespected its very nature. In an attempt to help appease opposition, planners continued holding consultations promising residents a long list of improvements after construction had already begun. This was an incredibly shortsighted approach, as "if [you do] it right the first time, [you do not] need to try to fix things after the fact at the expense of the communities" (Lake 91). As was previously mentioned, these last minute additions caused construction to go massively over-budget and far beyond the original timeline.

The impact of construction on the community was vastly worsened, validating many of the opposition's original concerns that could have easily been avoided had consultations not been conducted during construction. Incidents like these also further perpetuate NIMBYism by reducing confidence in government, as "by seeking public involvement after-the-fact, the department squanders its most precious commodity—the goodwill, trust, and confidence of the public" (Black and Siroky 395). There is no reason for the public to enter consultations with an open fair mind when the government has clearly shown that it is already halfway out the door and has no interest in truly taking the time to fully incorporate citizens' vision into a project. Furthermore, if "decisions are already in place that will not be altered whatever input is obtained, then the consulted are liable to view the whole process with a cynical eye and refuse to recognise the legitimacy of its outputs" (Kane and Bishop 88). When consultations have such a strong public atmosphere of cynicism, they are unlikely to produce fruitful discussion and instead more likely to turn into a highly argumentative atmosphere thick with NIMBYism. No matter what the outcome of the consultations, they will be viewed as illegitimate and thereby no closure on the issue will be provided for community members. The consequences of a lack of closure can be seen in the St. Clair case through not only the lawsuit the city faced in 2010, but the political demonization of surface rapid-transit in general. By completing consultation before any implementation, all of these issues could be prevented and public trust increased.

The St. Clair streetcar project started out as a seemingly minor move to improve transit for a neighbourhood, yet quickly ballooned into a NIMBY disaster largely through its incredibly flawed approach at public consultation. Luckily many lessons on the practice can be taken away from it however, including the need for neutral early entrance, clear definition of the process, and

thorough completion before implementation. While it may have accomplished its end goal of improving transit service, it also destroyed numerous businesses, divided a community and damaged trust in the city's institutions. However, much has also been gained from this experience: St. Clair now has a right-of-way, and planners now have tools to deal with NIMBYism in the right way.

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5.

NIMBY Case:

Wind Turbine Projects in Southern Ontario

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March 25, 2020

Introduction

Citizens want to be heard; people want the satisfaction of knowing that their opinions can impact government decisions and policies, until those decisions impact personally and negatively on the very citizens hoping for implementation. These "Not in my backyard" or NIMBY cases are realities that most governments face. This phenomenon arises when people are in favour of a project or initiative, until it impacts their own lives. Classic examples of NIMBY cases are safe injection sites, affordable housing developments and, shockingly, park pathway development. These types of projects are often met with powerful opposition, which can mean project delay or cancellation. While NIMBY cases can appear benign on the surface, they can become problematic if projects are meant to positively impact the greater good.

This case study will examine two instances regarding wind turbine projects that were met with NIMBY opposition and what resulted. One project involved Goderich, Ontario and the other Prince Edward County, in Eastern Ontario. The opposition came from apprehensive citizens and an organized group called **Wind Concerns Ontario**.

Background

In Ontario, there are currently 94 wind turbines projects: 2,681 turbines in total (Canwea, n.d.). Wind turbines use the kinetic energy from moving air and convert it into electricity through the rotation of the large "blades" (Natural Resources Canada, 2020). This energy can be used by local homes and nearby towns, or it can be used by the larger power grid, to facilitate electric utilities for people who need it. The blades of the turbines typically start to turn at a wind speed of 12 km/h and shut down when the winds become too strong,

usually around 88 km/h – meaning that the turbines produce electricity 70-90% of the time.

Wind Turbine Tip Speed Ratio (TSR) "is the speed of the tip divided by the speed of the wind.

For example, if the tip speed is 120 miles/hour and the wind speed is 20 miles/hour than the

TSR = 120/20=6" (Wind Turbine Speed, 2020). Wind turbines have been modified since their

initial creation – they are being made taller with longer blades in order to generate more

electricity (see Figure 1.0).

Wind turbines are considered a more popular, environmentally friendly way to produce

electricity. More wind energy has been cultivated in Canada between 2009 and 2019 than any

other form of electricity (Canwea, n.d.). The turbines use no fuel and do not produce any green

house gasses (Natural Resources Canada, 2020). However, wind turbines are not without

controversy with regard to their environmental impact. Studies, conducted at Harvard

University, show "wind farms" taking up 20 times more land than previously suggested, which

could warm average surface temperatures by about 0.24 degrees Celsius (Burrows, 2018).

While this is less of an impact than carbon fuel, it is important to note that wind energy is not

completely insignificant in relation to energy production.

There have also been concerns as to how the wind turbines would affect birds, with

habitats close to the turbines. An energy policy study, that observed 86 bird species over 36

states from 2008-2014, found that on average, for every one turbine, about three breeding

birds left the area; the cumulative effect of the U.S. on-shore wind turbines on breeding bird

count is currently 151,630 (Ruiqing et al. 2019). This same study found that the length of the

turbine blades matters: longer blades have a decidedly more negative affect on breeding birds,

while taller turbines, spaced farther from each other, reduced the impact of flying fowl. While

this study was not done to attempt to halt all future implementation of wind turbines, it was

created to influence the policy and regulation surrounding wind turbines.

Case 1: K2 Project

Additionally, to the turbines' environmental impact, concerns have been raised about

the impact on the health of people who live close to wind turbines. This argument asserts that

the vibration and 'hum' or 'woo' of the turbine blades causes residents sleeplessness – leading

to other health concerns (Hill, 2017). Effects on the health of people living as few as 500 metres

from wind turbines were the main concern of the four families, who sought to make the

legislation surrounding the approval of large-scale wind farms "declared unconstitutional"

(Mehta, 2014; Perkel, 2014). The proposed $850-million K2 Wind project, which would include

140 turbines put up near Goderich, Ontario, as well as the smaller 15-turbine St. Columban

project near Seaforth, Ontario were the residents' main issues – their goal was to halt all

building of these wind farms (Mehta, 2014). After the court's ruling in favour of K2 and the

instillation of the wind turbines, the families escalated their legal battle to an appeal court. This

appeal was dismissed by an Ontario court, who viewed the evidence provided by the residents

as speculative; a study done by Health Canada showed that while the noise produced by the

turbines may be annoying, it "had no link to sleep disturbances, dizziness, tinnitus, migraines,

increased blood pressure, heart disease, or diabetes" (Mehta, 2014).

Case 2: White Pines Wind Project

The second case involves the **Wind Project Development's (WPD) White Pines Wind**

Project, in Prince Edward County Ontario. The project was first proposed in 2009, and has

undergone many planning changes since then (Global News, 2017). Figure 2.0 shows the area in which this project was supposed to take place as of 2011. The Alliance to Protect Prince Edward County (APPEC) organized both a lawsuit and a rally in Picton, Ontario saying that "there's a number of issues related to [wind turbines]. There are health issues and environmental issues. Both are recognized as issues by the government" (Global News, 2017). The president of WPD commented saying that ""Every project in Ontario has some resistance, but this one, especially … had the best opposition… they were well-funded, they raised $1.5 million for legal funds [and] they were able to keep it coming" (Syed et al. 2018). The APPEC organized protest and lawsuit did not, however, stop the project from continuing, and because of the Green Energy Act, the Ministry of the Environment was able to approve the wind farm project.

The White Pines Wind Facility was in effect until 2018, when the new provincial Conservative government announced that there was a regulation required the closure of the facility (Mazer, 2019). Later, in 2019, the province called for the decommissioning and dismantling of the turbines related to this project. The MPP for the region, Todd Smith commented on the issue saying that the project "should never have been allowed to proceed in the first place," and was one of several energy projects cancelled by the PC government that Ontario "did not need," that were "at a cost we cannot afford" (Mazur, 2019). The residents who were against the project, along with Wind Concerns Ontario were delighted that their efforts were part of the success in fighting this wind farm.

Action Taken: Organized Groups

In both cases, there was organized opposition to wind turbines and wind farm projects. Wind Concerns Ontario (WCO) played an active role in both of the cases by providing assistance in organizing petitions and protests. The following is a description of WCO from their website: "Wind Concerns Ontario is a province-wide advocacy organization whose mission is to provide information on the potential impact of industrial-scale wind power generation on the economy, human health, and the natural environment" (WCO, n.d.). This organization shares news articles, organizes petitions, gathers evidence and resources for lawsuits and tries to influence legislation.

Action Taken: The Province and Cities

The provincial courts have been consistent in their rulings – being in favour of the wind farms. It seems as though support from the province for wind farms and projects like this, is related to the provincial government: specifically which party is in power. The Liberal government approved many wind farm plans like the K2 and the White Pine Wind Project. Since the election of the Conservative government, the protests of residents living near the wind turbines are being taken into consideration. MPP Todd Smith ran on the platform against wind farms, especially in the area of Prince Edward County. Conservative MPP Lisa Thompson helped to raise the concerns of the families in Case 1, surrounding noise and health concerns, to the Ontario Legislature. Only after that did Minister of Environment and Climate, Glenn Murray, call to speed up the testing of noise levels, and open communications, with affected residents (Hill, 2017).

The Ontario government has "returned local land-use planning to municipalities but few have taken advantage of the timing to create new bylaw protection" (WCO, 2020). The fear of some municipalities that are against wind farms, is that if a new government is elected in 2022, the authority that they currently possess may be taken altered. However, communities that have seen successful halting wind farm projects are hopeful that their community's opposition is influencing new legislation on the regulation of wind turbines. The main thing being the minimum distance that these must be from residential and agricultural areas.

Recommendations

These two cases outline how the Provincial Government responded to NIMBYism. The government was able to give the residents of Prince Edward County their request not to have the wind farm. While this decision may have been governed primarily for financial reasons and not strictly altruistic (Mazur, 2019), it illustrated that organized opposition should have a voice and input – at least to some extent. The following are my recommendations for the City of London:

- Listen to the concerns of the residents
  - Make sure changes in projects are communicated with affected and/or interested parties
    - If people are fully informed on what a project fully entails, they may be more willing to see the benefits of it
- Use the concerns brought up in the past to help mitigate future concerns

- Help meet emotional needs – if people are worried about children, family, pets, etc. they will have an emotional reaction to a change – especially if it affects their home's value / neighbourhood aesthetic

  o Try to find the best median option – in the case with the turbines, making legislation to make it so that the minimum distance the turbines can be from homes

  o People often have good ideas or solutions to problems, so having a way to let people suggest solutions either online or in person

    ▪ Even if this is with a small group of representatives in order to not have large, unproductive meetings

  o Provide a set of voting options through online surveys early in the decision-making process

    ▪ Giving residents the opportunity to vote on the option that they want for their community will help them feel involved and 'heard' in the decision-making process

- Focus on mutual priorities – if people are able to feel as though their concerns are being heard, and feel as though they "won" an argument, then they may be more willing to concede on other things

- If possible, try to find another area for a project – depending on what the proposed project is, it may be possible to not build a structure in one specific area – the people who currently live in an area should be given priority in situations where their space is

being impeded (for wind turbines, looking to non-populated areas of the country, and looking into off-shore turbines)

- o Not all projects have to be completed in well populated areas (i.e. a safe injection site in a school area – when it could be put in an area that is away from students and is still in reach of the people who need the services, or through the use of clinics on wheels)
- In the case of the wind turbines, the provincial government was able to dismantle projects because of budget strains and because of community outrage – it showed that change can happen, and alternate solutions can be found.

Policy makers must consider the public's input early in the decision-making process, thus saving the municipality from bad public relations, waste of resources, time delays, additional expenses, and 'bad blood' between the city and opposing groups, when decisions are contradictory to communities. The government's role, especially at a municipal level, is to work towards the betterment of their citizen's well-being. It is understandable that not everyone can be pleased in every situation, but consideration for the majority of residents, who are living in an impacted area, should be given priority.
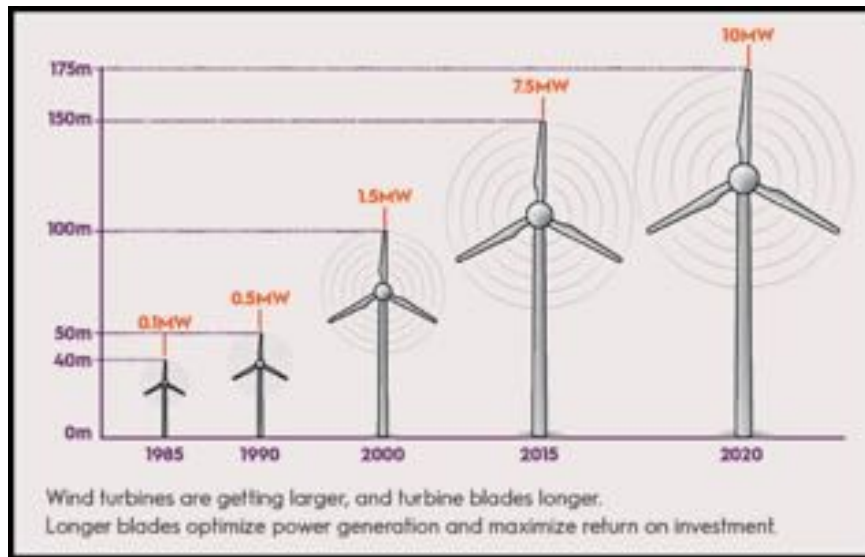
Appendix

Figure 1.0: This figure shows the height of wind turbines and how much electricity (in Mega Watts – MW) they produce (Stop These Things, 2020).

Figure 2.0: This figure shows the proposed locations for the wind turbines in the White Pine

Wind Project – the dots being the proposed locations (County Live, 2011).

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Gabrielle Glasier

Political Science: Cities in the Federation

Kate Graham

March 20, 2020

<center>Insights into Nimbyism: the Case of Turbines in Chatham-Kent</center>

Nimbyism is a concept that has long had a place in Canadian politics. The "not in my backyard" acronym refers to a localized group that rises to oppose something happening in their community; they are not against the policy until it gets implemented in their backyard. One example of nimby behaviour is rural southwestern Ontario in response to the Green Energy Act, or more specifically, wind farms in northern Chatham-Kent. North Kent Wind was a 34-turbine wind farm that was getting constructed near Wallaceburg, and due to the blade rotations and pile driving, residents were complaining that vibrations were causing shale sediment to contaminate well water. The complaints grew to be a movement, and several opposition groups were formed such as Water Wells First, among others. Due to Liberal party inaction, this induced mass dissent for the government and a wide conservative rallying. This following paper will outline the context in which the Green Energy Act was passed by Premier Dalton Mcguinty, the nature of the protests, government response and recommendations.

This section will go onto discuss the historical context of the Green Energy Act. Under the premiership of Dalton Mcguinty in 2009, Ontario saw the creation of the Green Energy Act. Bill 150, a bill which provided for the first semblance of the GEA, met opposition from the beginning. Several stakeholders expressed concerns to the Legislature's Standing Committee on General Government among other bodies, including rural communities, farmers and organized

groups such as Wind Concerns Ontario. The primary concerns were about heath, farmland, natural habitat and viewscapes (McRobert, 94). Regardless, in eight weeks the bill became legislation – the lack of formal consultation and community engagement would later surface to be a point of contention. Processes aside, the Act initiated by the Liberal Party was meant to "facilitate the development of a sustainable energy economy that protects the environment while streamlining the approvals process, mitigates climate change, engages communities and builds a world-class green industrial sector" ("Windfall Advocacy"). Renewable energy sources that would be prioritized include wind, water, biomass, biogas, biofuel, solar energy, geothermal energy, tidal forces – not necessarily in that order ("Green Economy and Green Energy Act," 2). One of the more prominent features was the feed-in-tariff programme which enables producers to "sell their power to the grid for higher than market electricity prices" (McRobert, 95). This feature however, would not be sufficient enough to appease the masses.

The Green Energy Act was concocted as a solution to the weak economy following the 2008 recession – the Ontario Minister of Finance states that Ontario was in a precarious state (Ontario, Ministry of Finance). Even without the recession, the province had inherent problems of its own, including a projected shortfall in future electricity supply. To alleviate this, the government first turned to nuclear power as was recommended by Ontario Power Authority. However, the OPA vastly underestimated environmental concerns pertaining to prolonged nuclear exposure, and soon the project was receiving backlash from the public at large. After:

> "[the] McGuinty government saw the GEGEA as a means to pump life into the failing Ontario economy by creating jobs and attracting renewable energy investment. The move was supported by the Green Energy Alliance, a coalition of environmental non-

government organizations (ENGOs), energy and engineering consultants and renewable energy industry stakeholders" (McRobert, 94).

This support channelled the eventual implementation of the GEA and the widespread construction of wind farms and solar panels, particularly on the flat plains of southwestern Ontario.

Despite the outpouring of resistance the GEA would get by rural communities in southwestern Ontario, the resistance escalated through oversights other than the aforementioned. The opposition groups that developed, such as Mothers Against Turbines, were not against clean energy, but the government's later refusal to act on health concerns that were caused by said clean energy. In fact, the National Farmers' Union of Ontario released a statement that said they "support the production of energy from renewable, sustainable sources including solar, wind, and low-impact hydro to help conserve the remaining fossil fuel supply and to minimize the environmental impacts of energy extraction and production" (National Farmers' Union). There was a general consensus about the dwindling supply of traditional resources – the matter of tension was in the actual implementation: nimbyism was born.

Chatham-Kent is a municipality that is largely affected by wind farms, specifically North Kent Wind, a 34-turbine wind farm owned by Pattern Energy ("Families Fear They Won't Have Clean Drinking Water after Report Clearing Turbine Company"). Although many complaints were made against the project, such as negative effects on property value, environmental degradation and excessive noise, there was only one significant enough issue to unite people – the contamination of well water. The more rural households near North Kent Wind do not receive piped water from the municipality; instead, residents rely on a fragile, groundwater aquifer (Baxter). Well water does not have the same filtration mechanisms as piped water, and is

more vulnerable to external conditions. Those who live in proximity to the wind farm have been experiencing visible changes in the quality of their water and "believe vibrations from the operations of the turbines and pile driving disrupt the bedrock, releasing the shale into the aquifer, the source of their drinking water" (Baxter). Kettle Point shale stretches from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie and from Chatham to London, and elements known to be harmful to human health are a part of the shale's composition, including arsenic, copper, lead and uranium (Baxter; Cross, 10). This proposition has been backed up by research; in 2017, a study was published that confirmed that there is a detrimental relationship between turbine vibrations and structural foundations. It is also mentioned that there must be 550 metres of distance between a household and a vibration source, however this seems to be a low requirement in comparison to other jurisdictions in North America or Europe (González-Hurtado et al., 1). Vibrations can occur two ways: through blade rotations, but also through the pile-driving required to build the turbine.

This section will go onto describe the opposition groups that rose in retaliation against the well water contamination allegedly caused by turbines. In light of these conditions, several passionate protest groups emerged, advocating for wind farms to be more cautionary around residential locations such as Wind Concerns Ontario, Mothers Against Turbines and Water Wells First. Wind Concerns Ontario said that North Kent Wind is not even the first wind farm to cause sediment contamination of well water – the Township of Dover had been staking signs on lawns against turbines months in advance ("Wind Turbines to Blame for Well Water Problems: Hydrogeologist").

The grassroots organization, Water Wells First, formed in 2016, is perhaps the most local and sensitive to the crisis in Chatham-Kent. Members of the organization expressly claim that they are not anti-wind: they want more collaboration with the provincial government (*Water Wells*

First). This demand is not unjustified, as the Green Energy Act enabled the provincial government to mandate the entirety of clean energy implications, such as sites of construction and distribution of energy – irrespective of municipal by-laws. Municipalities had no power over contracts, location, or any aspect of the process; frustrated citizens went to their local Town Hall seeking change, only to find Randy Hope, the mayor of Chatham-Kent, virtually helpless. Yet this did not stop him and multiple of representatives from advocating at parliament on behalf of their constituents.

In August of 2017, Water Wells First set up blockades at the North Kent Wind site by parking trucks and farming equipment in the access lanes, and some members even went so far as to chain themselves to tractor wheel weights. After the blockades, "Chatham-Kent's Mayor Randy Hope wrote to minister of environment Chris Ballard, asking for an 'immediate intervention' in the water quality issues due to conflicting reports' on water quality that created 'fear and concern among residents'" ("Frustrated Chatham-Kent Residents Stage Blockade at Wind Turbine Site"). In response to the blockades, North Kent Wind sought an injunction against Water Wells First as they deemed the protesters to be a safety risk; the court sided with the company saying that the protesters were trespassing on private property ("Turbine Company Wins Injunction against Chatham-Kent Water Well Advocates").

Regardless of municipal jurisdiction, residents took action after a turbine buckled in January of 2018; seizing on this opportunity, member of provincial Parliament Rick Nicholls called for the government to conduct systematic structural inspections of all wind farms while community members circulated a petition reiterating the same idea (Baxter). Member of provincial Parliament Monte McNaughton also threw his support behind Water Wells First, and appealed to the government, "calling for a moratorium on development at the North Kent Wind farm site"

("Water Wells First Sets up Multiple Blockades"). His words echoed the general sentiment of the Chatham-Kent population.

In 2018, to settle complaints, North Kent Wind conducted their own study on the quality of the water, and found that turbine vibrations were not the cause of the sediment in well water. In February of 2018, the Chatham-Kent Medical Officer of Health went further and said that the water, despite the sediment, was fit for consumption: "in the absence of bacterial contamination there is no health hazard from undissolved particles in water" (Baxter). Wallaceburg locals lashed back, and said they wanted an impartial study conducted – in their eyes, North Kent Wind has their own vested interest in the continuance of the project.

This section will go onto describe the provincial government's response, or lack thereof. Before delving into the provincial response, it should be noted that the federal government too played a role, albeit a subtle one. In the wake of residents calling for a health study, in 2014, a federal health study said that sleep, illnesses, chronic heart conditions, stress and quality of life were not effected. However, the study did claim that annoyance, which has the potential to escalate to migraines, blood pressure changes and tinnitus, was prevalent among people surveyed (Canada). Residents claimed that the study did not take into account geographic differences, such as the shale and wind levels.

Although the Mcguinty party imposed a moratorium on all offshore wind farm projects including the infamous Trillium Power Wind Corp, an offshore wind farm in Lake Ontario, neither his nor Kathleen Wynne's party made significant headway in resolving the issue and this showed in election polls ("Ontario Offshore Wind Turbine Moratorium Set to Continue for Several More Years despite Contradictory Science"). Eventually this dissent accumulated to elect Doug Ford, the provincial Tory leader. This also has something to do with election

promises that were made; in 2018, both the Progressive Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party, "[promised] to launch an immediate investigation into well contaminants if they [formed] government. If the investigation [found] that wind development has caused the residents' problems, the companies that own the wind farms [would] be made to pay" (Baxter). PC's also said that they would impose a moratorium on all wind turbine construction while they analyzed Ontario's energy situation. Under Premier Ford, the Green Energy Act, formally known as the Green Economy and Green Energy Act, was repealed January 1, 2019, and with it all attempts for renewable energy. Ford also supplemented his position by saying "that the GEA had resulted in fewer manufacturing jobs in Ontario and that regulations around renewable energy projects had led to higher electricity prices for consumers" (Hill). While the Liberal party refused to take serious action, the later Conservative party did to some degree, but not before mistrust for the provincial government in rural southwestern Ontario communities began to flourish.

This section will attest to the flimsy plan that was the Green Energy Act, and recommendations for future projects. Although well-intentioned, the process of implementing the Green Energy Act, especially in rural communities, was flawed. One flaw was the lack of consultation, consequently leading to a lack of community engagement. Another flaw was that municipal powers got vetoed. If a project is getting implemented in a community, it must have the support of the community to succeed, or at least an open and responsive channel of communication between constituents and government. Feedback is also necessary when considering new projects to avoid past mistakes. According to the Constitution, provinces have traditionally had the sole right to issue laws in junction with "development, conservation and management of sites and facilities

in the province for the generation and production of electrical energy" (Rowlands, 3). So while the government's actions are completely legal, there is something to be said for misuse of power. Academic Chad Walker says that rather than blindly construct green energy, which is the case for Ontario, people should be interested in 'the how': the planning process (Chad, 1). When residents are actively engaged and informed of the planning process, approval rates for projects are higher (Christidis and Law, 2). The same goes for political self-efficacy: if residents feel as though they cannot influence the process, approval rates lower, which is what happened in Chatham-Kent. The Green Energy Act vetoed all municipal jurisdiction: "for wind energy to be built across many jurisdictions, developers need only to speak to landowners who agree to have turbines placed on their land. Municipalities have been relegated to the sideline, and some have understandably resented this change" (Chad, 2). This bypass of authority is undermining local decision-making and fosters resentment for provincial government, and for the project itself. Especially with impactful projects such as windfarms, more people need to be considered than merely the landowners – the water well complainants are evidence of this. To avoid future nimbyism, it is therefore recommended to firstly consult people, and to secondly foster a sense of investment within communities through allocation of power. Although the municipality could not have taken as much action as it would have liked compared to provincial powers, the concept carries in that projects initiated by the municipal government must adhere to the same strategies in order to be successful.

The Green Energy Act was created after the 2008 recession out of urgency. While it was a good idea on paper, the implementation was flawed, and from these flaws sprouted mass polarization and an inability to cooperate. The municipality of Chatham-Kent is one example where the Green Energy Act failed; according to residents, turbine vibrations caused sediment to

shake loose and contaminate well water. Lack of provincial advocacy escalated tensions to the point where the Green Energy Act was later repealed through government turnover. People were not necessarily opposed to clean energy, but rather, the way in which it was done – nimbyism had begun. Taking the grievances of local communities seriously is vital in retaining the respect of constituents.

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NIMBY Case Study: Dartmouth Hotel Problem

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March 25, 2020

Polisci 2294G

Page Count:

One of the largest issues facing municipal governance has always been the complications of NIMBYism, or more well known as "not in my backyard" syndrome, and relatively peaceful, and detached areas from the burgeoning populous areas of Ontario, are no exception to this issue of municipal problems. Dartmouth, a regional sector under the jurisdiction of the Halifax city council since 1991 has always been at odds with its new municipal organization, and at the precipice of this friction has been the infamous 2012 case of a new 8-storey hotel, that the council wanted to implant on the shoreline of Lake Banook. What resulted was a prime example of municipal NIMBYism, and its struggles, even within political communities that relatively have politically unified, and sound political atmosphere. In this essay, we will explore the mechanics of how Halifax dealt with, and effectively, despite the controversy, handled a situation which both had the critical dynamics of being first, a project important to the economy and growing tourism sector, and rejected by the locals who sought to have removal of the project altogether. Hopefully, through the study of this municipal case, we can better understand the importance of multi-level governance between provincial-municipal governments, and the potential factors that could help municipal governments through the function of giving the people more of a voice, within this system, and also giving private interests the same voice in terms of achieving their interests.

In 2012, the city council of Halifax held a vote whether to grant permission to an investment real estate group called Monaco Investment Partnership to build an eight-storey hotel complex on the banks of Lake Banook. This was met with fierce resistance from the locals of Dartmouth, who mainly took issue with the idea of Halifax reigning jurisdiction of what they felt was under their authority; Lake Banook. This lead to a classic "not in my backyard" situation but within it, multiple aspects, such as control over jurisdiction and the protection of "scenery" they

deem important is what stands to make this case so important in the study of NIMBYism.[1] The main underlying factor being the locals wanting to remain more natural, rather than developing high-rises in an area that many things are 'devoid' of the big city living and atmosphere.[2]

The project itself came at an important time for Nova Scotia's ever-growing tourism sector, that had seen unprecedented growth in tourism during the 1990s to the 2000s. But as the 2010s came, Nova Scotia's tourism rates had begun to stagnate, and even in 2012 seeing a negative growth for the first time in 20 years. This presented a large issue for the municipal government of Halifax, as their ability to attract tourism, and even immigration was extremely important to the financial backbone of their city.[3] Which is why the 2012 project was particularly in focus for many Nova Scotians, who desperately wanted a return to the growth of their tourism market. By far, the most major project undertaken during this fall in tourism was the institution of public rights to the Monaco Investment Partnership to construct a large and more modern hotel, in the more wildlife-focused areas of Halifax, for example, an aquatic activity centre for tourism, as well as hiking.[4] While they originally tried in 2012, they eventually were able to push through a vote finally in 2018 to approve the hotel, but this still was met with fierce resistance from the local community, but the difference between the 2012 case and the 2018 case is the council in Halifax were strongly in favour of going ahead despite the city council membership being relatively unchanged, still lead

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[1] Woodford, Zane. "Chaotic Public Hearing Ends with Dartmouth Development Approval." thestar.com, September 7, 2018. https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2018/09/06/chaotic-public-hearing-ends-with-dartmouth-development-approval.html.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] "Tourism Statistics." Home. Accessed March 25, 2020. https://tourismns.ca/research/tourism-statistics.

[4] Woodford, Zane. "Dartmouth Residents Opposed an Eight-Storey Apartment Building. Now They're Getting a 16-Storey Hotel." thestar.com, April 9, 2019. https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2019/04/09/dartmouth-residents-opposed-an-eight-storey-apartment-building-now-theyre-getting-a-16-storey-hotel.html?li_source=LI&li_medium=star_web_ymbii.

by Michael Savage who had assumed office in 2012 and still to date remains mayor.[5] This begs the important question of what changed? If we look at the aspects of the economy of the city of Halifax, tourism had remained stagnant, albeit a little growth since 2012 had been seen. Despite the strong showing of complete local opposition, the plans to build the hotel was set in stone, with the council approval in September 2018 and approximately 6 years of small council approvals for prospecting etc, the construction was looking like it was going to occur, when on July 19th, 2019 the council, with popular backing decided to revoke the permit, under the guise that the prospectors were violating the proposed contract of only building an 8-storey hotel when in reality the Monaco Investment Partnership had planned on building a 16-storey hotel rather than an 8-storey. It had taken a dramatic turn, but eventually, the council was able to block the hotel being constructed, and with popular support, but this outcome still leaves one problem unchecked, and that is the focus of expanding revenue and commerce for the city of Halifax.

Residential reactions, like many NIMBY cases, was very polarized, much of the public discourse was met by individuals that were particularly against the proceedings taking place, this was even enough to stall the vote in 2012 and it clearly was no different in 2018. The principle set by the city council was stern and rather authoritative in nature, shouting could be heard as the project was approved by the council, many residents could be heard saying that if they voted in favour that it would be the last vote they would ever take part in.[6] This was the dynamic present at this vote, clearly there was a stern NIMBY showing in view for this hotel to be constructed, as both the need for this project to continue was there, and there was definite support for the

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[5] "Former Liberal MP Mike Savage Wins Mayoralty in Halifax." The Globe and Mail, May 9, 2018. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/former-liberal-mp-mike-savage-wins-mayoralty-in-halifax/article4626449/.
[6] Woodford, Zane. "City Powerless to Stop Controversial Dartmouth Hotel Project." thestar.com, August 6, 2019. https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2019/08/06/city-powerless-to-stop-controversial-dartmouth-hotel-project.html.

establishment of the hotel for local businesses. Many of the residents despite this support for the economy disagreed with this sentiment, many environmental groups within Halifax were fervent in the hotel's disruption of the lake's natural function, such as the wind patterns, sun reflections, and natural walkways for local animal life, some complaints even going towards the increased tourism would negatively affect the well-being of the lake. But rejection was very diverse amongst the crowd of 75 in attendance, former Dartmouth Councillor Gloria McCluskey and Downtown Dartmouth Business Commission executive director Tim Rissesco were also in attendance, showing that the anti-hotel front was diverse and commanded some authority whether the hotel should advance or not. [7] But, the hotel was desperately needed, and still remains important to Halifax, as the tourism sector will continue to grow, and without the proper expansion the city will lose out on much of its possible business, and many businesses understand that need, despite the public backlash.

The most interesting aspect of this study was the reaction of the city of Halifax to the growing factionalism that took place in the general public. The city took a very hands-off strategy after voting in the land rights to the Monaco Investment Partnership, even going as far to tell the public that "the cost of buying out the hotel at this point would cost too much"[8]. The shift of outrage almost seemingly went towards the new owners of this property, with many challenging the Monaco Investment Partnership instead of the government itself. Part of the strategy, albeit a little irresponsible seemed to focus on the offsetting of legal jurisdiction, so much of the dialogue given by the municipality seems to focus on the direct blame being pushed towards the private

[7] Woodford, Zane. "City Powerless to Stop Controversial Dartmouth Hotel Project." thestar.com, August 6, 2019. https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2019/08/06/city-powerless-to-stop-controversial-dartmouth-hotel-project.html.
[8] Campbell, Francis. "Councillor Hopes Staff Report Can Stop Construction of 16-Storey Lake Banook Hotel." SaltWire, April 16, 2019. https://www.saltwire.com/news/local/councillor-hopes-staff-report-can-stop-construction-of-16-storey-lake-banook-hotel-302609/.

interest actor rather than the actions of the city. Much of dialogue of city mentions "we have no legal right", and other quotes from councillors state that it would cost too much money to fix, or even that the loopholes to supersede the private interests rights to the land that they had purchased. For example, one idea given to the city council from the hotel protestors was to signal off the land claiming that it was of importance to the city, but this would have had to go through provincial jurisdiction thus muddying the waters again, making discourse even more confusing and frustrating for the electorate base, diversifying blame in the situation.[9]

The reaction of the city, was seemingly much more calculated than the stern denial of the hotel in 2012, as the consensus became more directed towards impartiality, guiding the city through what was technical, the right of the private ownership to build a hotel that adhered to the already set in stone laws of the province of Nova Scotia. What the council did after was set a series of checks and balances to the hotel's construction planning, this included checks to see if they were adhering to the strict environmental laws that were stressed as the most important factor in public discourse, and were legally binding rules that were instituted provincially, so there was not much lee-way for Monaco Investment Partnership to try and be disingenuous about their conduct. Environmental laws in Nova Scotia are very strict in many ways, much of their natural riverways are protected greatly by the provincial government, this added to the layer of protection to the city council to act in the way they did, these laws also include impeding natural views of the water-scape.[10]

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[9] "City Hall Regional-Council" pdf https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/190730rci03.pdf, Nova Scotia, July 30th, 2019

[10] "Nova Scotia Environmental Protection Legislature." *Pdf https://nslegislature.ca/sites/default/files/legc/statutes/environment.pdf,* Nova Scotia, 1995.

The case of the Dartmouth hotel fiasco can give us a lot of insight into the politics of municipal function, and the ruthless pragmatism that sometimes has to follow with the proper function of directing public discourse. Ultimately for NIMBYism, there is no concrete solution to be obtained from this situation, except only a lesson in how as public servants, we can direct the eventual backlash or even support of important and needed economic projects and beyond.[11] And in this particular case there is a lot to learn in how the directing of this discourse in the public can actually lead to solid policy construction, and eventually win over the support of your voting population because at the end of the day that is the most critical function of any acting politician, to be decisive, successful, and to retain their position after four years. Dartmouth had prior to this situation, a history of being a little disgruntled in the fact that regionally, they had to rely on an outer metropolitan area to advocate and make decisions for its area when Dartmouth identified as a retreat away from this urban sprawl. That's why Dartmouth has a colourful past of rejecting and having fierce resistance to anything that they believe is tacking on to this metropolitan sprawl, so when faced with this NIMBY reaction from the populace, it already was being calculated as a potential risk to the city council as losing support from this area, or it being faced with major rejection. But there were two issues, the Monaco Investment Partnership also legally had land rights to the land, and offered the greater economic incentive, this put the city council of Halifax is an auspicious position going forward. What was really the beneficial action was the ability to have a truly effective public discourse of a key issue to this area, it didn't just happen in one public sitting, it happened through public mobilization, and even the formation of large coalitions who amalgamated and consisted of separate and even quite opposite political leaning organizations. This is the most important factor of this case, it may have taken 6 years, but the city council got

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[11] Ferretti, Maria, and Enzo Rossi. "Pluralism, Slippery Slopes and Democratic Public discourse.(Essay)" (December 1, 2013).

its clear message, that the construction of this large hotel just truly wasn't the right decision, and in the function of politics, this is a blessing in disguise for leaders. In many ways, it resembles the governmental function in the theories by Machiavelli himself, a high emphasis on using public direction to make smart, decisive choices as a political institution and remaining popular among the electorate, as shown through this case, the hotel firm Monaco Investment Partnership truly got the brunt of this situation although the construction and formation of this hotel was primarily the doings of the city council 2011, although the city was under a different political administration. Which begins another issue of NIBMYism, as the responsibility of the current government continues to have to deal with the prior choices and mistakes of the past ruling government, in which had been in power for a long period of time, a trend in Halifax municipal politics despite only obtaining legal municipal rights in 1999 under the Municipal Government Act.[12] The case with NIMBYism isn't particularly if it can be avoided or solved, more or less, in the case of Dartmouth, how can it be used to institute more popular, and effective administrative decisions. Overall, there is a lot to be said about how public discourse, and how this instability can lead to better political function if used correctly, but ultimately NIMBYism remains an important apparatus to utilize our right to express our opinions in how our municipalities are run, but it never has to be a means to an end.

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[12] Province of Nova Scotia. "Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations." Municipal Affairs | Government of NS, June 12, 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20140529085028/http://novascotia.ca/dma/government/history.asp.

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Is Toronto's Smart District a Smart Idea:
An analysis of the City of Toronto's Smart District
implementation

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Cities in Federations

March 25, 2020

The Google parent company, Alphabet, recently acquired a prime public waterfront property inToronto, Ontario. A start-up from Google, called Sidewalk Labs, plans to

transform Toronto's Lake Ontario shoreline into the "most innovative district in the entire world," says Dan Doctoroff, chief executive of Sidewalk Labs (Sidewalk Toronto 2020). There is currently no district in the world as advanced as the district planned for Toronto's shoreline. Sidewalk Labs has said that the new district will be the latest thinking in sustainable design and technology integration into urban planning. The executives of Google and city labs are trying to convince all Torontonians that the futuristic district will be a great addition to the city. However, many residents have been resisting the development of the Smart City for many reasons that are outlined in the paper?

The use of technology would allow the district to run itself efficiently and effectively and would provide a solution to the problems plaguing cities around the world, including Toronto. These problems include traffic flow, crime rates, housing prices, sustainability and carbon emissions. Sidewalk Labs also plans to create a new economic engine that drives outsized accelerated growth (Sidewalk Toronto 2020).

Sidewalk Labs has come up with a six-part plan to create a "Transportation system that reduces the need to own a car by providing safe, convenient, connected, and affordable options for every trip" (Sidewalk Toronto 2020).The innovation plan steps are as listed:

(1) Expand traditional public transit

(2) Make neighbourhoods even more pedestrian and bike-friendly

(3) A new generation of ride-hail services, which includes self-driving vehicles becoming widely available to citizens

(4) Freight and management innovations to keep trucks off local streets

(5) A new public entity that encourages transit, walking and shared trips and

(6) A people-first street network (Sidewalk Labs, 2020).

Sidewalk Labs plans on reducing traffic flow and creating a more mobile city for citizens in a city that has been plagued with reduced mobility for decades—making Toronto residents' lives less stressful and more efficient.

Sidewalk Labs' smart district technology will help Toronto maximize their economic output and create more jobs. By 2040, Sidewalk Labs estimates, based on an economic analysis conducted by urban metrics, that they would create 44,000 direct jobs and 93,000 jobs stimulated by the district (Sidewalk Toronto 2020). By 2040, the smart district would contribute roughly $14.2 billion to the annual GDP and roughly $4.3 billion in annual tax revenue through the acceleration of underutilized areas in the district (Sidewalk Toronto 2020). The smart district would create a new tech hub in Canada, attracting new talent and businesses from around the world, including the new Google headquarters for Canada(Sidewalk Toronto 2020). The smart district would create significant economic growth in Toronto's economy, as well as, the provincial and federal economy.

One of the biggest challenges the world is currently facing is the rapid acceleration of climate change and Sidewalk Labs promises to create a new blueprint for sustainable, climate positive communities. Through the use of energy-efficient buildings and thermal grids, the smart district will reduce the residents' energy consumption and reduce the need for fossil fuels. Green infrastructure and digital management systems will reuse water that would otherwise contaminate the water system. Smart disposal systems would

encourage residents to reduce their waste and reduce the amount of waste that ends up in ecosystems. The smart district would create a global model for sustainable neighbourhoods that cities in the future could use to reduce their carbon footprint, a crucial step in moving away from the climate change tipping point.

Housing in Toronto is growing at an unsustainable rate; last year, housing prices increased by 12.3% (Subramaniam 2020). The smart district will create a community that is affordable for multiple income groups. Building design innovation will accelerate construction timelines by as much as 35%, and this will allow 40% of housing units to be sold below the market rate (Sidewalk Toronto 2020). Sidewalk Labs estimates that the district will generate $1.4 billion for below-market housing through 2048. The goals of Sidewalk labs will also allow people to live and work within their communities, reducing carbon emissions from commuting and improve the quality of life for residents in the District.

The google corporation holds a very traditional economic view because they act out of economic interests and not in developmental interests in society. Google wants to create a cluster in the smart district of tech companies shaped around their headquarters for Canada. This will attract talented individuals from all around the world because of the benefits that come with being in the tech hub such as, connections, local knowledge, relationships and increased competition driving innovation. The smart district would create a hub that would be innovative for technology advancements and profitable for the City of Toronto.

Sidewalk Labs has promised to provide practical innovations to many areas within the city that are struggling to keep up with the fast rate of growth. However, many residents are opposing Sidewalk Labs' smart district and want to see the project scrapped altogether. Residents started the #BlockTheSidewalk movement in response to the Google proposed project in February 2019 (Blocksidewalk 2020). In response to the proposal of Google's Sidewalk Labs, #Blocksidewalk launched a campaign to "develop Toronto's waterfront for the benefit of Torontonians, not corporate shareholders" (Blocksidewalk 2020).

Resistance to the smart district began when the Toronto Star newspaper released information that Sidewalk Labs were financing more significant developments than they had previously announced (Toronto Star). Leaked documents showed that Sidewalk Labs planned on developing the Port Lands (200 acres) as well, a lot more land than the initial 12 acres discussed and to profit an estimated $6 billion over 30 years from development fees, property taxes and increasing property values (BlockSidewalk 2019). Sidewalk Lab's lack of transparency with the residents of Toronto created a division between developers and residents. Bianca Wylie spokesperson for the movement said, "Cities are granting too much power to big tech companies like the Alphabet subsidiary, even as regulators struggle to rein them in" (Randall 2019). Sidewalk Labs' failure to disclose information created a lack of trust and citizens began to question whether their intentions of the corporation were in favour of Torontonians.

The CCLA is suing Waterfront Toronto and three levels of government for a reset of the Sidewalk Toronto Project. The lawsuit is seeking to abolish the partnership between Sidewalk Labs and Waterfront Toronto. The suit alleges that Waterfront Toronto has no

jurisdiction to take on an electronic and data surveillance project of this scope, and the collection of personal data violates rights to privacy, liberty and free association protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Kirkwood 2020). The suit also alleges that Waterfront Toronto does not have the authority to create a digital governance policy for the project (Kirkwood 2020). The lawsuit only reinforced many residents' mistrust in Sidewalklabs and Google.

Sidewalk Labs also faced a backlash from the public over privacy. Sensors and cameras will be used to track data and also the behaviour of residents within the district. The smart city uses physical and mobile sensors that yield a huge amount of data on residents, comparable to the surveillance the Chinese government uses (Canon 2018). Google was recently indicted in the U.S one resident tweeted, "Google is CIA. CIA MKUltra experiments still have cases in court. Unsealed indictment below (Exhibit 1) regarding google & AI. This smart city is all about what they are indicted for "(@ElizabetCovfefe 2019). The company's unethical corporate history has caused many residents, researchers and government officials to be skeptical about whether the smart city is a smart move. The technology and surveillance project director at The Canadian Civil Liberties Brenda McPhail said, "the rules for governing how we acquire user consent are fundamentally flawed" (Faguy 2019). Privacy concerns from the public are justified; Canada does not have policies in place to protect citizens from large corporations collecting and using their data. Until Canada develops a set of cybersecurity policies that are secure, citizen's data will be exploited by large corporations.

Alphabet/Google licensing of public space within its existing digital infrastructure will generate financial revenue for the city but under Google terms (Zekina 2020). The

partnership builds political capital and public goodwill while creating a dependency on google, helping google establish a monopoly over both physical and digital realms (Zekina 2020). Google has proposed a vague plan that would require overturning many local laws and take power away from local representatives (Simpson 2020). Toronto residents feel that the smart city will take legislative power away from their representatives and leave residents powerless to google (Simpson 2020).

The majority of protestors on youtube and in protests were middle aged to older aged residents (The Real News Network 2020). The younger population was not as active in resisting the smart district likely because they have grown up with technology and understand how it works better than the older population. Older people tend to not understand technology and fear the technological changes and advances within their community. The promise of a tech hub in Toronto would create many jobs for younger adults in the next decade and the older population would not receive as many benefits of having a tech hub within their community.

The Smart District was met with significant resistance from Torontonians and has gone through months of negotiations between residents, Waterfront Toronto, Sidewalk Labs and the tri-government agency responsible for the project. Toronto held many council meetings where residents were giving the opportunity to voice their concerns. The city considered resident's concerns when negotiating with sidewalk labs and Waterfront Toronto but refused to scrap the project entirely as society continues to advance into a digital age. The city of Toronto realizes the benefits of a smart city, and the positive effects technology will play in building Toronto's infrastructure (Toronto 2020).

Sidewalk Labs proposed a new plan for the smart district that is more limited and addresses several major Torontonian concerns, including data privacy, intellectual property and real estate (Toronto 2020). The final decision is to be made in March 2020 and it is likely that the proposal will need adjustments in order to meet and satisfy the public's demand. The city of Toronto has conditionally approved the revised proposal, and this shows that the city council is pleased with how Sidewalk Labs revised their proposal in order to meet the demands of the city. It is likely that the project will move forward upon approval in the near future

It is estimated that by 2050 70% of the world's population will live in urban areas (Hauser 2019). As city populations continue to grow, there is an increasing need to create a more efficient infrastructure for the citizens. The goal of smart districts/cities is to improve the quality of life and upgrade the services provided within the city, through the use of information and data collected. Smart cities have the potential to positively impact challenges cities are facing such as traffic and mobility, energy consumption, crime and housing rates. As technology continues to advance and cities continue to grow, it is almost inevitable that smart cities will be required to effectively and efficiently run a municipality. Chief innovation officer for Kansas City said, "twenty-five years from now, these will just be called cities. The 'smart' bit will be assumed" (Hauser, 2019). Globally smart city projects grew 38% over three years (Douglas 2017). The need for

governments to be able to implement "smart" technology smoothly into urban areas will be necessary in the future.

Toronto's smart city is the first of its kind, and other cities around the world have been following the case carefully to learn how to implement a similar system into their city. Because this smart district is essentially a test run, many lessons can be learned.

First, when implementing an innovative idea such as the smart district, the whole community will be affected by the outcome. The distinguishing power of a municipal corporation is its power of local self-government; the inhabitants are authorized in their corporate capacity to legislate in local concerns (Graham 2020). Therefore it is essential to be inclusive of all opinions. Governments should prioritize the opinions of a diverse group of community members over the goals of the corporation. There are different types of power such as legitimate, reward, expert and information different groups hold different types of power, including a diversity of groups, spreads the power to multiple groups. Providing the public with a voice throughout the policy and regulatory processes, this will ensure that both the community and local businesses are satisfied with the policies and regulations set in place for the project before approval.

Second, policies need to put in place before the approval of a new project that protects the residents. As technology advances, policies in place need to advance as well in order to protect the security of residents. Current policies in place left residents of Toronto vulnerable to be exploited by Google and Alphabet. Tech companies have been caught in the past misusing the public data for self-advancement yet, Toronto's municipal government still chose to approve the project without any new policies in place to protect their residents. The municipality should ensure that its citizens are secure and protected first, before passing any new project that could potentially exploit or harm its citizens in a

negative way. In order to do that, all three levels of government need to work together to ensure the safety of citizens from international corporations.

Also, age of protestors is a significant factor when implementing new advanced projects. The older population tends to fear change and the younger population welcomes change because they have a better understanding of new technologies being implemented. When a city is making a project that will be implemented over decades it is important to take into consideration the age of people resisting the project. A younger population will be more affected by the changes, so it is important to weigh the opinions of the population that will be more affected by the changes being implemented over time.

Finally, providing better data and information to residents and the public will create a sense of trust, understanding and lead to a stronger relationship between all parties. Educating residents on the positive and negative impacts of the proposed project will help people who are less knowledgeable in the area understand all aspects of the project and why the city is implementing it. By providing how the city will benefit from the project, such as the environmental, economic or social benefits, residents are more inclined to provide structured feedback rather than trying to scrap the project from the start. Also, all organizations involved in the project need to be transparent with the public. Sidewalk Labs and Waterfront Toronto failed to release information about the project, and it was discovered through leaks, this created a sense of distrust between opposing parties and created a feeling of division. It is crucial that all parties are honest in the approval process when one party fails to be transparent. The other parties lose their trust and are less inclined to approve the project.

In conclusion, as technology advances, cities will continue to integrate smart systems into their infrastructures and government. Toronto is the first city in the world that plans to build a smart district; this created challenges that the city had to face and overcome. The process of implementing the first smart district has been long and faced resistance from multiple public groups. The city has had to address many oppositions and adapt along the way, but it looks likely that the city is now prepared to move forward with the development of the first-ever smart district. The benefits from the smart city will change how cities are governed and how they are built, creating a more efficient infrastructure for residents. Other municipalities looking to implement smart technology into their infrastructure can learn from the mistakes that Toronto made. By, including all residents in the decision-making process, implementing policies and regulations that protect residents before the project begins, weighing opinions based on who will be the most affected and ensuring all parties are transparent with the public, will help create a smoother implementation process for new "smart" projects in cities.

Exhibit 1
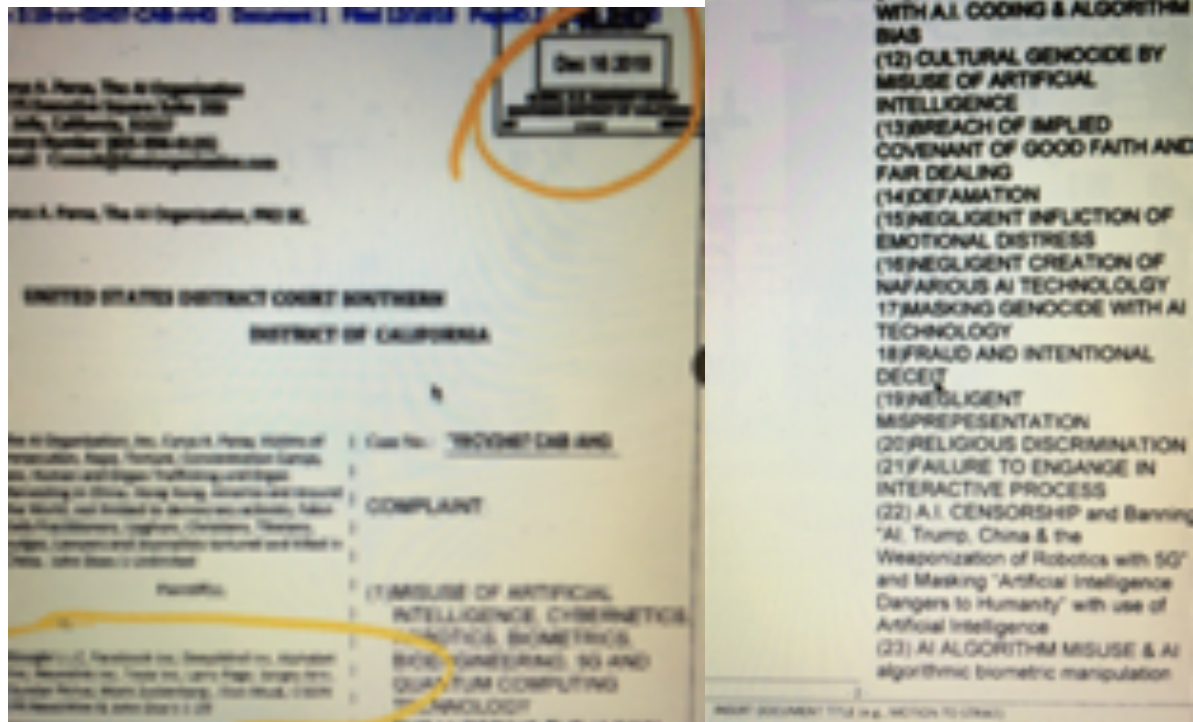
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NIMBY Case Report: Thunder Women Healing Lodge, Scarborough

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March 26, 2020

Introduction

Today, urban centres in most democracies are constantly faced with systemic issues like 'the increasing gap between rich and poor, unaffordable housing, homelessness, drug abuse and aboriginal poverty'[1] for which an immediate remedy is necessary. City governments usually come up with several developmental and infrastructural contingencies to address these problems, but their implementation is often stuck at the 'not in my back yard' or NIMBY phase. This is because such decisions tend to directly and visibly impact the day to day lives of people. Stemming out of the community itself, most residents in local jurisdictions are easily able to support or oppose these municipal plans. This leads to NIMBYism, which is often categorized by organised opposition through different forms of media and direct participation in town halls and public consultations.

Critics cite that the NIMBY label is 'generally used as a pejorative implying selfishness, ignorance, and irrationality on behalf of residents.'[2] It is an excuse to capitalize on 'personal interests ahead of societal benefits.'[3] To better deal with NIMBYism, it is essential to not only develop a robust theoretical framework of measurement, but also engage in 'public policy and social science that might encourage wider community acceptance.'[4] In the past, 'empirical case studies have been conducted on public responses to diverse forms'[5] of infrastructure. Similarly, understanding how NIMBYism has been developing in the Canadian context is essential for all municipalities in the country- especially those (like London, Ontario) that are mid-sized and rapidly growing and may face newer challenges with increasing size and population.

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[1] Mike Harcourt, "Opinion: Canadian Cities Face Complex Problems in The Urban Century", Vancouver Sun, 2017.
[2] Petrova, Maria A. "From NIMBY to Acceptance: Toward a Novel Framework — VESPA — For Organizing and Interpreting Community Concerns." Renewable Energy 86, no. C (February 2016): 1280–1294.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Devine-Wright, Patrick. "Explaining 'NIMBY' Objections to a Power Line: The Role of Personal, Place Attachment and Project-Related Factors." Environment and Behavior 45, no. 6 (August 2013): 761–81.

Further, it is also important to note that just like other social issues, marginalized and vulnerable minority communities are at greater risk of being negatively impacted by tools like NIMBYism. For example, the 'opposition to affordable or transitional housing is usually based on the assumed characteristics of the population (that benefits from it)'[6] making it harder for cities to build low-income housing within an existing infrastructure. Here in, residents are easily able to use NIMBYism as a tool to exclude an already marginalized group of people- 'the homeless.'

Likewise, NIMBYism also poses the capacity to affect one of the most persecuted communities in Canada- the First Nations. 'In 2016, almost 900,000 indigenous people lived in Canadian urban areas, accounting for more than half of their population in the country.'[7] Generally moving into cities to seek employment and educational opportunities, indigenous men and women are already subject to intersectionality and subsequent problems of crime, domestic abuse and below average incomes. As a result, City governments often assume the responsibility to uphold the rights of these people in a predominantly non-native landscape. In the past, 'Vancouver has proclaimed itself as the City of Reconciliation while Halifax has held an annual parade and procession commemorating the 1761 Treaty of Peace and Friendship.'[8] However, such municipal efforts are always at the disposal of local communities and can be easily called off to ruin 'indigenous access to vital support services.'[9]

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[6] "NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) | The Homeless Hub", Homelesshub.Ca, 2019
[7] Kory Wilson, "Indigenization Guide: Urban Indigenous Peoples and Demographics – Bccampus", Bccampus.Ca
[8] Bob Joseph, "First Nations and Local Government Reconciliation", Ictinc.Ca, 2015
[9] Jane Gerster, "'Not in My Backyard': How Nimbyism Impacts Access to Vital Support Services", Global News, 2019

Case Analysis

This case analysis will explore a relevant example of NIMBYism affecting newly upcoming indigenous infrastructure in the Greater Toronto Area: Scarborough's controversial Thunder Woman Healing Lodge. Meant to be a secure place for Indigenous women dealing with the criminal justice system, the Lodge was formed from a 'community-driven project raised out of concern and recognition of the need to break the cycle'[10] for indigenous women offenders. It is owned and operated by Aboriginal Legal Services located on Yonge Street in Toronto.

The plan (see Exhibit 1) proposed for the Lodge is a six-storey and 24-bed building for the corner of Kingston Road and Cliffside Drive in Southwest Scarborough. The facility will be designed to provide 'restorative care, supportive housing and gathering spaces for cultural programming, including an outdoor sweat lodge.'[11] Services like 'trauma counselling and teaching and healing circles' with a 'small store at the facility where women can gain work experience'[12] would be made available. Largely, the Lodge will offer emotional, physical as well as vocational support to any indigenous woman willing to resume day to day life.

In first impressions, it is difficult to understand why the Lodge should be in the heart of a typical Toronto neighbourhood. To answer this, President of the Lodge Patti Pettigrew highlights how healing and restoration requires 'access to (basic and fundamental) social services and transportation' which is mostly available in relatively affluent urban areas.[13] If similar projects are built on isolated pockets of land in either sparsely populated, impoverished or rural

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[10] "Thunder Women Healing Lodge Society", Twhls.Ca, 2019

[11] *restorative care, supportive housing and gathering spaces for cultural programming, including an outdoor sweat lodge*

[12] Laura Howells, "Indigenous Healing Lodge Gets Green Light in Scarborough Neighbourhood | CBC News", CBC, 2019

[13] Ibid.

neighbourhoods, the amount of local support available to run such facilities can be fragile. After all, only a well-knit and stable community can provide a secure and sustainable space for recovery. As resident-supporters of the lodge have pointed out, it is one's 'absolute responsibility as settlers to be a part of reconciliation' and see an initiative like the Lodge as an asset to their community.[14] This suggests how projects receiving NIMBYism can be turned around to be used as potential opportunities of social cohesion with some sort of a deliberate framework. Lastly, it is also true that 'Scarborough contains Toronto's largest indigenous population, one growing by 20 percent every five years'[15] which makes it an apt area for indigenous communities to prosper. Besides, the region's proximity to the lake makes it very significant for native women as they see themselves as 'protectors of the water.'[16]

However, the building of the Lodge has, of course, faced a significant amount of NIMBYism from the local community in Southwest Scarborough. The fact that the site was meant to service people involved with 'crime' scared off many families as they 'did not want the crime rate to go up in (their) community.'[17] To this point, it is also essential to consider that there are already people in the community who have been released from incarceration and are living in it without proper support. Hence, the Lodge may work from within the community itself, instead of always dealing with external beneficiaries.

Overall, safety was deemed the primary concern. The two schools[18] in the vicinity were also brought up, citing how women housed in the facility 'might have visitors and may bring other

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Mike Adler, "Scarborough Residents' Concerns Delay Proposed Indigenous Women's Lodge", Toronto.Com, 2019

[16] Michael Smee, "Why One Scarborough Neighbourhood Wants No Part of An Indigenous Healing Lodge | CBC News", CBC, 2019.

[17] Ibid.

[18] *Cliffside Public School and Birch Cliff Public School*

kinds of elements to the area'[19] making the locality dangerous for schools to operate in. Parents were worried about their kids who they thought could get 'easily influenced' by 'wrong people'. In this situation, the community demonstrated a strong tendency to label its insecurities as 'other elements' and was able to get away with this in the name of 'local opposition'. One of the biggest and ongoing challenges, here, and for NIMBYism in general, is the 'explicit and thinly veiled racism and classism'[20] acting against the Indigenous women, as a local resident wrote in a letter of support.

Residents also went on to say that 'there (were) so many possible ways they could (have done) the project elsewhere'[21] and argued that the Lodge was a 'bad fit' for their neighbourhood. These claims were made without really establishing or even discussing what sort of a locality would be a good for a project like the Lodge. The fact that the locality was not 'developed enough'[22] to support a healing lodge was brought up, since any such establishment would harm the vicinity's reputation and drive down property values. This is a classic case of irrationality within NIMBYism and the extent to which organised opposition can help formalize baseless claims. Intervention by local authorities at this stage can help neighbourhood communities navigate their concerns whilst constructively discussing the pros and cons of a project like the Lodge.

With that, the increased traffic that the Lodge could bring to the neighbourhood was claimed to be another concern where neighbours blamed surrounding condo constructions for more cars around them. The general trend was for people to say that if the lodge is built, '(they were) going to look for somewhere else (to stay).' Given that the Lodge would also include permanent apartments for

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[19] Smee, CBC, 2019.
[20] Howells, CBC, 2019
[21] Smee, CBC, 2019
[22] Howells, CBC, 2019

12 women who have completed re-integration counselling, the building can be regarded as a condo, which opens another controversial area which often faces NIMBYism. The 'upwards and inwards' development strategy can only function if condos are encouraged and residents start drifting away from single family homes- which, based on local opposition, is not the trend in Southwest Scarborough. If the idea of 12 permanent units in a block space can lead to residents complaining about congestion, high rises are a faraway goal for affluent suburban localities.

Therefore, the case of the Lodge is particularly unique because it brings together multiple urban issues that are under the purview of both local governance as well as community collaboration. Apart from the central theme of indigenous welfare and support places, the Lodge exemplifies condo development as well as low income housing. It relates with local crime and drug abuse issues as well, especially due to the criminal and statistical background of indigenous women offenders. For a family living in Southwest Scarborough, the lodge may come across as a culmination of everything that an average middle-class family would not want to see in their backyard. Therefore, studying this case with the interconnectedness of the issues it raises might help deliver key-takeaways for Canadian urban centres facing similar challenges.

In terms of the kind of dialogue between the residents and the Lodge, it is noteworthy that the project was made public after more than two years of planning with the company incorporated in 2016 and land and property consultations starting in the spring of 2018. Locals complained about the lack of communication and the fact that they only heard of the project in June 2019 when it was nearing its end. While the Lodge did have a social media presence and defined goals for community consultation through a 'no-surprise' process, residents accused them of 'sneaking it through' until the end. The Lodge's Facebook Page outlines the 'usage of 'personal contacts' with

neighbours and responding to concerns in a 'non-confrontational' atmosphere'[23] as consultation strategies all scheduled for February 2019. However, the community knew only weeks before the project's June hearing at the Scarborough's Committee of Adjustment. The information became widespread so last minute that the 'original hearing date was pushed back a month to July 25 in order to allow for five smaller community discussions.'[24] Even the consultant on the project was allegedly contacted several times by community members but did not respond to them in the time frame that was initially promised. This makes a weak case for early and long-term relationship building with the community which might have been useful for the slow acclimatisation of residents to something as unique as a Healing Lodge in their neighbourhood.

Additionally, seeing this as an opportunity to show support to the indigenous community, all levels of government supported the Lodge in some way, 'securing $6.0 million in capital funding[25]. The City of Toronto also offered funding under its Open-Door Program which was 'conditional to the confirmation of full project financing.'[26] This indicates that government authorities were aware of the project before it reached the residents but did not choose to act as a bridge or information provider for the people of Southwest Scarborough. The local Councillor reportedly knew as 'early as 18 months'[27] before the June hearing. Whether the City should assume a role in protecting vital projects that might receive NIMBYism and act as a legitimate information provider is an important consideration for local governments like the City of London moving forward. The involvement of councillors and city officials solidifies the facilitation of proper public dialogue, which is a phenomenon that occurred only very last minute in case of the Lodge.

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[23] Sue-Ann Levy, "LEVY: The Thunder Woman Healing Lodge: The Story Behind the Story", Toronto Sun, 2019.
[24] Howells, CBC, 2019
[25] Levy, Toronto Sun, 2019
[26] Ibid.
[27] Adler, Toronto.Com, 2019

To discuss the Lodge and its appropriateness, a public community meeting was held in June at the 'Birchmount Bluffs Neighbourhood Centre'[28] which 'drew more than 400 residents'[29]. The presence of Scarborough Southwest Councillor Gary Crawford helped add fairness to the meeting. The councillor quoted that 'misinformation was the real issue'[30] and proposed the creation of an information sheet that would help separate fact from rumour. Hence, information pamphlets were handed out to all attendees who were briefed about the project and its significance by President Pettigrew. Both the Lodge representatives and residents sought this as an opportunity to formally voice their claim, adding structure to some generally irrelevant NIMBYism. In doing this, the committee was able to review around '33 letters of support and 18 letters of objection'[31].

The discussions were supposed to be facilitated by a committee manager. Yet, the meeting took an interesting turn to become a somewhat 'emotional debate' about 'integration and solidarity with 60 to 75 people, both for and against the project'[32] engaging in a 90-minute faceoff. An almost equal number of supporters and opponents is quite an exception. Generally, decisions made on NIMBY concerns also consider 'the people who are not in the room'[33] and those who might not express their agreement in the fear of disagreeing with their fellow neighbours. Experts[34] have suggested that if 20 to 30 percent of the people who show up for a room discussion agree with the project, it indicates that the project is essentially feasible. Supporters for the Lodge far exceeded this condition. Naysayer comments were met with accusations of racism and ignorance from some

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[28] Rhythm Sachdeva, "Meeting on Proposed Healing Lodge for Indigenous Women in Cliffside Hears Objections, Accusations of Racism – Beach Metro Community News", Beach Metro Community News, 2019.
[29] Howells, CBC, 2019
[30] Sachdeva, Beach Metro Community News, 2019.
[31] Howells, CBC, 2019
[32] Ibid.
[33] Gord Macdonald, "Neighbourhood Series-Nimby's Gord Macdonald - CKNW Programming - Omny.Fm", Omny.Fm, 2017.
[34] Macdonald, Omny.Fm, 2017.

in the audience while many others stormed out midway. Some did not even want to consider the prospect of having the facility and its community benefits but just wanted to do with parking, traffic and crime. A single parking spot proposed in the development irked many, despite the Lodge offering to lease neighbouring options.

Due to the indecisiveness, confusion and hostility in the meeting, Pettigrew agreed to host five smaller community discussions with groups of 15 to 20 residents and promised to sit down with opposers to work on solutions together. This suggests that most consultations can be productive and impactful if they are planned longitudinally. If the Lodge had abided by its February 2019 deadline for consultations, the community response could have been much smoother. Perhaps, NIMBYism occurs most often when consultation is rough, patchy and spontaneous. A planned and long-term approach might then be an answer to wider social acceptance. Later, on July 25, 'Scarborough's Committee of Adjustment voted unanimously in favour of the lodge' with a 20-day period for community appeals with none reported. The project currently sits at its critical fundraising[35] deadline where October 5th, 2019[36] is cited as the final day to raise 1.3 million dollars that would eventually unlock 5 million in committed funds to begin constructions. There is no update on whether the November deadline to purchase the land has been met or extended and if the Spring 2020 on-site work would happen as per schedule (see Exhibit 2)[37].

In retrospect, as outlined by Gordon Price who is the Director of the City Program[38] at Simon Fraser University, NIMBYism is most likely to occur when the rate of change is faster, and the

[35] Annette Francis, "Fundraising Efforts Underway to Build Much-Needed Indigenous Healing Lodge in Toronto - APTN News", APTN News, 2020
[36] Twhls.Ca, 2019
[37] This refers to a timeline before the City of Toronto declared a state of emergency in lie of the COVID-19 outbreak on March 23, 2020.
[38] Macdonald, Omny.Fm, 2017

scale of change is different from what residents are generally used to. This gives rise to a perceived effect on their quality of life. This was exactly the case for the Lodge. For the residents of Southwest Scarborough, the development of a six-storey complex by their backyard marked a greater rate of change than ordinary housing projects in their vicinity. With that, the scale was very different given that the Lodge would be the first of its kind in Ontario and only one of three in the country[39]. In a way, reconciliation, which is just a theoretical or psychological construct for many, was being brought into their backyard. Inconsistency, uncertainty and a lack of information often leads to an emotional arousal which makes the NIMBYism in case of the Lodge at least reasonable, if not rational.

Conclusion

NIMBYism is generally the community reaching out for dialogue to express concerns. In an ideal world, this should not be the case. With the local requirement for developers and planners to reach out to the concerned community in the spirit of stretch collaboration, the City can in fact, develop some sort of 'public policy and social science that might strengthen community acceptance'[40]. To tackle or even prevent a similar situation in the City of London, the local government should focus on the development of a bylaw that requires projects to engage in a timed, structured and long-term community consultation. City Staff can dedicate a sub-department to facilitate this dialogue where optional services like consultation resources and mediation rubrics from the City can be developed provided. With councillors in the loop and the City being some sort of a watchdog for effective consultation, most public outcry will no longer be categorized as NIMBYism. Finally, it is also imperative to understand that certain projects, like the Lodge have a moral purpose related

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[39] Sachdeva, Beach Metro Community News, 2019.
[40] Petrova, Maria A. "From NIMBY to Acceptance: Toward a Novel Framework — VESPA — For Organizing and Interpreting Community Concerns." Renewable Energy 86, no. C (February 2016): 1280–1294.

to the nation's commitment to topics like reconciliation. These initiatives cannot be contained by

NIMBYism and should be prioritized and upheld by all governments. Scarborough's Committee

of Adjustments demonstrated this commitment with its unanimous vote, and this is a lesson for

many municipalities in a nation where Indigenous support is still fragmented. Certain indigenous

communities like the Squamish Nation in Vancouver are already demonstrating leadership by

building 11 towers and 6,000 units of rental and affordable housing on land they own and control

in the City of Metro Vancouver[41]. The City of London's proximity to the Oneida Nation can call

for similar partnerships.

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[41] Max Fawcett, "Opinion: A Solution to The Toxic Effects of Nimbyism: Indigenous Ownership", The Globe and Mail, 2019.

Exhibit 1: Sketches and Site[42]

[42] Howells, CBC, 2019

Exhibit 2: Timeline and Information on Website[43]

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Richmond City Turning Point Recovery Society Case

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Introduction:

Turning Point Recovery Society is one of BC's leading non-profit providers of residential and outreach addiction recovery programs and services since 1984. It claims to have offered residential recovery for addicts seeking treatment for 23 years in Vancouver and Richmond till 2007. First Turning Point recovery center in Richmond opened in 1999 located in Odlin Road. When it was opened, hundreds of people protested, but since then it has operated without incident.

On April 3, 2007, In response to a query regarding the future plans of the non-profit charitable organization that offers residential support recovery services for alcoholics and addicts, Planning and Development Department staff members had met with representatives of Turning Point earlier in the year regarding the organization's interest in the purchase of a house located on Ash Street, currently operating as a residential support home owned and operated by BC Housing. Staff ascertained that Turning Point representatives have no plans to expand its 10411 Odlin Road site. Staff anticipates Turning Point to submit a rezoning application for the Ash Street property sometime in 2007. On May 2007, Turning Point submit application of 40-bed residential recovery facility on Ash Street to City of Richmond.

Local Resident's Reaction:

July 2007, an organization called "Caring Citizens of Richmond" launched a signature operation against the construction of recovery center on 8180 Ash Road in Richmond. The operation was called "Protest against Turning Point's establishment of a recovery center in a Richmond residential area and signature of 10,000 people in Richmond communities."

The new center surrounded by two elementary schools, a secondary school, and a community garden nearby. The residents considered that to build a 40-bed recovery center in such a peaceful residential area is very unsuitable especially students and children. And according to related reports, the new center allows Drug or Alcohol addicts to move freely during the day, and when the elevated train in Richmond is completed, the entire community will become more unsafe. The local said that the most worrying thing is children. On the one hand, their security may be threatened, and they cannot be guaranteed in terms of security. On the other hand, children may be tempted by drugs and alcohol, and they may even develop mental illness. Some local resident believed that recovery centers should be built away from residential areas and schools, rather than here. The organization is stepping up to collect citizens' signatures. Now, signatures from nearly 3,000 families have been collected. The leader of the corporation hoped to collect 10,000 signatures and send them to Richmond City Council and asking them to consider not building a new recovery center here.

Turning Point's Reaction

Brenda L. Plant, the executive director of Turning Point Recovery Center, said the agency has strict rules that do not pose a threat to the safety of the surrounding community. She pointed out that the Turning Point is within the jurisdiction of Vancouver, and drug abuse situation is also happening in Richmond's community, so it is good for the community to build a new recovery center. At the same time, the recovery center could reduce the expenditure of medical services, shelters, and other public services, thereby reducing the cost of long-term medical care. Regarding the site selection, Plant believed that the living

environment is conducive to detoxification. At the same time, they will be affected by the good atmosphere around them, which will help their physical and mental health.

The Progress

Several meetings were holding between Neighborhood Liaison Committee and Turning Point in 8 months. After the consideration of local environment and neighborhood, the Turning Point decided to decrease the space of center to 32 beds. On October 24, 2007, Turning Point held a 3-days open house at DeBeck Elementary School, hoping to make the public understand and accept the operation mode of the center through expert explanations. On the first day of the open day, when the commentator explained the benefits that the center can provide, a large number of residents expressed their doubts and the open day became a large "debate". Nearby residents believe that the center is completely inconsistent with the community's interest, and although it has been reduced to 32 beds, it is still too large. According to the results of a recent online poll conducted by the Richmond Review, 90% of Richmond residents oppose the construction of this recovery center. Caring Citizens of Richmond will hold its first press conference at DeBeck Elementary School as well on December 1, 2007. According to the organization, the main purpose of the rally is to thank the residents of Richmond for their support to reach the goal of collecting 10,000 signatures and to fully maintain the quiet, clean and safe living environment of schools, parks and communities near Ash Street. In the end, the recovery center was signed against by more than 17,000 residents, and the plan ended in failure. Turning point received almost zero support from local community. Brenda Plant is quoted as saying, "They are condemning us, but they don't really know what we do."

Behind the Issue

Economic impact: The location of residential properties in cities directly affects their market prices. Each location represents a different value in a variable, such as accessibility, neighborhood, transportation, socioeconomic level. The recovery center absolutely become one of the most significant factors that could cause directly impact to local property price. Those residences with 1/8 of a mile of a substance treatment center are associated with an 8 percent reduction in home prices when measured against comparable homes that are farther away. The discount is magnified more when treatment centers are for those that specifically treat opiate addiction, which includes addictions to heroin or morphine. In those cases, home values are reduced by 17 percent. The resident cannot afford to have their homes devalued and end up with mortgages that are upside-down if they should choose to sell them.

Social impact: Ash street located at a very good and kind of special spot. Within a 1-mile radius there are two parks, two elementary schools and one middle school. Which means this area is particularly children and young student zone. As recovery center allow drug or alcohol addicts have chance to walk freely outside the center that could cause negative impact to residents especially children. Parents may concern about the addicts only regarding to their identity but not whether they are already cure. Although turning Point claims to have offered residential recovery for addicts seeking treatment for 23 years in Vancouver and Richmond with no complaints or increased criminal activity, Vancouver police spokesperson Jana McGuiness said tracking crime growth specifically in areas with treatment facilities would be too difficult to assess because "crime is everywhere. But in fact, setting up a recovery center in the community has great benefits. Christian Rucker, an

addictions specialist based at Vancouver General Hospital who works with Turning Point patients once a week, says spreading treatment facilities around residential neighborhoods can provide addicts a chance to escape the cycle of addiction in downtrodden areas like the Downtown Eastside and Whalley in Surrey.

Government

The BC government has long wanted to control the increase addiction population and assist them in returning to society. The none-profit organization involve in this action could lower some "unneeded" government expenditure on long-term medical care, social welfare and shelter. Vancouver Coastal Health's 2006 "Mental Health and Addictions Supportive Housing Framework", states that supportive housing should be spread throughout the city's neighborhoods to "support individuals to stay in their own communities and to avoid any over concentration in particular areas". A new bill introduced in the B.C. legislature on April 9 may help rehab center like Turning Point to build more recovery center among residential area. Act No. 23, known as the Public Health Act, may require cities and towns to leave space for people with a drug addiction or mental disability. Although the bill does not specifically mention a "turning point" proposal, the bill places requirements on municipalities to ensure that addicts can get help without leaving town. Those statement and act could play a greater role objectively, they provide legal legitimacy for establishing rehabilitation centers in the community. However, subjectively, because of lack of publicity and identity, the resident still cannot accept the addicts as a member of their community. Meanwhile, the nearby resident's economic benefit was objectively affected by the establishment of recovery center, this loss is based on the stereotype to the addicts and the

possibility of increasing crime in local area. Especially the area surrounded by multiple school. BC and Richmond government provide prerequisites in law and land. However, they did not give much help in mediate neighborhood relations and maintaining security and stability around the facility. The responsibility for returning addicts to society is both social responsibility and government responsibility. The government cannot just provide limited assistance in this regard for none-profit organizations to face most of the problems. Instead, they should shoulder their own responsibilities with organizations and residents work together to help addicts return to society.

Experiences and lessons

In my opinion, in order to provide a good and equal environment for addicts, recovery in the community is an excellent and effective way in some city, but it also has higher requirements and risks than recovery outside the community. In the face of these requirements and risks, the government, recovery centers and residents should cooperate and coordinate to solve the problem. First, the government could increase publicity efforts to minimize or eliminate residents' stereotypes of drug addicts. Second, before the scheduled construction, the three parties should negotiate and listen to each other's needs, strive to reach a relatively consistent solution. The location of the center better maintains a certain distance, such as half to one mile, from the school, park or other high-population public places. At the same time, the government should arrange police officers to patrol the area regularly or irregularly according to the acceptance of addicts by the residents in the area, regularly visit the facilities for security conditions and inspections. At the economic level provide tax break or equivalent aid to residents in a certain range of surrounding areas.

The economic impact of recovery centers on surrounding residents could been weakened.

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Protesting Decision: When Pro-Business NIMBY Meets Pluralism.

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March 26, 2020

Introduction

Part of living within a neoliberal society is the acceptance of the "winners and losers" axiom. Some people develop skills and knowledge to find opportunities to become fabulously wealthy and some people do not. Those who are visibly off the path to wealth security are visible in Canadian cities today. The problem of homelessness was decades in the making and involved reducing social spending at all levels of government, increasing rent burdens, and unresolved problems regarding individual mental health and addictions (Koegel, Burnam, and Baumohl, 1996; Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter, and Gulliver, 2013). Ottawa, the capital of Canada is a city that has a homeless population. Charitable organizations such as the Salvation Army have their own human, financial, and property resources to create structures to alleviate the worst of urban poverty. Raising the disharmony, Ottawa also has streets and neighborhoods with residents and business owners who have a vision for their ideal Ottawa. These three institutions within a city when not aligned create unproductive conflict instead of building the city they want. The conflict of municipal government, large NGO, and resident are present in the years long ongoing argument over the Salvation Army facility on 333 Montreal Road in Vanier, Ottawa. (Appendix A). The 333 Montreal Road project has been characterized as a "shelter." When first announced, the media labeled the facility a "shelter" in the headlines, but the print in articles acknowledges the Salvation Army labels the facility as a "Community Hub." (Kupfer, 2017a). As it is the phrase the project developer uses, from here on in the facility will be described as the: "SA community hub." The community hub includes campus with a courtyard, café, counselling services, and to most quarrel, shelter beds (Chianello, 2017a). By understanding this conflict there can be an understanding of relationships implications and outcomes across actors; public conflict when opposing views are informed; and complicated yet peaceful possible solutions to the future governing conflicts sure to emerge within municipalities.

There are caveats and core assumptions to understand before understanding While there are negative feelings within the conflict over the development of the SA community hub, there is a broad range of recognized facts and good faith axioms. Within the typology of homelessness, the focus group in the conflict is the visible or "absolute" homeless. This is the group that people most often imagine when they think of conceptual "homelessness" (Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005). Through the SOSVanier Twitter feed, an organized data base representing local opposition to the SA community hub, there is acknowledgement that homelessness is a severe problem within Ottawa. Everyone involved in the debate, whether city-council, Salvation Army, or Vanier resident appears aware of facts such as: how in Canada every night there are: 30,000 homeless, 2,880 are unsheltered, and 14,400 are in emergency shelter. Or that multiple levels of government need to be involved to solve the issue (Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter, and Gulliver, 2013). There are no straw man Libertarians or stubborn Reaganites who publicly say the people in need or the people trying to help are wholly out of place. Strictly legal actions are not within the scope of this paper. An example action that will not be elaborated upon is zoning law and which facilities are allowed to be developed on which spaces, as well as legal deeds of ownership. This argument within the Vanier Salvation Army Community Hub debate is detail oriented and not within the author's clear understanding.

The City-Council

There have only been two people on the City of Ottawa city-council who have been exceptionally vocal about the SA community hub.

The SA community hub was met with immediate public skepticism from the Councillor of Ward 12 Rideau-Vanier, Mathieu Fleury. Fleury's first concern was about crime that could come from the facility being built in a recently renovating commercial street. In 2016 there was a stabbing

incident outside of the ByWard Market Salvation Army shelter ("Police investigate fatal daylight stabbing in ByWard Market, 2016). This was also within the Rideau-Vanier neighborhood. Mathieu Fleury was publicly critical of the Salvation Army as a tenant and in their response to the stabbing ("Salvation Army measures fall short, councillor says", 2016). Since then, Fleury has been generally and often publicly critical of the Salvation Army (Nease, 2017a). This set the stage before the Salvation Army facility on Montreal Road was announced. As the development progressed, Mathieu Fleury is concerned about how Montreal Road is one of the 19 business improvement areas and that the SA community hub would jeopardize this initiative. (Trinh, 2017). Even Nathalie Des Rosiers, the Ottawa-Vanier MPP (L) also expressed concern about how the Salvation Army community hub would impact the marginalized within the neighborhood. ("Ottawa-Vanier MPP airs concerns ahead of Salvation Army debate." 2017). However, On November 22, 2017 Ottawa's city-council voted 16-7 in favour of the SA community hub. Mayor Jim Watson was biased in favour and stated that the homeless have nowhere to go, so the community hub and shelter space need to be built. (Chianello, 2017a). Ottawa mayor Jim Watson favoured the SA community hub before the final meeting and vote. This may have influenced the council decision but ultimately that is speculative. The council approval was in line with the Salvation Army.

<u>Salvation Army</u>

The Salvation Army was happy about the choice to build the community hub on Montreal Road in Vanier. Mark Provost of the Salvation Army said this is a time to do things differently. Marc Provost stated that the shelter is in the right place because that is where services are needed. ("Updated: Salvation Army planning to move to Vanier, 2017). Van Gulik, also of the Salvation Army, repeated in a public meeting that it took years to decide Vanier was the most

suitable space. (Nease, 2017).   That the critical factor was that the space is a 30 minute walk

from the key spaces absolute homeless travel to and from. (Trinh, 2017). From the factors

concerning the Salvation Army, the accessible location within Vanier was an optimal choice in a

world of imperfect options. This was not aligned with the residents working on Montreal Road.

The Residents

Within Vanier, there is a resident lead grassroots movement to renovate Montreal Road.

These include the new shops and restaurants growing in recent years. (Kupfer, 2017b). Some of

the business owners have publicly criticized the location choice of the SA community hub on the

grounds that more visible homeless foot traffic could reduce customer foot traffic (Chevalier,

2017). These grassroots and entrepreneurial developments were against the circumstances Vanier

exists in. Evidenced by how some residents claim that the city offloads social programs into

Vanier (Pritchard, 2017). Or the claims that the Vainer neighborhood has support centres as well

as unwanted payday loans and marijuana shops. (Kupfer, 2017b). There is recognition that

Vanier has more supported living residences, social-service centres, spaces used as shelters, and

halfway houses than in other communities. (Chianello, 2017b). The area currently has high

crime, poverty, and mental health issues. (Molina, 2020). While acknowledging the obstacles

individuals face in trying to rebuild community, it is reasonable that they would come together to

form a participatory coalition against the SA community hub. In their collective against the SA

community hub they came to debate with empirical progressivism.

Organized Plurality

Within Vanier, it is the local business owners who are most vocal and most against the

SA community hub. From Dahl, (2005), it was reported in New Haven, CT that different groups

of coalitions held onto political power at different times. The entrepreneurial class was one such

example (Chapter 3). Most importantly to understanding the business owners in Vanier, is that people who develop optimism and a sense of efficacy find it easier getting into the field of politics and being out in the open (Chapter 26). This is a plausible reason why the group that is against the development in Vanier is the business owner and not the renter and especially not the absolute homeless are representing the plural concerned citizen. As Vanier is a local community, a neighborhood to people who laid down roots, the movement to prevent the SA community hub can be called a NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) movement.

A NIMBY movement

There are qualifying characteristics to determine if a movement is in fact a NIMBY movement. Schively (2007) wrote about NIMBY movements as being opposed to facilities on the basis of: facility being needed, facility belonging in the area, facility's setting or operating procedure being insufficient, or the facility having harmful effects. The SOSVanier movement has displayed opposition on the facility belonging in Vanier, the facility being insufficient, and the facility having harmful neighborhood effects. In addition, we can label SOSVanier as a NIMBY movement because NIMBY movement proponents are often self-interested (Schivel, 2007; Fischel, 2001). These business owners are evidently self-interested as they have roots to protect in Vanier and they believe are in jeopardy with the construction of the SA community hub and the absolute homeless that will come through the neighborhood as heavy foot traffic. This fear is not irrational. As an organized movement they were vocal enough to gain the attention of larger more institutionalized actors working, in their perspective, against them.

Community Outreach

In efforts to bring a consensus among city-counil, Salvation Army, and SOSVanier, there were public meetings held. On Tuesday November 14, 2017 a 3 day community planning

committee debate began. 145 people signed up to speak. Arguments were to support Housing

First and Harm Reduction for drug policies (Chianello, 2017b). On the same day, SOSVanier

(2017) Tweeted and Retweeted 174 updates on the meeting taking place. The first meeting on

July 10, 2017 had 600 people in the Richelieu-Vanier Community Centre. Key points made that

night from opposition were: fear of panhandling and drug use, the neighborhood already having

too many social support centres, that the rest of Ottawa should have more support centres, and

that the neighborhood would be foreclosed if the SA community hub were introduced. (Kupfer,

2017a). At this time the Salvation Army made no concessions towards the SOSVanier

community on this issue. After city-council approved the SA community hub, SOSVanier raised

$200,000 for legal fees for an Ontario Municipal Board appeal. (Pearson, 2018).In response to

community outrage, the Salvation Army in 2019 agreed to reduce the number of shelter beds to

roughly half of the original 140 (Porter, 2019). SOSVanier still maintains that they are entirely

against the SA community hub after the reduction of shelter beds. (Kupfer, 2019). Presumably,

SOSVanier dug their heels in because their primary concerns cannot be compromised on. Their

wants are not compatible with the wants of the Salvation Army.

The Debate: Progressive Wants

As the SA community hub is popularly understood as a "shelter," it has been used to

characterize the entire facility. The first Retweet by the SOSVanier Twitter was about how the

money to build the site would be better spent on affordable housing, and was written by

Women's March co-lead psychotherapist (2amandalynn2 2017). There are countless Included in

the Retweets about Housing First is Retweets about how 'Housing First' is the appropriate

model. Kelly Egan for the Ottawa Citizen published the cost of the Ottawa Mission. One person

for one night is $43.50 paid by a public fund. This turns into $1,300 a month for much less than a

home (Egan, 2012). A 2017 symposium on the SA community hub had two University of Ottawa

faculty want community supported Housing First. They stated that they were not NIMBY but

that they want effective programs because 60 percent of shelter space is used long term. The

perception of that night was that shelters are not long term sustainable solutions ('Housing first'

model pitched as alternative to Vanier homeless shelter," 2017). This is further supported by

Gaetz (2012) who wrote about the costs of shelter use and funding from non-profit, community

organizations, and governments. A section Gaetz focused on the Province of British Columbia

declared that Housing First would save that province $211 annually. As well as keeping the costs

down, Housing First also improves public health and reduces exposure to the criminal justice

system (Gaetz, 2012). Page of the Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness stated that mega-

shelters are an ineffective way to combat homelessness. ("Proposed Vanier shelter can be 'good

neighbour.' Mission exec says," 2017). In addition, stable housing brings better health outcomes

(Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005). With this knowledge being relatively well cited, it is easy to

be sympathetic to SOSVanier representing the community who feels that the shelter system is

antiquated and harmful. Furthermore, it difficult to keep a hardened heart against the local

business concerns of their economic futures should the neighborhood be changed by introducing

the SA community hub. There are various statements across time with different Vanier residents

claiming the SA community hub would ruin their neighborhood (Kupfer 2017c; Pearson, 2018).

Pearson (2018) further expands with resident voices on how absolute homeless traffic will ruin

the new businesses which have recently opened on Montreal Road. Especially when restaurant

and retail customers are notoriously sensitive and easily put off by small unpleasantries (Harford,

2006). When one picks fights and starts conflicts, nothing productive happens. War is

competitive but building is collaborative. All sides need to be proactive in choosing how to

proceed on each new day. Nothing is permanent, groups, institutions, and organizations always have equal chance at wasting time and resources in squabbles at the missed opportunity to build, create, and improve communities.

<u>Possible Future Approaches</u>

The progressive research and commitment to Housing First being brought up by SOSVanier is not, empirically, wrong. While Housing First is important, it is not tractable to be developed quickly. The City of Ottawa does have a housing services department that matches landlords to clients who have an allowance to help with rent payments. But it takes four months to make this connection for individual people (Burke, 2017). This is despite the Federal government in 2017 made a pledge to invest $11.2 billion into affordable housing. (Campion-Smith and Mathieu, 2017). In this waiting time while resources build and mobilize, Ottawa Inner City Health and Ottawa Mission stated that the SA community hub will bring needed services to the Vanier community ("Salvation Army facility opponents prepare appeal ahead of final city," 2017). In the world we live in we have to work with policies and institutional facilities that can seem imperfect when faced with academic scrutiny. Several tried and obvious options are: monetary compensation, protecting home values, empowerment and the need to promote trust. (Schivel, 2007). Another interesting route comes from Lewis and Henkels (1996) in discussing "Good neighbor agreements" which are community representatives who speak with the firm building new facilities to make agreements. The community recognizes that they are always smaller and less resource powerful than the firm building a facility. However, the community is able to fundraise for legal representation who can inconvenience the large firm and create enough obstacles that the firm can see it in their own interest to make concessions to have a pleasant community-neighbor agreement. However, these do not protect new local small

businesses from permanently lost reputations and averse customers who do not want to eat on the street popular with absolute homeless residents. This is not an argument that can be won with information or persuasion either. New information does not change people's minds about facilities built in their communities. You have to make policy with what the voters like. (Marble and Nail, 2017). Of the high knowledge within the Vanier community opposed to the Salvation Army project, there is acknowledgement of the right service for the right neighborhood. Jon Willing (2017) of the Ottawa Sun was Retweeted by SOSVanier for stating that the neighborhood was not the right place for a shelter. To move forward different locations may be the best option.

It is worth considering that SOSVanier, like many neighbourhoods, is permanently against development in their backyards. Lots of people for lots of reasons don't like high density housing developments (Marble and Nail, 2017; Hankinson, 2018). While SOSVanier and Fleury were often saying they were pro-housing development but against the SA community hub as a shelter, this should be taken with a grain of salt. But not a pound of salt as vocal advocates for SOS Vanier stated that they really did want community development to make Montreal Road a pro-business renovated street. The best option is to keep Montreal Road as a pro small business street and to move shelter and social services to a community where it will be less contentious and more productive.

New facilities which conduct services ought to be productive to maintain operations. Porter (2003) on regions describes economic clusters. A cluster is when industries are geographically close to each other so as they create feedback loops that enhances their productivity. When Firm A needs resources that Firm B and Firm C. Like finds easier productivity and cooperation with like. In the case of social services to assist vulnerable

populations, all of the services such as additions counselling and detox, emergency care, shelters, assistance to permanent housing, public advocates, and even general health care facilities can all be close together. From London, Ontario, this happens with social services, a hospital, and a mental health institution. On Commissioners Road at the intersection with Wellington Road there is Victoria Hospital and the Parkwood Institute for mental health services. Around a kilometer east around Adelaide and Commissioners there is a Community Living London. A kilometer south and 500 meters east of Victoria Hospital there is the Family Centre Westminster. (Appendix B). These service facilities aren't next door to each other as they may ideally be, but they are still short bus ride or a moderate walk away. The distance between them is an obstacle but it can be overcome. This can also be true in Ottawa. Industrial non-residential spaces can be leased and spaces can be occupied by social service support. The SA community hub could be built in a place where local business owners don't feel threatened. As known from Fischel, (2001) property owners have a lot invested in the property they own. This holds true for business owners as well as the home owners that Fischel wrote about. Just as it is rational for homevoters to fight against changes that could impact the value of their home property, it is rational for business owners to fight against developments that threaten their difficult to move businesses. As such concerns exist and as the fight for the past three years has been frustrating and costly, developments should be placed in spaces where there will not be these long costly legal battles and negative media stories. Zones for clusters of social services ought to be created to create tractability and easier development. LeBreton Flats as an area with more current renovation is a possible candidate (Chianello, 2017c; Appendix C). As it has industrial construction ongoing, there are fewer homevoters or main street businesses to feel threatened. It is near the downtown sufficiently close to where we can say the homeless "naturally" congregate. By creating clusters

of the obvious services in several locations within this one neighborhood, it can be a larger space

of rehabilitation in producing Ottawa residents who are better equipped to participate in the

broader community.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Public consultations that creates conflict and divisions is a waste of everyone's time and

public monies. There are spaces within cities to build new kinds of facilities where there will be

less opposition than comparable neighbourhoods. There should be a real and earnest attempt to

find spaces for facilities that could not in any obvious way interfere with the businesses that

provide local livelihoods. Policy makers and facility developers can expect opposition from

people sufficiently confident and effective to raise resources to be an attention seeking nuisance.

The facility developers can make their plans. The city-council can make choices they perceive to

be in the public or their own career interest. Yet groups still have to be proactive in determining

which pathways and projects they can take one while being productive and effective.
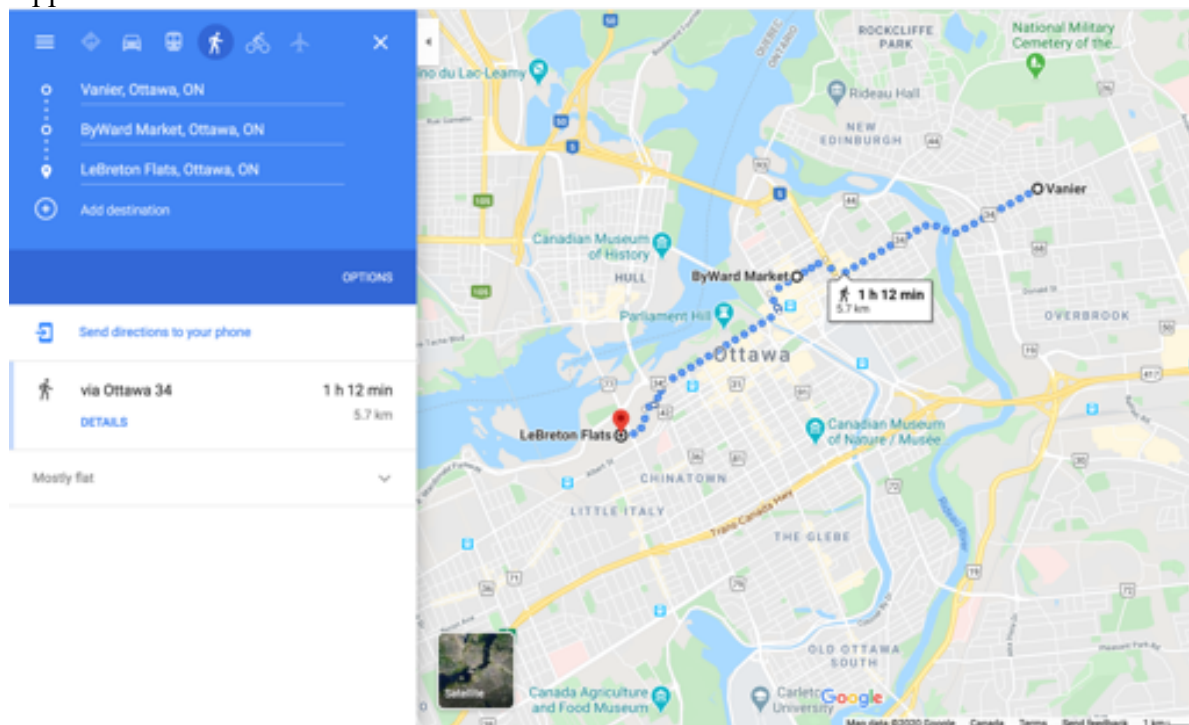
Appendices

Appendix A. Salvation Army Community Hub.
(http://333montrealroad.ca/#programs-and-services)
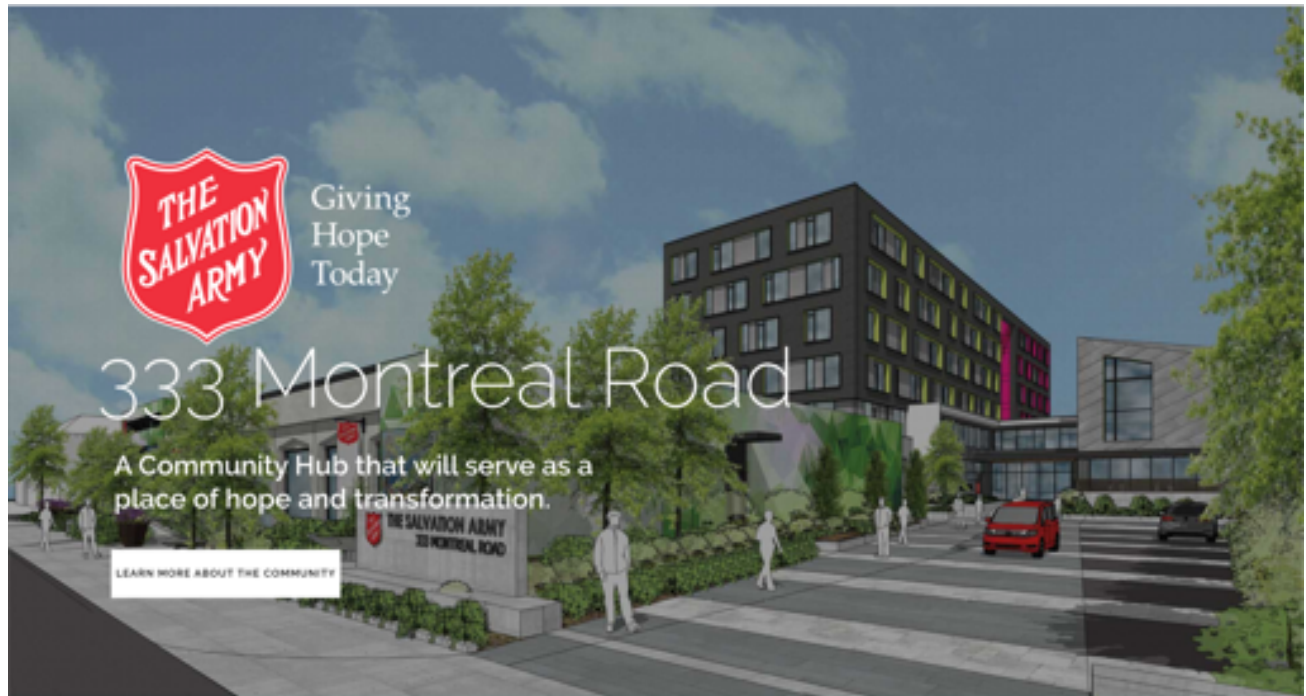
Appendix B - London
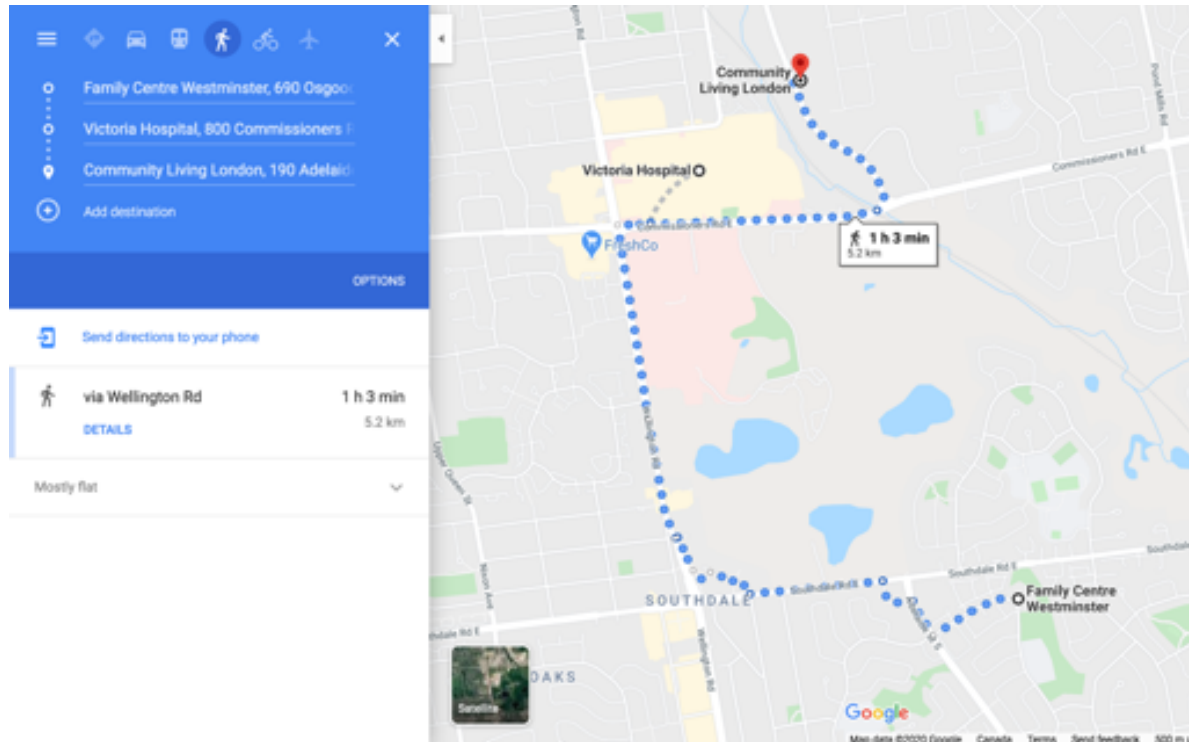
Appendix C - Ottawa

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25 March 2020

<div align="center">Lawrence Heights Revitalization NIMBY Case Study</div>

<u>Introduction</u>

The case being investigated in this paper is the revitalization project of the Lawrence

Heights neighbourhood, which is Toronto Community Housing's largest revitalization project to

date.[1] For context, Lawrence Heights is located near and bordered by Yorkdale Mall in the north

and Lawrence avenue to the south in Toronto.[2] The neighbourhood first came into fruition in the

1950s as it was built in order to accommodate large volumes of families in addition to senior

citizens.[3] Despite this, Lawrence Heights' average income is only fifteen thousand dollars and

has also descended into a state of crime, including the presence of drugs, gang activity and gun

violence, which appears to be all the media and surrounding neighbourhoods associate it with.[4]

For example, in August of 2019 alone the residents were forced to hold a town hall meeting in

response to the eight shootings in that month alone.[5] This stigma towards the neighbourhood,

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[1] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," The Local, January 28, 2020, https://thelocal.to/how-it-feels-to-be-revitalized/.

[2] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020.

[3] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[4] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[5] Chris Herhalt, "'It's Ridiculous,' Lawrence Heights Residents Hold Town Hall on Gun Crime," CP24 (CP24, August 15, 2019), https://www.cp24.com/news/it-s-ridiculous-lawrence-heights-residents-hold-town-hall-on-gun-crime-1.4551935.

nicknamed "The Jungle" is partially caused by its architecture, which makes it hard to access

from the outside and effectively isolates the community from the rest of the city.

The revitalization plan itself is ambitious, and is expected to take a maximum of twenty

years to complete. Because of this, it has been divided into separate phases, the first of which is

expected to be complete as soon as 2021.[6] In general, the project aims to provide the

neighbourhood with over five thousand brand new market priced units which is expected to

allow for the addition of 16,000 residents to the neighbourhood and is estimated to cost around

350 million dollars.[7] The success of the revitalization plan partially depends on the

implementation of a new community centre which residents have pressured their local politicians

for. In addition to this, the plan also responds to the needs of residents by including plans for

revitalized parks and even a new school. Furthermore, the project also includes several benefits

directed at the lower income residents of Lawrence Heights, which include employment and

training opportunities for residents that are valued at over three million dollars. Specifically, over

two hundred jobs have been provided to the residents in addition to scholarships collectively

worth over four hundred thousand dollars have been awarded since the beginning of the project

in 2008. [8]

There are several objectives for the revitalization of Lawrence Heights. One of the more

popular reasons for the project is to destigmatize the neighbourhood as it known all too well for

the gun violence and criminal activity that it has been ravaged with over the years. In addition to

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[6] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[7] "Lawrence Heights Revitalization – Corporate Implementation Actions and Social Development Plan," City of Toronto, June 8, 2010, https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2010/cd/bgrd/backgroundfile-31464.pdf.

[8] "Lawrence Heights // ," Toronto Community Housing , accessed March 17, 2020, https://www.torontohousing.ca/lawrence_heights.

this, the revitalization also serves as an opportunity to integrate the neighbourhood into the city both socially and economically, by making it more pedestrian friendly which will also help to erase some more of the stigma around Lawrence Heights.[9] The need for revitalization also stems from the fact that the current living situation for the residents of the neighbourhood is poor.[10] Specifically, residents describe that their housing units were in constant need of repair and rarely anything was done in terms of maintenance, implying that the same problems would end up re-reappearing several times. Specifically, residents often complained about problems including flooding, and lack of adequate heating both of which failed to be dealt with appropriately.[11] With the addition of the new units, the tenants would be provided with a cleaner community and upgraded living conditions that all serve for better representation on the housing market and more effective integration with surrounding neighbourhoods.

Reactions of the Residents

The project was faced with generally mixed reactions from the residents of Lawrence Heights. Firstly, many residents agreed with the need for new housing units, they also feel connected to the history of their community, and want to make sure that their heritage and connection they feel towards the neighbourhood is not lost.[12] Along with this, many are reluctant

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[9] Stefan Novakovic, "Lawrence Heights Demolition Kicks Off Largest Redevelopment Project in TCHC History: UrbanToronto," Urban Toronto, accessed March 25, 2020, https://urbantoronto.ca/news/2015/10/lawrence-heights-demolition-kicks-largest-redevelopment-project-tchc-history.

[10] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[11] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[12] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

to endure up to twenty years of construction, which is certain to cause several significant inconveniences to the local residents. These concerns are addressed by Elena Korniakova who is a long-time resident of Lawrence Heights. She demonstrates concern over the potential loss of important landmarks within the neighbourhood along with the fact that it has become even less accessible than before with the ongoing construction as the project has closed off large portions of land and blocked several pathways.[13] Another concern towards the project that has been voiced in the community is the fact that the residents feel as though the communication from the developers has been inadequate. This opinion is voiced by local resident Kaydeen Bankasingh, who noted that the transparency between the community and the developers was strong at the beginning but has since sputtered out. Currently, Bankasingh feels as though many of the promises that were originally made in concordance with the project have since been neglected and are only kept alive by the voiced concern of the residents.[14] Specific examples of this would be the sudden stall in the building of the community centre that was promised as part of the revitalization project, as well as the failure to incorporate the neighbourhood's nickname of "The Jungle" into any long term plans. In addition to this, there are also examples of residents who were originally opposed to the revitalization project but then changed their minds, like Jacob Zorzella. Zorzella explained that he now is a strong advocate for the project due to the opportunities he believes it will offer the community.[15]

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[13] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[14] Aparita Bhandari, "How It Feels to Be 'Revitalized," 2020

[15] Laura Kane, "Lawrence Heights Developer Named for Revitalization," The Toronto Star, April 29, 2013, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/04/29/lawrence_park_developer_named_for_revitalization.html.

In addition to the mixed reviews held by the community, there has also been significant

organized local opposition to the project. The first example of this is the neighbourhood coalition

known as "Save our Streets" which is led by resident Jack Goldhar. The coalition went as far as

to schedule a protest which was attended by approximately two hundred residents which aimed

to address the threat the project posed to children safety as well as property values and lastly, the

residents fear the traffic congestion that would accompany the project.[16] Furthermore, the

coalition fears that the aging infrastructure of the neighbourhood is not suited for the twenty

thousand new residents and the plans to address this are not thorough enough, according to

Goldhar. Despite this significant opposition, the protestors stated that they don't necessarily want

a cancellation on the project, instead they believe that the project is being rushed. Therefore, they

are advocating for a delay in the process so that more time could be put into planning.[17] In

addition to the coalition, the project was also met with opposition by councillor Rob Ford who

attended rallies held by the "Save our Streets" group in addition to speaking on behalf of them at

city hall. Ford asserted that the project was unfair to the residents of the neighbourhood due to

the fact that they were not being listened to while also accusing the city of forcing the project

onto the residents of Lawrence Heights without their permission.[18] However, since Rob Ford

became the mayor of Toronto, he has since softened his stance towards the project, much to the

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[16] Lisa Queen, "Two Hundred Protest Lawrence Heights Development Plans," Toronto.com, June 21, 2010, https://www.toronto.com/news-story/52738-two-hundred-protest-lawrence-heights-development-plans/.

[17] Lisa Queen, "Two Hundred Protest Lawrence Heights Development Plans," 2010.

[18] Kelly Grant, "Massive Lawrence Heights Redevelopment Gets Council Approval," The Globe and Mail, May 3, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/massive-lawrence-heights-redevelopment-gets-council-approval/article1212196/.

disappointment of the members of the "Save our Streets" coalition.[19] Some members of the group have even said that his strong opposition to the revitalization project was a major reason that they voted for him while also mentioning that they never would have expected him Ford's current stance on the matter to change as quickly and radically as it did. Essentially, Ford's new view on the matter was to leave the fate of the project in the hands of MP Mike Colle, and that he will support whatever decision Colle was to make.[20]

Response to Resident Reactions

In terms of the response on behalf of the city, there were a variety of different measures taken by the city to ensure that the process ran as smoothly as possible. For one, it originally appeared as though the developers had learned from past experiences in regent park, where many tenants complained that there was no transparency in addition to the fact that they feared being displaced. In response to this, the city implemented a clause in the project that promised tenants their property back after construction is complete, which was an idea inspired by the residents of regent park and their fears of losing their homes during their respective revitalization project.[21] In addition to this, the needs of the Lawrence Heights tenants were addressed by the fact that developers promised to ensure the opinions of the residents were being heard by allowing them to take on a significant role in planning the project.[22] This could be exemplified by the

[19] Natalie Alcoba, "Ford Flip-Flops on Redevelopment Plan," National Post, December 31, 2010, https://nationalpost.com/posted-toronto/ford-flip-flops-on-redevelopment-plan.

[20] Natalie Alcoba, "Ford Flip-Flops on Redevelopment Plan,"2010.

[21] Peter Goffin, "Lawrence Heights Poised for Revitalization," Torontoist, August 13, 2014, https://torontoist.com/2014/08/lawrence-heights-poised-for-revitalization/.

[22]Dominik Kurek, "Toronto's Lawrence Heights Is Moving on up and Residents Want Their Say," Toronto.com, September 16, 2019, https://www.toronto.com/news-story/9587193-toronto-s-lawrence-heights-is-moving-on-up-and-residents-want-their-say/.

scholarships, employment offers and the promise of a community centre that were made on behalf of the planners to the residents in order to smoothen the process. In addition to this, Mike Colle also created a review panel consisting of 12 people in order to address the issues that several of the residents have with the project, and hopefully come to an agreement on how to move forward.[23] In addition to this, there is also a design review panel that has been created in order to monitor the design quality of the various revitalization initiatives happening across the city of Toronto.[24] This panel consists of members from neighbourhoods that are being revitalized, and meets on an as-need basis. In essence, the reaction demonstrated by the city towards the interests of the neighbourhood residents shows a more democratic side to the project. The city appears to be learning from past mistakes by being more accommodating to the housing needs of the Lawrence Height tenants. In addition to this, the respective civilian panels that have been put in place act as valuable tools to reach compromise between the proponents of the development project and those who are opposed to it, which is an effective way to move the process forward. Furthermore, another approach that the city is using in responding to the reactions of local residents is by allowing them to take the lead on the kind of change they want to see within their neighbourhood. This is demonstrated by the fact that tenants participated in various aspects of the design and planning of the project, which includes implementing new community governance strategies in addition to neighbour design and the planning of various

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[23] Natalie Alcoba, "Ford Flip-Flops on Redevelopment Plan,"2010.

[24] Gayatri Kumar, "What Housing Practitioners Can Learn from Tenant Leadership and Participation at Lawrence Heights," Maytree, accessed March 23, 2020, https://maytree.com/stories/lawrence-heights/.

social and economic development initiatives. In addition to this, the tenants also were permitted to organize an advisory board that would ensure that as many tenants as possible could take part in the participation and decision making process of the project, which was to be achieved through community wide meetings.[25] Another privilege of these measures was that the tenants were able to vote on the developer that would be in charge of the project. This is a strong indicator that the city has learned from past projects with strong resident disapproval, as was the case in Regent Park where residents were disappointed and complained about the process for choosing the developer of the project. In summary of this, it appears as though the city worked hard to ensure that the revitalization was nothing short of a partnership between the tenants and the housing developers, which is effective in order to make sure that as many tenants as possible are content with the process which will further ensure that it runs smoothly. This builds upon the ideas of compromise and embodies a true democracy as actively listening to those who will be affected the most is the best way to ensure the success of critical developmental changes.

Specific Learnings from this Case and Implications for the City of London

There is an abundance of things that be learned through studying the case of the Lawrence Heights revitalization project. The first thing learned from this case is the fact that with any change, big project or change in policy regardless of where it applies, it is impossible to please everyone. Naturally, there will always be some form of opposition. With this being said, the second important lesson from this case is the importance of compromise when trying to reach an end goal. Overall, this case was a fantastic demonstration of how compromise is an essential

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[25] Gayatri Kumar, "What Housing Practitioners Can Learn from Tenant Leadership and Participation at Lawrence Heights," 2020.

factor to the outcome of various implementations of municipal politics. In other words, every city councillor will face some kind of opposition to change in their ward but what matters is how they deal with the opposition and turn into a win for everyone involved. This case demonstrated this through the instilment of various committees and allowing for the tenants of the neighbourhood to have significant leadership roles along with the authority to make important decisions. By doing this, a compromise was created in order to attempt to appease the largest number of tenants in the most effective way possible. This system would allow for anyone with concerns to raise their points and have them addressed in a professional manner so that a solution can be created that creates a winning scenario for all parties involved. Although it is impossible to please everyone, that doesn't mean that one shouldn't try to please as many tenants as possible in this scenario, as it would help move the project along as efficiently as possible. Furthermore, another important lesson from this case is the importance of using past experiences to generate more effective results. In this case, this was demonstrated through the effective steps taken to prevent the displacement of residents, which was a key point of interest in the revitalization project in Regent park, where an abundance of residents complained about being displaced and unable to return to their homes. This demonstrates a strong sense of dedication on behalf of the city towards the residents of Lawrence Heights and a commitment to ensure that the wellbeing of the tenants is the top priority of the project.

This case also has significant implications to the city of London and how it can effectively cater to the needs of its residents. In addition to this, this is a case that resonates significantly with the city of London, as it is in dire need of coming up with a solution to the excessive homelessness present in the city. This is a problem that can be effectively addressed with the implementation of a revitalization project similar to that of Lawrence Heights. With this

being said, this case provides material that can be useful to London to deal with NIMBYism in the most effective way possible during future projects. Specifically, from this case, London could learn to listen to its residents, especially when it comes to housing projects that hold the livelihoods of several thousand in the balance. It would be unfair to implement policy or a development project in a neighbourhood without the consent or insight from those who would be affected the most from any kind of change. By doing this, the city could obtain the trust of those in the affected areas and gain insight on how to go about change in an effective and appropriate manor. The city of London could also learn from this case the importance of transparency and proper communication as a means to effective collaboration with local residents to ensure the project is done in a way that pleases the largest number of residents possible, therefore achieving the goal of the project. This could be done by doing similar things to what the city of Toronto did with Lawrence Heights: providing social and economic incentives to the residents while also integrating their opinions into the decision-making process.

Tim Iglesias, in his article *Managing Local Opposition to Affordable Housing: A New Approach to NIMBY,* articulates the importance of strategic planning of housing development projects in advance in order to prepare for the inevitable local opposition that will occur. With this, he maintains the stance that local opposition cannot be completely overcome, it must instead be managed, which can be done by planning in advance.[26] This can be done by holding planning meetings in advance in order to assess possible opposition and generate a well thought out response. This stance on local opposition is of particular importance to this case and the city of London, as in order to effectively act on the implications in this study it is important to plan in

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[26] Tim Iglesias , "Managing Local Opposition to Affordable Housing: A New Approach to NIMBY," *American Bar Association*, 2002, pp. 78-122.

advance for opposition so that the developers can get a better understanding of the situation in terms of local opposition and therefore generate an effective response to it. With this being said, having prior knowledge to potential opposition was useful in the Lawrence Heights case, as it would give the city the opportunity to anticipate a potential reaction and generate an appropriate response based on that.

Conclusion

      The case of the neighbourhood of Lawrence Heights is an adequate example of local opposition and how planners of the project generated an effective response to concerned locals. Within the case, the city realized the importance of the project and the benefit it would serve the community and worked hard to ensure that as many people as possible could view the revitalization of Lawrence Heights as a positive addition to the neighbourhood. The city of Toronto effectively compromised with the residents of Lawrence Heights by allowing them to make critical decisions with regards to the planning of the project, which would allow them to see the project unravel in a way that best suits them. This case could also be a learning tool for the city of London which faces a problem that could result in affordable housing projects. In the future, London should look to incorporate the opinions of residents, transparency and tenant leadership into their future projects to ensure the best outcome possible.

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Over the years, there has been numerous development projects adopted by the cities in Canada to further enhance the quality of life of their constituents. One such project is Quayside, developed by Sidewalk labs as part of their initiative to introduce affordable housing to constituents occupying the areas of East Bayfront and Port Lands in Toronto. Touted as a new innovative "smart city", Quayside will occupy 4.9 acres of land on Waterfront and has four different components included in the project by Sidewalk Labs to serve each segment of the potential population (City of Toronto, n.d)

These components include; an outlet for innovations as sustainable materials will be used in the construction of buildings as well as to increase recycling habits, the opportunity for complete mobility for residents as this new neighbourhood will be interconnected with streets primary built with the motto of being "people first" as well as other infrastructures that will make accessibility worry free for residents , open public spaces that will provide year round entertainment for residents such as parks as well as the opportunities for potential small business start-ups and finally, an intertwined housing development that will provide housing options to those from the working class as well as the wealthy to create a blended environment (waterfront Toronto, n.d)

Quayside was developed to create an innovative, connected and inclusive environment for residents. It has been noted by these residents as well as media commentators that these three qualities have been lacking in the communities in Toronto due to the technological era that we are experiencing in the twenty- first century. In 2017, Waterfront Toronto conducted a search for potential partnerships with companies who were tasked with developing a "strong and compelling vision" to solve the various challenges that were plaguing these local communities such as the lack of affordable housing whilst encompassing the values aforementioned. Perhaps, the most pressing question that Waterfront was tasked with addressing was how the company can capitalize on this

current technologized era to actually improve on the lack of human interactions within these communities. Thus, the birth of Quayside would provide residents with the ability to maximize the use of public spaces such as the "Parliament ship" which will encompass a park, school and a community center, through sustainable means. The actual implementation of Quayside will allow the City of Toronto to construct a totally digitalized city while being hailed as one of the chief leaders in the goal to create a more sustainable future for the next generations.

The proposal of quayside by Waterfront Toronto has generated both positive and negative feedback from residents as well as lawmakers in the city due its controversial methods of operations. Some of the key questions that that have garnered fear in residents are; whom actually possesses and own the data that the future "google city" produces, who has the actual control over the data and which laws are going to be applied as it pertains to the potential protections of citizens' right to privacy (Scola, 2018). These questions have resulted in a local debate in the city as public forums held by Waterfront continue to be hounded by journalists who aim to get an insight into what measures will be taken by the city as well as waterfront to ensure privacy for potential residents who will be living in the area. Moreover, the issue of inclusivity as well as access has left some residents doubtful of Waterfront's goal to create a well - connected city (Bliss, 2018). Residents utilized the example of the lack of affordable housing options that are available in cities that are deemed costly in the United States to highlight how dire the current housing situation is in Toronto. To expound, residents exhibit concerns on the indirect discrimination that they can face in this new city if they will have to resort to subsidized housing in order to reside in the area, especially if they are unwilling to give up access to their private data.

The lack of inclusion on the part of Waterfront to include residents in consultations resulted in a letter being pent by the indigenous artist Duke Redbird and architect Calvin Brook in October

of 2019. The duo pointed out the lack of effort on the company's part to include recommendations suggested by members of the indigenous communities as part of the development of the Quayside housing project (Bickis, 2019). They lamented on the fact that Waterfront merely made notes on the importance of the inclusion of the members of the indigenous communities and pointed out that the company has failed to include any substantial recommendations that they, waterfront received. The recommendations were constructed by a "focus group" that the duo highlighted were made up of members who specialized in urban design as well as architecture and thus, have ample technical expertise to provide reasonable proposals to waterfront that would create an inclusive community which is part of waterfront' original initiative (ibid). Fourteen recommendations were included by the indigenous communities in their original consultations with Waterfront but were evidently dismissed as noted by the duo whom also pointed out that the consultations were apparently formed with the aim of the company to merely receive an endorsement from the indigenous communities.

Block Sidewalk Toronto consists a group of citizens who expressed their concerns about the lack of transparency surrounding the Quayside project as well as Waterfront's ability to actually implement what they view as an intricate development. The Toronto Star released documents that were leaked which the group cited as another reason for their opposition towards the project. The documents leaked suggested that the size of land that was supposed to be inhibited by Waterfront is actually greater than what they originally proposed in efforts to construct a larger neighbourhood as well as the necessary transport infrastructure to support the newly constructed neighbourhood (Vincent, 2019). Moreover, it was also noted by Block sidewalk that that waterfront had proposed unconventional means to obtain returns on the investment that they would be making to the city of Toronto through property taxes, fees associated with housing development as the increased

value of city land. The group also highlighted the fact that Waterfront had to address and dispute these allegations and thus, the company was actively taking measures to deceive residents for their own objectives. As a result of the clear lack of transparency that has been exhibited by Waterfront, residents have even resorted to criticizing the invisible lines that are now intertwined between private firms and the local government. This was particularly voiced by Dr Anthony Townsend, an author and urban planner who questioned whether the "the land grab of the digital realm now extended into the financial realm" (Wakefield, 2019). Dr. Townsend concerns seemed to mirror that of other residents who questioned whether the government's ability to get monetary gains from the provisions of transportation will now be monetized by Waterfront and used as a basis for the company's economic landscape (ibid). Moreover, the residents expressed their belief that the development of the housing project should primarily benefit the constituents of the city of Toronto rather than the stakeholders who are only aiming to get profit if the proposal for Quayside is implemented.

Finally, the quayside project faced official legal opposition from CCLA which is the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. CCLA resorted to legal measures because of its belief that private companies like Waterfront should not be spearheading the privacy policies that will be used to preside over local neighbourhoods in the city (Vincent, 2019). It should be noted that Quayside will be funded from all three levels of government but there is no official agency that has been established to ensure complete transparency by the company to the public. Therefore, CCLA filed a lawsuit against the federal, municipal and provincial governments, citing that the collection of data that is being conducted online is actually imposing a threat to residents as it can potentially affect the ways in which these individuals are influenced to conduct their civil liberties such as voting. As a result, Quayside has been deemed "invalid" by the CCLA who worry about the

opportunity available to the company to now offset the responsibilities of the government to themselves as well as increase the amount of surveillance on citizen (ibid). It is the belief of the CCLA that the construction of Quayside will result in the destruction of the liberties afforded to citizens by way of the Constitution such as the freedom from unlawful surveillance.

Despite the opposition aforementioned that Quayside has faced, there has been some amount of support from residents towards the project. Quayside's brand as the "digitalized city" has appealed to many residents such as Anthony Townsend, aforementioned who expressed his glee over how this technological age can actually be beneficial to addressing urban issues that cities have faced for generations such as sustainability (Scola, 2019) Moreover, Townsend is a firm believer that cities should play an active role in ensuring that the implementation of large- scale technologies aligns with their goals as merely embracing the initiatives can actually be quite hazardous in the long run, though they are necessary to ensure sustainability.

Research conducted by the Environics Research group between April and May of 2019 found that fifty four percent of Toronto residents overwhelmingly support the Quayside initiative which would create a city completely driven by data (Environics Research, 2019). Moreover, thirty civic leaders who are involved in urban design, architecture as well as other related fields pended a letter which voiced their support for the project citing it as a huge opportunity for innovative development to occur in the city of Toronto. These civic leaders included former prime ministers, University presidents as well as CEO of private firms who urged their fellow residents to support the project which has the potential to levy Toronto as a sustainable leader (Marotta Stefanie. Shauna Brail, a current university professor at the University of Toronto who specializes in Urban Studies noted the importance of the fact that the project is well supported by leaders in business, policy and other fields who are welcoming the opportunity to work with Sidewalk (Simpson,

2020). Brail noted the importance of the letter penned by the former civic leaders, given the controversial nature of the project as it will provide indirect leadership to the public realm.

Kwame McKenzie in a letter to the editor of Toronto star highlighted the extent of the housing shortage in Toronto, citing that the majority of residents simply cannot afford apartments in the large city and further noted that the city has really became the "capital of inequality"(Mckenzie, 2019). He uses the increasing inequality gap, lack of sustainable resources as well as lack of proper infrastructure to highlight his belief that the future "google city" will serve as an investment in the new technological industry that will provide new inclusive and sustainable communities that will directly addresses the city's issues of affordability, infrastructures as well as sustainability.

In order to gauge the concerns of the residents of Toronto, Waterfront which serves as a partnership between the three levels of government with the goal of administering the actual revitalization of projects in the Toronto area resorted to making adjustments to Waterfront's proposals through a series of meetings so that the needs of the company as well as the residents can be met. As a result, Sidewalk labs was forced to agree to uphold the original agreement that they had with the city as it pertains to the size of the land that they planned to occupy. In June of 2019, Sidewalk had diverted from its original proposal to occupy 12 acres of land and had announced that the company would now be occupying be occupying 149 acres instead. Stephen Diamond, the current chair of the Waterfront noted that it was in the best interest of Sidewalk to work along with the agency to find ways to mitigate the issues that were developing so that the project can be implemented successfully (Deschamps, 2019). Moreover, Sidewalk was also tasked with responsibilities of retrieving, processing and storing all data collected in the project as well paying the market value of the land that they intended to buy and allowing Canadian corporations to utilize the company's hardware as well as software.

In a response to the mandate done by the Audit general of Ontario, Waterfront Toronto committed to the idea of consulting with the municipal, provincial and federal governments to gain their insight on any proposals made by Sidewalk as it relates to the development of the Quayside project before any resolutions or passages of resolutions are made by Waterfront (Auditor general report, 2018). Further, the agency noted that additional measures are being taken to increase the amount of oversight that they are currently being subjected to so that the projects that that they are tasked with revitalizing are actually within the scope of their legislative objectives.

An advisory panel that serves under the waterfront agency expressed concerns over some of the proposals that sidewalk had included in their plans, referring to them as 'abstract, irrelevant and unnecessary". They conducted a report and lamented on the sidewalk's lack of actual measures as it relates to how exactly the company plans to implement some key of the proposals noted (Bickis, Ian). Also included in the report is the lack of concerns or visions for the actual citizens of Toronto whom the digitalized city would actually be affecting as well as the data generation methods that the company had planned to collect from the local neighbourhoods by use of sensors.

The concerns voiced over the quayside projects by the residents of Toronto as well as the advisory panel, that serves under the company's oversight body ought to provide key lessons to other cities that are facing local opposition to proposed development projects. Perhaps, one of the most important lessons that can be beneficial to other cities is that it is critical that the oversight body established to oversee the proper implementation of the projects actually has the legislative means of doing so. It is clear that Waterfront whom was tasked with serving as an administrator for the quayside project lacked the scope to actually provide proper oversight and thus, the developmental plans made for the project were done in according to past practices as well as the

rules that sidewalk developed themselves as a means of having some form of "regulations'. As a result of the lack of total oversight by waterfront, it was the actually the provincial, Municipal and federal governments who were actually able to oversee all final decisions relating to the development of quayside. In particular, the waterfront agency owned a very small percentage of the land that quayside was to be developed on. The three levels of government aforementioned as well as the mandated conservatory authority of Toronto owned the largest percentages of the property that would soon be quayside and because waterfront lacked the actual ability to possess the totality of land, they were not able to have the ownership transferred by the governments.

Moreover, the advocacy body had to resort to going along with measures that were being adopted by others including the three levels of government due to the governments' choices to not consult with the body before making final decisions. It is clear here that there was an issue of separation of powers that arose between Waterfront as well as the governments that oversaw the body and thus, there should have been key measures adopted to ensure that the scope of Waterfront's reach is explicitly defined. The oversight of policies in local cities by the provincial and federal governments continue to be a serious issue that arises very often in the politics real of Toronto. Therefore, other cities must take real measures to ensure that these three levels of government will help, and not hinder the potential development of projects so that the needs of the proposing companies as well as citizens can be met effectively in order to include organized opposition.

Further, the lack of transparency and inclusion on the part of Quayside to include members of the different segments of the Toronto population in consultation talks resulted in the increased opposition of the proposal. This should serve as a key lesson for other cities who do not have

mandates on the number of public consultations that these proposing companies should have in order to get insight from residents in the local neighbourhoods whose livelihoods will be severely affected by the implementation of theses developmental projects (Ontario human rights Council, n.d) We see from the Quayside proposal, the effects of the lack of inclusion where members of the indigenous communities expressed their frustrations over the company's decision to not implement their (the indigenous communities) recommendations as part of their final plans. Moreover, the lack of transparency also led to distrust by local residents in the community due to the lack of accountability that the company was facing, especially as it pertains to whom exactly would be obtaining, utilizing and having complete control of the data obtained in these neighbourhoods as well as the company's decision not to include members of the public in consultations made, in regards to any changes to their original proposition such as increase in land that Quayside would actually be occupying. It is my belief that the lack of inclusivity as well as the placement of the companies' interests over the interests of the constituents that cause opposition towards these projects that are proposed for the cities. It is these constituents whom the city works for and thus any developmental projects being implanted ought to reflect the needs of the actual community (Yes In My Backyard, n.d)

To minimize opposition, cities can take several measures to address the issues like those that arose in the proposal stages of the quayside project. A clear, concise developmental mandate is one measure cities can take as part of their developmental projects in their local neighbourhoods This mandate should give an overview of the actual role that each actor including the municipal, provincial and local governments as well as the oversight body that is enacted play in the developmental and implementation stages of these projects.

Moreover, the city can have numerous public consultations with members of disenfranchised communities so that their concerns can be adequately addressed without fear of retribution. Developmental projects like Quayside usually increase the debate on issues of gentrification as well as potential discrimination that can arise with these innovative projects that tend to attract members of the "1%". Residents of Toronto expressed their fear of having to resort to subsidized housing if there are no affordable housing options available to them in the new "google city". Quayside mentioned constructing a housing development that would attract all classes but failed to address how exactly they plan to implement this proposal to achieve the goal of this blended, interconnected community.

Further, the digitalized nature of this city will present costs that may not be addressed by Quayside such as the increase in rent in surrounding neighbours that will eventually force the existing residents in these areas to move due to the lack of affordability. Therefore, as noted by the advisory panel serving under waterfront, Quayside has great ideas for the new neighbourhood but lack insight on how they plan to successfully implement these ideas that will need to satisfy their needs as well as residents' concerns. Hence, viable solutions to issues like those mentioned can only be done via frequent consultations or meetings between these corporations as well as the residents in these neighbourhoods.

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Appendices

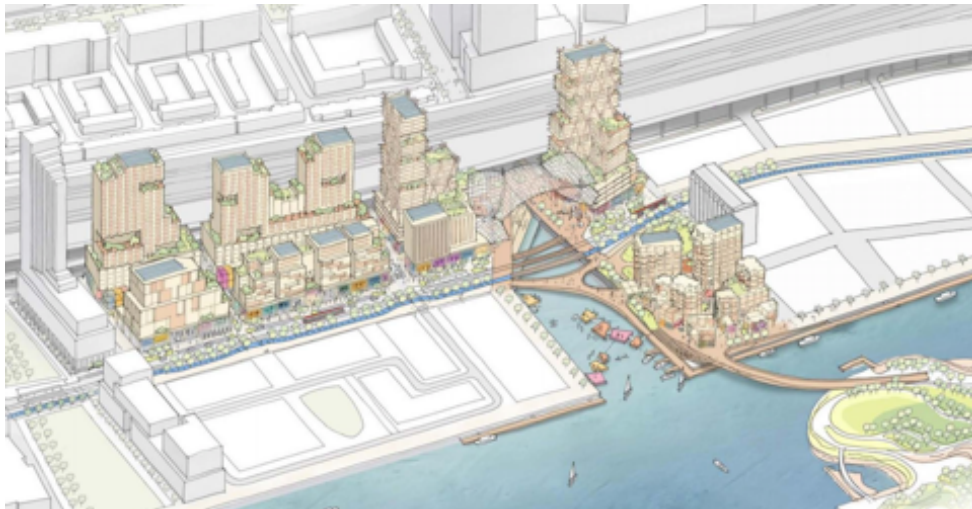*Figure 1: Proposed area for the Quayside housing project*

Figure 2: Projected "google city" that will be developed by Sidewalk and Waterfront

Figure 3: Map of the neighbourhood to be allocated to Quayside

Toronto Case Study: Sidewalk Labs Project

Background

In this assessment we will explore Toronto's proposals and the as-it-stands implementation of 'smart city' style renovations. The development dubbed "Master Innovation and Development Plan" (MIDP), planned in the Quayside region of the Toronto waterfront, aims to transform the derelict area into mixed-use urban area with an "internet-up" implementation style, ready for community development and tailoring. Of course, it is the focus on urban technological integration that serves as the true selling point for this project. Proposals include, but are certainly not limited to, adaptive roadside curbs, advanced solar and geothermal based power grids, sustainable housing material, heated bike lanes, wayfinding beacons, underground freight systems, enhanced data access, and so forth (MIDP, 2019). These impressive "urban innovations" are paired with several other priorities such as pedestrian mobility and housing affordability which culminate into the MIDP as a whole. Additionally, plans for an entirely new Google headquarters in the Villers West region (Figure 1) were drafted, where technologies like self-driving cars would continue to be innovated (Digital Infrastructure Appendix, pp. 21) Just as impressively, the project was initially revealed by the big trio, Justin Trudeau, Premier Wynn,

Figure 1: Initial area of project and proposed expansion area.

and Mayor John Tory. Wynn mentions "applying all of that talent to one of the biggest challenges faced by cities here and the world how to build urban spaces that are inclusive, sustainable and responsive to the needs of the people who call them home." (New District in Toronto, 2017), while mayor Tory was interested in "[Sidewalk] help us test new ideas and new solutions to everything from transportation to affordable housing, benefiting our residents and drawing more talent, investment and jobs to our City."(New District in Toronto, 2017). It would seem that consultation initially was multilayered, ticking off boxes on all three levels of government's checklists, but this multilevel governance will be tested as we will see later. An incredibly important player in this project is Alphabet Inc, a multinational holdings company. Born out of a Google structural shakeup in 2015, Alphabet's portfolio is substantial. Ownership of a plethora of high-profile companies, including Google (and sister divisions), Sidewalk Labs, Calico (pharmaceuticals, mission statement; "cure death"), Deepmind AI, "X", YouTube, and so forth (Hartman 2020). Obviously, Alphabet seems to have its hands on anything technology related, and many things beyond, making it an entity not to be trifled with even by government. In terms of incentivization, Sidewalk is not putting any money down on the project, but rather predicting 14.2 Billion extra in economic impact, 4.3 Billion in annual tax, among other social and economic benefits foreseen in the years to come (MIDP V2, pp. 37). All in all, the project is not only multifaceted, but truly future focused, planning to achieve objectives stretched as far as 2040 and beyond (MIDP V2, pp.41). Trudeau's statement, "I have no doubt Quayside will become a model for cities around the world…" (New District In Toronto, 2017), combined with such a high level of multilevel governmental involvement, certainly indicates ambitions to set a worldwide precedent.

Citizen Reaction

Starting out with some of the more tangible concerns, land use came up as a point of issue. Sidewalk had various demands for increasing land use, up to nearly a couple hundred extra acres. (Daily Commercial News, 2019, Digital Infrastructure Appendix, pp. 5) Additionally. Hopes for an expanded LRT and city transit availability to transport persons into the developed area is predicted to cost nearly 1.2 billion, with financing being again a proposed "self-financing" style (MIDP V2. 35), hoping revenue will pay for it down the road. Of course, this financing style caught the ire of some of Toronto's financial consultees. Education also came up variously through consultations, particularly around a lacking of content in the MIDP regarding housing feasibility for families, as well as the absence of plans for a secondary school (Quayside Public Consultation V1, 2019.). The meat of citizen's concerns however, come from precarities on data privacy, transparency, corporate monopolization, and infractions on democratic values. A major part of the proposal includes the collection of massive amounts of data, coined as "urban data". Vehicle and pedestrian movements, energy usage, air conditions, and the like. Proposed "Koala Mounts" would provide an aggregated means of accessing city data, metaphorically compared to a "USB port". All done on a single, district wide ubiquitous fibre-optic Wi-Fi connection, able to sustain 10 million devices (MIDP V2, pp. 386). Above all, data management and access has been the primary criticism of the project, particular to civil liberties groups and academics. Reaction to such vast data collection was met with swift criticism, with title like "Tech

Dystopia", and "Surveillance Capitalism" appearing in popular media (Cecco 2019, Rogan 2019).

In the MIDP, a third-party regulator named "Urban Data Trust" was proposed to oversee use

and regulation of data collection and use of collected data in the area (V2, pp. 374). Privacy

issues are especially hot button after some very public data related incidences. Cambridge

Analytica data monetization serves as an archetypal fear for the direction of the project.

Though, incidents like international social media interference and several high profile data

breaches have certainly added to current negative public attitudes towards "big tech" (Vincent,

2019). In terms of the Urban Data Trust, it's vagueness in exact details on what may or may not

be collected, and how that data may be used and by who raised concerns during initial

proposals. In fact, vagueness was a large criticism for the MIDP overall, with "abstract and

repetitive" language being used, and minimal focus on "how" data intends to be collected

(Quayside Public Briefing, pp. 3). Another area of concern was in regard to the place of a non-

governmental organizational in the process. It was felt that too much deference was given to

Sidewalk from a planning perspective (Tusikov, 2019). A little more abstractly, it was also felt

that Sidewalk was being given the lead on term definition and interpretation. Allowing it be in a

position to determine governance was seen as problematic, as well as to allow Sidewalk to be

the ones to set up, and determine what constitutes, "regulation" initially (Tusikov, 2019). This

is potentially a result of the procedural order of decision making in this process, where Sidewalk

develops a plan or proposal, the plan is consulted on by public entities, and revisions are made

by Sidewalk, rinse and repeat. In this instance, indeed Sidewalk must brief and revise their

plans, but the public will always be *reactive* to the terms made by sidewalk. Evidently, tensions

around data security and governance has served as the ball-and-chain slowing the project.

Opponents such as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association have gone so far as to launch a trilateral lawsuit naming figures from all three levels of government, and citing unconstitutionality of Sidewalk's ability to create governance policy and Charter rights breaches ("Canadian Civil Liberties Files", 2019).

Municipal (and others) Response

As this project is ongoing, more responses will come in the future as consultations continue. At the time of writing, COVID-19 emergency action is priority one, and deadlines for the Sidewalk project will almost certainly be pushed back. What has been done, after the very public criticisms of the project, includes the creation of a substantial clarifying document named the Digital Innovation Appendix. This nearly 500-page document outlines updates and changes to the MIDP, clarifies terms and processes like data collection methodologies, and shows how the project will proceed once completed. Much revolves around proposed "data innovation" (hence the name), and much of that has revolved around the Urban Data Trust regulatory body. Namely, it's elimination. Waterfront Toronto will now take the lead on data regulation and sharing in the project area (Digital Innovation Appendix, pp. 3). In order to ensure Sidewalk works off a preconceived structure an on data, a Waterfront Toronto born document called "Digital Infrastructure Principles" was put forth to Sidewalk, outlining the principles for all parties to abide by and laying a foundation for Sidewalk to work off of (Digital Infrastructure Plan – update, 2020). The document is evolving still, and additions are still being processed. This foundational document will likely negate aspects of the cyclical procedure outlined in the above section, and solidify waterfront's ability to term-define and be proactive in the process. This is quite clearly evidenced by the outright disposal of terms in favour of pre-existing ones,

"urban data", and "IDEA district", being erased from further document nomenclature (Digital Innovation Appendix, pp. 5). Additionally, concerns around economic monopolization were addressed through expanded patent use. Originally, innovators were allowed to use products or systems patented by Sidewalk within Canada. However, this has been expanded to be international, where Canadian innovators may use Sidewalk patents that were filed from anywhere. (Digital Innovation Appendix, pp. 6) Additionally, changes to funding between the public sector and Sidewalk. Initially, Sidewalk would share profits that came from certain systems with public sectors, for a ten year period, based off profits, the system being described as "first of it's kind" (Digital innovation Appendix, pp. 6). This was scrapped and changed to a revenue-based system not reliant on net gain profits.

Relevant takeaways

This is a municipal project that is certainly unique in content, and organizational interest throughout all levels of government. In its nature, this project required efforts from all levels of government and non-governmental entities both corporate and otherwise, with a significant level of pathfinding through legal, constitutional, and social terrain and establishment of new principles throughout the country. For the municipality (and municipally represented organizations like Waterfront), the ability to effectively communicate and coordinate with federal and provincial channels, and corporate and non-corporate entities, was paramount throughout the entire process and will continue to be for the foreseeable future regarding this particular project. What was done very well, in this example, was the level of intervention done by the Toronto government and Toronto representative organizations like Waterfront. Allowing a project with implications like this, unfiltered, would have been disastrous, and due diligence

and thoroughness saved the day. If anything is to be understood from this, the latchkey is this was not simply a project, but more of an inevitability. Unless a municipality, or any place really, decides it wants to try and halt technological progress, systems like these *will* be integrated sooner or later. The Quayside project is especially admirable in it's "head on" attitude in tackling the issue in entirety. Otherwise, these technologies will slowly creep in undetected and criticism and controversy will begin to pile up. London is certainly going to face the challenge of technological encroachment, if it hasn't already begun to. In the London Budget Summary 2020-2023 Business Cases, a certain case named "Smart City Program" was included. In the case's summary it states "An important part of being competitive within this context is to create and provide for a smart city", and "A smart city is one that uses innovation, technology and data to grow our economy, protect our environment and make our lives better." (Budget Business Cases, 2019) Goals of the proposal include the establishment of data governance protocols, investigate technology procurement means, consult private industry, and promote London as a "smart city". The similarities here robust to say the least. Of course, this is only a proposal as of now, and whether or not it is actively being considered currently is not in the public's purview. Regardless, it will be only a matter of time before this case or cases like it will be implemented. The case in Toronto is, and will be, precedent setting for municipalities around Canada, however, it would be erroneous to assume Toronto's processes for mediating can be viably carbon copied and applied in London simply. Concerns of the public and advocacy groups, demands of technologists involved, means of data collection, and much more will certainly differ and absolutely require regulations and processes tailored to London. What can be taken from Toronto's lead are the overarching principles of data privacy, government

transparency, and multilevel governance practices. A great takeaway from Toronto would be their development of the Digital Infrastructure Plan, as mentioned previously. The plan aggregates digital policy into one comprehensive article, creating a solid foundation and reference for smart city style projects. Principles guiding the DIP include privacy and security, inclusion, social and economic benefits, and the like, which can be reasonably applied to London similarly. Toronto's DIP was seemingly done reactively to the Quayside project as means of retrieving appropriate leadership back from Sidewalk. It is extremely advisable that a comprehensive policy mandate like this be done proactively, before implementing any major digital infrastructure, as a means of setting ground rules and avoiding imbalance of power between players. Transparency and consultation also proved to be invaluable throughout the entire process. Sidewalk's plans were subject to the scrutiny of a plethora of different organizations, for many months, over multiple rounds. Multilevel governance was pivotal here from the start. In London's case, ensuring that the city includes consultation with Western and Fanshaw specifically will be crucial, as they will inevitably be big players in any debate. Toronto experienced criticism from University of Toronto professors (Simpson, 2019), however, Toronto also had a plethora of other dedicated organizations and businesses chime in on the subject, "diluting" criticisms in a sense. London may have fewer strong opinions on the subject, or at least, Western and Fanshawe's voices may be a bigger part of the conversation. These institutions could either be helping hand, or hindering force, throughout the entire process. Of course, utilising the technical and political knowledge from each institution will only improve the scrutiny of potential projects. Either way, ensuring these institutions are apart of the process from the get-go will allow for a much smoother process. Very public Federal and

provincial involvement was necessary in Toronto as the project was, and is, precedent setting.

Still, multilevel governance in a London based smart city project will still be required, though

likely more for technical reasons. The nature of digital information flow and the internet often

transcends physical and administrative barriers, and any government contending with issues in

that realm need to have the ability to respond quickly to movements in the political or technical

spheres. Any digital policy under consideration will need to be in line with provincial and

federal policies. Those policies are undoubtedly going to shift consistently as technology rapidly

develops, and a means of effective and swift communication are also needed. Taking 5G as an

example, the technology is mired controversy up into even the international level (5G

Networks, 2020). Implementing a technology like this will require a municipality to navigate

federal and international disputes, provincial policy differentiations, differing municipal

implementations, non-governmental organization's concerns, and more. More specifically,

ensuring London has a robust digital governance crew or specialist group of some kind to deal

with digital governance implementation, and linking those specialists to provincial and federal

specialists directly, will allow quicker and smoother decision making. Waterfront Toronto serves

well as an example of a dedicated organization able to execute multilevel governance

operations effectively. Institutionalized multilevel governance organizations have proven

difficult to establish, but shown to be effective once done. (Young, 2013) In London's case, the

establishment of a robust (though not necessarily large) digital committee with expert

representation on digital governance from different levels of government would prove effective

in navigating implementation concerns.

Final Notes

Given the unpredictability of the speed and the form of technological progression, I find it unlikely that any government will be able to proactively *mitigate* concerns of new technologies being implemented. What can be done however, is the proactive *addressment* of those concerns through a consolidated infrastructure. Ensuring a municipality has access to proper advisory channels, established consultation protocols, and a consolidated policy will continuously serve as a foundation for any smart city projects to come. The Sidewalk labs project is an incredible learning opportunity and will be a precedent for many municipalities in Canada, if not the world. Though, even after completion the precedent setting will not cease, and some of the most turbulent times are likely to come during its active governance. The project will be something any person or entity concerning themselves with the subject should keep up with in the years to come.

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NIMBY Case Study: District of North Vancouver and the Delbrook Lands

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March 25, 2020

THE PROJECT

Background

The District of North Vancouver is a district municipality surrounding the city of North Vancouver. It is a relatively wealthy municipality, with the median total income of households reaching $103,981 according to Statistics Canada. This sets its residents as fourth highest income earners of any municipality in British Columbia, falling behind the villages of Anmore, Belcarra, and Lions Bay.[1]

On June 27th 2011 the District of North Vancouver Council adopted an Official Community Plan, comparable to a strategic plan. Known as Bylaw 7900 and last revised in the Fall of 2018 the document outlines the objectives and policies which would guide the execution of a vision for the municipality. The creation of this plan took two-years and was informed by participation of the public and stakeholders. There are three main parts the plan is composed of: community structure, community development, and plan management. Sub-topics to note within the plan include growth management, urban structure, and parks and open space which all fall under community structure. Additionally, housing and social-wellbeing are covered under community development.[2]

The construction of the new Delbrook Community Recreation Centre at 851 West Queens Road in 2017 resulted in two old community centres, William Griffin and Delbrook, becoming underused and reaching the end of their age. The land on 600 West Queens Road which the old Delbrook community centre was located on was to be repurposed and a public idea

1. Statistics Canada. 2019. *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census.* July 18. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-CMA-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=6&LANG=Eng&GK=CMA&GC=933#shr-pg-pnl6.
2. District of North Vancouver. 2018. *Official Community Plan.* Bylaw, District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

gathering workshop took place in 2016, refer to Appendix 1.[3] In 2018 a project was proposed to Council in partnership with Catalyst Community Developments Society, a non-profit organization specialized in real estate development. The project combined two initiatives. First, a five-story building proposed by Catalyst Community Development Society. Second, a proposal of a neighbourhood park led by the municipality itself.[4]

Affordable Housing

The Delbrook lands project was meant to create around eighty affordable housing units to be rented at below-market prices. The plan also included a seniors' respite centre which was meant to take up one of the five proposed floors of the building. Under the proposed agreement, the district municipality would wave charges for development and offer the land to Catalyst Community Developments Society. The overall cost of the project was estimated at around $9 million. The eighty units were to include studios, one-, two-, and three-bedroom units.[5]

Proposed rents for the units ranged between $1,000-$1,260 for a studio unit and $1,663-$2,550 for a three-bedroom unit. This proposed rent is approximately 20-30% below market rates.[6]

Neighbourhood Park

3. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

4. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

5. Brent Richter. 2018. *'We can do better': District of North Van rejects Delbrook affordable housing project.* November 19. https://www.nsnews.com/news/we-can-do-better-district-of-north-van-rejects-delbrook-affordable-housing-project-1.23503383.

6. Justin McElroy. 2018. *Rezoning for below-market-rental housing project rejected by District of North Vancouver.* November 20. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/north-van-delbrook-rezoning-rejection-1.4912498.

The Delbrook affordable housing project coincided with the construction of a new park, north of the site. The initial park design proposal included a wide range of amenities and the maintenance of an existing daycare. Proposed amenities in the park include multiuse-space with sports court, washroom, playground, exercise equipment, and water jets, refer to Appendix 2.[7] The neighbourhood project cost was estimated to be $2.2 million.[8] This cost is independent from the $9 million investment in the affordable housing building.

RECEPTION

District Municipality Council

The initial public hearings and decision-making process around the Delbrook lands began in 2015, and was interrupted by the District of North Vancouver municipal election in 2018. This, in part, led to the new Council's rejection of the proposal early on in their term on November 19, 2018. The councillors cited multiple reasons for the 5-2 vote against the project, which ranged from concerns around height and density of the building, impacts on traffic and parking around the residential area, and even criticisms of the project's lack of capability to address climate change.[9] The mayor, Mike Little — who campaigned on slowing down development and pace of growth in the District of North Vancouver — rejected any NIMBY sentiments influencing the vote. He affirmed the need for community consent, and noted that leadership which ignores the community is inadequate.[10] This stands as a political response to

7. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

8. Jeremy Shepherd. 2019. *Mixed reaction towards four-storey Delbrook project.* October 29. https://www.nsnews.com/news/mixed-reaction-towards-four-storey-delbrook-project-1.23991817.

9. Brent Richter. 2018. *'We can do better': District of North Van rejects Delbrook affordable housing project.* November 19. https://www.nsnews.com/news/we-can-do-better-district-of-north-van-rejects-delbrook-affordable-housing-project-1.23503383.

10. Justin McElroy. 2018. *Rezoning for below-market-rental housing project rejected by District of North Vancouver.* November 20. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/north-van-delbrook-rezoning-rejection-1.4912498

the Delbrook lands re-purposing, whereby the mayor downplays the influence of NIMBY attitudes and organized efforts by residents to oppose the project proposal. The Council continued pushing for better affordable housing options, citing imperfections with what has been proposed. Councillor Mathew Bond, however, remained a strong advocate of the affordable housing units proposed for the Delbrook lands. He stated in a Vancouver Sun article "Passing up opportunities where we could house 80 people of low to moderate incomes for opportunities that do not exist and are not defined, I don't think that's a form of good leadership… Good decisions that put people in homes are better than perfect decisions that don't put people in homes."[11] There is a need for affordable housing in the District of North Vancouver, yet tensions remained between residents and within Council as they each tried to find compromises and solutions to issues raised.

Public Opinion

Following the Council's rejection of the initial proposal municipal district staff turned to approaching the public for additional community consultations. By late September 2019 the First Reading of the modified Catalyst Community Developments Society application took place.[12] The district municipality hosted a public hearing the following month and mixed reactions from residents were displayed, from support to opposition and some residents remaining confused about the entirety of the project.[13] Certain residents of the neighbourhood became staunch critics of the municipalities approach to repurposing the Delbrook lands. One such resident became

11. Jennifer Saltman. 2019. *Affordable housing still a pressing matter in North Van District, council says.* April 8. https://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/affordable-housing-still-a-pressing-matter-in-north-van-district-council-says/.

12. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Planning the future of the Delbrook Lands.* November 18. https://www.dnv.org/recreation-and-leisure/help-decide-future-delbrook-lands.

13. Jeremy Shepherd. 2019. *Mixed reaction towards four-storey Delbrook project.* October 29. https://www.nsnews.com/news/mixed-reaction-towards-four-storey-delbrook-project-1.23991817.

somewhat of a spokesperson for others who also opposed the project. They stated that the building, now one floor shorter following revision, would compromise the character of the neighbourhood. They additionally spoke of confusion around the project and how residents were unsure of what exactly they were supporting.[14] The oscillating project proposal swinging for around four years between public hearings, development planning and council led to plenty of confusion. Residents were not sure which aspects of the project were required and which they could provide input for. Tracking the changes of the application put out by Catalyst Community Developments Society became increasingly difficult over time as well. The challenges in assessing public reactions and community response led to organized and systematic approaches by district municipality staff to collect, assess, and present the opinions and views shared by residents.

THE RESPONSE

City Response

The District of North Vancouver provided several avenues to collect feedback from residents around the Delbrook lands. It began with a public idea gathering workshop in early 2016, followed by online questionnaire, a deliberative dialogue, open house, public information meeting, two public hearing, online survey for Delbrook neighbours, a second open house, an additional online survey, community engagement process, and a final public hearing in 2019.[15]

Several components played a role in streamlining information and adequately collecting opinions and views. The District of North Vancouver partnered with Simon Fraser University's Centre for Dialogue to host a community conversation around what should happen to the

14. Jeremy Shepherd. 2019. *Mixed reaction towards four-storey Delbrook project.* October 29. https://www.nsnews.com/news/mixed-reaction-towards-four-storey-delbrook-project-1.23991817.

15. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Planning the future of the Delbrook Lands.* November 18. https://www.dnv.org/recreation-and-leisure/help-decide-future-delbrook-lands.

Delbrook lands. By working with strong partners and experts in fostering productive dialogue the

district municipality was able to better assess public opinion. Moreover, the deliberative dialogue

was preceded by a selection process of participants. Around 90 community members were

selected form an applicant pool to participate in the discussion of around six ideas summarized

by district municipality staff. [16] This allowed for streamlined and thoughtful discussion, ensuring

a diverse array of views is shared while maintaining a manageable amount of data and

information for analysis later on. The response from the District of North Vancouver

accommodated the residents impacted by Delbrook lands proposals and provided councillors

with opportunities to engage in the dialogue and assess feedback in an organized manner.

Resident Response

Interestingly, residents' opinions were polarized. Some were strong supporters of

affordable housing initiatives while others did not deem it to be appropriate use of municipal

resources. Quotes from residents on surveys showcased strong opposition, one resident writing "I

do not feel the municipality should be in the business of providing housing. Its main priority

should be looking after the people already living here. We are being neglected in so many ways.

Focus on the taxpayer, not future taxpayers!"[17] Others deemed housing to be a priority, and even

suggested the neighbourhood park land be designated as additional affordable housing units. The

Official Community Plan revised in 2018 set a strong precedent for the District of North

Vancouver to pursue affordable housing options, after all the community plan was informed by

the public and other stakeholders.[18] However, when faced with a project in their own

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16. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Planning the future of the Delbrook Lands.* November 18. https://www.dnv.org/recreation-and-leisure/help-decide-future-delbrook-lands.

17. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

18. District of North Vancouver. 2018. *Official Community Plan.* Bylaw, District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

neighbourhood residents showcased resistance and hesitancy towards affordable housing units. To complicate matters further, some residents had exact opposite views about the need for consolations as well as opposing views regarding the quality of the information presented. Some residents stating "I think this latest consultation is unnecessary" while others writing "Thank you for consulting the community."[19] The surveys conducted by the District of North Vancouver relied on sub-group analysis, separating respondents into two categories. The first category was deemed to be those living 'Inside Neighbourhood Zone', while the second category included residents 'Outside Neighbourhood Zone', who composed the larger sample, refer to Appendix 3.[20] The neighbourhood park portion of the project received mostly favourable feedback, with around 86% of residents indicating the District of North Vancouver 'hit the mark' with their park objectives, refer to Appendix 4.[21]

The contentious portion of the project was consistently the affordable housing building, which had already been reduced to four-stories from the initial five resulting in a loss of around 20 affordable housing units.[22] Questions about building inhabitants and building character displayed a diverse range of views. Most residents indicated that families should live in the building and demonstrated a strong preference for a West Coast building design, however neither of these options were statistically different from the other options, refer to Appendix 5. The number of floors was what residents had an issue with, with a statistically significant p-value at the $p < 0.05$ level.[23] Interestingly, there was discrepancy between those living inside and outside

19. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Jeremy Shepherd. 2019. *Mixed reaction towards four-storey Delbrook project.* October 29. https://www.nsnews.com/news/mixed-reaction-towards-four-storey-delbrook-project-1.23991817.
23. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.

the neighbourhood zone. 36% of those outside the neighbourhood zone favoured 4+ floors, compared to only 17% of those living inside the neighbourhood zone. Residents of the neighbourhood favoured the 2+ floors option at 44%, as opposed to 20% support for this option from those outside the neighbourhood zone.[24] The data, both quantitative and qualitative, present a clear case of NIMBY attitudes, whereby residents support affordable housing but their support diminishes when projects are set within the boundaries of their neighbourhood, or in other terms, when the location is their 'backyard'.

LESSONS LEARNED

Successful Approaches

On November 18, 2019 the Council approved the Delbrook lands rezoning application presented to them..[25] It took 1513 days to approve the plan, without any construction having even begun. This showcases that democratic approaches that provide fair access to information, encourage freedom to express views, and aim for consensus are time consuming. However, these democratic approaches are valuable and lead to successful satisfactory outcomes with the use of appropriate tools and procedures.

Recommendations

First, working with Council closely, especially following elections and during transition periods. A major roadblock facing the Delbrook lands re-purposing was the transition between two different Councils. Public hearings conducted with the previous Council were useful, but did not provide the incoming Council with an opportunity to navigate public opinions and engage with residents.

24. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Public Hearing: 600 West Queens Road.* District of North Vancouver: The Corporation of the District of North Vancouver.
25. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Planning the future of the Delbrook Lands.* November 18. https://www.dnv.org/recreation-and-leisure/help-decide-future-delbrook-lands.

Second, refer to the strategic plan frequently, especially components that took-in residents' input. This provides basis for the work and allows municipality staff to assess input with a broader perspective of community priorities. Eranti referring to future research directions around NIMBYism states "The concept of NIMBY should be used to denote the conflicts, not actors participating in the conflicts."[26] This thought process can be further expanded to consultations and dialogue. Residents' are often well intentioned and it is vital not to associate individuals with certain attitudes, rather address the conflict and issues as objectively as possible. Referring to the municipality's vision and strategic plan frequently will orient all stakeholders involved in a given project.

Third, Ensure residents have access to information easily. This can occur by providing a searchable municipal website for example. Referring to studies and previous work to address concerns of residents is also of utmost importance. Loss of property value is often cited as an issue for residents when an affordable housing project is proposed. There is little evidence to support the notion of affordable housing units reducing the market value of surrounding properties. Relaying that information in a digestible format can lead to successful outcomes.[27]

Fourth, clarifying the purpose of surveys and feedback to residents, and outlining how they can be incorporated into decision making. Analysis plans that categorize concerns allow for clearer understanding of residents' views. This enables councillors and developers to gain broader support of a given project by addressing persistent concerns. For example, when it comes to climate change — a concern cited frequently during the Delbrook lands consultations

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26. Veikko Eranti. 2017. "Re-visiting NIMBY: From conflicting interests to conflicting valuations." *The Sociological Review* 65 (2): 285-301.
27. Housing Policy Branch. 2014. *Toward More Inclusive Neighbourhoods.* Victoria: Housing Policy Branch.

— the municipality must understand the priority of its residents beforehand and implement

decisions accordingly.[28] This can only be achieved by looking at the broader scope of issues.

Fifth, provide different avenues of feedback, and consider streamlined approaches. A

municipal guide for responding to NIMBY attitudes was published by the Federation of

Canadian Municipalities in 2009.[29] The guide outlines five strategies: legislatives frameworks,

planning tools, community engagement, educational tools, and follow up approaches.[30] Notably,

community engagement and education are separate topics. Associating these items together can

lead to confusion. Residents should have the opportunity to learn about a project before giving

input. It is vital to provide platforms accessible to all, such as online surveys, open houses, and

townhalls. However, in some instances, selection of smaller groups that are highly engaged and

educated on a given matter can allow for fruitful dialogue. In the case of the Delbrook lands,

only a sample of participants were selected for the deliberative dialogue hosted by partners at

Simon Fraser University.[31] Additionally, follow-up plays a major role in maintaining positive

relationships between residents of a neighbourhood and a given municipality.

Sixth, work with local organizations and experts to engage opposition. In order to reduce

hostility and prevent third-party organized opposition, residents with opposing views should be

actively included in the process and given platforms to provide feedback. However, the purpose

of feedback tools should be clear, for example, clarifying that polls set priorities rather than

guide decision making.

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28. Maria A. Petrova. 2016. "From NIMBY to acceptance: Toward a novel framework — VESPA — For organizing and interpreting community concerns." *Renewable Energy* 86: 1280-1294.

29. Federation of Canadian Municipalities . 2009. *Housing in My Backyard: A Municipal Guide For Responding to NIMBY.* Ottawa: Federation of Canadian Municipalities .
    30 Ibid.
31. District of North Vancouver. 2019. *Planning the future of the Delbrook Lands.* November 18. https://www.dnv.org/recreation-and-leisure/help-decide-future-delbrook-lands.

APPENDIX 1

Delbrook lands location and initial condition

Delbrook Lands Location

Delbrook Lands Existing Condition

APPENDIX 2
Conceptual building and park design

APPENDIX 3
Council-identified 'local neighbourhood'
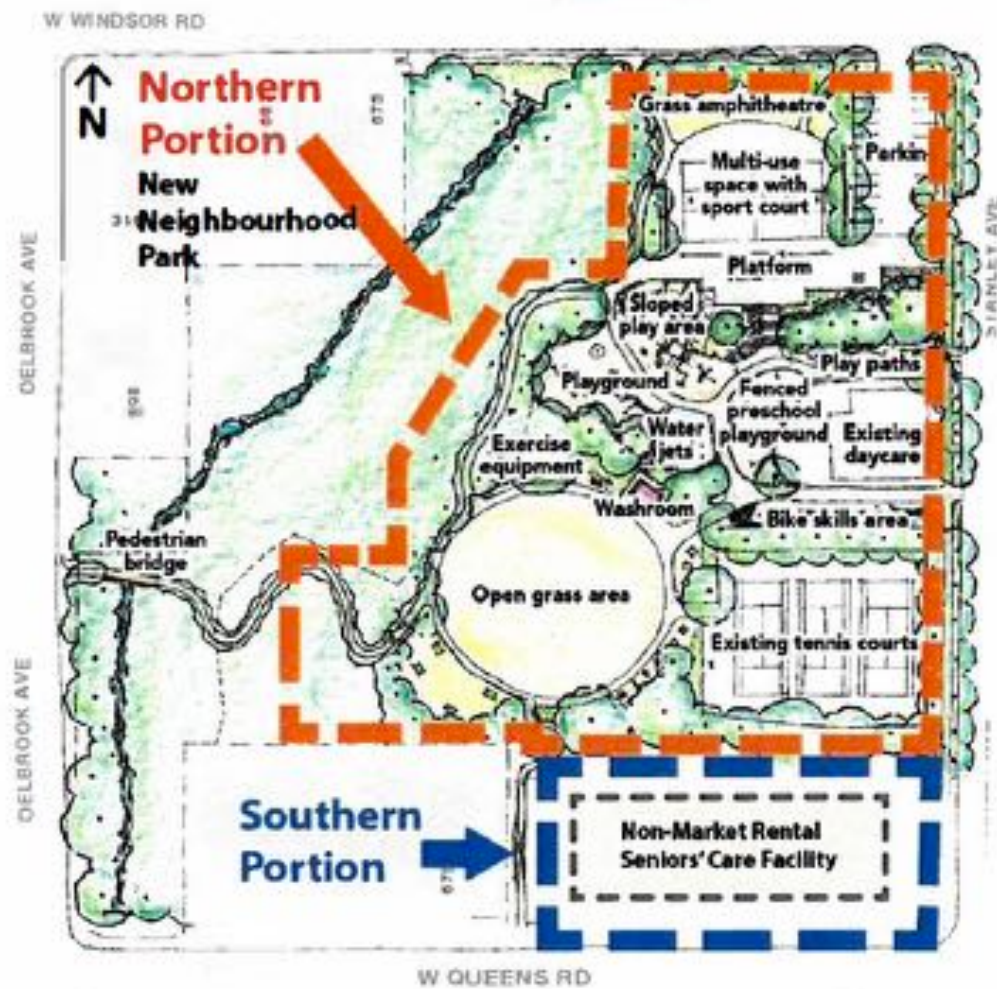
APPENDIX 4
Park Objectives Feedback

Have we hit the mark with our park objectives?

	Yes	No
Total	160	25
■ Inside Neighbourhood Zone	44	6
■ Outside Neighbourhood Zone	116	19
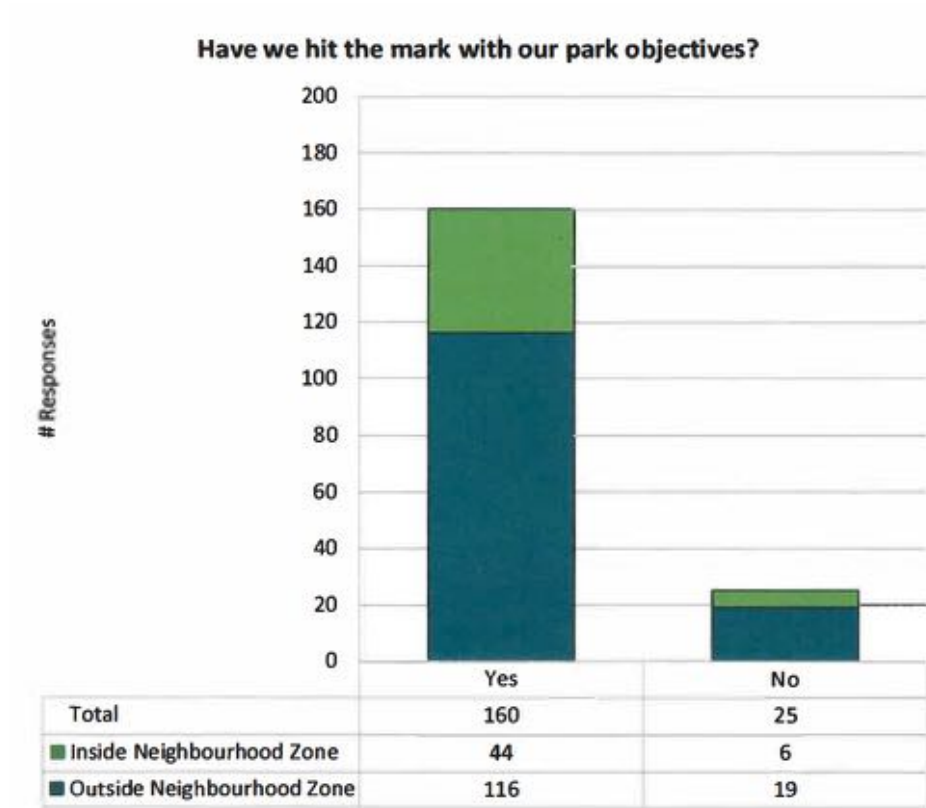
APPENDIX 5
Building Inhabitants and Building Character

Who should live in this building?
First Selection

	Families	Seniors	People with special needs or accessibility challenges	Youth	People who are homeless
Total	59	51	44	37	7
Inside Neighbourhood Zone	21	16	9	9	0
Outside Neighbourhood Zone	38	35	35	28	7

Building Character
First Selection

	West coast	Modern	Crafts man	Tudor	Edward ian	Mansar dic
Total	124	24	18	15	10	9
Inside Neighbourhood Zone	31	7	6	7	2	2
Outside Neighbourhood Zone	93	17	12	8	8	7

APPENDIX 6
Number of floors for the building

How many floors of housing above the ground-level parking floor on the west side of the building do you support?
% Total for Inside/Outside Neighbourhood Zone Sample

■ Inside Neighbourhood Zone ■ Outside Neighbourhood Zone

Category	Inside	Outside
4+	17%	36%
4	4%	4%
3+	17%	26%
3	2%	6%
2+	44%	20%
2	17%	9%

*The chi-square statistic is 18.893. The P-Value is 0.002. The result is significant at p ≤ 0.05
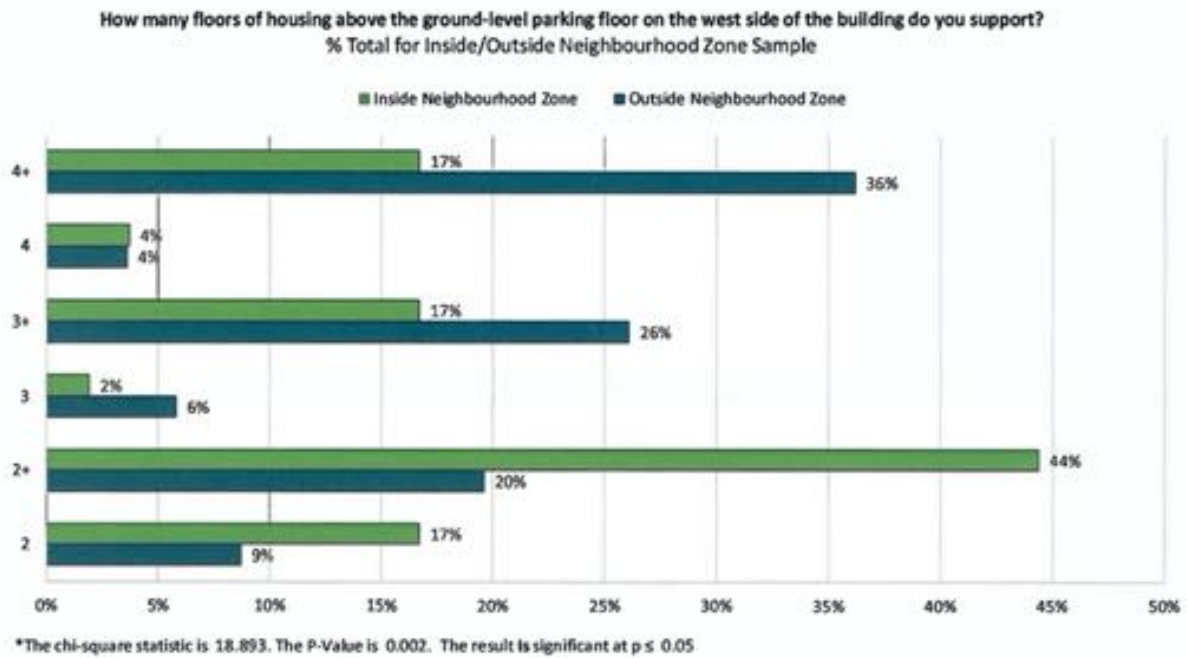
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NIMBY Case Study: High Sped Rail in Ontario and the 2014-2018 Opposition Movement

POL 2294

March 25th, 2019

Trevor Wright – 250 839 072

Introduction

Canada is the only G7 country that does not have a High-Speed Rail (HSR) line (Paulsen 2009). This is despite an estimated six attempts since 1960 to build HSR in the Quebec City-Windsor Corridor (QWC) and two attempts since 2000 to connect Calgary and Edmonton via HSR. The purpose of this case study is to analyze the Ontario government's most recent attempt (~2014-2018) to advance an HSR agenda. The failures from this most recent attempt provide invaluable lessons on how a government should approach advancing high capital-expenditure, long term infrastructure projects.

The Appeal of High-Speed Rail in Ontario

Proponents argue that HSR could greatly improve the quality of connectivity in the QWC. They argue demographics, flight volume, and housing supply issues make the region highly suited for HSR. Regarding demographics, roughly 50% of Canada's population lives along the Windsor-Quebec-City corridor (Canada 2014), making it a larger market for transportation services then Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, each of which have HSR lines. This region has a similar population to Florida where a private consortium is operating and currently expanding an HSR network connecting Orlando to Miami. Thus, there is precedent for HSR profitably operating in similar sized populations. Next, there are an estimated 3905 flights per week between Toronto and

Montreal and Toronto and Ottawa (Kayak 2020). HSR could both drastically reduce the economic and environmental costs of these routine flights. Finally, with Toronto frequenting the top 10-20 spots on various city affordability indices (See '*CBRE Global Living 2019*' report and '*Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey: 2020*'), HSR is seen as a potential remedy to housing affordability in the GTA. Average housing prices in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) were ~$850,000 in 2019 (Newport 2020) so HSR would unlock new housing market supply for workers in Toronto, decreasing the average cost of living for those who participate in the Toronto economy. For example with HSR, one could work in Toronto and live in London (average home price = ~$415,000, (Global News 2020)) but have a similar length of commute to the ~77,000 people who are currently spend more than 40 minutes driving from the GTA into Toronto every morning (S. Canada 2019).

This case study does not have idée fixe for Ontario-wide HSR, however it does assume that an HSR line connecting Toronto with Ottawa and Montreal is highly desirable and that a line connecting London-Kitchener-Toronto is desirable. This case study assumes that the absence of these lines is undesirable for Ontario apropos our connectivity and environmental goals. Thus, going forward, this case study assumes that irrespective of other transit demands, HSR would have a net positive impact on Ontario's economy and quality of life for its citizens and not building HSR is a public policy failure.

Ontario's Recent Efforts to Build High Speed Rail

In 2008 Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty partnered with the premier of Quebec, Jean Charest announced they would jointly fund a $2 Mn feasibility study for a Windsor-Quebec City HSR line (CBC News 2008). At the time, they recalled that the last studying regarding this HSR line took place in 1995 but increased congestion, the urgency to reduce carbon emissions, and technology

changes precipitated a new study (CBC News 2008). Additionally, research at the time suggested that the public was highly in favour of HSR (for example see Graves 2009), thus making it a potentially politically popular/possible infrastructure investment. *'High Speed Rail Canada'*, a stakeholder that would remain an important proponent of HSR in Ontario in coming years, was created to facilitate the study. The research was published in 2011 but no further action was taken, potentially stalled by Mr. McGuinty's resignation in 2012.

In 2014, efforts to build an HSR Line in Ontario were renewed. This time, focus would be placed on building HSR in the Windsor-Toronto corridor. The reduction of scope in the size of the rail line can be attributed to greater demand for connectivity improvement in South Western Ontario (SWO) vis-à-vis Eastern Ontario and Liberal party attempts to connect with traditionally conservative rural voters in SWO. In April 2014, the liberal government's Minister of Transportation (MoT) at the time Glen Murray announced their government would renew efforts to build an HSR line in Ontario and it would be completed within a decade. This announcement came two months before the provincial election so the claim may have been a false promise as part of the political process. It was not until October 2015 that a special advisor was commissioned to investigate the path forward for an HSR line (Ministry of Transportation 2015).

In August 2016, a catalyst for what would be a successful resistance movement occurred: "Save Via Rail" founder Chris West decided to re-start his local advocacy group by renaming it "All Abord St. Marys". The special advisor's report was released in December 2016 and in May 2017, the government announced the commencement of an Environmental Assessment and design planning for HSR between London and Toronto (CBC News 2017). From September 2017 until the election in June 2018, the anti-HSR movement was highly active. Following the defeat of the liberal government in 2018, the Progressive Conservative government announced it would be

expanding the scope of the HSR proposal to include investigating options for improvements to existing infrastructure such as Via Rail or highways. In the 2019 budget, the Ontario government paused all funding for HSR proposal research, directly citing feedback from residents of SWO.

Responsibly Addressing Southwestern Ontario's Transportation Needs

The Province will examine options for improved connections between London, Kitchener and Toronto to spur economic activity in the region by improving mobility and increasing travel reliability. This will include practical options for improvements to existing rail corridors in collaboration with private-sector partners to optimize passenger and freight rail. As well, it will include improvements to the highway network and inter-community bus services. As part of this work, the Province will consult with affected municipalities and Indigenous communities.

High-speed rail: value for money?

The Province has paused capital funding for high-speed rail in the *2019 Ontario Budget* and is actively exploring opportunities to enhance the train speeds and service levels on existing railway corridors, as well as opportunities for inter-community bus services or other transit solutions that better support the immediate needs of Southwestern Ontario.

The Province is completing an analysis of new and existing rail service options that consider the social, environmental and economic impact to area residents, landowners, farmers, businesses and the natural environment.

The Province has listened to the residents in Southwestern Ontario who have expressed concerns that high-speed rail would have negative social, environmental and economic impacts for the region. For example, the agricultural community has warned that the project would create a physical barrier that would eliminate countless hectares of prime agricultural land in one of Canada's richest farm belts, restricting access to homes, fields and markets.

The Province will bring forward a transportation plan for Southwestern Ontario by fall 2019.

Source: Ontario 2019 Budget

In January 2020 the government announced a SWO transit plan focused on improving existing passenger rail using Via and Go services (Global News 2019).

Given this case study's assumption that HSR connecting London-Kitchener-Toronto is desirable irrespective of other transit needs, the successes of the anti-HSR movement will be analyzed. The networks and tactics they used will be analyzed to develop our understanding of how minority groups can topple projects that are good for the wider community.

Organized Response

Intercity Rail was the leading organization in the SWO anti-HSR movement. Supported and emboldened by wider networks, Intercity Rail was the hub for connecting concerned citizens, politicians and micro-advocacy organizations. Intercity Rail led the well-known campaign '*Why High Speed Rail?*' prior to the 2018 election. Intercity Rail advanced the SWO anti-HSR movement's two primary grievances. First was concern about transit in SWO generally, and the belief that an implication of London-Toronto HSR would be the decommissioning of rural passenger rail. Second was opposition to HSR cutting through private farmland.

To analyze the anti-HSR movement led by Intercity Rail a network map was produced to see the connections between people, organizations and the paths of influence to provincial decision makers (see page 8). Analysis of the network also reveals the tactics that various HSR opponents used to build their following and voice their concerns.

The network diagram reveals how local politicians, advocates, media and other institutionalized long-term special interest groups all contributed to stating the anti-HSR case to the provincial government. Notably, a diverse group of influential citizens from various communities in SWO were all on the Intercity Rail Steering Committee (IRSC). The connections these IRSC members brought to Intercity Rail was the source of the movement's effectiveness. Via the IRSC members, the anti-HSR lobby had a voice on Middlesex County Council, Oxford County Council, Thames Centre Town Council, and Zora Township Council (See regional maps in Appendix 1) . Additionally, certain IRSC members sit on the board of Transport Action Ontario (TAO), (a province wide transportation related special interest and lobbying group), and the Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA). What is more, IRSC had members who were also writers for local newspapers in SWO, elevating their ability to influence public opinion.

The IRSC used various tactics to build public support for their cause including:

- Community meetings (evidence of at least six meetings with estimated 1000+ total participants).
- Passing resolutions at Municipal and County councils (passed by nine councils in the three months before the 2018 provincial election).

Councils that passed a resolution to "have the Provincial Government look at all the options for improved transportation in Southwestern Ontario and that local representatives be involved in all decisions." (As lobbied for by Intercity Rail)

- Municipality of Thames Centre
- Township of Zora
- Township of East Zora – Tavisto

- Township of Wilmot
- City of Woodstock
- County of Lambton

- Town of Ingersoll
- Town of St. Marys
- City of Stratford

- Newspaper coverage (the IRSC commented in an estimated 30 articles between late 2017 and April 2019).
- Petition (1600+ signatures).
- Using longstanding special interest groups influence (specifically via IRSC members who have board seats on the TAO and OFA).
- Social media information campaigns (including posting pictures of large community meetings and appealing to farmers personal stories).
- Freedom of information searches (about the liberal governments transit plan).
- Sponsoring Research Reports on transit in SWO.

These tactics resulted in a movement that magnified the influence of the IRSC. The network map demonstrates how the leadership of a few were able to create a sizable political front that could influence the local electorate and then go on to influence Queens Park decision making. Leading up to the election, the Anti-HSR movement expunged the liberal party as an option for SWO rural ridings (See Appendix 2). Following the election, conservative party support was rewarded by SWO MPP's securing important cabinet seats. The Oxford MPP's appointment to Minister of Agriculture (MoA), and the Elgin—Middlesex—London MPP's appointment to be MoT in

November 2018 meant the Anti-HSR movement now had local representation amongst the highest decision makers leading into the 2019 provincial budget process.

The extraordinary influence of Intercity Rail in SWO meant that Elgin-Middlesex-London MPP Jeff Yurek could not defend HSR research without infuriating these vocal constituents. Thus, Yurek appeased his constituents and ended HSR considerations and accelerated action on non-HSR transit policy for SWO. Premier Ford and current MoT Honourable Mulroney have maintained this stance and continued to improve on existing infrastructure.

Lessons for combating NIMBYism London

The failure of the 2014-2018 liberal government to build support for HSR in SWO provides learning opportunities on how NIMBYism occurs and what might stop it before it's influence grows enough to stop a project.

1) **In a systematic, data driven manner, anticipate opposition strength and demands early in the planning process.**

It was predictable that an attempt at building HSR would solicit backlash from the rural communities which would have property appropriated, and those that stood to lose traditional passenger rail traffic. Notwithstanding the chance that HSR was low priority election promise for the liberals, if a government is genuinely committed to getting a project done for the greater good, then analyzing the potential opposition should be one of the first project planning steps. This is true because analysis of the opposition will likely lead to changes in the project plan.

Government

Ontario Executive & Legislature

Local Media
The Waterloo Regional Record
New Hampshire Independent
Woodstock Sentinel Review
London Free Press

Other Long Term Special Interest Groups
Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA)
Transport Action Ontario (TAO)

SWO Anti-HSR Lobby

Intercity Rail

Concerned Citizens of High Speed Rail

All Aboard St. Marys

Intercity Rail Steering Committee

People

Strength of the potential opposition

By way of analyzing opposition strength, a network analysis like I completed does not have to be post-hoc. The first step is to identify the engaged community members and influencers before even announcing the project. These community leaders were active in their communities prior to HSR becoming a political issue as noted by their social media commentary, press commentary, and organizational affiliations. The network can be identified quickly by using search engines associate organizations and commentary with individuals. Researching individuals allows one to see their networks. For example, if in 2017 the government had researched Greg Gormick, they would have realized he personally participated in grass roots transit advocacy and professionally provided transit policy research to local governments in SWO. Similarly, they may have found that Ken Westcar was a TAO board member, gave lectures in SWO on his transit agenda, and exerted influence as a columnist for the London Free Press. Identifying community leaders like this allows project advocates to assess the level of influence the opposition movement will have and begin to find a path forward that will overcome the resistance.

Demands of the potential opposition

Once the public facing opposition network is identified and the most influential nodes are researched, the project leader must understand what their grievances will be with the project and what their demands are on the general policy matter at hand is. Project grievance and general policy stance are both important because the former reveals their negative reaction and the latter reveals what their personal best-case scenario is. When planning a project, we can mitigate for the opposers grievances and cater components of the project to their general policy stance.

In the case of HSR, the major grievances were a) cutting through farmland and b) causing the end of rural regional rail. Irrespective of HSR, the general transit policy stance held by people in rural SWO is that they need improved transit options to connect them to each other, and to urban centres. In the case of the Green in Wortley village, the grievances people had with park development were increased human/vehicle traffic in their neighborhood despite many holding the general policy stance that park development is good in a community.

Now that you know the opposers project grievances and you know their general policy stance, you can develop a strategy for completing the project within this political economy. Part two will discuss how you can mitigate for the opposers grievances and build their support through appealing to their general policy stance.

2) Have a strategy for managing the political economy of the policy transition.

Mitigate Grievances

The project advocates need to be committed to considering creative to think of mitigants.

- <u>Think of alternative infrastructure you could build to appease their concerns.</u> For SWO HSR could we have used tunnels and bridges to keep farmers roads open? Could the city have promised no street parking beside the Green in Wortley village and built a parking lot for guests in the North West corner closer to the commercial areas?

- <u>Quietly bargain with those who will affected before it becomes a large-scale issue.</u> A relatively small group of farmers would have seen their land cut off by HSR, yet a few thousand farmers rallied against HSR. If the farmers most effected were identified and gently consulted with, they could become project benefactors through a bargaining process.

Having these supporters would reduce the strength of the opposition when the plan was announced.

Appeal to General Policy Stance

Mitigating the grievances will likely not be enough to win over the opposers. This is because some opposers will not like your mitigants, so an additional tool must be deployed to win more favour. Ideally the policy maker should integrate the project into the opposers ideal policy solution. For the Ontario Liberal Government, this meant announcing a robust SWO transit plan that HSR was a component of. To that effect, development of recreation infrastructure on the Green in Wortley village may be more likely in the future if it is part of a broader community or city park development plan. Integrating controversial projects within widely supported policies can help reduced targeted resistance for the project.

Conclusion

HSR in Ontario provides a good case study for examining the networks and tactics opposition groups will use to achieve their policy objectives. By examining the timeline of HSR development and opposition, we can identify the opposition actors and their demands and plan to mitigate their grievances and make our project part of a broader policy that appeals to their desires.

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<div align="center">Appendix</div>

Appendix 1

SWO Counties

Oxford County

Middlesex County

Appendix 2

2018 Provincial Election Map
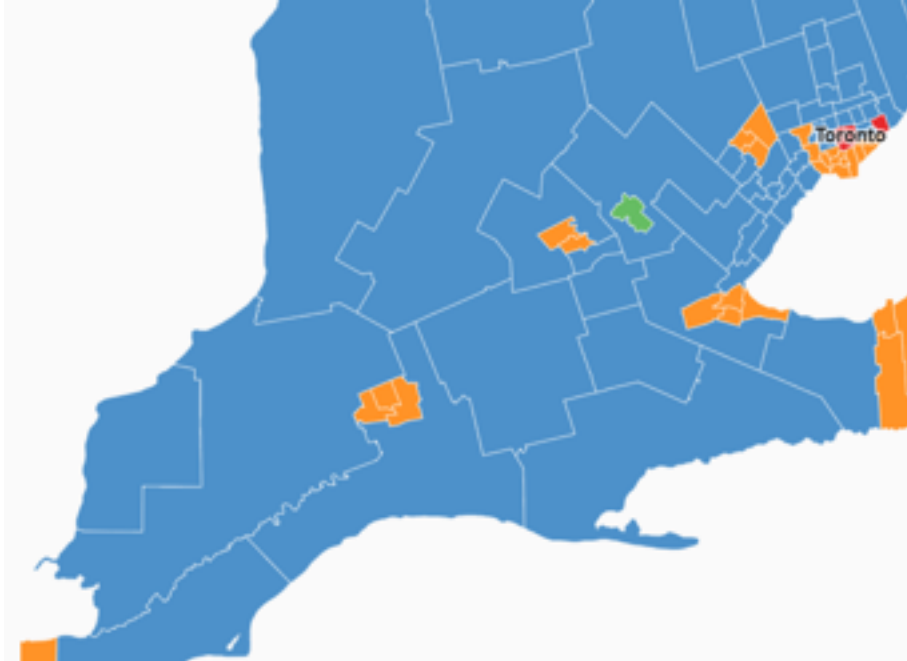
Government

Minister of Transportation July 2018 to Nov 2018
John Yakabuski
- MPP
Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke

Minister of Transportation Nov 2018 to June 2019
Jeff Yurek
- MPP for Elgin—Middlesex—London
- Currently Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry

Mike Harris
- MPP Kitchener-Conestoga
- Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Natural Resources and Forestry

Minister of Transportation June 2019 to Present
Caroline Mulroney
- MPP York-Simcoe

Premier
Doug Ford

Ontario Executive & Legislature

Minister of Agriculture June 2018 to present
Ernie Hardeman
- MPP for Oxford

Councils that passed a resolution to "have the Provincial Government look at all the options for improved transportation in Southwestern Ontario and that local representatives be involved in all decisions." [As lobbied for by Intercity Rail]
• Municipality of Thames Centre
• Township of Zora
• Township of East Zora – Tavistock
• Township of Wilmot
• City of Woodstock
• County of Lambton
• Town of Ingersoll
• Town of St. Marys
• City of Stratford

Published Alternative Transit Plan Research

Local Media

The Waterloo Regional Record

New Hampburg Independent

Woodstock Sentinel Review

London Free Press

AG Minister comments on SWO Transit: "Ernie Hardeman, Oxford County's long-time Progressive Conservative MPP, described implementing a line from Toronto to London without looking at alternatives as inappropriate."

Other Long Term Special Interest Groups

Transport Action Ontario (TAO)

Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA)

Ran #whyhsr campaign

Organized 1600 signature petition against HSR

Intercity Rail

SWO Anti-HSR Lobby

Waterloo Region

Oxford County Council

Zora Township Council

Middlesex County Council

Thames Centre Council

Township of Wilmot

Concerned Citizens of High Speed Rail
-started September 2017

All Aboard St. Marys
-reinstated August 2016

Intercity Rail Steering Committee

People

Marcus Ryan
-Mayor of Zora Township
- Oxford County Councillor

Kelly Elliot
-Deputy Mayor Thames Centre
- Councillor Middlesex County

Ken Westcar
-TAO Board Member
-Member of All Aboard St. Marys
-writer in LFP Articles (~25 articles on LFP website)
-speaks in SWO about transit
-Woodstock resident

Greg Gormick
-Campaign Coordinator All Aboard St. Marys
- Transportation Policy Advisor for Oxford County

Crispin Colvin
- Beef & cash crop farmer in Middlesex County
-Director OFA (Zone 6: Lambton - Middlesex)

Kelly and Harold Bickle
-cash crop farmers
-community organizers (organized farmers meeting in 2017)

Angie Hallman
- Councillor Wilmot Township