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Critical Urban Renewal: A Theoretical Construct and Case Study

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology

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Abstract

This study explores the dynamics of neighbourhood renewal to understand the actualities, potentials, and barriers for urban renewal to be a site for engaging in emancipatory social change locally and extra locally. The purpose is to assess the potential of neighbourhood renewal as an opportunity structure for creating counterhegemonic forms of urbanism (see Purcell, 2009, 2013) and to identify strategies to strengthen those potentials. These possibilities involve the transformation of social, political, and economic structures in ways that nurture local democracy/self-management, social inclusion, and collective ownership of property and businesses. To examine neighbourhoods in this way I develop the concept of critical urban renewal (CUR) to describe the possibilities of how neighbourhoods can be shaped to achieve those ends.

The second part of the study presents a case study of the Old East Village (OEV) - a post-industrial revitalizing neighbourhood in London, Ontario - to examine the actualities of how CUR is present or repressed within the local neighbourhood renewal context. The case study draws on multiple sources of data including: 14 interviews with organizational representatives active in OEV, 36 interviews with residents of the neighbourhood who volunteer in the community in various ways, and public records including media reports, neighbourhood planning documents, meeting minutes, and local histories. The goal of this case study is to provide a model for research that can be conducted in other neighbourhood renewal projects to identify strategies for organizing toward CUR. It also provides insight into the urban renewal context at the local and extra-local levels with attention to how the relationship between capital, the state, and the community function to nurture or constrain the capacity for CUR practices.

Overall, this study shows that even in a neighbourhood such as OEV where features of CUR are present it is difficult to keep CUR principles at the center of neighbourhood renewal. As an alternative approach to urban renewal, CUR requires intentional organizing from the grass-roots as well as from state actors. If the logic of capital is not actively controlled within

urban renewal processes it is inevitably going to transform urban space into its own image defining community and justice within its confines.

Keywords: Urban Renewal, Critical Urban Renewal, Neoliberalism, Lefebvre, Critical Urban Theory, Old East Village, Urbanization, The Right to the City, The Production of Space, Community Organizing

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Kristina Greenaway Courey, and my four children, Zephaniah, Everett, Felix, and Mabel. These are the people who see me everyday and pay the highest price for supporting me in this process. This work is out of love for you, even though it has also kept us apart.

I also dedicate this work to all those who continue to struggle for economic justice and who have carried this flag over the past 40 years under harsh ideological repression. Your work has been an anchor for me in times where I question my own sanity. The work of transcending capitalism and finding ways to express our emancipatory urge can only be accomplished collectively.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank many people who have contributed to this dissertation as well as those who have been long-suffering with me through this process. Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann, my supervisor has been a patient and encouraging guide. Dr. Randy Stoecker provided early excitement for me in this process sharing his knowledge of community engaged scholarship and neighbourhood movements. Dr. Michael Gardiner has helped me find my way through critical theory and navigate my understanding of Lefebvre and utopianism. Thank you also to Dr. Neil Bradford and Dr. David Calnitsky for challenging questions and insightful comments on my defense.

I would like to thank the Sociology Department at Western for providing the freedom to explore my intellectual curiosity, shift between academia and community practice, and was always hospitable and supportive of me. Dr. Kim Shuey, Dr. Tracey Adams, and Denise Statham have always made me feel welcome in the department and provided an empathetic ear many times.

I would also like to thank the Sociology Department at King's University College for supporting me through employment and providing the opportunity to teach one of the most depressing and invigorating courses on campus 'Crimes of the Powerful'. Preparation for that course provided broad historical insights on the history of neoliberalism and capitalist development.

A large thank you to my current employer, the London Poverty Research Centre at King's for providing me flexibility in my work schedule and ongoing support over the last 18 months.

I would also like to thank Vicky Merrick who coached me through some of the toughest writing periods and taught me how to hold a sense of urgency and time management over long term projects.

I thank many people in the Old East Village who participated in this study and who have contributed to the vibrancy and knowledge of the neighbourhood. To my friend Joel Eckert

who has provided hospitality and care when in the throws of writing. All of the Princess Ave crew for watching over my children and keeping an eye on my house – Claud and Darcy, Rick and Cathy, Fletcher, Patrick Dunham and the Back Yard Profits have all been there. The local historians, Benjamin Vasquez, Bethany Mejia, and Lewis Seale who have produced very useful local material that helped greatly in telling the story of Old East.

Special thanks though to two neighborhood angels who really did keep us afloat over the last couple of years, Marianne Patterson helping with baby Mabel and supporting Kristina and I to get out on dates occasionally. Lewis Seale has been my main sounding board and provided editorial support throughout the writing. I can't thank you enough.

Many friends that have been neglected over the years but still call me and don't hold it against me. Eric Fritzly and Eric Bhur have particularly been steadfast.

Dan Kudla a fellow urban sociologist and critical theorist, whom it has been a pleasure to play intellectual tennis on many instances and to have an ear close by who I can trust to know the literature. Jeremy Jeresky, a friend, colleague, and a person committed to praxis. You've provided ongoing support and discussion.

My sociology at Western colleagues: Philip Baiden, Aaron Shantz, Adam Jog, James Jeong, Tim Kang, Cliff Davidson, Guiliz Akkaymak, Gokhan Erol, Esra Ari, and Robert Nonomura each of you have contributed to my intellectual development over the years.

To my parents, David and Eileen Courey, I can't thank you enough for all of your support and sacrifice over the years. My in-laws Mike and Nancy Greenaway have also been a foundation of any success I have had and keeping our family well looked after.

My siblings, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Jonathan and their families have all been part of this journey in a meaningful way.

Finally, to Kristina for all the love. And to my children Zephaniah, Everett, Felix, and Mabel. Thank you.

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List of Acronyms

OEV – Old East Village

OEVCA – Old East Village Community Association

OEVBIA - Old East Village Business Improvement Area

LIHC – London InterCommunity Health Centre

BAC – Boyle Activity Council

CIP – Community Improvement Plan

CUR – Critical Urban Renewal

NUR – Neoliberal Urban Renewal

BIA – Business Improvement Area

MFIPPA – Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act

PACT – Planners Action Team

PHC - Picturing a Health Community

LFP – London Free Press

LAC – Lorne Avenue School Collaborative

EOA – East of Adelaide

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

This study explores the dynamics of neighbourhood renewal with a view to understanding the possibilities these present for organizing collective action toward emancipatory social change. The potential of neighbourhood renewal as a structure for creating counter-hegemonic forms of urbanism (see Purcell, 2009, 2013) is assessed, together with strategies for strengthening that potential. The first part of the study develops the concept of Critical Urban Renewal (CUR), defining how the social, political, and economic dimensions of urban renewal can be organized to create more democratic and just forms of community in ways that also transcend capitalism. The contribution of the CUR concept is that it: (1) highlights linkages between small-scale urban renewal and larger scale social change; (2) provides a perspective that illuminates radical potentials; and (3) provides a conceptual and methodological basis for studying the potential for critical neighbourhood renewal across multiple locations. This concept is fully developed in Chapter 2, where it is linked to the history of urban social movements, community organizing, and critical urban theory.

The second part of the present study applies the concept of CUR to the Old East Village (OEV) neighbourhood in London, Ontario. This case study looks at the historical, organizational and grassroots aspects of renewal in OEV and documents opportunities for and barriers to realizing CUR there. The goal is to provide a model for research that can be conducted in other neighbourhoods to identify strategies for organizing toward CUR. It also provides insight into urban renewal at the local and extra-local levels with attention to how capital, state, and community function to nurture or constrain a capacity for CUR practices. This analysis will provide insight into both local and extra-local areas for coordination and resistance.

My thesis is two-fold: (1) that neighbourhood renewal does provide a structure that offers opportunities for creating a post-capitalist future through radical community organizing; and

(2) that the Old East Village has within it aspects of CUR that have been expressed and repressed at different times. The focus on transforming social, political, and economic practices and structures to create a post-capitalist future aligns this work with critical urban theory, emancipatory social science, utopianism, and leftist scholarship in general (Alperovitz, 2011; Alperovitz & Dubb, 2012; Biehl & Bookchin, 1998; Brenner, 2012; Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009; Harvey, 2012; Lefebvre, 2003/1970, 1991/1974; Purcell, 2013; Wolff, 2012; Wright, 2009). The focus on creating post-capitalist structures is driven by an acknowledgement that transcending capitalism (Wright, 2013) is both a local and extra-local activity and that local activity plays an important part in creating foundations for larger-scale transformations. This approach is underpinned by a dialectical tension between, on the one hand, the particularities of everyday life as it is experienced at the local level and, on the other, aspirations for more universal social change (Harvey, 2001, Chapter 10).

Further, the local level provides opportunities where we can start to build hope and prefigurative practices for an alternative future (Williamson, Imbroscio, & Alperovitz, 2003; Wright, 2013). The reproduction of everyday life involves social, political, and economic activities ranging from child-rearing to community decision-making to the creation of sustainable economic systems. The core critique of capitalism is that these activities become ever more controlled by market logic, which benefits capital accumulation, exacerbates economic inequalities, and makes citizens passive consumers of their own everyday lives, alienated from defining these processes. The task of radical community organizing is to transform these relations of (re)production into ones that are more egalitarian, democratic, and sustainable. An important question here is whether it is more effective to organize for post-capitalist change at the local or global level.

I argue that the local level is a necessary space for organizing social change while recognizing that concerted efforts are needed to organize change across larger spaces. Among radical localists there is a fairly strong consensus that the local level is a necessary but not sufficient area on which to focus and that coordination between local and larger scale agendas for transformation must ultimately be strengthened (Born & Purcell, 2006; Defilippis, Fisher, & Shragge, 2010; Harvey, 2000, 2012; Sharzer, 2012). The local level has

been neglected as a potential site for radical change by contemporary left scholars and activists who tend to see localism as ultimately parochial, unsustainable, and easily co-opted by capitalism, believing that, ultimately, localism cannot reorganize the power structures that produce and reproduce capitalism (Defilippis et al., 2010). While this critique has merit, the problem is that humans largely exist and interact locally. Ignoring this fundamentally particularistic feature of being human provides little alternative for most people except to join protest movements to ensure that grievances are heard by the state.

Over the past several decades, globalization has produced new institutions and forms of power that function beyond nation states and undermine ideal notions of democratic citizenship by redefining democracy as a form of participation in the global market economy. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) represent the fortresses of global capitalism, and efforts to resist their control has undermined the notion of organizing at the local, community level. On the other hand, some argue that capitalism can be transformed much faster at the local level and such a transformation can impact everyday life experiences more directly (Harvey, 2000; Morris & Hess, 1975; Williamson et al., 2003; Wolff, 2012; Wright, 2013). New social movements and the communitarian practices associated with them show how non-capitalist subcultures can resist the forces of global capitalism as the core feature defining the reproduction of everyday life. The Israeli kibbutz, for example, emerged within a capitalist political economy, albeit a drastically different form of capitalism than we experience today, but the people of the kibbutzim live in radically socialized (socialist) relations of production which, if nothing else, provide insight into other possibilities and their challenges.

Organizing to change the institutions of global capitalism presents obvious difficulties when their practices hold sway over the routines of everyday life. Transforming capitalism at the local level and building coalitions across communities are alternative means of letting people free themselves from capitalism's demands. The goal is to building alternative social, political, and economic practises that prefigure the society to come and create it in ways that radically transform everyday life experiences.

It is important to be clear at this point that the post- or non-capitalist future does not necessarily line up perfectly with classic notions of socialism or communism. We must, therefore, think outside these notions. Rather, post-capitalist formations may be hybrids of different systems, some more focused on economic transformation and others on social reproduction processes. One difficulty with the terms ‘socialism’ and ‘communism’ is that there is little agreement on what they mean in the specifics of everyday life or the processes required to achieve them. I appreciate these terms because they provide a basis for imagining possible non-capitalist futures and because they have inspired important literature and action, but I abandon them here in favour of a more specific language without the ideological baggage they carry. While I will refer to the socialist, anti-capitalist, and communist literatures, I will not use those terms frequently. The knee-jerk response to those terms for some may detract from the goal of imaging a non-capitalist future based on more communitarian forms of everyday life.

In place of ready-made socialist and communist formulae, we have impulses, visions and possibilities for constructing a more just and democratic system than does capitalism, both locally and extra-locally. These utopian visions inspire both local and extra-local action. Without them, the autonomy and solidarity needed to create change is lost. Even the most notable anti-capitalist scholars acknowledge that their formulations of the future are not inevitable; they prefer to present tentative possibilities rather than blueprints for change and how to achieve it (Harvey, 2000, Appendix; Lefebvre, 2003; Morris & Hess, 1975, Chapter 6; Wright, 2009). Blueprint utopianism is based on static notions of the ‘good society’ and the pursuit of that vision at any cost (‘the ends justify the means’). Critical/experimental utopianism is premised rather on ideal forms of decision-making and negotiation and on feedback loops between conceptualizing-acting-critiquing the visions (see Gardiner, 2013, Chapter 1). For experimental utopianism the *process* of achieving utopia is as important as what the utopia looks like in the end. Throughout this work I try to hold this space of openness, moving back and forth from concrete articulations of what justice in urban renewal may look like but applying a sympathetic lens to urban renewal as it occurs in practice and to the real dilemmas that must be resolved.

Marxist-oriented community organizing has a body of literature that contributes to an understanding of urban renewal's radical possibilities. In the history of community organizing, neighbourhoods have been an important level at which citizens organized for change (Castells, 1983; Hamel, Lustiger-thaler, & Mayer, 2000; Harvey, 2012; Miller & Nicholls, 2013). Creating change first at the local level, then coordinating it across a wider space is fundamental to the theory of many community organizers (Alinsky, 1971; Bookchin, 1991; Sharzer, 2012). Here is what a pair of radical neighbourhood organizers had to say during the last period of 'neighbourhood power movements':

The source of alternatives which could replace the old orders of power, we feel will be in the neighbourhoods – not only of this nation but of all nations – when people face a real need for alternative action and then see, in their neighbourhoods, the space to take those actions (Morris & Hess, 1975, p. 11).

Recognizing that such a society requires local organization of alternative structures prefiguring critical utopian visions, the task of the present study is to highlight the possibilities for community organizing in ways that prefigure the creation of alternate structures on a much larger scale, across neighbourhoods and beyond.

In Chapter 2, I develop a comprehensive model for what urban renewal that seeks to transform capitalism could look like. While this model aims at a cohesive picture of post-capitalist urban renewal (CUR), it is intended as a 'virtual object' for the purposes of further investigation of the actualities, not as a description of present-day urban renewal. I discuss the political, economic, and social dimensions of urban renewal to delineate and identify possible practices for achieving agendas that transcend capitalism economically, culturally, and/or politically. Recognizing the limitations that a neighbourhood faces in seeking to realize all dimensions of the CUR model at any one moment, we expect that certain dimensions will be more appropriate to develop, based on the particularities of the local site. The benefit of this perspective is that, while keeping the radical vision of possibilities in sight, it shapes expectations with an informed vision of the actualities of the local context (Chanfoot, 2007; Peck, Brenner, & Theodore, 2017). The remainder of the current chapter provides an overview of urban renewal as a practice and highlights the problems and

possibilities for how practices can be linked to broader processes of post-capitalist social transformation.

1.1 The Meaning of Urban Renewal

Since the end of World War II, urban renewal has been a major policy concern for governments around the world, and Canadian governments are no exception. In the post-war years, urban morphology in North America was marked by the expansion of suburban neighbourhoods, which created urban blight and concentrated working-class and ethnic communities in the inner cities as both investment and people migrated to the new areas (Slater, 2005; N. Smith, 1996; Williamson et al., 2003). The relationship between urban sprawl and neighbourhood degradation is very direct; neighbourhoods become blighted when investment and financially secure people move from the inner city to new suburban areas, leaving the marginalized and poor behind in surroundings where property values plunge and investment is hard to attract.

Urban renewal has emerged as a response to these shifts in capital flows and the ensuing social and ecological problems. The history of urban renewal practice is not, however, singular or conflict-free, involving many actors whose interests often diverge (Harvey, 2012; Molotch, 1976; Stoecker, 1994; C. Stone, 1989). As an important policy area over the past half-century, urban renewal has captured the interest of all levels of government, from international to municipal. It has also become an important site for the emergence of civil society and a structure that offers opportunities for creating new forms of community in blighted areas (Born & Purcell, 2006; Elwood, 2002; Stoecker, 1994). Questions about who should and who does control the redevelopment of a neighbourhood and who benefits become central in the connections among government, the private sector and civil society. The massive impact of urban renewal, especially in residential neighbourhoods, can be devastating or empowering depending on the type of urban renewal implemented (Harvey, 2012; N. Smith, 1984, 2002; Williamson et al., 2003, Chapter 3).

Urban renewal refers to a wide array of activities that seek to transform pre-established areas that have fallen victim to blight and disinvestment. The focus of renewal is on rebuilding the physical, social, and/or economic aspects of an area. Terms like ‘urban redevelopment’, ‘revitalization’, ‘regeneration’, and ‘urban renaissance’ are synonymous with urban renewal for most practical purposes. Each term has gone in and out of style over time but all share a general focus on rebuilding areas of a city for more suitable and viable uses. A brief look at how several studies have used these terms will clarify this point and provide a definition of ‘urban renewal’ for the current project. Cochrane (2007) defines urban renewal as ‘fluid’ and varying by local context and focus.

In some approaches, it is local communities or neighbourhoods that are being regenerated or renewed (learning to become self-reliant). In others, it is the urban economies that are being revitalised or restructured with a view to achieving the economic well-being of residents and in order to make cities competitive. In yet others it is the physical and commercial infrastructure that is being regenerated, in order to make urban land economically productive once again. And there has also been a drive toward place marketing (and even ‘branding’), in which it is the image (both self-image and external perception) of cities that has to be transformed. (p. 3-4).

As a catch-all phrase for many efforts to change the physical, economic, and social features of blighted urban environments, “all these aspects are subjects of vaguely defined urban regeneration strategies, in various combinations and sometimes all at once” (Porter & Shaw, 2009, p. 2). Roberts (2000) similarly defines urban regeneration as seeking to address multiple aspects of urban space.

[Urban regeneration] is a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social, and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement (Roberts, 2000, p. 18).

This definition acknowledges that urban renewal is more than simply the economic and physical restructuring of a neighbourhood. It is also a strategy for social and environmental change.

In this study, we define neighbourhood renewal as ‘neighbourhood planning and organizing that seeks to change the social, political, economic, and built environments of a pre-existing

urban area that has experienced disinvestment'. The process can be achieved through a centralized planning body of experts and property developers – usually referred to as top-down neighbourhood redevelopment – or through grassroots organizing of residents, merchants, and other stakeholders, democratically organized to create and implement a strategy – often referred to as democratic community renewal (Stoecker, 1994). Any specific case of neighbourhood renewal falls somewhere along that spectrum.

Neighbourhood renewal tends to occur in places that have high concentrations of marginalized populations and histories of urban blight and that have experienced territorial stigmatization. Harvey (2005b) puts forward a compelling theory of urban change that explains the decline and renewal of urban areas as an outcome of uneven development caused by the nature of capital to move freely from place to place. Urban growth occurs in areas of the city that present the best return on investment within a threshold of risks. At different stages of urbanization, capital divests from certain places and relocates to more profitable areas. The geographic circulation of capital can be identified at all levels, from international to regional scales (Smith, 1982). Urban renewal is, therefore, inextricably linked with the circulation of capital, and suburbanization is a result of such uneven development (Smith, 1982, p. 145).

This is true for North American cities where urban sprawl has moved capital out of the inner cities. In metropolitan centres like Toronto, Vancouver, and New York City, the cycle of uneven development has come full circle, with investment first leaving inner city areas, leading to blight and focusing on urban sprawl, now returning to (re)valorize areas where doing so is profitable. In many cities, especially mid-sized cities, the uneven development trajectory has not fully emerged and renewal efforts tend to be slower (Bradford, 2017; Flatt & Sotomayor, 2016; Sotomayor & Flatt, 2017). Local governments have become more important stakeholders in this process, viewing renewal as a valuable policy objective for economic development as well as for addressing social, ecological, and political problems.

Contemporary urban renewal projects are often framed not only in the context of economic benefit but also in such a way as to highlight such presumed social benefits as empowering

citizens, building social capital in the community, and providing more opportunities for the human development of residents. These positive benefits tend to attract broad community participation and the attention of voluntary associations in support of urban renewal (Caulfield, 1994). Critical perspectives on urban renewal argue that most rhetoric about positive social benefits are a performance intended to construct consent rather than a reality and that the term 'urban renewal' itself is simply a euphemism for 'gentrification' that stands in opposition to ideals of radical democracy. If 'urban renewal' is, in fact, only another term for 'gentrification', then our project is futile. For this reason, it is important to distinguish urban renewal from gentrification.

As first defined by Glass (1964), gentrification was not immediately recognized as a derogatory term but referred rather to the movement of middle-class people into disinvested neighbourhoods, renovating the houses and changing the local culture. The term embraced both a positive image of revalorization and economic growth in blighted areas and a negative image of displacing and destroying local culture. It was not long, however, before the term took on a completely negative meaning, emphasizing the middle-class colonization of these regions, destroying local social networks and culture, and harming the most vulnerable inhabitants of the city, not least by putting upward pressure on rents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2000).

In this perspective, the benefits of gentrification were largely achieved at the expense of the urban poor while being aligned with a middle-class sense of creating 'better communities' and contributing to societal progress. Smith (1996) has articulated one of the strongest critiques of gentrification, suggesting that it is not only a middle-class invasion but is, in fact, connected to a sense of 'revenge' against the urban poor and social service sector as barriers to the economic revitalization of these areas. Homeless people, drug addicts, lower class families that offend middle-class sensibilities – the 'dangerous class' in general – become increasingly the object of scorn, control and, ultimately, advanced marginalization (Slater, 2012, 2015; Wacquant, 2007).

Peter Marcuse (2015) distinguishes between urban renewal and gentrification. He identifies four aspects of gentrification that are often lumped together in the literature with little recognition that they do not, in themselves, constitute gentrification. Rather, urban renewal – *i.e.*, the renewal of the social, political, and economic vibrancy of a neighbourhood – is distinct from gentrification. Marcuse suggests that urban renewal is made up of four areas of change: (1) demographic displacement, (2) physical upgrading (redevelopment of the built environment), (3) economic upgrading (up pricing), and (4) social upgrading (upscaling). Conflation of these four leads some to outright rejection of urban renewal perceived as presenting possibilities for a more just urban environment. On the other hand, some scholars view neighbourhood renewal as a potential site for social transformation, where inhabitants can become active in defining ‘place’ and recapturing power, to create post-capitalist forms of urbanization (Brenner et al., 2009). The redevelopment, economic upgrading, or upscaling of a neighbourhood do not in themselves constitute gentrification. As Marcuse says, “the opposite of gentrification should not be decay and abandonment but the democratization of housing” (Marcuse, 1991; cited in Smith, 1996, p. 226). Democratizing the relations of production of neighbourhood renewal and searching for more egalitarian and communal forms of occupation to create social justice also constitute urban renewal (Fainstein, 2014; Soja, 2010). The term ‘gentrification’, says Marcuse (2015), should only be applied “when displacement is produced by any of these upgradings” and it is useful to reserve the term “particularly in political discussions... to such situations of displacement” (p. 1264).

For this study, I use the term ‘gentrification’ to mean only the displacement of marginalized populations and the enclosing of public space as the result of neighbourhood renewal. I use the terms ‘neighbourhood renewal’, ‘neighbourhood revitalization’, and ‘neighbourhood regeneration’ interchangeably and maintain a distinction between displacement and the upgrading of the built, economic, or social environment. This view avoids the overly simplistic position that all upgrading of the economic, social and political environment in a neighbourhood should be interpreted as serving elites (see Aalbers, 2011; DeVerteuil, 2012, 2014; Lees, 2008 for discussions of urban renewal that creates justice in the city). Rather than automatically supposing that such changes undermine justice, we are required to ask

who benefits, how these changes affect the local population, and who is empowered to shape the changes.

From the uneven development perspective, it becomes clear why neighbourhood renewal is often seen as gentrification. This perspective views the growth and destruction of cities as a product of the geographical requirements of capitalist modes of production. Cities formed around commerce and industry; since the transition from feudalism, cities have grown in order to serve the needs of capitalist modes of production rather than as monuments to kings (Lefebvre, 2003/1970). The rural experience is rapidly disappearing for most people. On a global scale, urban population rose from 3% of the total in 1800 to 14% in 1900 and 50% in 2008 (Population Reference Bureau, n.d.). In Canada the urbanization trend is even more dramatic with the urban population rising from 13% in 1951 to 35% in 1901 and 81% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2012) – more than a six-fold increase over 60 years. Urbanization is a process of capital transforming space from nature to the service of expanding capital markets (Harvey, 2001).

In the housing market, for example, it is suggested that the rent gap – the difference between what a property is currently generating in rental income and how much it could generate – is the key determinant of gentrification. When neighbourhoods become disinvested they reach a bottom point where the possibility of increasing rental incomes is more achievable. Once this gap becomes visible to capitalists as a potential growth market they begin to invest in buildings, businesses, and, if profitable, community cultural life. In blighted neighbourhoods, the goal is essentially to exploit the rent gap for the creation of private profits. When neighbourhood renewal is conceptualized in this way it becomes clear why anti-capitalist or post-capitalist activists, if they are present, are likely to resist it. An aim of the present study is to develop a different picture of urban renewal, providing a positive vision of possibilities for action and for building non-capitalist structures, even within the capitalist logics that so strongly define the process and possibilities.

1.1.2 A Brief History of Urban Renewal

The first period of urban renewal, from the 1950's to 1970's (which is when the term 'urban renewal' was more commonly used, compared with 'urban regeneration' or 'revitalization,' the terms most commonly used today), was defined by state-driven strategies for complete redevelopment of blighted urban areas. While the sentiment underlying these projects included modernizing the social fabric of settled communities, what generally followed was a complete demolition and rebuilding of the built environment under the logic of modernism – *i.e.*, rationally planned and controlled spaces. Such a sentiment can be found in a 1951 report by the Housing Authority of Toronto proposing the complete demolition of a large area of the inner-city and construction of what would become the largest urban renewal project in Canadian history, Regent Park. This report states:

Certainly every effort should be made, in rebuilding the older residential areas, to create such conditions of plan and to provide such permanent amenities as will create a residential character of the most modern type. ... Reconstruction must, therefore, consist in the clearing out of the existing buildings, the redesign of the street plan to eliminate through traffic and to provide adequate amenities in the form of parks and children's playgrounds, and the rebuilding of the whole area...The practical job of demolition and replanning requires that all of the property be purchased by public agencies, presumably by the municipality...The job of rebuilding is largely a matter for private enterprise, although public housing for the depressed economic classes should undoubtedly have a place in any such programme (McCallum, Louis, Luffman, Dies, & Woolsey, 1950, pp. 2–3).

Stoecker (1994) calls this type of urban renewal “top-down, capital-conscious urban redevelopment” (p. 22-23), characterized by strong coordination between government agencies and property developers (read 'state-capital coalition') and often involving the complete clearance of derelict neighbourhoods. In the case of Regent Park, the plan called for replacing privately owned rental housing with social housing (McCallum et al., 1950, p. 2). This 'slum-clearance' project is a prime example of early urban renewal which, rather than seeking to create a socially/economically mixed urban environment, resulted in the creation of a 70-acre, segregated, low-income community that quickly fell victim to poorly maintained buildings, poorly planned public spaces, and high levels of violence, and drug use (Augsten, Babin, Kelling, & Procopio, 2014, p. 12). This practice of turning 'slum areas', largely privately owned, into state-owned and operated social housing projects, segregated

through urban planning practices, was a North America-wide (and Western Europe-wide) phenomenon during this period (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Palen & London, 1984; Slater, 2005). The poor results and the increasing encroachment on old-city neighbourhoods in general has generated a response in policy and by the people of these areas to demand more control of the process (Spicer, 2011).

Beginning in the 1960's and climaxing in the 1970's, fierce opposition was organized by inhabitants in these places, seeking greater control of the development process and winning important policy changes that directed more resources to community-controlled redevelopment. The failure of urban renewal planning had been felt in the disappointing outcomes in these new social housing ghettos. Equally significant was the disappointment felt by some suburbanites in the sterile and privatized lives created by their surroundings, leading numbers of the more progressively minded to move to the inner city (Caulfield, 1989; Reid, 1991; Sewell, 1991). It was in this context, with a new, progressive urban population re-emerging in the inner city, that Jane Jacobs became active as an urban activist and theorist of global repute, arguing that urban renewal did not respect the needs of most city dwellers and, in fact, produced cities unsuitable to the sociability of people and communities (Jacobs, 1961).

In Canada, the change was signaled in 1971 by the Trudeau government's creation of the first ministry with a mandate for urban redevelopment, the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (Spicer, 2011). The main project implemented by this ministry was the Neighbourhood Improvement Programs (NIP), which required high levels of community consultation, the cultivation of leadership committees composed of residents, and community power in setting priorities. NIP plans were focused on residential areas – mostly on renovating housing and funding for projects of collective value like recreation centres and parks – rather than on business development and commercial corridors (Lyon & Newman, 1986). State-led urban renewal strategies began to give way to a more democratic and citizen-driven process accompanied by changes in practices to include residents in governance and oversight of projects.

Qualitatively, this shifted the public policy discourse as well as fostering the formation of local civic and business associations. No longer could urban renewal be fully conceptualized and implemented by professionals, state agencies and private developers; a new discourse of ‘community empowerment’, democracy and social inclusion became increasingly integrated into the vision of urban renewal. For some this shift is indicated by a change in terminology from ‘urban renewal’ to ‘urban revitalization’ or ‘urban regeneration’, where the latter are seen to be more heterogeneous in aims and processes while urban renewal refers more specifically to slum-clearance and a sole focus on the built environment (Roberts, 2000). While the shift in terms is worth noting as a historical occurrence, the overall goal of urban renewal has not changed – namely, altering the social, political, economic, and built environments of blighted urban areas.

With the shifting relationship between the state and the community, urban renewal is increasingly seen as a way to address social problems. Urban renewal policy and municipal governments have broadened the mandate to become more active in driving place-based social development programs (Augsten et al., 2014; Bradford, 2015) and attracting private sector investments for both housing and economic development purposes (Harvey, 1989). The UK has played a leading role in this area with passage of the Localism Act of 2001, which provided for devolving power to neighbourhood units and funding the organization of neighbourhood councils that would create urban regeneration plans and oversee their implementation with the help of planning professionals (Dinham, 2005a, 2005b; Wallace, 2007). In Canada, place-based strategies of community-led urban renewal have also been encouraged through support for community development and economic development side by side in blighted neighbourhoods. These approaches have shifted urban policy at all levels toward the integration of progressive goals of social inclusion (through community development), response to climate change (through increasing density and public transportation), revitalized citizenship (through community led renewal), and integration into the market economy (through place-based marketing and local economic development). It is these multiple goals and the new language of ethical urban renewal that make it appealing as a site for progressive activism.

Since the mid 2000's the Ontario government has enacted many policies to incentivise inner-city renewal and increase population density in cities. The Greenbelt Plan (2005), the Place to Grow Plan (2006), the updated Ontario Planning Act (2004) and policy statements (2005 and 2015) are among measures that seek to contain urban sprawl and encourage investment in inner cities. Municipalities have also started implementing integrated community sustainability plans (ICSP's) to address urban sprawl and population density (Adeola, 2014). At the national level, the emphasis on transportation infrastructure is not only an attempt to limit the carbon footprint of cities but also to increase the desirability of inner city living, thus limiting the demand for urban sprawl and encouraging increased densities in city centres, making them more economically viable (Government of Canada, 2016). Throughout the present study I will discuss policy relevant to the case study, focusing on the Municipal Act, the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (MFIPA), and local government documents.

1.1.3 Capital, Community, and the State in Urban Renewal

There are three groups of actors in urban renewal – the state, the community, and capital. The state mediates the relationship between capital and the community by creating opportunities for both interests to organize and by setting policy under which urban renewal programs are approved, governed and implemented. A core issue with many urban renewal projects is that they tend to benefit capital more than other segments of the community, particularly in the current neoliberal regime (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Peck & Tickell, 2002; N. Smith, 2002; Wyly & Hammel, 2005). In the early stages of urban renewal, it is often necessary to find investors willing to accept a longer time before they see the hoped-for return and to mobilize members of the local community to help build a sense of 'value' in the neighbourhood. The capital aspect of neighbourhood renewal refers to investment capital in the form of property redevelopment (commercial and residential) and business investment (often starting with small business entrepreneurialism, then leading to the attraction of larger capital projects and international investors) (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Zukin, 2010).

Capital's primary concern is profit, but the localist nature of urban renewal turns it toward community-building as well. It is not easy, however, to tease out the desirability of capital's interests in community-building. On the plus side, capital is important for creating an economically sustainable future, and adequate economic resources are essential if CUR is to succeed. To achieve this goal capital would have to partner with 'the community' in ways that support social and economic justice and, as we will discuss later, in ways that lead to the democratization of capital (Harvey, 2012, Chapter 5; Imbroscio, Williamson, & Alperovitz, 2003). On the other hand, the more likely outcome when capital and community hold hands is that capital will 'co-opt' community in the hope of increasing exchange value rather than use values, thus undermining economic democracy. The logic of capital places economic growth as the top priority of neighbourhood renewal and it shapes the priorities to exclude definitions of community that threaten the growth potential of investments or that seek to democratize capital through community ownership. It is this exclusionary and hegemonic capacity of capital that lies at the heart of criticisms of urban renewal because, in this view, it leads to further marginalization, cultural appropriation and complete decimation of long-term community networks and uses of space (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Slater, 2012; N. Smith, 1996; Wacquant, 2007; Zukin, 2010). When the logic of capital becomes the core driver it radically limits the ability of the community to imagine new, radically emancipatory and democratic ways of engaging in neighbourhood renewal. This problem will be a core feature of the analysis of urban renewal as we seek the possibility of CUR.

The relationship between capital and the state is also complex and sometimes contradictory. On the one hand, the state often plays the role of championing the interests of capital over those of community. The interest of capital and the state easily align when it comes to economic activity. The coordination of these interests result in the formation of urban regimes (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001; Stone, 1989) and growth machine coalitions (Molotch, 1976; Warner & Molotch, 2000) that control the political process in favour of capital with little or no regard for the inhabitants of the target areas. The power of capital to determine policy weakens the structures that offer opportunities for post-capitalist change. Capital is centrally concerned with perpetuating its growth and its power is to shape all things for its

purposes. Private capital's interest in boosting property values and in a neighbourhood's economic activity aligns with state interests by providing an increased tax base, jobs for inhabitants, and by potentially increasing the competitive profile of the city overall to attract more capital and people. As neoliberalism has emerged as an ideology and practice focused on using "market logic and competitive discipline as hegemonic assumptions in urban politics and policy-making" (Purcell, 2009, p. 140), the state has become ever more concerned with shaping the civic imaginary toward accepting it as a major actor in directing private capital toward urban renewal.

Harvey (1989) identified this trend as a shift from 'urban managerialism' – where the state is primarily focused on the provision of services, facilities, and benefits to the urban population – to 'urban entrepreneurialism' - where the state plays a more central role in fostering and encouraging local development and employment growth. Urban entrepreneurialism focuses on the role of government in coordinating and facilitating various actors within a structure of urban governance. Urban governance defines who and how actors will be coordinated and how decisions will be made. In the context of urban renewal, governance is often codified in state legislation.¹ In the next chapter this relationship will be articulated in more detail as 'neoliberal urban renewal'.

Despite the state's tendency to support the interests of capital, it does provide a political structure in which community demands can be heard and addressed. This has increasingly become part of the process in which communities are given more power, usually by the local government, to shape urban renewal plans. Community consultation and collaboration have become a part of professional urban planning's 'best practices', which also provides an opportunity and purpose for communities to mobilize around. The state provides funding and staff support for communities to create their own urban renewal plans, then pursues capital

¹ In Ontario the governance of urban renewal derives ultimately from the Municipal Act, which refers to the functioning of BIA's. Urban renewal is also governed by local by-laws which provide for incentive programs for private investors, such as development charge waivers, façade loans, renovate-to -code loans, and affordable housing grants.

for investment (Bradford, 2006, 2015; Cahuas, Wakefield, & Peng, 2015; Elwood, 2002; Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2008). These opportunity structures for inhabitants to define the goals and priorities of urban renewal create space for radical transformation and the possibility of radical democracy within urban renewal. Nonetheless, the increased role that inhabitants have been granted in urban renewal planning and implementation has also come under strong criticism.

The main criticism holds that the inclusion of inhabitants as stakeholders is more in the nature of tokenism than it is of authentic democratization of the process. Purcell argues that because neoliberalism generally undermines democracy (creates a ‘democratic deficit’), it is not surprising that neoliberals work hard to associate their projects with democracy in a way that is rather disingenuous (Purcell, 2009, pp. 145–47). Using the discourse of democracy and community tends to legitimize projects regardless of the actualities on the ground. Public participation meetings, community consultations, even community councils can be tightly controlled by state and capital interests in ways that are not immediately obvious and that limit the radical potential for neighbourhoods (Defilippis et al., 2010; Dinham, 2005b; Stoecker, 1994). Dinham (2005a) articulates this point concisely in his conclusion about the possibilities and barriers for neighbourhood renewal as a location for progressive activity.

The strategy for neighbourhood renewal suggests that community is understood primarily in terms of community organizing and planning at the non-radical end of the spectrum. Neither personal empowerment nor a ‘journey’ into the acquisition of new skills is emphasized. Instead, the idea of community is understood mechanistically, as a means of incorporating active citizens in a prescribed polis of ‘stakeholders’ with the result that activists, having glimpsed government’s vision, opt into it with energy. This suggests a naivety amongst policy makers about the purposefulness of community development and about the values which underpin it (p. 375).

1.2 Urban Renewal and Social Transformation

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, how people act in a given situation is largely determined by how they define the setting (Blumer, 1969). Manuel Castell (1977/1972) clearly argues that the conceptions of urban structure and urban form are socially produced by broader political and economic circumstances, often in ways that further the interests of the dominant class. If this definition of urban renewal is accepted, then there is little reason for activists to engage in reconstructing the urban setting through renewal efforts. To counter this tendency among activists to reject neighbourhood renewal as a potential site of radical activity, we must offer new definitions that draw attention to the opportunities for progressive social change and critical analysis.

If neighbourhood revitalization is largely conceived in terms of gentrification, then this will be reflected in what types of people choose to participate in building the plan and the possibilities will be limited. If the available definitions of revitalization largely conform to *status quo* expectations in a capitalist society, then we would expect participation by people who support the system. Those who reject the *status quo* and want to see new, non-capitalist systems created would not support the initiative or would choose to resist it (negative action). Our goal of understanding the possibilities of neighbourhood renewal as an opportunity for radical change will require the construction of a vision of what such change would look like in that context.

By drawing attention to how neighbourhood revitalization can create opportunities for participation in progressive social movements, this work provides a justification for action for those who reject the *status quo*, for those who seek a new society. Not having these participants deeply engaged in revitalization efforts would result in missed opportunities for progressive restructuring of the urban setting and for the wider benefits of collective action and local democracy. Carrying out this definitional work also expands the imagination and vision of the structures that create opportunities for those working in neighbourhood revitalization, often as a last resort to find citizen power (a key feature for many participants in this study, who are looking for ways of engaging with revitalization in a more radical transformational way). Expanding this imagination is an important function of this research because, although there is a sprinkling of urban literature that draws attention to the

alternative definition of neighbourhood action, a growing body of work is needed in this area to create pressure on public policy development and to nurture the public imagination for alternative possibilities. As well, critical urban theory tends to focus on large-scale urban change patterns while the present study draws attention to more localized details.

Viewing neighbourhood revitalization as having potential for emancipatory and post-capitalist community organizing recasts revitalization in terms of power, conflict, strategy, and change. Who has the power to shape the future of the neighbourhood, whose interests are being served and whose are being neglected? What are the ideological tensions at play in defining revitalization and how are those tensions played out in interpersonal and inter-organizational relationships? How does broader social policy impact those relations? What are the strategies being implemented and what kinds of strategies are necessary for democratic revitalization? To view revitalization through this lens illuminates political, economic and social dynamics of revitalization that create a form of knowledge that community members need to be aware of as they participate in urban renewal. If participants are not aware of the power relations within their own community and from external sources as well, then they will be less able to assert an informed, grassroots, democratic voice at times when it is actively being suppressed by other interests.

In the search for a more radical definition it is worth looking at the ‘urban question’. Scott & Moulaert (1997) point out that:

each generation, it seems, defines the urban question after its own fashion, as an articulation of social challenges, political predicaments and theoretical issues reflecting the current conjuncture of urban society. ... [T]he dynamics shaping contemporary cities (and, as a corollary, the nature of urban problems) have shifted significantly since the 1970s, calling for new conceptual tools and new forms of political mobilization (p. 267).

Nicholls (2008) says that the urban question is about asking what roles cities play in fostering general social movements, arguing that “cities facilitate particular types of relations that are good at making high-quality resources available to mobilizations operating a variety of spatial scales” (p. 841). He further contends that whether these resources are mobilized depends on the nature of local power relations between political authorities and civic

organizations. Because of the convergence of actors within urban transformations, including urban renewal, these sites become the ground floor for manifesting social movements that seek to reconfigure the distribution of power among the state and civic organizations and present the opportunity to bring these tensions to the forefront of the urban consciousness. The transformation of these power relations over the past 60 years has been highlighted in the previous section, describing how citizens have been granted a more powerful role in controlling renewal plans and partners.

The shift in approach from a top-down to a bottom-up focus has only recently become the *modus operandi* for many revitalization planners. These planners advocate a ‘new localism’ approach of place-making and building community (Bradford, 2006). The new-localism approach requires coordination among the various levels of government as well as strong local participation. From this point of view, the more local participation and ownership of the project the better the outcomes are likely to be. Neighbourhood revitalization is the context in which this new-localism, place-based approach can often take hold; because it has made its way into planning practices it can be leveraged by the community to take power and start defining a post-capitalist form of urbanization. However, if the definition and articulation of such a form of urbanization is not available, the community will not be able to mobilize a broad base of inhabitants to pursue this agenda, hence the contribution of the current study is to start articulating dimensions of urban renewal in ways that move the urban environment toward post-capitalist organization.

The new-localism approach as outlined by Bradford (2006) advocates for the role of local actors in shaping plans as a route to social sustainability. Social sustainability means the ability of initiatives aimed at specific locations to manifest themselves in the social networks and associational organization of a given area. The logic behind social sustainability suggests that local ownership of revitalization should lead to more successful projects whereas the top-down approach of the 1950’s and 1960’s is not desirable. While neighbourhood revitalization has its place in the federal government’s purview as a tool for economic development as well as for intervention on social issues like urban poverty, housing, and social cohesion, the new-localism approach sees the local community as requiring large

amounts of autonomy from the state although still needing to cooperate with the various levels of government.

More radical definitions of urban renewal exist but have been repressed through the growing influence of neoliberal ideology (Slater, 2006). Privatization, corporatization, and professionalization of the public and non-profit sectors are products and strategies of neoliberal ideology. This ideology places civic life itself in the service of capitalism and its rise makes organizing to change capitalism near political death. To make neoliberalism grow into a global system there was a concerted effort by political and economic elites around the world to spread its logic as a form of common sense and to repress the New Left's vision of a non-capitalist future (Harvey, 2005a). The 1950's to 1970's was a period of radical community organizing in neighbourhoods. The urban-citizen movements of the 1970's (Boyte, 1980) and the radical visions of neighbourhood government and solidarity economies (Morris & Hess, 1975) being articulated and enacted then are marginal in today's vision of urban planning. During the early transition to neoliberalism, major attacks on democracy and citizen power led to greater political apathy and a population with a sense that there is no alternative. This passive and disempowered citizen culture produces and is produced by neoliberal ideology and practice (Eliasoph, 1998; Elwood, 2002; Harvey, 2005a). The effect is that neighbourhood renewal is likely to reproduce the same logic, even when a participatory, community-driven agenda is articulated.

'Right to the city' literature lays the groundwork for recognizing the importance of studying urban renewal as it relates to these larger scale social transformations (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Harvey, 2005b, 2012, Mayer, 2007, 2009, Purcell, 2002, 2013a). Harvey (2012) is a key contributor to this perspective and defines the right to the city movement as a "way-station on the road to" a complete and radical transformation. In articulating it as such, he situates the right to the city within a 'theory of change' aimed at achieving the larger goal of radically transforming "the whole capitalist system of perpetual accumulation, along with its associated structures of exploitative class and state power" (p. xvii). He continues:

Only when politics focuses on the production and reproduction of urban life as the central labour process out of which revolutionary impulses arise will it be possible to

mobilize anti-capitalist struggles capable of radically transforming daily life. Only when it is understood that those who build and sustain urban life have primary claim to what they have produced and that one of their claims is to the unalienated right to make a city more after their own hearts' desire, will we arrive at a politics of the urban that will make sense (Harvey, 2012, xvi).

This literature redefines the notion of the working class and the meaning of labour. In this perspective, the working class are the urban inhabitants who labour to produce and reproduce the city. It must then be asked: What are the means of production of the city and how does class struggle function within those processes? The means of production in this perspective do not only involve capital and labour. They also involve the centres of decision-making (who defines the city?), the struggle over the definition, and how reproduction ought to occur. Within the framework of the right to the city, urban renewal and the decision-making and productive interactions of everyday life that sustain urban renewal take on a new meaning as the site for a new kind of politics that demands a right to define the city. A major task in reconstructing the meaning of urban renewal is to identify, clarify and highlight the main forces that shape neighbourhood renewal, both local and extra-local, and to evaluate them in terms of opportunities, barriers and actualities of how the right to the city is exercised.

Lefebvre (1996/1968) sees the revolutionary potential in urban renewal, stating:

in itself reformist, the strategy of urban renewal becomes inevitably revolutionary, not by force of circumstance, but against the established order. Urban strategy ... cannot but depend on the presence and action of the working class, the only one able to put an end to a segregation directed essentially against it (Lefebvre, 1996/1968, p. 161).

Situating the current study within this framework and literature is important because it gives the necessary meaning to urban democracy, community, and localism, moving them beyond parochialism and toward an emancipatory agenda. This will be expanded on in the next chapter, in a discussion of the important issues of how, even within this theory of change, there are many unknowns and how it is designed intentionally to avoid a democratic foreclosure of the urban inhabitant.

1.3 The Current Study

The previous discussion has started to build a perspective that justifies a deeper exploration of urban renewal as a site for radical social change while, at the same time, identifying the difficult terrain for such organizing to occur. The relationship between capital, community and the state as they converge in urban renewal makes room for many possibilities in organizing forms of political, social, and economic structures based on a radical version of the right to the city, including democratizing the production of space, socializing the economy and building a foundation for social integration based on a sense of communalism. Examining urban renewal in terms of its radical potentials requires a more fully elaborated model of what it would look like in practice, moving beyond the abstract to an exploration of democracy and justice as they are actually practiced together with the barriers to and the opportunities for achieving them.

The next chapter develops the concept of Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) as a ‘virtual object’ to be used as a tool in examining the actualities and possibilities for organizing it in specific contexts. The focus on actualities and possibilities is an intentional decision for critical utopian thinking because the goal is to create a vision of the possible based on reflections of actualities – *i.e.*, empirical accounts that are specific and general. This approach reflects utopianism’s aim not only to articulate an ideal but to bring that ideal into sight as an actionable possibility. Lefebvre calls this approach to social enquiry and theorizing transduction. He writes:

Transduction elaborates and constructs a theoretical object [*i.e.*, virtual object], a possible object from information related to reality and a problematic posed by this reality. Transduction assumes an incessant feedback between the conceptual framework used and the empirical observations. It’s theory (methodology), gives shape to certain spontaneous mental operations of the planner, the architect, the sociologist, the politician and the philosopher. It introduces rigour in invention and knowledge in utopia. (Lefebvre, 1996/1968, p. 151)

For Lefebvre, a virtual object is not an ideal, one that is plucked out of the ether and can never exist. It is, rather, an extrapolation or amplification in thought of practices and ideas that are already in place, practices and ideas that are inchoate, that have not yet come to full

maturity but are, nevertheless, being expressed, if only hesitantly, fleetingly, or inarticulately. So the virtual object is in no sense idle daydreaming that ignores the reality on the ground; rather it pays very close attention to that reality and tries to extend existing practices, to project them out into the future (Purcell, 2013a).

In the current study, CUR will serve as the virtual object used to reflect upon the actualities of urban renewal in Old East Village (OEV). After the concept of CUR is developed in Chapter 2, the remaining chapters develop a case study of OEV. In Chapter 3, I outline the methods and data used to build the case study and discuss the ethical dilemmas of engaging in such a study of a local site. Chapter 4 then elaborates on the context of OEV, situating it within the regional context of Southwestern Ontario and identifying it as a post-industrial ‘old-city’ neighbourhood that has experienced long-term territorial stigmatization. I also highlight some of the features of the neighbourhood that make it suitable for realizing CUR and may serve as a marker for examining other, similar neighbourhoods.

Chapter 5 and 6 look in depth at the community organizing and planning process that occurred in OEV to develop the neighbourhood revitalization strategy with an eye to how CUR is present, nurtured, and repressed throughout. This chapter also draws attention to the politics at work in OEV and identifies ways in which individual actors shaped the vision and implementation of the plan as well as how urban planners structured the community’s voice. The general thrust of this analysis is that themes conducive to CUR were present in the community consultation reports but did not make their way into the final revitalization strategy.

Chapter 7 then moves on to a topographical view of the neighbourhood from 2006 - 2016, with an eye to how aspects of CUR are still present in neighbourhood organizations and communities of OEV. The purpose of this chapter is to identify what I call, following Harvey, spaces of hope, *i.e.*, places in which logic, missions, and values that align with CUR are being nurtured. The challenge that emerges is how to bring these actors together to shape future OEV renewal toward CUR ends.

Chapter 2

2. Defining Critical Urban Renewal in Context

This chapter sets out to demystify the concept of urban renewal by developing a typology of the term, distinguishing between Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) and Neoliberal Urban Renewal (NUR). The aim is to construct a concept of urban renewal that provides a vision for how it can challenge the ideology and practices of neoliberalism. In order to accomplish this, I first examine these underlying ideologies and practices, then outline how they are manifest in urban renewal strategies. While neoliberalism is acknowledged as a globally relevant concept, the goal of embedding it within urban renewal is to clarify how ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ is manifest in context-specific ways. Within urban renewal, it can be difficult to spot how neoliberal ideology is translated into local action. Neoliberal ideas are enacted at the national, regional, and local levels because of “legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a, p. 349). For our purposes, NUR serves as the reference point for highlighting the common logic underlying urban renewal projects in post-industrial cities today. Urban renewal projects may not be explicitly labelled ‘neoliberal’ but the goals and mechanisms by which they are achieved fall within the logic of neoliberalism.

In contrast to NUR, I develop the concept of CUR to stimulate our imagination of the possible and to provide a coherent vision of a humanistic and emancipatory alternative. CUR begins to articulate the ‘virtual object’ and will be used to guide the analysis of the case study of renewal in Old East Village (OEV). CUR is linked to a different set of concepts and a different literature which are distinguished by their rejection of neoliberalism as a desirable system and their search for alternative forms of urbanism centred on justice and social need. These perspectives come from the fields of critical urban theory (Brenner, 2012; Lefebvre, 1996/1968, 2003/1972; Marcuse, 2009; Purcell, 2002), experimental and real utopianism (Gardiner, 2013; Harvey, 1973, 2000; Wright, 2009), and community organizing (Defilippis et al., 2010; Fisher & Shragge, 2000; Stoecker, 2002). Developing the CUR model

illuminates aspects of urban renewal that can be amplified and leveraged as a strategy that contributes to the larger project of emancipatory transformation. The chapter concludes by identifying reasons for both pessimism and optimism that CUR could become a viable alternative to NUR in urban renewal practice. Each section begins with a discussion of the macro context and theory relevant to each concept and then articulates the specific parameters of CUR and NUR.

CUR and NUR are theoretical models to the extent that they seek to articulate a broad range of orientations – ideological, economic, and political – that cluster together within a framework and impact how social relationships and collective projects are engaged in within a specific historical context. The purpose of creating these models is to provide an interpretive lens through which the meaning of ‘actually existing’ urban renewal projects can be examined and to identify the ways in which emancipatory and non-capitalist ends are repressed or present in the local site. As ideal type models, these constructs are not intended to fully represent urban renewal ‘as it is’, and we do not expect the models to mesh perfectly with empirical observation at a specific time and place. What we do expect is that we will be able to examine discourse, texts, actions, and processes within urban renewal in reference to these models and that, in doing so, are able to identify opportunities and barriers for future action to achieve CUR goals. Table 1 shows a breakdown of how these models emphasize different dimensions of capital-community-state relationship *per* points emphasized in the relevant literature.

Table 1 The Dimensions of CUR and NUR

	NUR	CUR
Capital	Capitalist orientation Emphasis on exchange value Private capital accumulation Corporate models Pro-market localism	Socialist orientation Emphasis on use value Community-owned capital Co-operative models
State/Governance	Dominance of business and government interests Limited democratic power Citizens as consumers and clients Decision-making by experts and elite stakeholders	Dominance of social justice and citizen interests Radical democracy among inhabitants and organizations Citizens as producers and consumers
Community	Romanticized community definition Communitarianism and Asset Based Community Development	Progressive community definition Community organizing and connections to social movements

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, the dimensions of CUR and NUR will be examined in reference to their distinct theoretical and practical frameworks. Private capital accumulation, business and government interest, limited democratic power, and the romanticising of community are interconnected normative assertions of NUR ideologies and

practices. Community-owned capital, social justice, radical democracy, and politicising community are interconnected normative assertions of CUR.

Although this chapter develops these models as distinct types, they should also be seen as two ends of a continuum, not as a binary. Ragin (2000) describes these types of concepts as “fuzzy sets” – concepts that can be discussed as distinct conceptually but rarely exist in pure form in empirical observation. As a fuzzy set, neighbourhood renewal can be conceptualized and analyzed as having dimensions of both CUR and NUR in the same local context. While there are some examples of urban renewal that align closely to one or the other model, we are more likely to see heterogeneity when these concepts are applied to a specific case.

Neighbourhoods are made up of many different and competing organizations and individuals, even many communities existing within a single neighbourhood. Each of these groups play – or can play – a role in defining the meaning of urban renewal in ways that align with the goals of CUR or NUR (Ragin, 2000, p. 5).

Acknowledging CUR and NUR as a fuzzy set does not preclude the idea that one model is dominant even if we can identify aspects of the other within the neighbourhood. Rather, examining neighbourhood renewal as a fuzzy set allows us to see possibilities even where one model is dominant. This is particularly important at this time, while neoliberalism is hegemonic. The usefulness of developing the binary allows us to clarify important differences in the theoretical and practical basis of each and to identify strategies for creating CUR. The next sections articulate these concepts distinctly from one another and then discuss the possibility of CUR in the contemporary context.

When articulating complex concepts such as (neo)liberalism, socialism, or any general political economic theory, it is important to recognize that they do not exist in pure form. Rather, they “typically coexist with elements of other discourses, strategies, and organizational patterns” (Jessop, 2002, p. 453). As such, while the following sections attempt to outline clear elements of CUR and NUR, in the end they must be understood as polyvalent phenomena with different nodes of actors and sources of institutional and ideological organization and maintenance. This point will be significant as I attempt to apply NUR and

CUR to the actualities of OEV because the goal is not to prove the total dominance of either type but rather to see where dimensions of CUR can be amplified, strengthened, and organized.

2.1 Neoliberalism and Urbanization

The new religion of neoliberalism combines a commitment to the extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound antipathy to all kinds of Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies. The constitution and extension of competitive forces is married with aggressive forms of state downsizing, austerity financing, and public service ‘reform.’ And while rhetorically anti-statist, neoliberals have proved adept at the (mis)use of state power in the pursuit of these goals (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 381).

Neoliberalism is best understood as a new phase in the development of capitalism (Duménil & Lévy, 2011; Harvey, 2005a; Levy & Dominique, 2004). This new phase fundamentally changed the relationship between capital, labour, and the state by: (1) globalizing the economy through market liberalization, thus globalizing labour; (2) undermining the victories of labour by making capital independent of place; and (3) changing the role of the state from providing public goods to constructing and enforcing the legal framework for global capitalism to function. Neoliberalism and globalization arose side by side, and neoliberalism plays a defining role in the type of globalization we experience today (Derber, 2013; Graeber, 2002).

The term ‘neoliberalism’ has been used in different ways since the early 20th century to articulate a reform of classic liberalism (Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009), but always with a commitment to a belief that a market economy is the foundation to individual freedom (Friedman, 1962; Lippmann, 1937; A. Smith, 1776/1981). At one time neoliberalism was seen by many as progressive in that it recognized the need to revise classic liberal economic theory so as to avoid the tragedies of the Great Depression and also as a needed alternative to socialism, collectivism and totalitarianism (see Lippmann, 1937).

The relevant iteration of the term (and practice) for the current study is that which arose out of the Chicago School of Economics (est. 1947) premised on a reframing of capitalism as the

optimal system for a free and democratic society but with a greater libertarian and globalist emphasis in economic policies and new organizational formations to liberate capital from the boundaries of nation states and the control of labour unions. My approach to highlighting what is now known as neoliberalism is not to delve into the debates of the Chicago School economists (see Van Horn & Mirowski, 2009), rather to draw attention to the core features of what it means today.

In doing so, it is important to acknowledge that neoliberalism is a multifaceted, contested, and contradictory concept. It articulates an ideology of free-market capitalism and limited state interference, while at the same time the power of supra-state bodies such as the IMF, World Bank, and the International Bank of Settlements has increased. It claims to nurture the core tenets of freedom and democracy while limiting freedom for non-market assemblages and degrading the democratic capacity of citizens around the world (Derber, 2013, Chapter 10). It castigates the welfare state and state planning as coercive, tyrannical and inefficient (Friedman, 1962; Hayek, 1944) while allowing monopoly markets to emerge and transnational corporations to dominate (Duménil & Lévy, 2011; Harvey, 2005a). As such, neoliberalism must be understood as driven by a theory that does not completely align with its implementation in practice and that produces contradictory results.

Neoliberalism is not only the manifestation of the ideology of the Chicago School (which is, in fact, much more libertarian than the neoliberalism we see today), but it equally refers to a new global regime that controls bodies, contradicts its premises, and coerces the global market to the benefit of economic elites around the world (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Jessop, 2002). At this point, neoliberalism may have entered the zombie stage, the moment when the project has failed and most people recognize that, but nobody knows what to do about it because it perpetuates itself (Peck, 2010). Under these conditions, people are generally dissatisfied with the consequences, but what to do about it seems out of reach.

This situation, however, represents an important moment. It is only recently that an important purveyor of neoliberalism, the IMF, released a report entitled *Neoliberalism: Oversold?* (Ostry, Loungani, & Furceri, 2016), condemning neoliberal economic policy and

development as a failure in need of radical transformation to meet the issues of the day. It is true that after the release of this paper, the head of the IMF did say that the fund does not support everything that was in that paper but does believe changes need to occur.

Neoliberalism is based on a form of market fundamentalism “that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005a, p. 2). In this perspective, the state and state planning are antithetical to democracy; neoliberals argue that “a strong state-public sector restricts the liberty of citizens in the private sector, and such restriction is precisely what liberal democracy is designed to prevent” (Purcell, 2013a, p. 13). From this point of view, high taxes, state regulation of industry, and redistribution policies are tyrannical infringements on human freedom. It is here that democracy, as neoliberalism sees it, is best served by free markets and limited government intervention. For neoliberalism, democracy is self-rule through the market by individuals freely associating in voluntary organization. Friedman (1962) writes that “the role of the market ... is that it permits unanimity without conformity; that it is a system of effectively proportional representation... [O]n the other hand, the characteristic feature of action through explicitly political channels is that it tends to require or to enforce substantial conformity” (p. 23).

As this perspective became pervasive through the channels of constructing consent in neoliberal society, the entire concept of citizenship has undergone change. Citizenship is becoming defined in reference to a market and the individual’s role as a consumer. By this logic, if people do not like a product, either because of the price or because it offends their moral sensibilities, they are free to not participate in the success of that product by refusing to buy it. The state and public policy, Friedman argues, should only come into play in areas “that cannot be handled through the market at all, or can be handled only at so great a cost that the use of political channels may be preferable” (p. 25). These areas largely focus on the government as ‘rule-maker’ or umpire to protect free markets and facilitate their expansion. Where there are public monopolies, Friedman argues that the state should privatize and regulate them; this is one of the only areas where regulation needs to apply. Roads, legal

systems, mediating institutions of global capital, market regulators, etc. are then the jobs of government while the role of determining everyday life should be left to market forces.

Friedman provides a list of what the government should stay away from (p. 35):

1. price support programs for agriculture;
2. tariffs on imports or restrictions on exports;
3. government control of output (quotas);
4. rent control;
5. legal minimum wage rates;
6. regulation in non-monopoly markets;
7. control of radio and television;
8. social security programs – especially old-age and retirement programs;
9. public housing;
10. conscription to the military; and
11. national parks.

In the logic of market fundamentalism, the goal is to harmonize social and economic policy (Jessop, 2002) in ways that support free markets and encourage the marketization of the public sector. This means commodifying and marketizing public goods (sometimes by force) including education, health care, transportation, communication, energy resources, even social and community services. Advocates of neoliberalism argue that monetizing public goods makes them more efficient and sustainable and that such goods would not be available without such measures. Commodifying these resources adheres to the important role of individual responsibility and the goal of negative freedom within classic liberal thought, making citizens to pay a fair share for the benefits they receive and providing the opportunity for non-participation (negative freedom) on the part of those who choose to forego consumption.

2.1.2 Neoliberal Urbanization

Urbanization plays an important role in neoliberal thought and practice (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b, 2002a; Hall & Savage, 2016; Harvey, 2005a, 2012; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

As a stage of capitalism, neoliberalism signifies a shift in how capital is produced, and the forces that shape the geographic landscape have altered with market liberalization, austerity and privatization policies (Duménil & Lévy, 2011). While production of goods and services remains an important area of the global economy, real estate and housing have become increasingly important as growth markets and targets for foreign investments. One observer notes that “probably the single greatest source of wealth creation in history has been the conversion of rural land into urban land – urbanization” (Gurin, 2003, p. 4).

Although urbanization began, of course, long before neoliberalism took shape, it has been accelerated through neoliberal policies. After World War II, Canada and the United States took a new interest in real estate as important means for creating new capital markets. By offering state-backed mortgage guarantees, Canada’s federal government took an important step to encourage investment and decrease the risk of default by buyers. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation created a mandatory public home-insurance scheme to incentivise property developers by guaranteeing the repayment of investors. The consequence of accelerating the growth of the housing market was that house prices soared and the individual’s dependence on the financial industries increased because of larger and longer-term mortgages. It was this freeing of capital to build the suburbs, coupled with the market liberalization mandates of neoliberalism, which led to the uneven development in cities, creating urban blight and the concentration of social problems in the inner city (Williamson et al., 2003).

Freeing capital to invest and derive a profit from housing brought about a significant change in how cities and the monetary system functioned (Pickett, 1964). Capitalism seeks to create the largest profit, regardless of the consequences, and the global neoliberal regimes have ensured that property development is part of the market liberalization mandate. To be sure, real estate speculation has always been an important component of capitalist growth, but the pace and international scale of property development is qualitatively different in the age of neoliberalism.

To this point we have discussed the general logic of neoliberalism and how it is linked to urbanization. As we move on to understanding how this political-economic approach is manifest in urban renewal, an important point must be made about the contradictory and ambiguous ways that neoliberalism plays out in practice. Skeptics of neoliberalism suggest that it is a useless term because it is invoked in so many different contexts and can be used, arbitrarily, to refer to any practice that troubles any leftist. What such critiques do not understand is that neoliberalism is neither the pure application of neoclassical economic theory nor is it a consistently applied form of state intervention. Peck, Brenner, & Theodore (2017) argue that:

it is quite appropriate that the tangle of meanings attached to ‘neoliberalism’ remain both somewhat ambiguous and situationally specific, spanning as they do a rash of promiscuously ‘global’ applications and a constellation of quite particular local translations. This may be a little perplexing from an analytical point of view, but it arguably says something about how neoliberalism exists in the world – as a presence seemingly oppressive, real, and immediate in some respects, but at the same time one that can also be considered to be diffuse, abstract, and liminal. It is this polymorphous character of neoliberalism – and its contradictory expressions – that make exploring neoliberalism in context important for localized capacity to identify it and also to articulate the variety of ways that it makes its way into local politics and discourse. We would not expect it to look the same in each locality and if our project is to find leverage points within the local for opportunities to transcend neoliberalism then we must make careful analyses of specific sites of manifestation. Neoliberalism appears in any combinations of its practice.

Neoliberalism can appear as privatization, restructuring of intergovernmental organization, restructuring of housing markets, regulation of urban civil society, rebranding of the city, public-private partnerships, and tax abatements. Urban renewal is an interesting site for examining the local manifestations and the socio-political responses to such restructuring because neoliberalism is insidious. It finds its way into well-meaning projects and taints our ability to debate publicly and meaningfully by controlling discourse and the imaginary of inhabitants.

What we learn from the concept of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ is that neoliberalism is diffuse. It:

can appear to be all over the place, if not almost omnipresent, while at the same time

it is found nowhere in ‘undiluted’ or replicated form. As an always compromised, discrepant, context-dependent, contradictory, and shape-shifting presence, neoliberalism is found – indeed, *can only* be found – in an array range [sic] of governance regimes, social formations, political-economic settings, and conjunctural articulations” (Peck et al., 2017, p. 17).

It exists at different spatial scales, from the global to the local. Connections between the scales, though complementary, are not determined. The ideology of neoclassical economics – together with the related political position on democracy and the logic of privatization is circulated at the upper and lower scales, creating the need for interscalar analysis of processes of change.

Not all places are neoliberal and not all global formations are neoliberal. There exist spaces of resistance and alternative practices at all scales. At the global level, there are international organizations coordinating resistance across space, including human rights and policy change groups, protest mobilization organizations and media outlets. At the local level, anti-gentrification organizing occurs, defenses are raised against privatization or state retrenchment, community organizations build networks of self-organization and cultivate radical democracy. The effectiveness of these organizations and their potential to overturn neoliberalism is undetermined. What is known is that organizations are necessary to maintain a counter-narrative to neoliberalism.

Seeing that neoliberalism is never fully present but emerges in insidious ways at the local level, we need to sharpen our ability to spot it, to know where it is working and why, and to see if there is a way to counteract it. Of course, to counteract it we need a vision of what the alternative should look like and how we can get there (Friedmann, 2000). Without a consciousness that can determine where neoliberalism exists it is difficult to mobilize a population away from it.

The project of identifying neoliberal urban renewal is, then, two-fold. First, it is to sharpen our vision of what actually existing neoliberalism looks like in urban renewal. Second, from that localized understanding we can find ways either to resist it directly or to undermine it through other forms of organizing. The alternatives of either resisting or undermining is

important as they provide both negative and positive responses to the crises of neoliberalism. Resistance would involve reactive organizing, protest, perhaps even targeted vandalism. Undermining neoliberalism involves building new forms of every day life that express social, political and economic structures with alternative values and critiques of neoliberalism. These could include co-operative business development, creating community land trusts, creating localized economic systems that are resilient in the face of global instability, and nurturing values of radical democracy and self-management.

2.2. Neoliberal Urban Renewal (NUR)

Prior to the rise of neoliberalism, urban renewal projects in Canada were distinguished between those led by the private sector and those that the public sector led (Pickett, 1964). Even in 1974, the intergovernmental Neighbourhood Improvement Plans (NIPs), were completely publicly funded. The NIPs did not look to partnerships with private capital and largely focused on residential, social housing, and public facility renewal (for an overview of these programs, see Pickett, 1964 and Lyon & Newman, 1986). As neoliberalism became the dominant logic, urban renewal became increasingly defined by public-private partnerships as the state shifted its roles from being the main funder to that of broker between private capital and local communities (Harvey, 1989).

In this section, I outline some ways in which neoliberalism is manifested on the local level in urban renewal projects. These manifestations occur in context-specific ways entering through various ‘pathways’ determined by the pre-established institutional terrain and social norms (Peck et al., 2017). In areas with little social cohesion and community organization, neoliberal practice can easily be coordinated by the creation of new organizations and local marketing agencies. In areas with strong local organizations and established identities, strategic entry points are required for the dissemination of neoliberal practices, which can bring on anti-gentrification protest movements. Another pathway is through the willing acceptance of neoliberal logic by existing local organizational and individual actors.

2.2.1 NUR Capital

In its practice and ideology, NUR places economic growth at its core, with an emphasis on attracting private investment and increasing exchange value in neighbourhoods. This is an ideology because it becomes accepted as the highest common good around which to mobilize community capacities and create the neighbourhood identity. Place-based marketing in NUR does not draw attention to post-capitalist visions of urbanization but rather presents a 'new urbanism' as an inherently desirable lifestyle of ethical consumption and romanticized notions of community. The position that economic growth is a good in itself can be identified by the indicators of success found in NUR plans. While the language of social and economic sustainability is often used to justify these plans, the indicators of success rarely include measures of displacement, local democracy or middle-class enclosure to monitor the damaging aspects of gentrification.

The ideas of ethical consumption and community are also important to NUR to the extent that they promote new localism and represent a more 'ethical' capitalism. Ethical consumption is embedded in the pro-market localist argument that local production and consumption are always more ethical than consumption from more globally produced commodities (Born & Purcell, 2006; Purcell, 2006; Sharzer, 2012). The pro-market localism of NUR argues that locally owned business is inherently more ethical than multinational or external forms of ownership. However, there is much evidence to suggest that after the first generation, gentrifiers have initiated the local boosterism and prepared the neighbourhood for investment, and the end result is a rent gap that makes the area attractive to multinational capital (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Hackworth & Smith, 2000).

Whether it is as pro-market localism or an urban growth machine with international interests, NUR measures its success by the amount of private investment it has attracted and how much property values have risen. These values fall in line with the objectives of the neoliberal state, which values urban renewal for a much-needed increase in its tax base and job creation, and as an indicator of the health of the city. In the context of neoliberalism, blighted areas are treated either as containment areas for impoverished, drug-addicted or mentally ill segments

of the population or as a target location where poverty, homelessness, and drug addiction are barriers to renewal because they make an area less attractive to consumers and investors.

NUR is ultimately indiscriminating in the sources of capital or the forms of business that enter the local site as long as they do not impede further economic growth or development as the core purposes of urban renewal. The range of business enterprises that NUR seeks to attract can be anything from large multinational corporations to small, independently owned business to co-operatives and, increasingly, to non-profit organizations that can maintain buildings and attract consumers and investors. NUR often mobilizes branding strategies around sectors that anchor the commercial activity of the neighbourhood, transforming them into economic drivers. This is the mandate of the creative cities discourse, to mobilize the creative class within an area to specialize in various types of cultural production (art, technology, food, niche artisanal products, etc.) with the primary goal of economic development. The countercultural and non-market features of these actors become subservient to this goal and, rather than resulting in resistance to their own inevitable displacement, help to bolster the area's image as unique and desirable (Atkinson, 2003; Zukin, 2010).

NUR enters through urban planning's best practices and trends. The discourses of new urbanism and private-public partnership are a form of the neoliberalization of urban space. On the one hand, these forms of urban planning 'roll back' in neoliberal fashion by cutting spending on social services and/or privatising public infrastructure. On the other, the state is 'rolled out' in new configurations in the relationship between capital and community (Peck et al., 2017; Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2013). Urban planners are not producing conceptions of space that highlight radical democratic possibilities or economic transformative agendas. Increasing the value of property is the real objective, camouflaged by the discourses of social and economic sustainability. Planners emphasize the relationship between city planning and the local community, encourage the formation of community associations that can speak for the community, cultivate community conversations, and thus create support for their projects. While urban planners emphasize the renewal of public spaces like parks, libraries, and recreational facilities, their strategies for economic development create support for

capitalistic forms of accumulation by brokering relationships for external private development.

NUR also facilitates insidious forms of privatization and exploitation. Privatization often occurs through a transfer of public dollars to private owners in the form of economic development incentives and related beautification programs. Harvey (2005) explains this process of privatization as ‘accumulation by dispossession’, and we see this happening as normal NUR practice. Accumulation by dispossession is a process in which property and capital is extracted by the state from the public and redistributed to the upper classes – building developers, property owners, and corporations. In urban renewal projects, this process is present in façade redevelopment grants, convert-to-rent programs, small business start-up grants, and waivers of development charges or property taxes. This process is largely responsible for increasing inequality.

The exploitative aspect of NUR also takes the shape of extracting surplus value from voluntary labour by members of the surrounding community. These volunteer activities could be directly related to neighbourhood renewal, *e.g.*, through work on revitalization committees, participation in meetings, and input on surveys. A more insidious form of exploitation comes when people are enticed to volunteer in community development and beautification processes where most of the economic benefits of their labour are delivered to private property owners and businesses.

The use of volunteer labour in urban renewal is part of the neoliberal process of downloading governmental responsibility from the state to the community level. This shift is part of the early neoliberal policies of the “Reagan-Thatcher-Mulroney period when the goal of the governments was to dismantle welfare states that had been incrementally built up since the 1930’s” (Defilippis et al., 2010, p. 26). This approach later became known as the ‘third way’, turning social welfare over to private sector organizations like not-for-profit organizations and private-public partnerships (PPP). Elwood (2002) suggests that this downloading often results in the reproduction of neoliberal policies and priorities at the community level because grassroots organizations become the bearers of state policy rather than the creators of

their own agendas. The local level is further disempowered by the state's provision of such small amounts of funding for community organizing (beyond funding for service delivery or basic needs programs) that high-functioning and well organized efforts to create alternative visions cannot be sustained (Defilippis et al., 2010).

One of the ways that downloading has occurred and defined NUR is the creation of Business Improvement Areas (BIA's) in Canada and Business Improvement Districts (BID's) in the United States. In Ontario, BIA's function in neighbourhood renewal almost like unions of the local business community. They are created by a ratifying vote of business or property owners who then pay dues to their BIA as part of their municipal tax levies. Authority to organize the business and property owners and extract dues is granted by provincial legislation. This structural emphasis and the political opportunity for businesses to harness stable and long-term power – in contrast to the struggle that neighbourhood organizations face in establishing similar long-term and stable organizations – poignantly reflecting the ideology and practice of neoliberalism (Briffault, 1999; Lippert, 2007).

Further, BIA's facilitate accumulation through the dispossession outlined earlier, by taking responsibility for the administration of various grants and incentive programs and by controlling the renewal discourse (Briffault, 1999). As business development organizations, BIA's become responsible for sanitizing the streets by working with the police to remove unsightly populations with a view to encouraging middle-class consumers to visit. To the extent that these streets are public spaces where the homeless, mentally ill, poor, and addicted tend to gather, BIA's redefine citizenship in that space by discouraging these segments of the population from entering their territory.

Rankin & Delaney (2011) attempt to identify the 'assemblages' that come together in BIA's as not only private business and profit-seeking actors but as actors who "approach the work of placemaking not only as building lucrative consumption spaces, but also as building spaces that reflect the surrounding community" (p. 1371). They point to BIA efforts to maintain the ethnic culture of the neighbourhood and to their partnerships with area residents (actually leaders and members of community associations) who support the BIA, "to

recognize these mutual interests as well as deliberate their differences” (p. 1371). Rankin and Delaney’s failure to recognize the role of BIA’s as agents of social control and community co-option is the type of thinking that gives neoliberalism its hegemony.

The pro-market localism promoted in this rethinking of BIA’s recognizes neither their central purpose nor the partnership with the community in terms of economic development that: (1) reproduces capitalist ownership of the means of production and (2) commodifies the community to increase exchange value. While Rankin and Delaney point out certain use-value activities of BIA’s, like festivals and advocacy for public parks and transportation, these activities largely fall within the vision of ‘new urbanism’ and traditional community economic development practices. What these authors do not recognize is that neoliberalism on the ground can look very friendly and thus obtain the support of ‘the community.’. Community members can participate if they can ‘get on board,’ but those with less capital-driven agendas are likely to be excluded.

2.2.2 NUR Community

Neoliberalism appears in the urban renewal community through the inhabitants as well as through the institutional configurations that govern and organize the territory. Inhabitants can be vehicles of neoliberal ideology bringing with them the assumptions and frameworks of neoliberalism to community participation. The attraction of economic gain through speculation on property brings certain types of interests when urban pioneers and renovators arrive on the scene (Atkinson, 2003; MacLeod, 2002; Porter & Shaw, 2009; Slater, 2005). These new stakeholders are willing participants in exemplifying free market logic in the organizations that promote urban renewal, including business, community, and cultural organizations. In the logic of NUR, everyday life becomes caught up in romanticizing ‘community’ as the place where participants can feel a sense of cohesion and create discourses of inclusion, meanwhile excluding ‘undesirable’ and dissimilar populations (Defilippis et al., 2010; Joseph, 2002). Harvey (2000) notes that the “new urbanism builds an

image of community and a rhetoric of place-based civic pride for those who do not need it, while abandoning those that do to their underclass fate” (p. 170).

This leads us to one of the core features of NUR as it defines the role of the community. When NUR involves the mobilization of neighbourhood residents, it often uses the asset-based community development (ABCD) model or some variant. This model seeks consensus among community members and promotes non-political and organic forms of community (Defilippis, Fisher, & Shragge, 2006; Defilippis et al., 2010). ABCD is a methodology that emerged in the early 1990’s (Kretzmann & Mcknight, 1993) alongside other communitarian literature concerned with the breakdown of community bonds and networks (Etzioni, 1993; Putnam, 1996). ABCD presents a means of initiating community development focused on developing a community’s human and material assets rather than on the community’s actual needs. The approach is twofold. ABCD’s first task is to identify the assets or strengths of the community, with the participation of the community itself. The second task is to develop a vision for how to mobilize those assets or strengths for community-building. The underlying logic is that communities, no matter how poor or disadvantaged, have the ability to make themselves strong and sustainable when their assets are realized and mobilized (Kretzmann & Mcknight, 1993; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). While this logic can in fact be related to grassroots mobilization and movement-building, it is the apolitical nature of the targets of change and lack of targeted action toward larger-scale social change that makes neoliberal organizations favour ABCD (Defilippis, 2004; Defilippis et al., 2010; Joseph, 2002).

Although the ABCD approach acknowledges large-scale political and economic conditions and structures like consumerism, the social service industry, even ‘free market consumer ideology’, as the source of the breakdown in communities (see Block, Brueggemann, & Mcknight, 2016; Mcknight, 1995; Mcknight & Block, 2010), it does not promote organizing to change those structures directly. Rather, the goal is to build local communities based on mutual aid and self-management that will inherently undermine the goals and logic of the larger conditions and structures (Mcknight & Block, 2010). The discourse of ABCD is oriented toward communitarian ends, such as creating social capital and networks of mutual support in the community, with little orientation toward changing the larger systems.

One of the largest weaknesses of the ABCD approach is that it does not address how formal governance structures should work in community-building. Rather, it emphasizes the importance of ‘organic’ community relationships that are not institutionalized or highly structured (Mcknight, 1995). This approach falls into the communitarian category of community development, because of its lack of attention to power structures and its assumption that consensus among community interests is possible and desirable. As such the ABCD approach “emphasizes local participation, leadership development, mobilizing local resources, and minimizing social conflict” (Defilippis et al., 2010). In this way ABCD is easily used as a vehicle to create definitions of community that link neighbourhood activities to larger-scale social movements and purposes. Rather, because of the resistance to critique larger power structures, it becomes difficult to build community solidarity and cultivate the imagination of the inhabitants in that direction.

An organic definition of community defines it as an informal process of interaction and sociability that encourages its members to focus on what they have in common. Critics of the communitarian approach argue that it evokes a ‘romantic’ notion of community. The notion of organic community is resistant to formal structures, political division, and conflict-based definitions of community, thereby treating the possibility of organizing around divisions and contested political issues as distasteful. As such, ABCD assumes that ‘the community’ is singular and has common goals that can serve as the point of departure for building social cohesion and social capital. This approach is particularly attractive to both corporate and governmental actors because it provides an alternative to conflict-based models of organizing (such as that proposed by Alinsky, 1971) and is resistant to political or class-based analysis (Defilippis et al., 2010, Chapter 4; Stoecker, 2002).

Closely linked with the ABCD approach is the concept of social capital. Social capital refers to the social networks, bonds between community members and the organizational capacity of individuals and neighbourhoods. Social capital is rooted in a communitarian version of community where creating relationships of trust and cooperation are seen as vehicles for achieving social harmony (Sampson, 2012). Mayer (2003) argues that the focus on social capital in urban planning and the delivery of social services has a distorting effect that turns

the process into a consensus-seeking regime tending to serve elite interests while marginalizing social movements. She argues that the marginalization of social movements is effective because the uncritical adoption of social-capital discourse: (1) actively encourages the development of localized interpersonal relationships while neglecting a broader social, political, and economic analysis of the actual restructuring process; (2) does not differentiate between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ social capital (even racist communities can have high levels of social capital built on relations of trust and support that reproduce the community’s values); and (3) is a tool for co-opting citizens to participate in society’s predetermined political structure as opposed to struggling for power and justice.

The popularity of social-capital logic in community development matches well with the ABCD approach to the extent that it fosters traditional communitarian practices tending to reproduce the *status quo* even as it encourages a more connected and better resourced community. Finally, the focus on social capital and community development creates structures in which neoliberalism can reproduce itself. Part of the morphology of neoliberalism has been its capacity to respond to the crises it creates by further modifying local institutional arrangements to reflect its values and logic (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Mayer, 2007; Peck & Tickell, 2002). The focus on social capital and community development helps this process along by creating a non-political and uncritical account of urban renewal, thereby pre-empting the formation of alternative visions that break away from the prescriptions of urban planners. The possibilities available to communities are thus relegated to such apolitical projects like gardens.

2.2.3 NUR State/Governance

In terms of governance, NUR creates undemocratic sub-state institutions that are then given priority by the state and urban planners for the sake of their capacity to shape revitalization policy (Nicholls & Uitermark, 2017). The control that these structures gain over the production of NUR-inspired neighbourhood renewal is largely invisible to the typical citizen. Because of a lack of public funding to underwrite research, even community associations

may be unaware of the invisible power and the invisible ways that NUR engages with them. Keeping decision-making structures invisible is a way for NUR to control dissent and stay focused on economic growth.

Public participation in NUR is largely defined in terms of input and consultation rather than through active participation in the ongoing decision-making processes. Sorensen & Sagaris (2010) provide a good overview of how public participation is often used as a form of social control and manipulation. NUR focuses on ‘stakeholders’, often organizational or business actors, as the only important citizens that must be considered in shaping their plans; they provide very little opportunity for engagement by individual citizens outside these stakeholder groups. As well, NUR presents public participation as an opportunity to speak within a very confined context, often only presenting a couple of options predetermined by the state or private sector actor that initiates them. Sorensen & Sagaris (2010) suggest that one way around the problem of overly controlled public participation processes is to involve established community-based organizations in the planning and implementation of public participation meetings.

In the case of BIA’s, where only business owners and property owners have democratic rights, it is expected that planning will have impacts beyond their business districts and in the rest of the community (Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2010). These forms of extra-state governance tend to push decision-making into back rooms and are deeply undemocratic.

In summary, NUR is a broad set of strategies that resemble or are shaped by neoliberal practice and ideology. These strategies fall under four main headings – economy, politics, governance and community. It is important to understand that NUR is an insidious approach, often difficult to recognize, because it co-opts the strategies and terminology of more critical approaches in how definitions of community, democracy, and localism are mobilized. As well, the extraction of surplus value from volunteer community work is a double-edged sword, letting residents feel empowered to participate in defining their community while the exploitative element is rarely visible or pointed out. Also, while NUR downloads

responsibilities to community volunteers, the funds needed to actually cultivate an informed democratic voice in the community are not made available.

2.3 Critical Urban Theory (CUR)

We now turn our attention to how Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) is defined and the body of literature that informs it. I have developed the concept of CUR as a set of urban renewal strategies shaped by the broader context of leftist struggles to emphasize citizen power, democracy, justice, and community ownership of property. In this section I outline the history and intellectual heritage that underlie CUR, then connect them to the forms of urban renewal strategy that emerge from those struggles and theories.

The concept of CUR is developed around the premises of critical urban theory (see Brenner, 2012) with a particular focus on the concept of ‘the right to the city’ (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2013b) and the production of space (Gottdiener, 1993; Lefebvre, 1974; N. Smith, 1984). Critical urban theory “is generally used as a shorthand reference to the writings of leftist or radical urban scholars during the post 1968 period – for instance, those of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Manuel Castells, [and] Peter Marcuse” (Brenner et al., 2012, Chapter 12). It also shares affinities with the longer tradition of critical theory like that of the Frankfurt theorists in general. These authors share a foundation in neo-Marxist analysis, holding that the form of the city, including uneven development of place, is largely determined by capital-accumulation interests and, in addition, that the city scale has become an important site from which to build resistance to global capitalism and neoliberalism. The ‘right to the city’ literature has become one of the rallying points for emancipatory urban struggles as it puts forward a vision that puts ‘people before profit’ in the creation and administration of the city (Brenner et al., 2012; Harvey, 2008, 2012, Purcell, 2009, 2013b).

Brenner (2012) outlines the principles of critical urban theory and its intellectual heritage, which provide a set of premises that I draw on in constructing CUR. Critical urban theory draws attention to and understands the (re)creation of the city as a “site, medium, and

outcome of historically specific relations of power” and emphasises the “politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable character of urban space” (Brenner, 2012, p. 11). Critical urban theory’s focus on power relations and its search for the possibility of emancipatory social change distinguish it from more mainstream urban theories like those of the Chicago school of urban sociology or technocratic urban analysis, which largely focus on standard outcomes like neighbourhood stability, social cohesion/organization, and community safety. In contrast, critical urban theory emphasizes that there are destructive outcomes when cities are shaped by capitalism and “insists that another, more democratic, socially just, and sustainable form of urbanization is possible, even if such possibilities are currently being suppressed through dominant institutional arrangements, practices and ideologies” (Brenner, 2012, p. 11).

Critical urban theory converges with conventional critical theory of the Frankfurt School at four points that root the current study in an intellectual tradition, admittedly a contested one. These proposition are:

1. insistence on the need for abstract, theoretical arguments regarding the nature or urban processes under capitalism, rejecting the concept of theory as a handmaiden to immediate, practical or instrumental concerns;
2. a view that knowledge of urban questions, including critical perspectives, must be historically specific and mediated through power relations;
3. rejection of instrumentalist, technocratic and market-driven forms of urban analysis that promote the maintenance and reproduction of extant urban formations; and
4. a concern for excavating possibilities for alternative, radically emancipatory forms of urbanism, latent yet systematically suppressed in contemporary cities (Brenner, 2012, p. 19)

These propositions provide a reference point for how to view the city and the type of analysis required, starkly different from the one seen in the neoliberal perspective. The rejection of ideology and practice that mesh with neoliberalism – such as instrumental, technocratic, and market-driven forms of urban analysis – distinguishes critical urban studies as a different

logic altogether. Neoliberalism emphasizes the desire to increase exchange values, centralize and mystify power structures, and maintain consumer society. Critical urban studies emphasize the importance of protecting use values, decentralizing power structures, and democratizing the production of space. The focus of the urban question for critical urban theory becomes the exploration of power relations to see how they provide or impede the realization of alternative, post-capitalist possibilities. CUR offers definitions of politics, economy, governance, and community different from those that underlie NUR.

2.3.1 Experimental Utopianism

An important feature of critical urban theory for the construction of CUR is the way it uses the concept of utopianism (Busquet, 2012; Coleman, 2013; Friedmann, 2000; Gardiner, 2013; Harvey, 2000; Lefebvre, 2003; Pinder, 2013). For these theorists, utopianism is a necessary part of work toward building an emancipatory future, expressing the possibility of new forms of social-political-economic arrangements without which ‘community’ and ‘revitalization’ can be mobilized for harmful outcomes.

The common understanding of utopianism – the derogatory understanding – is that it articulates a ‘blueprint’ prescription for making society perfect, insufficiently recognizing the actualities of human capacity and the current system (Pinder, 2013). The history of utopian planning and experimentation has also been marred by its association with totalitarianism like that of the Soviet Union. Critical theory, however, rejects blueprint utopian projections because they imply a certain static end that conflicts with human aspirations for ongoing change and creativity. Blueprint utopias do not take account of the dynamic need in human group life to negotiate, examine and create social life on an ongoing basis. These utopianisms tend to be very ideological – “they exist as representations that deflect attention away from the realities of lived and embodied social experience toward a realm of spectral abstractions and idealizations” (Gardiner, 2013, p. 4). The limitations of blueprint utopianism are resolved in the concept of experimental utopianism, which promotes radical forms of democracy and self-organization in realizing the utopian vision (Purcell,

2013a). Experimental utopianism's theory of radical action seeks to bridge the gap between theoretical possibilities and what can actually be accomplished day to day and year to year. The focus on radically democratic forms of political life in experimental utopianism necessarily directs these values toward visions of autogestion (self-governing) in which illegitimate authority is challenged and subject to change.

Experimental utopianism addresses another issue raised by the common understanding of utopianism, namely the idea that utopianism can be based on any constellation of values because it has no *a priori* value propositions associated with it. This critique sees utopianism as ambiguous in its social, political, and economic aims. Thus, utopianism can have either right-wing or left-wing visions, and there is no objective way to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' utopias, apart from personal preference (see Jacoby, 1999, for a thorough examination of this challenge and rebuttal of its claims). However, because experimental utopians accept the fallibility of their own perspectives, they demand radical democracy – autogestion (see Purcell, 2014, pp. 147–148, for more background on this term) and self-management in all spheres of everyday life but remain committed to post-capitalist or anti-capitalist agendas. Lefebvre argues that we should use the “utopian method experimentally, looking ahead to what is possible and what is impossible, and transforming this hypothetical exploration into applicable programmes and practical plans” (cited in Gardiner, 2013, p. 34).

Experimental utopianism starts from the left's traditional *a priori* values of freedom, democracy, solidarity, creativity, and co-operation (Albert, 2006; Alperovitz & Dubb, 2012; Harvey, 2000; Wolff, 2012). It holds that “there must be some element of closure, of conceptual and material fixity. ... [U]topias should be instilled with specific contents and value judgements of a defensible sort” (Gardiner, 2013, p. 34). For experimental utopianism and its variants (real utopianism, everyday-life utopianism), visions of the future are based on a critique of capitalism(s) and propose agendas for social change based on the imagination of post-capitalist and/or emancipatory futures (Albert, 2006, Alperovitz, 2011; Bookchin, 1991; Purcell, 2013a; Williamson et al., 2003; Wolff, 2012; Wright, 2009, 2013).

Experimental utopian theorists and practitioners tend to draw on traditional leftist concepts of social, economic, political, and ecological justice. Their critique of capitalism situates their position as undermining the logic of capitalism and presenting alternative possibilities of collective life. Harvey (2000) calls the instances where capital is altered to serve the needs of people rather than its own ends “spaces of hope”. In these spaces, the relations of production of space (and place) are transformed in ways that expand democratic participation. While spaces of hope can exist as conceived and perceived spaces, they sometimes become social/concrete space, and it is at this level that the local place takes prominence in the theory of change. Harvey (2012) is worth quoting at length here as he articulates a shared position across the experimental utopian/post capitalist analysis.

No alternative to the contemporary form of globalization will be delivered to us from on high. *It will have to come from within multiple local spaces-urban spaces in particular-conjoining into a broader movement.* It is here that the contradictions faced by capitalists as they search for monopoly rent assume a certain structural significance. By seeking to trade on values of authenticity, locality, history, culture, collective memories, and tradition *they open a space for political thought and action within which socialist alternatives can be both devised and pursued.* The space of that commons deserves intense exploration and cultivation by oppositional movements that embrace cultural producers and cultural production as a key element in their political strategy...Here lies one of the key *spaces of hope* for the construction of an alternative kind of globalization and a vibrant anti-commodification politics, one in which the progressive forces of cultural production and transformation can seek to appropriate and undermine the forces of capital rather than the other way round (p. 112, emphasis added).

Harvey’s spaces of hope are the various moments in which capital loses its capacity to commodify and dominate the logic of the community through intentional reimagining of the meaning and purpose of community and the ‘commons’. These spaces can exist within the current system and the project is to expand their presence as well as to protect them from the neoliberal drive toward privatization and enclosure. The task for urban social movements is to nurture conceptions of experimental utopianism and set out practicable projects that prefigure types of social, political, and economic relations and challenge the destructive nature of capital (Pendras, 2002). Moving from a moment of resistance against forces of capital/neoliberalism to an active construction of alternative futures is the ultimate directive

put forward by critical urban theory. These constructive and prefigurative spaces necessarily occur first at the local level, but with a vision and commitment to the broader, larger-scale struggle to bring about the realization of these impossible-possibilities across places.

2.3.2 The Production of Space

A related line of thought that draws attention to the need to mobilize for change at the local level and situates the front lines of emancipatory struggle in cities comes from Lefebvre's concept of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1974) and the related literature on the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996a; Mayer, 2009). These perspectives provide a foundation for developing strategies for emancipatory, post-capitalist struggle.

Emphasis on the organization of labour and on the working class as the revolutionary subject was radically challenged by Lefebvre (1991/1974) through his assertion that the production of 'space' was an equal, if not more important, sphere of production than the workplace, especially in the context of urbanization. Space in these terms is both a material (enacted, concrete, empirical) and an abstract (conceived - perceived) mental construct. The relationship between concrete and abstract space is dialectical, structured by the characteristics of the prevailing power structures/ideologies in a society. As such any radical transformative agenda must intervene in the production of space to assert alternative options of conceived, perceived, and social spaces.

The struggle over how a city is built and how inhabitants are implicated in the process is fundamentally about who and how the production of these spaces occurs. Under capitalism the production of space is dominated by capital's interests and the city, therefore, becomes an ever-morphing monument to capital, with all the social and psychological implications that result (Lefebvre, 2003). As capital strengthens its grip on all forms of space – conceived, perceived and enacted – its capacity to commodify grows.

Understanding the production of space requires a recognition of the social relations of production, including the power of the dominant political-economic theory to define these

relationships and what ideological system reinforces (and challenges) those relations (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 61). When space is conceived without a recognition of the relations of production then it is fetishized, naturalized, and reified. Citizens become passive consumers of space and acquire a false consciousness (ideology) that does not recognize their role in the production process.

The Marxist idea that the revolutionary subject was firmly located in the workplace as the site of production was challenged by Lefebvre and many of his contemporaries. The orthodox notion of a 'working class' rooted in factories came under serious attack by the 1960's following two lines of critique, which help us understand why Lefebvre sought to expand the notion of production itself. These critiques are: (1) that the working class has experienced the 'end of resistance' in late capitalism and (2) that the failed example of socialism in the Soviet Union, which resulted in authoritarian state formation, was not a satisfactory alternative to capitalism.

The first critique of the working class as the revolutionary subject emerged from the work of the Frankfurt School theorists towards an understanding of the meaning and effect of new socio-economic, technological and cultural transitions occurring in late capitalist society. Late capitalism introduced a new era of commodity fetishism in which the working class had been completely pacified by the newfound wealth it owed to the power of labour unions and the emergence of the culture industry (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). According to critical theorists at the time, working-class culture had become depoliticized and an interest in inequality had faded from popular struggle. The revolutionary subject had been captured in the trance of the spectacle (Debord, 1967). The desperation that was supposed to create revolutionary impulses in the working class had become alleviated through the New Deal concessions to labour. The question then became: Who then will push the transformation from capitalism to socialism?

For the Frankfurt School, this era signaled the 'end of resistance' and the enclosing of the revolutionary subject in the iron cage of consumerism and spectacle, a critique still relevant today. Debord (1967) argued that society had reached "the historical moment at which the

commodity completes its colonization of social life ... [and] passive identification with the spectacle supplants genuine activity” (p. 4). Within this society the possibility of resistance is transformed into a spectacle itself because the “micro-politics of the day become commodified and co-opted into the production of images and styles” (Shantz, 2015, p. 24). The critique of the co-optation and commodification of radicalism, resistance and revolution continues today (Gardiner, 2013, Chapter 6; Heath & Potter, 2004). Lefebvre tried to move beyond these difficult observations by creating a new conception of where the struggle against capitalism exists, beyond the factory walls and in the streets – the production of space occurs, yes, in the workplace but also in the everyday life of urban inhabitants.

The second feature that pushed Lefebvre into reconceptualising production and the revolutionary subject was the failure of the Soviet experiment to create a satisfying alternative to capitalism. For many of the neo-Marxists of the 1960’s and 1970’s, formulation of the radical subject had to be conceived of as distinct from the state and bureaucracy. The Soviet Union created a socialist society managed by the state, which led to forms of authoritarianism and bureaucratic alienation not found in the ideals of neo-Marxist thinkers. At the same time, the capitalist social-welfare states that emerged in Western Europe and North America stifled rather than encouraged a radical transformation in relations of production. As Purcell (2013a, p. 36) notes, the neo-Marxist formulation for how to turn capitalism toward socialism was “as much a reaction against state bureaucratic domination as it [was] against capitalism”. This division of the Old and New Left is articulated by Jacoby (1999): “[T]he former rejected democratic liberties and championed the Communist project; the latter championed democratic liberties and rejected communism” (p 11).

The overarching goal of Lefebvre’s theory was to “offer a critique of existing society in order to open up a path to another society, a possible world beyond capitalism, the state, consumer society” (Purcell, 2014, p. 144). Lefebvre’s socialism was, then, more focused on the withering away of the state in favour of a collective self-governing society (autogestion) through experimental iterations of radically democratizing the production of space. Purcell (2014) notes that this post-capitalist order “is not an already worked out and ideal society. It is rather an open project, one that moves us in a direction, toward a horizon beyond the

present capitalistic and state-bureaucratic society, but whose precise outcomes cannot be fully known” (p. 145). The revolution, writes Lefebvre, “was long defined either in terms of political change at the level of the state or else in terms of the collective or state ownership of the means of production. ... Today such limited definitions of revolution will no longer suffice” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 422).

New possibilities had to be examined and Lefebvre provided a view that expanded the location of the working-class struggle to include the production of space. To accomplish the task of examining the ‘possible’, (Lefebvre, 1996b, Chapter 14) developed a concept of ‘experimental utopia’ reflecting the idea that the post-capitalist order would not be fully known in its consequences and that any attempt to achieve a pre-determined vision had to be developed by experiment and reworking projects. Experimental utopianism is “the exploration of what is humanly possible based upon the image and imaginary, constantly subject to critique and referring to a problematic derived from the real, that is a feedback mechanism” (Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 15)

Maintaining his commitment to socialist transformation, Lefebvre saw the possible as a slow-moving target of experiments in an urbanization process premised on a radical democracy in which all inhabitants play a part in defining the city, with an emphasis on use values over exchange value. In order for the ‘revolutionary subject’ to emerge, the doors to the “centres of decision making” must be open and made visible (Elden, Kofman, & Lebas, 2003). Demanding the ‘right to the city’ means that the location of the revolutionary subject expands to include the struggle over the production of space within and outside the workplace, on the streets and in communities.

The significance of the ideas surrounding the production of space and how they are connected to the contemporary city is developed in two of Lefebvre’s works, *The Urban Revolution* and *The Production of Space*. In the first, his earlier work, Lefebvre articulates a transformation of society through the urbanization process and its effects on the everyday lives of inhabitants in urbanized society. The project in *The Urban Revolution* was to demystify the ‘city’ (and the common use of the term ‘urban’) by showing that it had

different functions (political, mercantile, industrial) in different historical eras and that the contemporary era was defined by an emerging urban society that would be fully realized at a global scale. ‘The city’ prior to urban society was the ‘industrial city’ that grew during the period of industrialization. The industrial city emerged from enlightenment thinking and the scientific method that accompanied it. During the process of industrialization, the city was defined by its transformation from cottage, artisan, and mercantile forms, when it functioned as a marketplace while production often took place in the countryside. “Industry gradually made its way into the city in search of capital and capitalists, markets, and an abundant supply of low-cost labour” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 13). Relations of everyday life were largely organized around the workplace. The industrial city functioned and shaped everyday life according to the practices and ideologies that accompanied industrialization – centralization, segregation, and commodification. Urban society for Lefebvre was the emergent city, not yet actualized, but in a form radically different in its possibilities for everyday life and revolution.

In urban society, the site of the revolution and the possibilities for experiencing revolutionary impulses are multiplied; “the urban fabric grows, extends its borders, and corrodes the residue of agrarian life” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 3). Urban society represents a more vibrant set of concepts that do not reduce human group life, or the production of space, to a solely economic relationship. In urban society there is a spontaneous rupture in the social relations of production of space brought about by the intermingling of heterogeneous forms of ideology and practice. The desegregation and heterogeneity increasingly clear in urban society create a dialectical tension between conflict resolution, opening the possibility, if not need for, deliberation and democracy in governing these spaces.

2.3.3 The Right to the City

The right to the city is... an empty signifier full of immanent but not transcendent possibilities. This does not mean it is irrelevant or politically impotent; everything depends on who gets to fill the signifier with revolutionary as opposed to reformist immanent meaning. It is not always easy to distinguish between reformist and revolutionary initiatives in urban settings. (Harvey, 2012, p. 136)

Lefebvre's willingness to look beyond industrial labour as the main site of resistance and his critique of Soviet communism led to his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1958, but he did not abandon his neo-Marxist analysis. His ideas and public engagement contributed in May 1968 to sparking the Paris uprising (Harvey, 1991, p. 428). According to Gottdiener (1993), Lefebvre's influence was largely through his teaching, but he assumed a more public role with his 1967 call to action in *Le droit à la ville* (The Right to the City). During the 1968 Paris disturbances, this book became "a *cause celebre* for the strikers, creating a radical new paradigm that challenged the emerging social and political structure of capitalism" (Brown, 2010, p. 2) by showing how the production and reproduction of the city embodies the ongoing dominance of capitalism. In *Le droit à la ville*, Lefebvre articulated the idea that the use value within the city (cultural, political, and social life) were being undermined by an ever-expanding domination of exchange value, expanding the commodification of urban life (Kofman & Lebas, 1996).

The right to the city was expressed as two distinct rights. One was the right to participation (*oeuvre*) in making the decisions that shape the city, along with all of the prerequisites that would let that happen, including adequate housing, food, and opportunities. The other was the right of appropriation, *i.e.*, the right to create use values and to "undermine forces of capital rather than the other way around" (Harvey, 2012, p. 13). These demands typify the urban struggles that were occurring around the world at the time and, indeed, through the last several decades (see Castells, 1983 for an overview of urban social movements and their general demands).

Building on Lefebvre's pioneering work, the right to the city has become a distinct field within critical urban theory. Studies on the right to the city have two related goals. One is to examine the ways the right to the city is expressed and practiced and the extent to which it is successful. This line of study explores the ways this right is mobilized and coordinated and how it relates to the state. It also explores the conditions within which the right to the city emerges and how those conditions shape the process. The other goal, related to the first, is to determine best practices and possible linkages that will create a right to the city. This literature revolves around the questions of the necessary scale of organization, the types of

formations of coalitions and alliances most likely to lead to societal transformation, and how to create a broad-based movement rooted in neighbourhoods.

Within critical urban theory, the right to the city is not only a localized activity, nor can it be in a globalized world characterized by neoliberal hegemony. In this context, the right to the city requires extra-local, inter-scalar organizing in order to be fully realized. Harvey's (2012) vision of the right to the city is as a “way-station on the road to” a complete and radical transformation. In articulating it this way, Harvey situates the right to the city in a ‘theory of change’ for achieving the larger goal of radically transforming “the whole capitalist system of perpetual accumulation, along with its associated structures of exploitative class and state power” (p. xvii). Lefebvre also embedded the right to the city in a larger project of transforming the “present capitalist and state-bureaucratic society” into an more socialist system emerging from a “collective self-governing of society” (Purcell, 2014, p. 145). Finally, as Harvey notes, the right to the city is more than just the production of space but is a claim to that space in the future.

The right to the city has to be construed *not as a right to that which already exists*, but as a right to rebuild and re-create the city as a *socialist body politic* in a completely different image – one that eradicates poverty and social inequality, and one that heals the wounds of disastrous environmental degradation. For this to happen, the production of the destructive forms of urbanization that facilitate perpetual capital accumulation has to be stopped (Harvey, 2012, p. 138).

Without a focus on the transformation of capital and the state – in other words, without a focus on counter-hegemonic organizing – the right to the city is only partially expressed. It is why we conceptualize CUR within the framework of critical urban theory and define the ‘right to the city’ in explicitly non- or anti-capitalist terms. By connecting these two bodies of work, CUR provides a radical alternative to NUR, focusing on the transformation of capitalism from an emphasis on exchange value to an emphasis on use value (as expressed through the right to the city and the production of space) and by recognizing the struggle of urban renewal on a much broader (inter-scalar) basis that must link local activities with broader social movements working for these transformations. This inter-scalar aspect is both a strategy to engage with larger scale change that affects the local level and also a recognition

that, in the context of neoliberal globalization, local contexts cannot be understood as separate from the global.

The importance of scale and inter-scalar activity emerges from critical urban theory's identification of the 'politics of scale' as a feature of how power relations are structured across scales in ways that "order the lives of people and the places where they live" and poses new challenges for how local action needs to be coordinated and conceptualized (Pendras, 2002, p. 824). This should be understood in relation to the parochialism and bypassing of larger issues that underlies communitarian theories. Having this understanding of inter-scalar organization-building at the core of CUR provides an important analytical dimension for distinguishing urban renewal that is largely parochial from urban renewal that recognizes its place in the broader struggle for justice.

If the right to the city is a right to collective self-government, then there needs to be a recognition of how 'politics of scale' are implicated. The balance between local self-organizing and its connection to a broader network of CUR actors is the hope for localism's potential to bring about broader social change. Local organizations often have shoestring budgets and need to spend most of their time on service delivery or place marketing and on being present in the local environment. They do not have time to coordinate national and international projects. Furthermore, participation in explicitly political projects can put these organizations at risk of losing funding (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2007). Nonetheless, constructing inter-scalar and cross-place networks are a necessary component of post-capitalist organizing.

Swyngedouw (1997) argues that:

the politics of scale are surely messy, but they ought to take centre stage in any successful emancipatory political strategy. The discourses of the global or the local, however intellectually stimulating and theoretically insightful they may be, seem to be increasingly out of step with the politics of scale, where the everyday struggle for power and control is fought (p. 161).

The illusion of the 'local' occurs when the politics of scale are not recognized within a local struggle. As seen by Swyngedouw (1997), the global and the local are conceptual tools

enacted in the production of space but each is constituted in nearly every interaction. The production of space and the interactions shaped by place is a form of ‘globalization’ – *i.e.*, the convergence of global and local scales. To ignore globalization in all its manifestations (political, economic, and ideological) would be to ignore what may be the most important dimension of social relations in the production of space – a space that is highly contested, conflicted and often co-opted.

Based on this recognition of the ‘politics of scale’ and their increasing importance for the success or failure of progressive social change, neighbourhood renewal as a form of local action takes on new meaning as it reaches out to be part of global change. If it is to be an effective force for larger scale social transformation, the local, the neighbourhood, must articulate its goals within this broader framework and find a balance between local and extra-local relationships.

Libertarian municipalism as put forward by Bookchin (1982, 1991) is a good example of coordinating local autonomy and the necessity of larger scale organizing across communities. Bookchin’s model of political and economic change sought to locate power as close to the local level as possible while recognizing the need for federations of locals – communities of communities – to coordinate across space. Decision-making and production and supply chains were to be coordinated locally and municipalities would send recallable officials to federated assemblies to deliver and negotiate agreements among locals. Morris & Hess (1975) put forward a similar vision in the final chapter of their book, *New Localism*. They articulate with more clarity how neighbourhoods could organize local economies with worker control of production and a relatively free society whose members are well integrated in the community but also have opportunities for diverse working and living experiences. They also discuss the importance of co-operation among neighbourhoods to create efficiencies and share resources. Many of the leftist utopian visions involve radical local participation in determining everyday life.

2.4 Critical Urban Renewal (CUR)

The concept of Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) flows from these perspectives and articulates how experimental utopian visions can be applied to urban renewal. The possibility of local control of renewal, community-led projects that transform private capital into community-owned capital and forms of reproduction that sustain emancipatory relations and structures of everyday life are all part of CUR. CUR engages in practices that emphasize the creation and protection of use value, encourages experiments in democracy, emphasises social justice and works to create inter-scalar community networks. Like NUR, CUR should be understood to be multidimensional, rarely expressed in all ways at all times. Practical matters that CUR organizers advocate include:

1. worker and consumer co-operatives;
2. an anti-gentrification focus (renewal evaluated by affordability and community ownership measures);
3. mixed economic practices, but emphasising co-operatives and looking for opportunities to invest in community-owned property and enterprises;
4. the provision of reproductive services – child care, recreation, education, etc.;
5. more community-owned and community-controlled property through the formation of land trusts or economic development corporations (with locally owned private capital preferred to global capital, but democratizing ownership as the focus);
6. neighbourhood councils that act as a local state, making major decisions about how to care for the community and with the funding to do it; urban renewal becomes a project of transforming capital and building local-global solidarity;
7. an acceptance of diversity that does not exclude the street-entrenched and underclasses; and
8. the most empathetic approach to addressing crime.

2.4.1 CUR Capital

CUR emphasizes the creation and protection of use value and focuses on creating democratically controlled forms of production. This does not exclude support for small private businesses, but the focus is on community-owned and/or democratically-run

enterprises. Considering the possibility of creating these forms of enterprise, it would seem necessary to work with capitalist investors willing to invest in a future shaped by CUR. This can be manifested in a variety of ways including the creation of community-owned property through land trusts, community run co-ops (whether consumer or producer), always focusing on affordability as a core indicator of success. Community-owned property ensures community control of future development and can also ensure affordable housing for low-income people even while property values in the area are rising (CMHC, 2005). Land trusts that remove property from the real estate market can be used to meet community needs and these are being integrated into some innovative urban renewal strategies (Kamizaki, 2016; Richer et al., 2010). This form of economics can ensure that as exchange value increases within the neighbourhood, larger portions of the surplus value generated are returned to the collective control of the neighbourhood.

Another important focus of CUR is to provide incentives for the formation of worker and consumer co-operatives by local inhabitants. Such co-operatives create economic sustainability as well as contributing to the larger vision of democratizing the local economy (Williamson et al., 2003; Wolff, 2012). Further, the democratic feature of co-operatives are a model for building democratic capacities in the community at large and transforming how capital is understood and mobilized by community members (Carley, 2002). The core principles of the International Co-operative Alliance highlight the connection of co-operative forms of business organization with core features of CUR, namely voluntary and open membership, democratic member control, autonomy and independence, and co-operation among co-operatives (International Co-operative Alliance, n.d.). This last point – co-operation among co-operatives – is very important to the CUR approach because it starts building the inter-scalar linking mechanisms that create a capacity for larger social-change mobilization (Wolff, 2012).

“Private control of urban land not only makes land-use planning in the public interest more difficult but also commonly tilts the power structure of urban politics in favor of downtown landowners” (Williamson et al., 2003, Chapter 249). Through community-controlled and democratic economic systems and land ownership, communities necessarily become more

organized, with worker councils or land trust boards to govern these systems. The community then becomes capable of asserting its voice, multiple voices at time, in a more powerful way, and the emphasis on democracy would radiate into the broader community.

2.4.2 CUR's Definition of Community

Unlike NUR, CUR clearly upholds the principles of inclusion and tolerance. For NUR, inclusion largely means the integration of disparate people in the low-wage workforce and the persistence of existing patterns of consumption. This is the common definition of social inclusion that emerged in the post-industrial era across North America and Europe (Shragge, Fontan, Hamel, & Morin, 2003). Tolerance in this context is largely lip service intended to let NUR protect itself from criticism and conflict by not clearly defining its terms because it “is not really open to transforming its own position through dialogical contact with the other” (Gardiner, 2013, p. 179).

For CUR, inclusion means an open invitation to participate in the decision-making and implementation phases of neighbourhood renewal. CUR also recognizes that not all inhabitants will want to participate, so it must leave room for nonparticipation. For CUR, inclusion comes with a form of tolerance that implies the need to acknowledge and be open to criticism and integrate diverse, even contradictory, positions as much as possible. In this way, community is viewed as polyvalent, representing multiple nodes and interests but with common principles of co-operative organization at the core.

CUR must, however, recognize the need for trade-offs when its guiding principles are adopted. While these principles are open to debate and change, sub-communities within the neighborhood that do not agree with these principles will face social exclusion. This is a reminder of the importance of Purcell's comparison of communicative planning in counter-hegemonic movements, on the one hand and, on the other, the necessary support for the latter, within the context of neoliberal hegemony (Purcell, 2009, 2013b). As much as possible, CUR's terms of reference should integrate creative ways of dealing with these tensions. Nonetheless, just as in any project claiming legitimacy within a territory, conflict

and dissent should be accepted and embraced. The explicit acknowledgement of CUR principles also distinguishes CUR as a community organizing project from the community development approach advocated in NUR.

CUR focuses primarily on community organizing because its ultimate goal is to transform capitalism and direct the production of space toward more socially just forms. Community organizing is a distinct form of community mobilization, different from community development practiced under the ABCD approach discussed in section 2.2.2 as a practice of NUR. CUR focuses on building the power of communities to challenge forms of oppression and exclusion and to build relationships and organizations that can achieve social change (Defilippis et al., 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2007; Stoecker, 2001, 2002, 2003).

Community organizing aims at building community with people who are usually shut out from decision-making. This orients it toward creating a hierarchy of inclusion in which the ‘have-nots’ have a share in decision-making. Community organizing also tends to draw on the strategies and tactics of social movement mobilization to create the power to make social change. For this reason, CUR should be seen as a form of social movement mobilization creating coalitions among grassroots and institutional actors, seeking to mobilize resources and recruit members to achieve its goals (see Kamizaki, 2016 for an example of the types of organizational coalitions that could be possible). As discussed in the NUR section above, community development is a consensus-based model for building community. It seeks to build a vision for urban renewal based on the commonalities of people within the neighbourhood and believes that a meaningful, unified voice can be found within a neighbourhood.

Stoecker (2001) insightfully explains that the distinction between community *organizing* and community *development* is based on two fundamentally different theories about how society functions. Community organizing is developed from conflict theory, which sees society as a struggle among social classes over access to scarce resources and ultimately to power.

Community development, for its part, emerges from functionalist theory that sees society as a unified whole tending toward an equilibrium. Hence, community development conceives of a

unified voice that is in the best interest – and possibly reflective of the wishes of – everyone while community organizing sees various groups and interests as mutually hostile. Further, because community organizing is concerned with mobilizing and empowering the most oppressed in society, who are also usually the most impoverished, it denies the assumptions of the functionalist theory underlying capitalist society and the current distributions of wealth.

The community development model is that people's need for a transformed economy providing a wealth of good jobs becomes replaced with training programs for people to compete for an extremely limited good job pool....[N]ot only can a model emphasizing co-operation and denying class conflict not work to end poverty and oppression, it's not even supposed to work (Stoecker, 2002, p. 6)

The community development approach creates an illusion of unity by prioritizing some community voices, usually those that fit well within the conventional norms of society, while repressing others. Community organizing, rather than seeking to represent the entire community, recognizes that there may be divergent views on each issue. It takes on a project with a political purpose that depends on the grassroots, but conflict within the community is not seen as a problem.

The difficulty in building consensus is that compromises must be made and eventually everyone may be dissatisfied, so that we are never able to participate in the types of systems we choose. While this may sound somewhat militant, I do not suggest that conflict is good in itself. Neighbourhoods should aim for as much unity as possible, but it can happen that unity pulls them so far from the core values of justice and democracy that division must be accepted.

In strategizing how best to resist neoliberalization, Purcell (2009) articulates the need for conflictual organizing. He seeks to determine whether communicative planning can be an effective means of resisting neoliberalism or counter-hegemonic organizing is necessary. Like community development, communicative planning assumes that everyone has a common goal and the best way to plan projects is to come to a consensus among participants. Communicative planning aims to create a Habermasian 'ideal speech' situation in which

consensus is reached through mutually respectful dialogue. Purcell (2009) notes that other theorists (such as Chantal Mouffe and Jean Hiller) critique the idea of ‘ideal speech’ as a logical impossibility because some positions are simply incompatible. Another problem with communicative planning is that it is difficult to achieve representation from all groups in a community. When marginalized groups have only a small presence, it is likely that their voices will not be given much weight in the deliberative process. In practice, communicative processes are likely to result in the reproduction of the *status quo* which, in the present context, is largely shaped by neoliberal logic. Thus, according to Purcell (2009), communicative planning is one of the core ways that neoliberalism makes its way into the planning processes.

Purcell argues that counter-hegemonic organizing is necessary in order to restructure power relations by increasing the power of marginalized classes. This is ‘counter-hegemonic’ because, as hegemonic practices of neoliberalism tilt decision-making to reproduce itself, there is a need to create counter-hegemonies that provide a different vision of power relations and of who should benefit. The goal of counter-hegemonic movements is not to create conflict for its own sake, rather to develop strategies and coalitions among groups that present alternative logics that have social and economic justice at the centre. In neighbourhoods, such coalitions can arise from relationships among the various business, residential, social service, and non-profit organizations who share such a logic.

Seeing CUR as a counter-hegemonic movement provides insights into how it can begin to function as a social movement and connect with more broadly based movements that can help sustain the local as well as help put pressures on higher levels of social change. CUR has many connections with more broadly based social movements (Purcell, 2013b). These can range from connections with organizations like The Right to the City Alliance and ACORN, both organizations that have recently extended their programs to Canada. Other sources of inter-scalar connection with movement organizations can come from within the neighbourhood – co-operatives, educational facilities, recreational facilities, social service organizations, even business organizations.

2.4.3 CUR State/Governance

A core defining feature of CUR is its commitment to creating radical forms of democracy, whether participatory or direct, that provide access to the right to the city and activate citizenship. This form of democracy recognizes citizens as both producers and consumers of public goods, and it works to integrate citizens in both aspects. CUR also recognizes the importance of education to ensure that democratic procedures and decision-making processes are engaged in by an informed constituency. This requires an articulation of the power relations that shape the community and a commitment to transparency in decision-making processes. It also requires a recognition that the democratic capacities of the community are not simply there, only waiting to be switched on, but that building these capacities takes time, trial, error, and a concerted organizing effort. As discussed earlier, the issue of democracy is considerably more challenging for CUR than for NUR because it functions within a hegemonic environment of neoliberalism. To the extent that CUR counteracts neoliberalism, participatory democracy can only be seen as one of its many dimensions.

2.5 The Current Study

Now that we have articulated the dimensions of CUR and NUR, the following table out the models as they relate to each other. It will give researchers points of reference for understanding how these models fit with the empirical reality of neighbourhoods. It is expected that any urban renewal initiative would show aspects of both models. The challenge is to determine to what extent is neighbourhood renewal in a specific time and place related to either approach. If the goal is to facilitate CUR, we can ask what can be done to coordinate certain aspects of a neighbourhood to join around these issues?

Table 2 The Dimensions of CUR and NUR restated

	NUR	CUR
Capital	Capitalist orientation	Socialist orientation
	Emphasis on exchange value	Emphasis on use value
	Private capital accumulation	Community-owned capital
	Corporate models	Co-operative models
	Pro-market localism	
State/Governance	Dominance of business and government interests	Dominance of social justice and citizen interests
	Limited democratic power	Radical democracy among inhabitants and organizations
	Citizens as consumers and clients	Citizens as producers and consumers
	Decision-making by experts and elite stakeholders	
Community	Romanticized community definition	Progressive community definition
	Communitarianism and Asset Based Community Development	Community organizing and connections to social movements

I now move on to a case study of how the concept of CUR provides a framework for examining neighbourhood renewal in a way that illuminates the possibility of CUR. This case study looks at a single neighbourhood, Old East Village (OEV), and extrapolates possibilities unique to the local site as well as drawing attention to extra-local changes that would further CUR there. It is expected that applying CUR in other neighbourhoods would identify insights and possibilities in ways particular to those sites and also be relevant to larger-scale change.

Up to this point, I have constructed CUR largely as a theoretical object rather than an argument for how neighbourhood renewal 'is' in any particular instance. This virtual object, CUR, is intended to provide a normative statement about how neighbourhood renewal ought to be practiced if the goal is to create localities that challenge neoliberal and capitalist assumptions and focus on social, political, and economic justice. This challenge is not only rooted in a critique of – or resistance to - capitalism but generates a practicable vision of how neighbourhood renewal can be re-imagined as an opportunity structure for bringing about change.

The reason for featuring NUR as the predominant current approach to urban renewal has been to equip us with the capacity to identify the insidious ways that neighbourhood renewal and community can be co-opted to serve the interests of capital and exchange value rather than those of justice and use value. Without a thorough understanding of how NUR functions, it would be difficult to distinguish between NUR and CUR, especially in the context of today's hegemonic neoliberal political economy and the various ways that neoliberalism manifests on the local level. Throughout the case study my focus is largely on the opportunities and barriers for achieving CUR. The concept of NUR will only be used in background, as a tool for highlighting the contrasting features of CUR and for identifying the many NUR practices (ABCD, accumulation by dispossession, community consultation processes, etc.) that are not immediately recognizable at the local level.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology, Data, and Ethics

The goal of the present study is to examine and highlight the possibilities of Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) and the barriers it faces, within the Old East Village (OEV) as a case study. This study has descriptive, evaluative, and, to a lesser extent, explanatory purposes. The *descriptive purpose* is to provide an empirically valid description of OEV, particularly in terms of how capital, community, and governance are enacted, mobilized, and defined.

The *evaluative purpose* is to analyse which dimensions of CUR are present, possible, and/or repressed in OEV. The aim is to identify historical and current opportunities and barriers to achieving CUR in OEV and to illuminate strategies that could help move it in that direction. As such, this project involves a strong normative statement about what constitutes ‘good’ and ‘bad’ urban renewal, and these are defined through the lens of CUR. At the same time, it is important to recognize that evaluating the fit between CUR and OEV is not solely an ideological or theoretical process. It is based on the detailed description of the neighbourhood and an interpretation of how that description relates to CUR. The normative component does not drive the description, but rather presents itself as built into the concept of CUR. My goal is not to determine whether the normative assumptions underlying critical urban theory or CUR are valid. It is to determine if and how CUR’s value-laden goals are present – if only partially – in OEV and whether the fit can be made tighter.

The *explanatory purpose* is targeted on an understanding of why and how CUR has been present or repressed at certain moments in OEV. The explanatory analysis will provide insight into the local context of OEV as it fits within the broader literature of post-industrial, mid-sized cities, and the limits and barriers to CUR in such locations. Part of my argument is that CUR exists in the history and physical structure of the neighbourhood.

In the following sections I outline the analytical approach and methodology used to guide data collection and the analysis found in subsequent chapters. The analytical framework and

methodology are complementary; one justifies the interpretive procedure and the other guides the collection of data. The first section outlines transduction as the analytical approach. Transduction provides philosophical reasons and a logical approach to analyzing the data. It is rooted in the tradition of critical urban theory and the work of Henri Lefebvre. The case-study methodology is used to put boundaries on the scope of the data collection and to link CUR to the particularities of a local site. This methodology is intended to illustrate how CUR is present/repressed in OEV and provide an example of how CUR as a theoretical concept can be applied for practical or academic purposes.

3.2 Analytical Approach: Transduction

In political thought and in political theory, the category (or concept) of the ‘real’ should not be permitted to obscure that of the possible. Rather, it is the possible that should serve as the theoretical instrument for exploring the real (Lefebvre, 2001, p. 769)

Rooted in the work of Henri Lefebvre (2003, 2001), transduction interprets empirical data with reference to a conceptual object so constructed as to reflect a desired version of the future (*i.e.*, a utopian vision). Although rarely used, especially for in-depth case studies like the present work, this methodology provides an ontological framework for situating projects that seek to move beyond the present without losing sight of – or becoming hostage to – the real or empirical. Lefebvre (2003) defines transduction as a methodology “for research involving a virtual object which attempts to define and realize that object as part of an ongoing project.... [It] reflects an intellectual approach toward a possible object” (p. 5).

The virtual object – the concept of CUR in the present study – is created from observations, theoretical and/or empirical, that amplify and extrapolate “practices and ideas that are already taking place in the city, practices and ideas that are inchoate, that have not yet come to full maturity, but are nevertheless being expressed, if only hesitantly, fleetingly, or inarticulately” (Purcell, 2013a, p. 23). The process of transduction is fundamentally exploratory, based on a “back and forth between reasonably abstract conceptualizations of transfigured spatial and social arrangements [CUR in this case], on the one hand, and lived experiences informed by

empirical observations, on the other” (Gardiner, 2013, p. 34). In this way, transduction is intended to “cut a path that leads beyond the actual world already realized and toward a possible world yet to come” (Purcell 2013, p. 21), but in a manner committed to reflecting the real world.

Transduction aligns with goals of critical urban theory, particularly “the concern to excavate possibilities for alternative, radically emancipatory forms of urbanism that are latent, yet systematically suppressed, within contemporary cities” (Brenner, 2001, p. 12). From the standpoint of critical urban theory, transduction and the formation of possible virtual objects is a process guided by normative statements about what alternative, radically emancipatory forms of urbanism might look like. The construction of this possible future then becomes a virtual object in terms of which the actual can be examined and, in consequence, shaped. Looking at CUR, I evaluate how much the virtual object is currently and has in the past been realized within the constraints of the real. The intellectual practice is to bring to light visions of the future and interpretations of the past that illuminate a pathway for bringing present reality closer to the possible.

Transduction shares features with other analytical approaches, specifically Weberian ideal type models and Wright's (2009) emancipatory social science. The construction and use of the virtual object in transduction is similar to the construction and use of ideal type models in Weberian and interpretive sociology. Like the virtual object of transduction, ideal types guide the analysis of phenomena through the lens of an abstracted model. The difference is that ideal type sociology and interpretive sociology approach their studies in terms of value-neutrality. This means that they do not seek to illuminate a path toward the realization of any specific ideal type. Ideal type methodology seeks, rather, to create interpretive frameworks corresponding to universal patterns of behaviour in order to provide a meaningful interpretation of history and action.

The construction of the virtual object in transduction is antithetical, however, to Weberian notions of value-free sociology because the virtual object in transduction is intended to move beyond the world as it is in search of opportunities for ‘cutting a path’ toward the world as it

ought to be. Transduction has a political and practical purpose, not merely a descriptive and analytical purpose (Coleman, 2013; Purcell, 2013a). For transduction, the political motive and value statements are built into the virtual object and the purpose is to illuminate a possible path toward that object, not a detached categorization of the real.

Transduction is also relatable to Erik Olin Wright's vision of emancipatory social science (Wright, 2009). For Wright, the task of the critical social scientist is to engage four activities that make up emancipatory social science: (1) elaborating normative foundations; (2) diagnosing and critiquing the world as it is; (3) elaborating an account of alternatives; and (4) developing a theory of transformation. The normative foundations that Wright appeals to are situated in leftist intellectual history, linked to anarchism and socialist utopian visions. The normative foundations he outlines are equality, democracy, community, and sustainability. Although he does not use the term 'transduction', the second, third, and fourth functions of his emancipatory social science align with it. The normative foundation and elaborations of alternatives is a virtual model from which an assessment of the real and prescriptions for alternative possibilities can be developed. The end goal of both Wright's emancipatory social science and transduction is to create a vision of possibilities (real utopias) and detect possibilities for 'cutting a path' to that future.

While transduction provides an ontological and epistemological basis for engaging in descriptive-evaluative work, there is no clear set of methods that must be used to achieve this end. As stated by Lefebvre, transduction "reflects an intellectual approach toward a possible object, which we can employ alongside the more conventional activities of deduction and induction" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 5). I have found only two in-depth studies that use transduction in a sustained way (Lefebvre, 2003; Purcell, 2013a). Both focus on long-term historical trajectories and take a more global view in constructing and applying their virtual object. Lefebvre engages in a highly theoretical process of transduction when he looks at the emergent features of his proposed virtual object, namely urban society, embedded in the macro-historical urbanization process. He is elusive about the methods he uses to make observations of trends and meaning, which is not uncommon in critical theory (Morrow & Brown, 1994, Chapter 1). The ambiguity regarding science and ideology is clear in a section

near the end of Lefebvre's examination of urban society. On the one hand, he argues that the concept of urban society is objectively reflected in the real and, on the other, that the activity of transduction "mixes ideology and scientificity" (p.166).

Still, we have succeeded in elaborating a coherent discourse that is non-ideological and that is both of the urban (inside an emergent urban universe) and about the urban (describing it outlining its contours)... [Transduction] has been called into question; like urbanism it contains a strategy. It mixes ideology and scientificity. Here as elsewhere, scientificity is an ideology, an excrescence grafted onto real, but fragmentary, knowledge (p. 166).

That is, the virtual object that transduction constructs is infused with or implicates certain ideological orientations, but the intellectual process of transduction is intended to be scientific to the extent that it aims to interpret existing historical epochs, places, or physical objects in a rigorously logical and rational manner. At the same time, Lefebvre's theory of science views positivistic analysis and technocratic descriptions as primarily constructions of intersubjectivity rather than absolute statements of the 'world as it is' (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 62–64). As such, theory and concepts are the guiding lens for interpreting the world. It was exactly the unconscious biases that urban planners and other academics brought to their analysis that Lefebvre and other anti-positivists of his time were resisting. Lefebvre did not follow traditional scientific methods for developing claims. He was given and took the opportunity to be ambiguous in his relationship with empirical observation and to use poetic description and coded language, and he did not claim the need to justify interpretations or ideas empirically in terms of positivistic, falsifiable hypotheses.

While Lefebvre's work is an example of the process of transduction, I depart from him to the extent of striving to bound my study tightly in space and time. I do not seek to claim an emergent global process (such as urban society), rather that dimensions of CUR can be identified in the urban renewal process in a specific neighbourhood over a specific number of years and that, in making such an identification, we can better 'cut a path' to that possible future. I do not seek to generalize to all urban renewal projects (although I hope that the present study can help practitioners in other neighbourhoods detect the seeds of CUR in their own contexts).

Finally, I acknowledge that my methods may contrast with Lefebvre's style of analysis and his ongoing critique of science/knowledge. My attention to detail in the case study and my account of the historical unfolding of urban renewal in OEV goes much further than Lefebvre in terms of validating the description. As will be outlined in the next section, the construction of the case study in terms of historical and empirical accuracy attempts to be rigorous. At the same time, I make no claim that my interpretation of the narrative is value-free, as it is guided by the value-laden framework of CUR.

3.3 Methodology: Case Study

To examine the concept of CUR in real-life terms, I conducted a case study of the Old East Village (OEV). As a research strategy, case studies provide an opportunity to bound analysis to specific geographic and temporal phenomena and thus bound the activity of transduction in the same ways. I refer to case studies as a research strategy because no single set of methods – quantitative, qualitative, interview, observation, etc.– is inherent to case studies (Harrison, Birks, Franklin, & Mills, 2017). In fact, it is often observed that, though important, the case study is an ambiguous strategy, lacking in consensus among researchers (Merriam, 2009; Stoecker, 1991; Verschuren, 2003; Yin, 2003). Looking at the various ways that case-study research has been used, it can be seen as a 'paradigmatic bridge' (see Luck, Jackson, & Usher, 2006) because it is "not assigned to a fixed ontological, epistemological or other methodological position" (Rosenberg & Yates, 2007, p. 447).

The case-study methodology was chosen for the present work because it allows for two main goals. First, it allows for a sustained exploration of CUR as it appears at the local level as a process – historically, socially, and situationally specific. In the previous chapter we discussed the insidious nature of neoliberalism in the local urban renewal scene. The idea of actually existing neoliberalism gives a more complex reading of how it functions as 'particular local translations' of broader neoliberal ideology. These expressions of neoliberalism are based on the local historical, organizational, and geographical idiosyncrasies of a given case (Peck et al., 2017; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Rather than starting

with an attempt to assess the emergent qualities of CUR globally across time and space, the approach taken here is to explore how CUR emerges in OEV, using its case as a point of departure for analysis of macro policy or social trends that seem relevant.

The second reason the case study was chosen as a research tool has to do with the practical aim of the present study and my own commitment to praxis. As outlined above, transduction aims to illuminate actionable solutions and ‘cut a path’ to a more humanized urbanism. By applying the CUR concept in OEV, we expect certain practical outcomes. First, OEV’s grassroots actors, urban planners, and organizational stakeholders would be provided with a different vision and history of the neighbourhood as a context for possible future actions and with strategies for getting there. Further, engaging in such a particular and bounded analysis should prove a useful example for other researchers to examine where and how CUR can be mobilized.

The case study spans well over a century and a half, from the formation of London East as an industrial suburb in the mid 19th century to 2016. The period from the 1850’s to 1993 is presented to establish an understanding of the neighbourhood’s historical meaning in terms of its generalizable patterns in a mid-sized ‘centre city’ and of the physical and social layout of post-industrial, old-city neighbourhoods. This historical analysis identifies the structural determinants from which the possibility of CUR could emerge and potentially links it to other locations with similar qualities.

The period from 1993-2015 is analyzed in more depth. The year 1993 was chosen as the starting point because it saw the beginnings of a network of organizations and individuals that would play a part in OEV’s urban renewal process over the next 32 years. Much more attention will be given to the planning documents, local histories, interviews, and media reports of this period.

3.4 Data Collection

For both the descriptive and evaluative aspects of the study, many types of data were collected. The main sources were: (1) interviews with representatives of neighbourhood organizations and businesses; (2) interviews with individuals who lived in OEV and had actively participated in neighbourhood building to some degree; and (3) public documents – news media, local histories, planning reports, meeting minutes, and archival material. Data collection began in 2014. Interviews with representatives from local organizations and residents were conducted mostly between January 2014 and January 2015, while planning documents, media reports, and the minutes of meetings have been collected on an ongoing basis.

The sampling and recruitment process for the interviews was a purposive sampling which drew on my earlier fieldwork identifying key organizations and volunteers/activists in the neighborhood. The organizational interviews were selected to reflect the different types of organizations in OEV, targeting those that have been central to the development of the neighbourhood. The main types of organizations identified were: businesses, business organizations, resident organizations, non-profit arts organizations, and social service agencies. While not all organizations and businesses were interviewed, sampling was stopped at the point of data saturation, when it was determined that no further information was required for the analysis. This determination was made by cross-referencing interviews to ensure that no major organization that had been an ongoing part of neighbourhood development was missed.

Individuals were sampled using the purposive method as well, seeking participants who had been active in the neighbourhood through volunteering or activism in some manner over the previous three years. The process began with a call for participants in a posting on the community Facebook page and email letters to the OEV Community Association (OEVCA) and Boyle Activity Council (BAC) asking them to share the call for participants with their members. After initial contacts were made in these ways, several interviews were conducted, based on referrals. The snowball sampling involved a passive recruitment approach in which interviewees who recommended other potential participants were asked to provide my contact information and I waited to be contacted. Some recruitment happened more

informally through casual contacts as I went about in the neighborhood and people asked me about my research. I would inform these potential participants of the criteria for inclusion and provide a card they could use to contact me if they wished to do so.

About half of the individual interviews were conducted with volunteers from the two main associations of residents, the OEVCA and the BAC. The rest were conducted with people whose participation in neighbourhood affairs was mainly with other organizations, including the Palace Theatre, the London Food Co-op, and other less formal initiatives like the Eyes of East London (a residential organization that opposed the presence of social services in the neighbourhood).

3.4.1 Organizational Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 14 local organizations, concerning their history, their mandates, and how they saw themselves within the neighbourhood. The goal was to: (1) locate each organization within neighbourhood renewal process; (2) understand its orientation to dimensions of CUR; and (3) capture its historical experience. Participants were recruited by email requests to the organizations. The sampling aimed at representation from four identified communities – social services, businesses, non-profits, and civic associations. Interviews were also conducted with officials of two city departments, Neighbourhood, Children, and Fire Services and Urban Planning. Table 2 lists the organizations interviewed.

Table 3 Organizations Interviewed, Founding Years and Purpose/Mission

Organization	Year Founded	Purpose/Mission
Social Service Organizations		
Ark Aid Street Mission	1986 [moved to OEV in 1991]	Ark Aid is a faith-based charitable organization that provides free meals at its Dundas Street location, partnering with other organizations in the city in matters of food security. It also provides support services/referrals to clients.

London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC)	1989	The LIHC is part of the province-wide Ontario Community Health Centres network and is largely funded by the Ministry of Health. It specializes in providing health services to people who experience barriers to accessing care. It also has a mandate to address the social determinants of health (SDH) through community development and organization. During the period of this study, it had an active food program at the neighbourhood's public school and ran an after-school care program. With its main location in OEV, the LIHC runs programs there and across the city.
Unity Project	2003	Beginning in the early 2000's as a tent city in support of homelessness services, the Unity Project offers transitional housing and helps people find a place to live for the long term.
Business		
OEV Business Improvement Area (BIA)	2001	The BIA is the lead organization for neighbourhood renewal in OEV. It is funded by the city to oversee revitalization plans and granting programs.
Western Fair Farmers' Market/Fire Roasted Coffee	2006	In the period covered by the present study the farmers' market was owned and operated by the same entrepreneur who owned and operated Fire Roasted Coffee, then based at the market as a roaster, wholesaler and retailer. These businesses are generally acknowledged as anchors of the food district in OEV. The farmers' market has also been an incubator for several spin-off businesses that now have their own locations in OEV.
Westany Holdings	2010	Westany is a property developer that built affordable housing on the Dundas Street commercial corridor. The owner personally supports community economic development, environmentalism, and the creation of social benefits.
On the Move Organics, Root Cellar, London Brewing Co-operative	2008 (On the Move), 2012 (Root Cellar), 2014, London	The Root Cellar restaurant on the Dundas Street commercial corridor and the London Brewing Co-operative are both offshoots of On the Move Organics, a retailer focused on food sovereignty and

	Brewing Co-operative	linked to the organic food, locavore and co-operative movements. All represent up-scale business succeeding in the neighbourhood despite complaints, especially around the Root Cellar location, of a visible street population. They are all important anchors in the neighbourhood food district.
<hr/>		
Non-Profit Organizations		
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Palace Theatre	1991	One of the cultural pillars of OEV, the Palace Theatre offers programming for youth and adults as well as hosting a range of productions by the London Community Players (which owns and operates the building) and others.
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Aeolian Hall	2004 (relocation to its present premises in OEV)	Another pillar of the OEV cultural scene, the Aeolian Hall is a venue for musical and other performances and for both OEV and city-wide community events. It is also home to the free, intensive, after-school El Sistema music program for young people.
<hr/>		
City of London		
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Urban Planning Department		This department oversees community improvement plans and development grant/applications, and it facilitates public input meetings.
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Neighbourhood, Children, and Fire Services Department		As the social service and community development arm of the municipal government, this department oversees community centres, including OEV's Boyle Memorial Community Centre, and interacts with the neighbourhood on issues of safety, community development, and community grants.
<hr/>		
Neighbourhood Associations		
<hr/>		
Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA)	2003	This volunteer-run residents' organization was founded to organize and advocate, to build community connections, and to address issues as they arose in the neighbourhood. It functions as the voice of the neighbourhood.
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Boyle Activity Council (BAC)	2007 (in its present form)	This volunteer-run council offers recreational programs at low or no cost at the neighbourhood's Boyle Memorial Community Centre. It also contributes to community development by building connections and partnering to address neighbourhood issues.
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Interviews were conducted with three of the five social services in the neighbourhood, all with premises on the Dundas Street commercial corridor. The business participants represent core enterprises on the corridor as well as the BIA and one real-estate developer, Westany Holdings Inc. The farmers' market and the Root Cellar represent the food and entrepreneurial elements in the neighborhood, both of them quite active in neighbourhood renewal organizing. I also interviewed two of the three arts and culture non-profit organizations that are pillars of OEV's standing as one of London's culture districts (City of London, 2013).

The OEVCA and BAC are the only long-term civic associations in the neighbourhood. Others have appeared at other times but have not lasted or had any real impact, sometimes dissolving after their chosen issues had been dealt with. A Facebook page called 'Welcome to The Old East Village' appeared in 2013, apparently as a platform for opposition to the OEVCA's supposed timidity in tackling the grittier realities along the commercial corridor, but, while extant, it seems to have lost its fire. Another group, the Lorne Ave Collaborative, with representation from the OEVCA, BIA, and LIHC, dissolved after the battle to stop the closure of the neighbourhood school, in which it played a leading part, was lost.

The interviews with officials of the two City departments were conducted to get a sense of how City Hall viewed OEV and what possibilities they saw for the neighbourhood. These two were selected because they are the most directly connected to neighbourhood renewal in OEV.

3.4.2 Individual Interviews

Thirty-five interviews were conducted with OEV residents who were either currently volunteers or had been engaged in neighbourhood-building activities. Being active in neighbourhood-building can take many forms, including membership or leadership in one of the resident organizations (OEVCA or BAC), volunteering in one of the cultural or social services organizations, or, at a more informal level, just working with neighbours on tasks of limited scale (crime prevention, participation in community input sessions held by the City or others, etc.). These are the grassroots actors of OEV neighbourhood renewal, the people who underpin the voice of the residential community.

Interviews had four parts: (1) an oral history of the neighbourhood as seen by the interviewees, (2) the history of their own engagement, (3) an account of their previous activism/volunteerism, and (4) their motivations for participation. Half the sample (n = 18) were active in either the OEVCA (n=13) or the BAC (n=5) and half (n =17) were involved in other ways, either informally or in other neighbourhood organizations. Table 3 provides a breakdown of affiliations.

Table 4 Affiliations of Participants

Affiliation	Number of participants
OEVCA/BAC	18
Other	17
Total Interviews	35

The reason for sampling from the broadest possible cross-section of active residents was to diminish the possibility of selection bias that could emerge if only those associated with the OEVCA or BAC were interviewed. The BAC and OEVCA each tend to attract people with certain shared interests. The OEVCA deals with political issues, city planning, and organization of neighbourhood-wide initiatives, so its leaders and active members are often politically minded, willing to make time for meetings and exhibiting a general interest in

urban planning and municipal politics. The BAC, on the other hand, is focused on recreational activities and, generally speaking, attracts families with children.

Although these two organizations are core to renewal in OEV, it is important to recognize that there are many other vehicles for participation in building the general culture of OEV and engaging in more indirect ways. The goal of drawing from a wide population of OEV residents to construct the sample was to identify broad themes that either are or can be aligned toward organizing CUR.

Among the people in the 'other' category is a diverse group, ranging in the forms and intensity of participation in grassroots organizing. A sizable portion were long-term residents who had participated in various initiatives in years past but were not highly committed or active in the three years prior to the interview. One respondent, for example, had lived in the neighbourhood for 25 years and was highly engaged from 1993 to 2002, organizing a group very similar to the BAC in the mid 1990's. By the time of the interview, however, she was much less involved though remaining a close observer of neighbourhood activities overall.

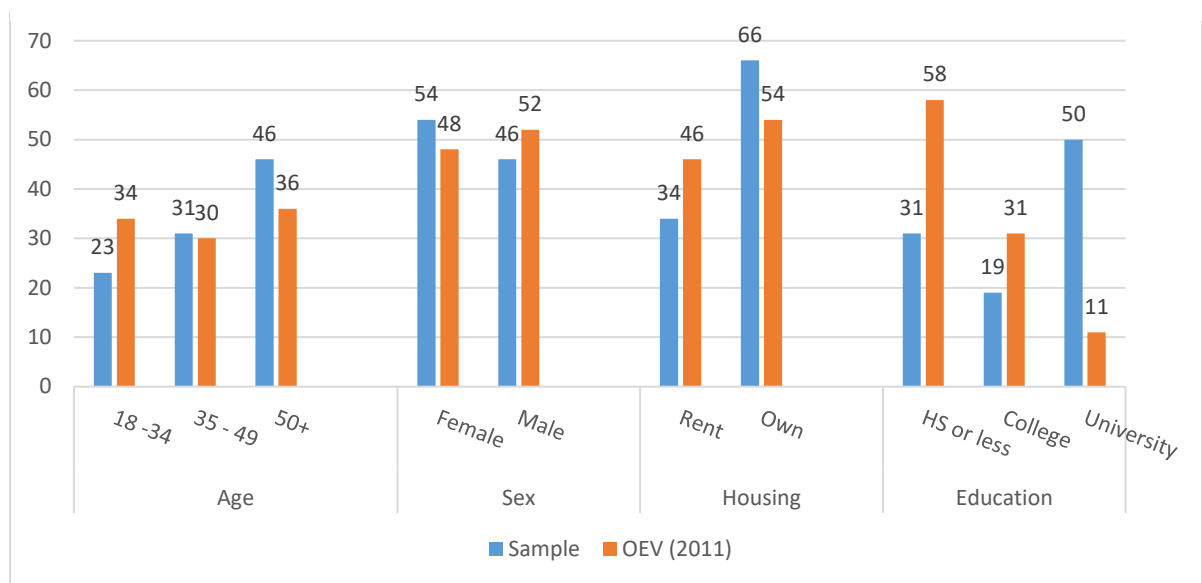
Another participant had grown up in the area and worked in the nearby rail yards but experienced hardships and addiction issues after retirement and had started to use social services. He now volunteers at different social service organizations in OEV and was able to share a unique view of the neighbourhood. About five participants in the 'other' group were also long-term residents, arriving from 20 to 30 years ago, now active in organizing around safety issues on their streets. These participants were all highly committed to building a strong neighbourhood but did not get very involved in the main organizations, OEVCA and BAC. Rather, their volunteerism was mostly non-organizational and represented an emergence of an organized community.

3.4.3 Demographics: Sample vs Population Overall vs Active Population

The overall sample represent a diverse group of residents varying in age, length of residence, socio-economic status, location in the neighbourhood renewal movement, and connection to local institutions. Figure 1 compares the sample with OEV's population overall. The mean age of interviewees is 50, with a range from 25 to 72. The absence of young adults aged 19-25 is important to note, but it is not surprising considering that neighbourhood volunteerism can be expected to appeal more to older age groups who have settled into a place and started investing time in building their sense of belonging. Younger adults are generally more transient and not as prepared to volunteer in place-based activities for this reason. The slightly higher number of females than males is also expected because neighbourhood volunteerism occurs within the actual context of social reproduction (caring for children, availability of time at home, etc.), which means women tend to be more involved than men.

The sample differs significantly from the population as a whole in terms of age, home ownership and education. The biggest difference is in education with 50% of the sample holding a university degree or higher compared with 11% of the overall population. The prevalence of home ownership is also significantly higher in the sample (66%) than in the population (54%). These differences show a gap in the socio-economic makeup of active and non-active residents.

While the sample differs from the general population, a more important comparison is between the sample and the population of currently active participants in OEV. The higher portion of high socio-economic status (SES) participants in the sample is in line with findings in the literature: higher levels of SES are generally associated with higher levels of volunteerism and civic engagement. The over-representation of higher SES participants in the sample also matches with what interview participants said about the class difference between volunteers and non-volunteers.

Figure 1 Comparing Sample Characteristics to OEV Population Overall

The difference between the sample and the overall population is not a problem for our analysis because we are seeking articulations of those who are active in the production of neighbourhood space, as a means of understanding how the grassroots think about the process. It is true that a better sense of non-active neighbourhood residents would provide insight into the possibilities for mobilizing that segment of the population, but our goal here is to understand whether there is, within the population of active participants, a consciously articulated orientation toward CUR goals and principles.

3.4.4 Interview Guide

The interview guide was developed early in the research process and most interviews were conducted between January 2014 and January 2015. I had not fully formed the concept of CUR when the interview guide was developed but was working in that direction. The guide was developed to capture four areas: (1) history of volunteerism and activism, (2) perceptions

of the neighbourhood both historically and currently, (3) motivations for participation, and (4) the way the participants saw their neighbourhood participation as related to broader social change. Motivations for participation and explanations of how neighbourhood engagement is connected to larger social change goals is the core focus of Chapter 7, looking at how these motivations present opportunities for and barriers to CUR in the grassroots consciousness of the neighbourhood. The goal of the questions was to let participants articulate in their own words why they participated and what they expected to achieve. The questions intentionally avoided the use of leading terms like ‘capitalism’, ‘revolution’, ‘gentrification’, ‘oppression’, ‘democracy’, etc. The goal was to let participants choose the language that would set the parameters of analysis.

3.4.5 Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected to fill out the history of the neighbourhood and an understanding of the planning context as it occurred through community participation, state-led processes, and the activity of grassroots movements. Secondary data collection included:

1. planning reports, 1973–2015;
2. reports of residential real estate sales data, 1982–2016;
3. Statistics Canada reports of demographic and income data, 2001–2016;
4. newspaper and online media texts relevant to OEV, 1970–2017;
5. minutes of meetings, OEVCA and Old East Village BIA, 2013–2016; and
6. local history books and personal collections

Table 5 History and Other Books and Theses Consulted

Baker, Michael, *Old East Heritage Conservation District Study: Final Report* (London: City of London, 2004), 7.

Family and Children’s Services of London and Middlesex, *Social Profile of the 21 Planning Districts in the City of London* (London, Family and Children’s Services, 1972).

Lutman, John H., and Christopher Hives, *The North and the East: A Historical and Architectural Guide* (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1982), 53.

Miller, Orlo, *London 200: An Illustrated History* (London, Chamber of Commerce, 1992).

Noon, Alan, *East of Adelaide: Photographs of Commercial, Industrial and Working Class Urban Ontario 1905-1930* (London:: The London Regional Art and Historical Museum, 1989. 22.

Ross, Christopher, "London East, 1854-1885: The Evolution, Incorporation and Annexation of a Satellite Municipality" (MA Thesis, Western University, 1977), 27

Young Canada Works Project, *The Industrial Development of London, Ontario* (London: s.n., 1978), 74.

3.5 Field Work and Reflexivity

How I entered the field and arrived at the final research questions is a story of trial and error with many lessons learned along the way. My relationship with OEV began as a resident in 2009, turned community organizer by 2011, then turned researcher in 2013. The trajectory was not planned from the beginning and my research interests in the neighbourhood changed over time. The trajectory has proven to be both beneficial and problematic for my role as a researcher. I am a homeowner in OEV and have, therefore, a stake in property values there. I have also made many friends in the neighbourhood and have been involved in organizing grassroots projects as a member of the community association and service on the London InterCommunity Health Centre's Community Advisory Board since 2012. I have experienced strains within the community due to both the nature of my research and the active role I have played as an organizer.

Before deciding to do research in OEV, I was becoming increasingly critical of my research direction and increasingly interested in bringing my intellectual life closer to a notion of praxis. During this period, I started to seek relationships outside the university and to work with organizations that were implementing social programs broadly aimed at healthy identity formation and human development outcomes, my initial areas of research. Between 2011 and 2013 I explored several options, connecting with community organizations in order to link

my research to some social program or community development projects. After a couple of attempts at different research and community partnerships, I decided to expand on my community organizing in OEV and develop an action-based research project. By this time, I had taken on a fairly large organizing role in the neighbourhood, working with the OEVCA to organize the first of its summer Block Parties. The Block Party was a large-scale event that called for mobilizing 50 volunteers and working with over 25 organizations and businesses. Attendance topped 1,200. It has been an annual event in the neighbourhood since 2011, save one year.

This experience started resonating with my new direction of ‘community-engaged research’ and after two false starts I decided to add a research component to my organizing role in the neighbourhood. The main motivator was that I started seeing great potential in neighbourhood renewal as a general process for creating the kinds of community solidarity and alternative political and economic structures that address issues identified as impediments to the kinds of ‘optimal identity formation’ (Cote & Levine, 2002) and human development advocated in the relevant literature. During this time, neighbourhood renewal, for me, became theoretically a radical site for community organizing, and it was in critical urban theory and anarchist and socialist political thought that I found articulations of historical struggles for local self-government, strategies for achieving such ends, and examples of existing utopian projects in contemporary society.

My initial conception was to use an action-based methodology to build on the experiences and successful grassroots organizing that occurred for the Block Party. These projects were to be geared toward working with residents and organizing in the community to build grassroots power that would enable them to define their own environment and shape the meaning of OEV. I saw my role as continuing to help organize community projects and documenting how these personal and community transformations occurred and how attendant problems and barriers were overcome.

Within a few months of pursuing this agenda and conducting preliminary field work, it became clear that this would not be possible for several reasons. I was over-committed as an

organizer; it was too much work to simultaneously design projects and collect data for research. I had taken on too much of a leadership role and there were tensions over who ‘owned’ the Block Party, whether it was the OEVCA or collectively by all of the organizations and individuals that made it happen. This issue reflected a developing cleavage in the neighbourhood with the emergence of a new group of grassroots organizers with a greater interest in neighborhood renewal generally and the OEVCA specifically.

Upon recognizing that my initial action-based research project would not be possible, I stepped back to reorient and develop a more achievable strategy. The strategy that would emerge is the current project, which was proposed and approved by the Research Ethics Board in the late autumn of 2013. During this reworking stage, I began to look beyond participatory action research and start asking broader questions about the meaning of community and collective action in the context of neighbourhood renewal. I was, of course, sensitive to the ability of community leaders to ostracize community members, due to what I had seen in early projects, but I was also increasingly aware of the power dynamics at play in controlling the direction of OEV. At earlier phases of my involvement in the community I was more focused on the mechanisms of building community action and the meaning of that action in the context of neoliberal society. I was less aware of the importance of neighbourhood revitalization for understanding what was happening in OEV. I started to see the tensions between what we now identify as CUR and NUR occurring in the neighbourhood and I wanted to better understand whether CUR was possible, and how.

3.6 Ethics

Based on my previous experience of engagement in OEV, it became clear that I could not allow my research questions to be determined by any specific group in the community. To gain a critical understanding of neighbourhood renewal it was important that – while maintaining transparency to all participants as to the purpose of my research – I could not allow groups with special interests to determine what could and could not be asked or said.

I decided early in the project not to include participant observation among my research methods. This was because of my extensive community organizing involvement and determination to maintain a clear line between data collection and organizing activities. I wanted community members to be comfortable with my role as a researcher, knowing that I would not be sharing secret or confidential information gathered at private meetings or in private conversations. General observations in public settings, where there is no expectation of privacy, are used only for general descriptions, and I do not identify individuals or the in-depth content of such events.

The lack of participant observation in this study may be seen as a problem. With permission to record my experiences in a more ethnographic manner, some might argue that I could have made a more valid and reliable analysis. However, the plethora of data I have collected from interviews and public documents are sufficient, I believe, to underpin an accurate portrayal of OEV and the important actors in the renewal process. Organisational and grassroots interview participants signed consent forms which provided that organizations could be named but individual participants would remain anonymous.

At one point, after recognizing the controversial nature of my topic, I considered issuing memorandums of understanding (MOUs) to further ease concerns. After consulting the ethics guidelines and colleagues, I ruled out this approach as unnecessary because the neighbourhood had no clear, universally acknowledged gatekeeper. This contrasts with the situation in aboriginal communities where MOUs are routinely used because of the legislated structure of authority there. While MOU's are sometimes used in neighbourhood research, they are reserved for research based on official partnerships. Because I was not doing research in partnership with any organization, there was no need for MOUs.

One of the things that makes urban neighbourhoods different from aboriginal communities is that they tend to be ever-changing and fluid as people move in and out and organizations flourish and wither over the years. This makes the urban setting a more complex and conflicted site, where privileging one organization over others may lead to results politically motivated by the people and organizations in place at a given time rather than by honest

critical assessment. The present study did not, as just noted, involve partnering with any organization, and the intention is to share the results with any community members who are interested.

Beyond the informed consent and the decision not to use participant observation, I made other efforts to distinguish my roles as organizer and researcher. Throughout the data-collection period, I did not take any position of leadership in OEV organizations or any role that would have given me decision-making powers. I did, however, remain in organizations that I was previously involved with as a way of maintaining a reciprocal relationship with the neighbourhood and so as to not be perceived as taking from the community without contributing.

From a research ethics standpoint, I was becoming engaged in critical inquiry, which is recognized by the *Tri-Council Policy Statement of Ethical Conduct* (TCPS) as requiring a special approach to consent and protection of the researcher because of the concern that certain organizations might try to prevent the dissemination of results they believed damaging to their reputations. Article 3.6 of the policy statement outlines the unique position that critical inquiry has in research ethics. It states:

Research in the form of critical inquiry, that is, the analysis of social structures or activities, public policies, or other social phenomena, requires an adjustment in the assessment of consent. Where the goal of the research is to adopt a critical perspective with respect to an institution, organization or other entity, the fact that the object of the research may not endorse the research project should not be a bar to the research receiving ethics approval.... If institutional approval were required, it is unlikely that research could be conducted effectively on such matters as institutional sexual abuse or a government's silencing of dissident scientists. Important knowledge and insights from research would be forgone.... REBs should not prohibit research simply because the research is unpopular or looked upon with disfavour by a community or organization, in Canada or abroad. (TCPS 2010, p. 35)

Even with these safeguards in place, the university research ethics board (REB) received a complaint in the summer of 2015 that my research would do more harm than good in the neighbourhood; that it was not clear when my role in the community was as a researcher or as a citizen; and that I was in a conflict of interest because my wife had become president of

the OEVCA and I might, as a result, become privy to private or confidential information. I met with the REB board and it determined that I had been acting in compliance with the approved terms of my research and, second, there was no actual conflict of interest. Further, the only confidential data that I had collected, in interviews with individuals and organizations, were seen to be low-risk because I did not ask many sensitive questions. The conflict of interest issue was met by ensuring that the only confidential data to be published were what I gathered from interviews and, second, that I had not systematically been collecting data at meetings, either private or public. The complainant included a request that I not interact any more with the OEV BIA regarding my research, and I have complied.

While the complaint was anonymous, it was clearly intended to insulate the BIA from further investigation. By the time it was made I had completed all interviews, although I was still collecting public records to help clarify the roles and organizing strategies of various organizations. The attempt to silence my research in no way diminished the need to understand the BIA and analyze its role in urban renewal in OEV. My research had, indeed, already identified the BIA as an important organization to understand, as it had been the core institution that received funding to implement a revitalization plan and had been organizing a Neighbourhood Economic Development Corporation. Because it played such a central role in neighbourhood renewal, information about the BIA was critical. This triggered a need to explore the legislative framework for BIA's and their accountability under the Ontario Municipal Act (OMA, Section 204).

As municipal boards, BIA's are governed by the same open-meeting requirements as any other municipal body (Sections 238 and 239). The rules require meetings to be open to the public, implying no expectation of privacy, and set out allowable reasons for going *in camera* (subsections 239.2 and 239.3). So all BIA business, except what may be conducted *in camera*, is on the public record. Further, because of their status as a municipal board, BIA's come under the provisions of the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (MFIPPA) and the jurisdiction of the Ontario Ombudsman, who investigates alleged breaches of open-meeting requirements. To access OEV BIA records without directly interacting with it, I submitted a Freedom of Information Request under the MFIPPA to the

office of the clerk of the City of London and received the minutes of meetings, by-laws, written policies and procedures, and other relevant material on the public record.

Article 10.4 ('Privacy and Confidentiality in the Dissemination of Research Results') of the TCPS is also an important statement for the integrity of this research and the ability to bring to light the distribution of power within the neighbourhood. It states:

In some types of critical inquiry, anonymity would result in individuals in positions of power not being held accountable for their actions, and for how their exercise of power has implications for others. The safeguards for those in the public arena are through public debate and discourse, and through action in the courts for libel. (TCPS 2010, p. 143)

This statement protects the researcher's ability to identify people in positions of power in public bodies. The manager of the BIA is such a person and it would be difficult to distinguish between what she does and what the organization does. As well, because the BIA holds centre stage in neighbourhood renewal and since the manager was repeatedly named in public records and interviews, it is impossible to fully protect her identity. This also applies to individuals who have taken on leadership roles in other organizations and have been quoted or recorded in public records. While I use pseudonyms for these individuals, according them a degree of anonymity, it is impossible to ensure that they are not identifiable to knowledgeable community members. I have approached the issue of anonymity by making trivial changes in the presentation of interview data when that is possible without deforming the substance. I have also tried to weigh the benefits and costs when making critical statements about organizations, reflecting on the need for such statements in building the research case.

Chapter 4

4. Old East Village Overview

This chapter introduces Old East Village (OEV), locating it in the broader urbanization process and drawing attention to features around which CUR could be organized. Part of my argument is that OEV – and perhaps other post-industrial neighbourhoods in mid-sized cities – has features embedded in its history, built environment, and geographic/regional qualities that present opportunities for organizing toward CUR. The purpose is not to prove that these ‘seeds of CUR’ will ultimately flourish and prevail in OEV, rather to explore in depth the historical roots and contexts of struggle that shape the trajectory of the neighbourhood.²

I first locate OEV as a post-industrial neighbourhood in a mid-sized ‘centre city’ and suggest that economic pressures and property values specific to the region open doors to CUR. Second, I describe the built environment, including OEV’s integrated land uses and old-city layout, showing how they too provide fertile ground for CUR. Third, I outline the social history of the neighbourhood from its beginnings as an industrial suburb of London in the

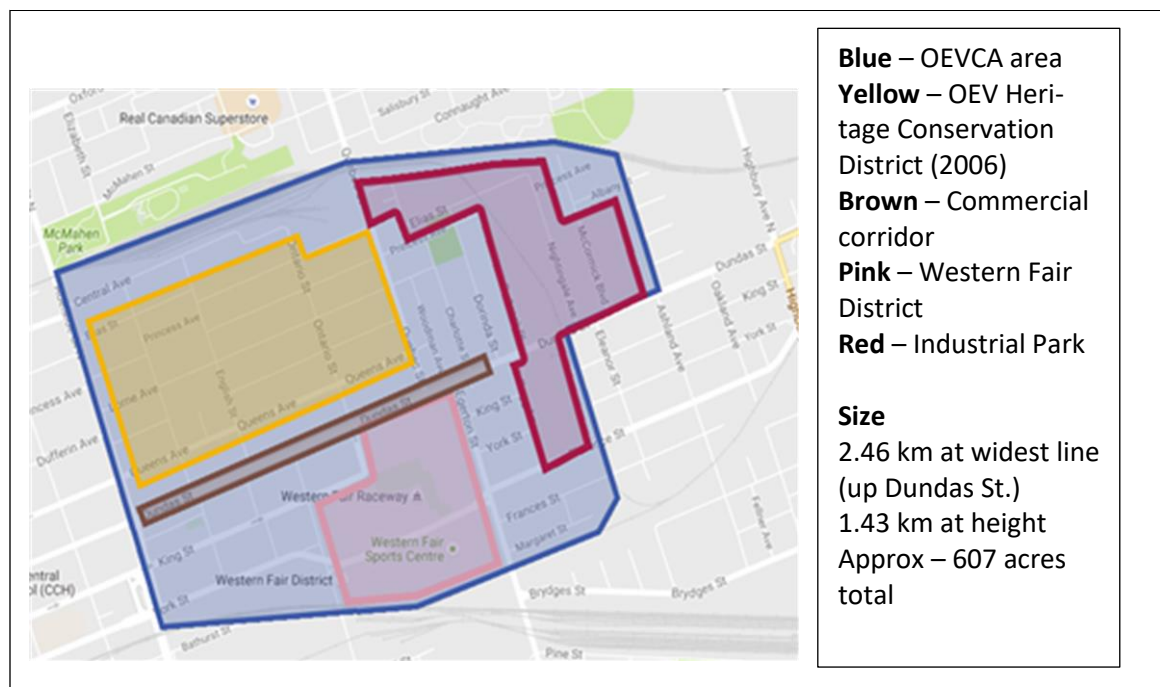
² I borrow the concept of ‘seeds’ from recent research on the localization and spatiality of social movements (Hamel et al., 2000; Martin, 2003; Miller, 2006; Miller & Nicholls, 2013; Nicholls & Uitermark, 2017; Uitermark, Nicholls, & Loopmans, 2012). This research has found that social movements emerge in geographic regions with certain qualities of ‘place’. Found in the historical, social, and organizational fabric of specific geographic areas, these qualities provide pre-made networks, interests, and organizational structures that serve as a basis for local and broad-based social movements. Nicholls & Uitermark (2017) have done some of the most extensive research on this topic, in the area of immigration rights activism. Comparing movements in the United States, France, and the Netherlands, they examine “the mechanisms in which some resistances concentrate in certain places, harness energies and countervailing powers, and grow” (p. 6). They acknowledge that ‘resistances’ may occur in many places, and seek to understand the qualities of resistance that grow into larger scale movements. In the context of immigrant rights movements, they conclude that the ‘relational qualities’ of ‘place’ are concentrated in cities and, within cities, in specific neighbourhoods (*i.e.*, ethnic neighbourhoods provide the basis for ethnic rights movements and the relational qualities of those neighbourhoods predict the likelihood of movement organizing). They call these relational qualities ‘seeds of resistance’ which are either nurtured or restrained by the political and organizational context specific to the ‘places’.

late 19th century to its present situation as a stigmatized inner-city, post-industrial neighbourhood with a concentration of poverty and social problems. Themes of territorial stigmatization and disintegration of community are identified in this section as a backdrop for delving deeper into the neighbourhood renewal process from 1993 to 2016.

4.1 Old East Village Setting

The label ‘Old East Village’ is a fairly recent addition to the vocabulary of urban affairs in London, dating back only about two decades. In this study, the term refers to the area covered by the Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Old East Village Land Use



OEV is a mainly residential area straddling a commercial corridor along Dundas Street, one of the principal arteries linking London’s downtown and its eastern reaches. It is bounded north and south by cross-town railway lines, CP to the north and CN to the south. Its western boundary is Adelaide Street, historically and still seen as a dividing line between the better-

heeled, ‘respectable’ western section of the city and the gritty, blue-collar east, a gross oversimplification that remains conventional wisdom to many Londoners. The eastern boundary is a little more complicated. South of Dundas it is a rail line that links the CP and CN lines; north of Dundas, OEV encompasses a failing industrial zone.

As it passes through OEV, Dundas is mostly lined by a mix of shops and services, some up-market and some down-market, commonly with apartments on the second storey. There are also, however, significant institutional uses on the corridor: the provincial offences courthouse, two large churches, a park, the Palace Theatre, the Aeolian concert hall, and five social services agencies. The corridor is a distinct section of the strip development that straggles out of downtown and extends along Dundas, with interruptions, far to the east. It might be noted that there is also appreciable commercial activity on the OEV stretches of King and York streets, south of Dundas, and scattered commercial uses in the residential sections, and that the Western Fair grounds, with its ‘slots’ and raceway, lie within OEV.

At least three different residential zones can be distinguished. The largest lies north of Dundas, characterized by tightly packed, modest but attractive brick houses commonly dating back a century and more. The City-mandated Old East Village Heritage Conservation District covers much of this zone. South of Dundas lies a zone of large apartment blocks: the Medallion Corporation’s three high-rises, the Tolpuddle co-operative (which includes townhouses as well as the apartment block), and the ‘Centretown’ seniors’ apartments (with frontage on Dundas although the main entrance is on Marshall Street, one block to the south). Also south of Dundas, to the east, is a cluster of modest houses, generally of more recent date. Housing in today’s OEV dates mostly from 1860 to 1930 (Baker, 2004). The residential area of OEV was built for workers in the area’s factories and rail yards, which explains the prevalence of smaller, Victorian homes in the neighbourhood (Baker, 2004).

The northern residential zone is where the core community activities occur today. It is where the Boyle Memorial Community Centre and the Carson Branch Library are located. The last public school in the neighbourhood was also located there until its closure in 2016. Today’s OEV shows its working-class and industrial origins in the 19th and early 20th century, its

deterioration as people and business flocked to new suburbs in the second half of the 20th century, and its recent appeal to urban pioneers, entrepreneurs, and developers.

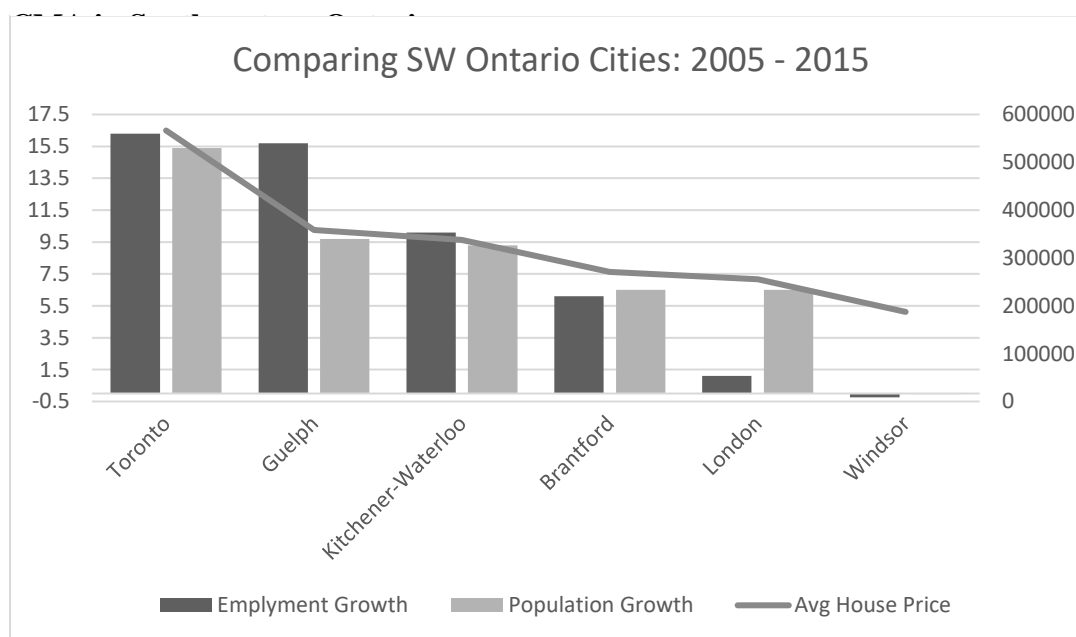
4.2 Regional Qualities of OEV

This section situates Old East Village in the regional context of London and Southwestern Ontario. London is a mid-sized city with a population of 383 822 (Statistics Canada, 2017). The ‘mid-sized city’ status is important for understanding the structural and socio-economic pressures that shape London and the OEV. Recent research has found that mid-sized cities in Ontario have unique features distinguishing them from larger metropolitan areas (Bradford, 2017). These include slower economic growth, stronger ties to the surrounding rural and agricultural communities, and unique opportunities for sustainable development (Sotomayor & Flatt, 2017). The diversity of London’s economy embraces a strong health sciences sector, a shrinking but still important financial sector, several post-secondary education institutions, and budding technology and internet industries, while arts and culture venues are regional attractors. Coupled with economic diversity is a slow-growth economy. Investment and development move at a slower pace than in metropolitan areas and investors are often local wealthy Londoners or vigorously courted global capitalists.

I adopt Flatt & Sotomayor's (2016) classification of London as a ‘centre city,’ like Sudbury, Peterborough and St. Catharines. These are neither ‘partner cities’, like Hamilton in relation to Toronto, nor ‘satellite cities’, like Kanata in relation to Ottawa. Of middle size, centre cities function as “regional hubs with historic centres that function as autonomous economies and self-standing communities. They provide employment, higher education, health services, and amenities” (Flatt & Sotomayor, 2016, p. 9). Unlike satellite cities, centre cities have economies not anchored to a larger metropolitan areas. Because of their independence, their strategies for urban planning and city-building need to be tailored to the local context; centre city status brings unique opportunities for social and economic development because of the diversity of economic anchors and a slow rate of growth.

These factors are noticeable in comparisons of trends in population growth, employment, and housing prices for mid-sized cities in Southwestern Ontario. As illustrated in Figure 3, the data on population, employment, and housing shows a consistent pattern. Moving left to right in Figure 3, cities are listed in order from closest to most distant from Toronto. As distance from Toronto increases, growth in population and employment slows and the average price of a house declines.

Figure 3 Employment and Population Growth and Average House Prices by



Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (https://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/en/hoficlincl/homain/stda/inin/inin_005.cfm); London Poverty Research Centre, *Placing Recent Employment Data into Context* (2016).

London has the second lowest average house price, behind Windsor, nearly \$200 000 below the national and provincial averages. While this contributes to the overall affordability of London and contributes to its quality of life, it also reflects slower growth potential.

The implications of slower growth potential for neighbourhood renewal are that large investors are more doubtful about betting on the area, foreseeing a slower rate of return than in larger cities where competition for land is more intense. In theory, international capital's lack of interest makes the goals of NUR harder to achieve, specifically making increases in

land values and business development more challenging. From the CUR perspective, however, this barrier for NUR provides an opportunity, if not the necessity, for local inhabitants to become the initial investors in neighbourhood renewal. The need to attract local capital and local participation for economic ends creates a context in which neighbourhood stakeholders can engage with each other and create a conversation about how to move forward. These assemblages can, however, also create a local growth machine in which the profit maximizing goals of local capitalists remain the focus. In OEV, as we will see, there has been not only a broad-based mobilization of residents but an increasing privilege for the business voice in the renewal process.

Beyond the slow growth that makes it difficult to attract global capital, OEV has historically been stigmatized within London, partly due to its working-class history and partly because of its disorderly, rundown appearance, especially along the commercial corridor. In the next section I will briefly outline the industrial history of the area and discuss how territorial stigma has played out over the years. Specifically, we will see how this stigma has provided an impetus for building solidarity in the neighbourhood and a foundation for collective action (Borchert, 1981; Mejia, 2013).

4.3 An Industrial, Working Class Suburb

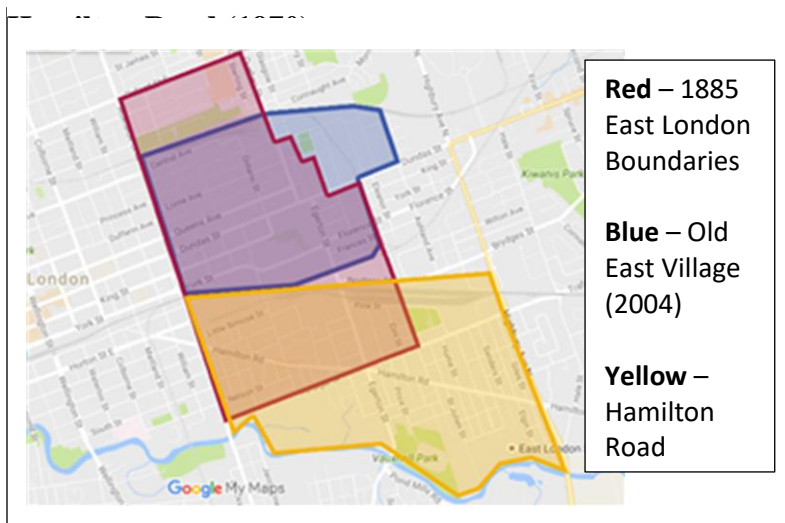
Historians trace the beginning of OEV to industrialist Murray Anderson's 1851 purchase of a lot on the northeast corner of Adelaide and Dundas streets, at the western edge of today's OEV, where he built his home, and to the 1856 relocation of his Globe Foundry from downtown to the southwest corner (Baker, 2004). (Strictly speaking, the Globe property is just outside today's OEV, but close enough that it fits the neighbourhood's industrial vocation.) The foundry employed 100 men in the manufacture of stoves, stove pipes, tinware, washing machines and a range of agricultural implements (County of Middlesex, 1889, p. 410; McTaggart, 1999). It was also in 1856 that Noble English subdivided 35 acres of his farm, which covered much of what is now OEV, into almost 120 quarter- and half-acre lots in an ell around the Anderson mansion. "It may have been Anderson who convinced English

to subdivide lots where his foundry employees could build homes close to their work” (Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, 2015, p. 4).

The boom came in the following decade, sparked by the discovery of oil in Lambton County, west of London, in 1857. Banned from London because of the noxious odours and toxic fumes, said to “peel the paint off the houses” (Lutman & Hives, 1982, p. 59), refineries mushroomed east of Adelaide and south of Dundas in the 1860s, processing oil shipped in by rail. This brought supporting industry, notably chemicals and cooperage, to the neighbourhood and gave a further impetus to residential development as workers sought housing within walking distance of their jobs. The Imperial Oil empire has its origins in the amalgamation of several of these refineries in 1880 (Armstrong, 1986, p. 121). The refining boom came to an abrupt end in 1883, however, when fire destroyed the Imperial Oil refinery and, in the absence of assured fire protection in future and of municipal incentives to rebuild, the industry moved west, first to Petrolia and then to Sarnia, where it remains a major employer to this day (Imperial Oil, n.d.).

It should be noted here that the refineries and much of the housing built in this period lie immediately south of today’s OEV in what is now the Hamilton Road neighbourhood (see Figure 4). Hamilton Road as a distinct neighbourhood will be discussed later in this chapter. What needs to be said here is that the early histories of OEV and the western end of Hamilton Road are tightly intertwined. Both were included in the incorporated Village of London East from 1874 and in the Town of London East from 1881 until its amalgamation with London proper in 1885 (Lutman & Hives, 1982).

Figure 4 London East (1885), Old East Village (2004),



The collapse of refining was not a complete disaster for OEV because another major employer had already appeared. This was the car shops of the Great Western Railway (later the Grand Trunk and eventually CN) where railway cars were built and maintained. Located north of the CN line, these shops were in today's OEV and remained a major employer from 1874 until they closed in 1966 (Brock, 2011, p. 292).

As early as 1878, the *Historical Atlas of Middlesex County* could note that “London East is the seat of principal manufacturing establishments of the country” (cited in Lutman & Hives, 1982, p. 61) There were more than 130 factories in the former London East in 1902 and a further 100 opened in the following decade. By 1912, the workforce of the former London East had reached 8,000 (Noon, 1989, pp. 13-15).

The first quarter of the 20th century saw a second industrial boom as a number of companies built large plants immediately east of the residential areas. Notable were EMCO (initially as Empire Brass, 1908). McCormick Biscuit with its state-of-the-art “Sunshine Palace” (1914), Kellogg’s (initially as the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company, 1914), and Hunt Mills, whose building was the tallest in London for many years (1917). Although the company

ceased operations in 1928, the Ruggles Truck manufacturing operation (1920) merits mention because of the architecturally distinguished building it left behind for other industrial and commercial uses continuing to this day.³

In 1924, *The London Free Press* could pronounce East London “the most important section in the City of London. It is recognized in all quarters as the industrial centre of the sixth largest manufacturing city in Canada. It is recognized as a great community of happy homes, clean progressive stores and shops, supplying a service which is indeed complete” (October 4, 1924, cited in Wolfe & Radford, 2015, p. 16).

Meanwhile, the Dundas Street commercial district took shape, with shops serving the needs of the working class in and around OEV. The first post office, located at the intersection of Adelaide and Dundas, opened in 1872 (Grainger, 2016, p. 10). In time the commercial corridor gained anchor institutions like a department store that attracted consumers from outside the city and offered lower-priced goods to the working class of OEV and far beyond.

Developments of great significance are rare from the 1920’s until the post-war, car-driven exodus from central neighbourhoods to ever more distant suburbs. With major industrial employers walking distance from home, shops adequate to most needs available on Dundas, a branch library (London’s first, from 1915), and elementary schools, OEV presented as a city within a city.

With OEV’s working-class reputation established from the start, the narrative can usefully be interrupted here to develop two topics that illuminate the possibility of CUR emerging in the neighbourhood and others like it. These are: (1) the long-term stigmatization of East London, including OEV, and (2) the contrast of ‘old city’ and ‘new city’.

³ It should perhaps be noted that the sources commonly disagree on dates, but the discrepancies are slight, undoubtedly reflecting in many cases the timing of various stages – the purchase of land, the start or completion of construction and the beginning of operations.

4.4 Stigmatization of East London

The significance of Adelaide Street as a dividing line between the east and west ends of London flows directly from OEV's industrial, working-class origins. As we have seen, OEV began and grew as an industrial suburb where residential development was aimed at the working class while development in the west end, which includes downtown, followed a different path. The divide is sharpened by the fact that OEV's immediate neighbour to the west, standing between it and downtown, is a neighbourhood, Woodfield, that began as a residential area for the better-off and is still perceived as upscale. 'East of Adelaide' and its short form, 'EOA', are well established in the London vocabulary, rarely used with kindly intent.

Located entirely west of Adelaide until it swallowed London East in 1885, 19th century London grew principally as a governmental, judicial, educational, medical, financial, wholesaling and service centre for the southwestern peninsula of Ontario, one of Canada's most productive agricultural zones (see Mejia, 2013, Chapter 1). There was, to be sure, some manufacturing in the centre of town in the early days, but its tendency was to drift eastward. A notable example already mentioned was the relocation of Murray Anderson's foundry to the corner of Dundas and Adelaide after its original downtown location was destroyed in a disastrous explosion (McTaggart, 1999, pp. 85-87).

More important by far than industry in shaping London's development was the foundation by local capital of such financial giants as Canada Trust (1864) and London Life (1874) and of two iconic breweries, Carling Breweries (1843) and the Labatt Brewing Company (1847) (Labatt, n.d.). Middle-class professionals made their homes west of Adelaide as did the wealthy, whose engagement in OEV was as investors. Crossing Adelaide into Woodfield, the difference from OEV is visible; Woodfield's grassed boulevards are wider and some of the big houses of the well-to-do still stand, converted to apartments or offices.

The term 'East of Adelaide' is sometimes used with affection, but for the most part it is a sore point in the effort to rebrand the area as OEV because it evokes images of urban blight,

working-class culture, and an undesirable or disorderly part of town. Ross (1977) describes the situation in blunt terms: people went to the west end to “breathe fresher air and to momentarily taste the better life” while the east end was where “Londoners escaped to frequent seedy taverns and the infamous houses of prostitution” (Ross, 1977, p.27).

Besides by-laws banning dirty manufacturing within London’s city limits, urban planning in London appears to have encouraged the class divide by ensuring that working-class people could not afford houses in more affluent neighbourhoods. Mejia (2013) points to a 1922 study by land surveyor Thomas Adam who found that London’s 19th century housing and zoning policies were “mainly used to prevent small working-class dwellings or stores from being erected in proximity to larger houses” (Adam, 1922, p. 6). He concluded with a strong statement about the class division underlying urban planning in London to the time of his report: “[Urban planning] has been based on class distinction and on the assumption that a comparatively cheap house erected adjoining to a dearer one would have the effect of depreciating the value of the latter” (Adam, 1922, p. 6).

The development of London’s school system also reinforced the east-west status divide well into the 20th century. East-end children were funnelled into Beal secondary school at a time when it was a vocational school, preparing students for work in the trades, manufacturing, and commerce. West-end children went to Central Collegiate Secondary School, which trained them for professional and academic futures (Mejia, 2013). OEV now lies within the catchment area of both Beal and Central Collegiate, and Beal has become a comprehensive school whose vocational origins survive only in its highly respected art and musical theatre programs.

While London had two distinct areas divided by socio-economic status, Mejia (2013) puts forward a strong argument that the residents of the east end did not accept the stigma but took pride in their sturdy sense of community and their own resourcefulness. Such solidarity-building in the face of territorial stigma is one of the positive outcomes of experiencing such labels (August, 2014; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Jensen & Christensen, 2012).

Despite progress, the old narrative still haunts OEV. The east-end band Bobnoxious got considerable attention in 2013 with its release of a song titled “E.O.A.” The first few lines present a very different picture from the one that most OEV residents believe closer to the reality.

Domestic dispute just a reality,
 Always cops making stops, never ending.
 Skill saw ripping, there’s a smell in the air,
 While the neighbour is quite entertaining.
 Chorus:
 Couches on the front porch, E.O.A.
 Old abandoned shopping carts, E.O.A.
 Don’t worry how your yard is looking,
 It’s okay, E.O.A. (Bobnoxious, 2014)

4.5 Old City/New City: Different Land Use/Different Values

One key to the present study is the sharp contrast between ‘old city’ and ‘new city’ neighborhoods and the context that each represents for urban renewal and action by social movements. The contrast is succinctly drawn by former Toronto mayor John Sewell in a short but important article in *City Magazine*, showing how differences in historical development and urban forms produce differences in underlying community values (Sewell, 1991).

The new city can be seen in the outer suburbs that mushroomed around urbanized cores across Canada and elsewhere in the decades following World War II. It is characterized by curvilinear streets, commonly without sidewalks; distinct pockets of housing (‘subdivisions’), each geared to people of similar socio-economic status; limited access from these residential pockets to arterial roads; shops and services hived off in malls along major arteries (indeed, even churches may be clustered in distinct zones of their own). Any industrial development is placed at a good distance from the homes and malls. Segregating residential, commercial, and industrial functions, the form of new-city neighbourhoods obliges people to use their cars for the simplest errands, thus discouraging face-to-face interaction among neighbours.

Reflecting values of privacy and individualism, the new city was made possible by the post-war explosion in car-ownership. The necessary capital was forthcoming as builders and lenders saw suburban housing as a profit-maker (Harvey, 2012, Chapter 2; Robins, 2013, Chapter 2).

Old-city forms can be seen in the pre-war inner suburbs, many dating from the Victoria era. In sharp contrast with the new-city neighbourhoods, old-city neighbourhoods are characterized by streets on a grid pattern; integrated land use with a sprinkling of shops among the homes (the ‘corner store’ actually is on the corner, an easy walk from home); and main streets lined by two- and three-storey buildings with shops at street level and apartments above (originally, in many cases, live-work spaces with the apartment occupied by the shopkeeper’s family).

Some old-city neighbourhoods began and remain enclaves of a comfortably off middle class. Others have working-class origins, commonly growing up in proximity to industrial zones that, in the days before near-universal car ownership, offered employment within walking distance of home.

Far more important, however, than differences in the visible, material arrangements of old- and new-city neighbourhoods is the contrasting social contexts they create and foster. Each of these neighbourhoods have a history that underpins a distinct sense of community and a relationship to place greater than are found in new-city areas. In particular, the features of old-city neighbourhoods foster the values and functions of community, solidarity, and public engagement, making them fertile ground for CUR.

Key points about old and new city neighbourhoods are set out in Table 5.

Table 6 Old City and New City Compared

Old City	New City
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Integrated land use - Residential, commercial, industrial

Gridded Streets, Walkable, conducive to public transit

Mixed class use, high density

Amenities: School, library, churches, community centre, parks, small shops, social services,

Segregated land use - Residential and Malls

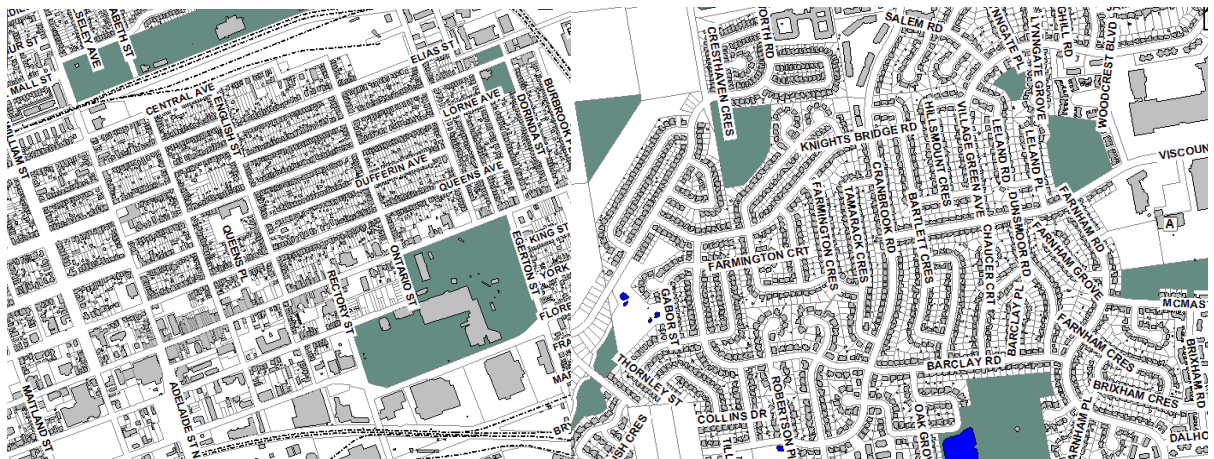
Curvilinear streets, not walkable, made for private transportation

Class homogeneity, low density

Amenities: school, mall

Old City - Old East Village

New City – Viscount Neighbourhood



For Sewell, the forms of the old-city neighbourhoods were conducive to values of community, localism, public space, and sociability generally. Their high densities compared with the sprawl found in the new city provided more opportunities for experiencing community life and supporting public transportation.

In more recent years, poor connections to the neighbourhood and isolated everyday life in new-city neighbourhoods have lost their appeal for some people. “As the debate broke out” between old-city and new-city plans, “the values of the new city seemed pushed aside by the intelligentsia, and the values of the old city were strengthened. Liberalism had not been satisfying enough, and people wanted to get back to the torism of the old city” (Sewell,

1991, p. 37). Beginning as early as the 1970's, there was a renewed focus on old-city neighbourhoods as preferred places to live. It was, as well, in those neighbourhoods that urban social movements emerged, largely due to conflicts with new-city issues. This was when battles emerged over inner-city highways to accommodate the new city's commuters – the famous Spadina Expressway in Toronto, for example, which engaged Sewell himself and made Jane Jacobs a hero of the reform movement.

In his critical analysis, Reid (1991) relabels the new city as 'the corporate city' because of its drive to maximize profit and reproduce corporate forms of everyday life. For Reid the corporate city emerged between 1945 and 1965, when the "discovery of urban land as a vehicle for capital accumulation" occurred (p. 63). The suburbs were a focus for real estate speculators during this period, and the promotion of new-city life and values targeted a relatively large middle class. After its emergence, the corporate city began "controlling the political system to maintain profit taking" while the "concentration of ownership and control of city councils produce[d] enormous profits" (p. 64). In the 1970's, urban sociologists were developing the notions of the 'growth machine' (Molotch, 1976) and 'regime theory' (Stone, 1993) in which a coalition of local elites in the media, real-estate business, and city councils would control land. In response, citizens organized neighbourhood social movements and tenant associations and demanded more rights for residents in the negotiation and decision-making around urban design (Boyte, 1980; Spicer, 2011).

Reid concludes by noting that these movements led to reform in planning, with developers and reformers drawing closer together: "In the 80's a curious mutation has arisen between developers and reformers.... Reformers are behaving like developers and developers behaving like reformers.... Both parties have made an awkward peace with each other" (p.67). The new middle-class people drawn to inner cities are embracing the speculative real estate ethos resulting in "gentrification, the yuppie syndrome of over consumption and conspicuous consumption, as well as the consumer apartheid, which is the NIMBY consciousness that has come to signify the cultural and real estate dynamics of the post-industrial city" (p. 67).

Sewell similarly observed a change in urban planning, noting that “[t]ensions are apparent in all Canadian cities, and the struggle between the old city, with its 19th century values, and the new city, more liberal in its concepts, is bound to continue. While this will be cast as a fight between city and suburb, that is only a visible side of this conflict in value systems” (Sewell, 1991, p. 38). He was writing at a fairly early point in the return of middle-class people to inner cities. He witnessed the work of Jane Jacobs in the Spadina Expressway conflict and the shift in urban planning from top-down decision-making to the creation of legislation that required community consultation processes.

Palen & London (1984), Laska & Spain (1980), and Boyte, (1980) also identified the drift of the middle class back to the inner cities, calling it a ‘back-to-the-city movement’. Lipton (1977) examined demographic changes in neighbourhoods located close to the city centre of large American cities and found that a trend toward rising populations of middle- and upper-income people. His conclusion was that city centres “were not destined for decay but in fact hold potential as the sites of middle- and upper-income neighbourhoods” (p. 136). This movement of people from new-city neighbourhoods back to the old coincided with the transition that Sewell (1991) and Reid (1989) identified in the role of neighbourhood people in the urban planning and renewal projects.

In London, OEV and the Hamilton Road neighbourhood grew up as working-class, old-city neighbourhoods where all three land uses – residential, commercial and industrial – are found while Woodfield and Wortley Village represent the middle-class neighbourhoods linked, either directly or indirectly, to the downtown business district.

Looking at the class structure of these neighbourhoods, it is clear that Wortley Village, an old-city neighbourhood not built around industrial work, has a much lower proportion of urban poor (as measured by the after-tax low-income measure – LIM-AT) than Hamilton Road and OEV (see Table 6).

Table 7 Percentage of Low-Income Populations

	Low-income population as a percentage of total population (2012)
London CMA	15.1%
Wortley Village (professional old city)	14.1%
Hamilton Road (working class old city)	22.7%
Old East Village (working class old city)	29.3%

Although Wortley Village resembles OEV and Hamilton Road in having integrated land use, with a residential area connected to a walkable commercial area, it was almost always a merchant and cottage industry neighbourhood. In London, it is these two working class neighbourhoods, OEV and Hamilton Road, that have experienced the greatest urban blight and now have the highest concentrations of marginalized and poor populations.

As we have seen, Hamilton Road and OEV have experienced long-term stigmatization for their working class roots (Mejia, 2013), and the decline of these areas was much more connected to de-industrialization than was the case in Wortley Village, where there was much less urban blight even during a period when City Hall was neglectful of old-city neighbourhoods.

The comparison of OEV with Wortley Village will come up again when we examine the 2003 neighbourhood renewal plan for Old East Village, when the consultants used Wortley Village as a model Old East should strive to duplicate. As noted above, OEV is very different from Wortley Village, particularly in class makeup. Copying Wortley Village would almost certainly lead to gentrification – in other words, to the displacement of OEV's lower- income residents.

4.6 Decline: Home to the Marginalized

In OEV, the commercial area on Dundas Street was historically a social centre and it remains the focus of neighbourhood revitalization today. For well over a century, until a sharp decline in the last quarter of the 1900's, it played the role of downtown to London's east end, fondly remembered by old-timers as a lively scene with busy sidewalks. Since that time, both commercial and residential areas of OEV, in common with those of similar neighbourhoods across Canada, experienced a slide into urban blight (Bunting, Filion, Frenette, Curry, & Mattice, 2000; Filion, 1988; Filion, Hoernig, Bunting, & Sands, 2004).

The exodus to the suburbs and the decline of manufacturing had a dramatic impact in OEV. Duplicating the experience of many inner-city neighbourhoods across the continent, it became a destination for the marginalized and for the social service agencies that minister to them. The presence of this demographic and the social services give the neighbourhood an opportunity to develop a consciousness regarding a plethora of social, political, and economic issues surrounding marginalization and economic blight.

The constant interaction among inhabitants of different classes and the need to address neighbourhood-based, class-conflict issues such as homelessness, addiction, mental health problems, and poverty within the neighbourhood brings out the need to negotiate community responses. This consciousness can be in solidarity with the marginalized, supporting them in their struggles, or it can be against them, seeing them as a barrier to neighbourhood renewal (Gibson, 2005). This collective experience in post-industrial neighbourhoods provides an opportunity for political mobilization that is less present in homogenized suburban environments (Eliasoph, 1998, Chapter 7; Takahashi & Dear, 1997). The experience of territorial stigma, the concentration of the marginalized and urban poor, and a history of 'second-class' treatment by the rest of London are all seeds of CUR.

4.7 First Attempt at Neighbourhood Renewal: 1974-1977

In 1974, OEV was selected by City Hall as one of two neighbourhoods in London, the other being Hamilton Road, to be the focus of a federal-provincial Neighbourhood Improvement Plan (NIP). This project aimed only at the residential section of the neighbourhood,

excluding the commercial corridor. The resulting lack of business voices in the NIP process was largely because these plans were designed for residential areas (Lyon & Newman, 1986), but it also reflected the lack of relationship between the residential and commercial communities at that time. This relationship would later become central to revitalization planning in OEV. At the time of the NIP, the commercial corridor was still relatively stable. A 1972 *London Free Press* article names the members of the East London Business Association, which then represented business owners along Dundas between Adelaide and Ontario streets. Around 40 businesses are listed, including many long-term establishments that would disappear by the mid-1980's. Among them were the Brass Rail Tavern, Chapmans Bakery, Dunn Hardware, Goodwill Industries, Hudson's Department Store, London Winery, Metropolitan Store, Melody Restaurant, Novack's, Park Theatre, and Shaw's Hobby Shop (LFP, 1972).

The residential area, however, entered a period of more severe decline. At the time of the NIP, nearly half of the houses in the area were in only moderate to poor condition, and the neighbourhood was seen to be in a state of social decay with issues of poverty, domestic disputes, and addiction (De Leuw Cather, 1974, p. 33). The NIP's response included plans for community centres, parks, home renovations, and street and sewer upgrades. Reflective of the transition from top-down urban planning, such as occurred in the creation of the new city, the NIP was very serious in its commitment to giving citizens a strong role in the decision-making process.

The situation in OEV in the 1970's did not reflect the invigoration of democracy and urban activism found elsewhere at that time (Spicer, 2011). In London, it was the Hamilton Road area was where community activism emerged through the 1970's and 1980's, which is well documented in that neighbourhood's two community newspapers – *CHAT*, which ran from 1970 to 1980 (Lanouette, 1980), and the *Hamilton Road News*, which ran from 1980 to 1998 (Mejia, 2013). The Crouch Community Resource Centre was established on Hamilton Road in 1970 with a staff of several community workers, including at least one assigned to community development, and this accelerated the work of the Hamilton Road Area Council (HRAC est. 1967) (Hamilton Road Area Community Partners, 1998).

OEV was not nearly as organized and had neither the number nor the capacity of the community organizations found in the Hamilton Road area. The OEV did not even have a generally acknowledged name; the term ‘Old East Village’ did not yet exist. The neighbourhood was particularly noted for not having any parks (De Leuw Cather, 1974). To the extent that there was any community organization at all, it existed at Lorne Avenue Public School, which was designated by the province as a ‘community school’ in 1970.

Even the school reports indicate that the key players were social workers and city staff. The volunteer Lorne Avenue Council was reported to be poorly attended (Family and Children’s Services, 1972, p. 14). A Lorne Avenue Neighbourhood Resource Centre – which included education programs, counselling and recreational services – was located in the school, offering 46 activities including art, sports, Kung Fu, badminton, sewing, and crafts as well as youth programs including a camera club and teen dances Friday nights. The 1972 report notes:

Lorne Avenue Community School is the only facility in the district offering such programs. This school is open until 10 pm every evening. ... The Community School is headed by a full-time director who is also head of the Community Council. This Council is open to anyone who is interested in the shared planning of the school’s activities. There is a poor turnout of these Council members, and no other community organization is present in East London... The police which car patrol this district have cautioned the residents to keep their doors and windows locked as they expect more trouble with the opening of the summer Youth Hostel in the old Kelvinator building at Dundas Street and McCormick Blvd. (p. 14-15).

Although the school functioned as a community gathering place, activities there were mostly intended for children and families. The residential community was more diverse than that and urban poverty was present in many other ways, including street crime and the visible deterioration of some houses. City planning documents and interviews with long-term residents highlight the social problems then defining the area. One retired interviewee in his 60’s remembers spending time in the residential community in the early 1970’s:

It was tougher. It was tougher [than it is now]. You know, when I went to high school you’d be pretty wary coming around here, yeah. This is back in the ‘greaseball’ era, when fighting was fighting. Just a tough neighbourhood. Low income, couches on the porch and shit. ... You couldn’t just stroll up from north London and go around

saying “I’m here”. You’d have to have an ‘in’ or you’d be a target. And, you know, even working guys, they were all tough fucks. Half of them are alcoholics, wife beaters, blue collar – just a society at a different level. There was a few ethnic groups and stuff.

Question: Was there much in terms of gangs in the area at the time?

This was more like hard drinking and you could get in a fight or get beat up if you looked at somebody wrong. ... A bit of biker stuff, fair bit of Natives around. And I mean these were places you had your own territory and stuff. You didn’t fuck around. Unless you were a neighbourhood person, you’re fine; if you’re a little old lady or kid you’re fine (Resident interview).

Another women recalls her experiences, visiting the neighbourhood in the later 1970’s:

I was never all that comfortable in Old East. I used to have a boyfriend that lived in Kipps Lane, and I’d had to wait at that corner of Dundas and Adelaide and it was scary and dodgy as a single young lady to be standing around there. I did have a bit of fear and trepidation with regard to Old East (Resident Interview).

These depictions of the area align with city and social service reports. *Social Profiles of the 21 Planning Districts in the City of London* points out that the district in which OEV was located had the second highest number of liquor offenses, the highest number of residents seeking help from the Addiction Research Foundation, the fifth highest number of cases involving divorce, the fourth highest number of cases involving custody, and the third highest number of cases involving child neglect (Family and Children’s Services, 1972, p. 14). As well, there was a high level of residential turnover, with about 40% of the residents in the area less than two years. Roughly 50% of homes were occupied by renters (De Leuw Cather, 1974). In the Hamilton Road neighbourhood, on the other hand, 75% of homes were owner-occupied. While Hamilton Road did have a higher than average level of social problems, it also had a greater community capacity for addressing them. The difference between how OEV and Hamilton Road were seen from a social perspective are highlighted in the conclusions of the Family and Children Services report.

[A]lthough district residents see a number of problems prevalent in the Hamilton Road Area, they seem to have found ways of dealing with them, and have experienced success as a result of their efforts.

[I]n a district whose residential areas are as separate and independent as East London’s, there is little chance of community spirit, concern, or identity” (p.15).

From the NIP emerged OEV's first community association that took on urban renewal as its main focus. Although all but forgotten among residents today, the Lorne Avenue Community Council was formed in 1975 to engage in the NIP process. Up to that point, the school (generally known in the neighbourhood as 'Lorne Ave') had been the social core of OEV, with its family centre run by community development and public health staff.

It is hard to tell whether there was a strong sense of community among residents at that time, prior to the NIP, but according to planning documents from the City and the London health unit, the area was seen to be experiencing a high rate of social ills and lacking in social cohesion. Any other evidence I have come across suggesting the existence of a community group or community events are linked to the use of the school. 'Lorne Ave' would continue to be a strong building block for later neighbourhood renewal projects, but the Lorne Avenue Community Council would vanish around 1977, after the NIP ended. It was not until 2004 that the next community association would form, a decade after the current phase of neighbourhood renewal began.

4.8 The Dark Ages of OEV: 1977-1992

From the end of the NIP to 1993 there is little evidence of a community group and the residents of OEV played no part in organizing renewal. Most media coverage and local histories focused on the business corridor. The business community took on two major projects during these years, but both fell well short of success. One, spearheaded by the East London Business Association (ELBA), was reconfiguration of the Adelaide to Elizabeth/Lyle block of Dundas Street as an S-curve in 1976, with an expectation that this would attract pedestrian traffic and encourage drivers to slow down and look at the shops as they went by (Hodgkinson, 1979). Pedestrian traffic did not increase and the S-curve faced major criticisms as an impractical, poorly planned project. The street was returned to its previous state in 1999 (Carl, 1999).

During this period, the corridor lost many of its long-term businesses with the closing of Hudson's department store in 1984 marking the symbolic death of the area. Interviews

conducted for the present study indicate a greater recognition of decay around this time. One interviewee who had a local business in the 1980's and 1990's and who lives in the area and is employed as an LIHC homeless outreach worker, says:

Yeah, I think it was probably about 1986. Certainly, I think, it was two things ultimately. One was, in the mid 80's there was a whole movement in mental health treatment toward community treatment so people who had been institutionalized for decades were released to the street and then they became homeless. Many, many, many, of them, because despite all the plans that they made for community treatment for people, once people were out in the community they were much more difficult to manage. Much more difficulty managing their mental health problems. That's really when it started, '85 or '86 I'm thinking. By about 1990, when we [the LIHC] came, there was already a significant population. But I can tell you, it had nothing to do with the Intercommunity Health Centre, which was a prevalent myth (Resident interview).

The second project was organized by a group of local merchants who proposed to create an urban mall in the large building vacated by Hudson's. It had difficulty finding retail businesses to fill its 69,000 square feet of leasable space and was only 40% occupied in 1991. The tenants were almost exclusively educational facilities, including Sterling Business Academy, the Image Beauty Salon hair dressing school, and an alternative education program of the local school board (Berton, 1991). By 1991, after City Hall decided not to locate its social service department there, the mall was put up for sale at \$3.2 million. Finally, after two decades of ups and downs, the building was demolished and replaced by affordable housing for seniors in 2011.

The early 1990's found OEV at rock bottom. There was little sign of neighbourhood cohesion or collective action among residents and the businesses were becoming increasingly hostile to the 'street people' who congregated along Dundas. Urban blight had taken hold by 1991 in both the residential and commercial parts of the neighbourhood. The residential area had no formal community organization and the commercial district was being transformed into an urban wasteland, increasingly a magnet where the urban poor congregated, and social services set up shop. Between 1989 and 1991, three social service opened their doors in the heart of the commercial corridor: the London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC) and two soup kitchens (St. Joseph's Hospitality Centre and the Ark Aid Street Mission), all of them still there today.

A 1991 *London Free Press* article entitled ‘East London a War Zone’ brought attention to the issue, reporting claims that people were being deterred from shopping on the corridor because of the disorderly conduct of the ‘street people’, with the presence of several poorly run establishments amplifying the problem. The article reports rather bitter attacks by business owners who complained that their customers faced a gauntlet of “panhandlers, bums and a hooker or two”. It is “embarrassing to have customers hit up by panhandlers” said one shopkeeper. Another said that her insurance company made her put bars in the windows of her pastry shop after two recent break-ins and an act of vandalism (Murray, 1991). The area was clearly in a different and difficult phase of its history and there did not appear to be a clear answer about what to do.

4.9 Summary and Conclusion

To summarize, this chapter has examined the historical, geographic/regional backdrop and the built environment of OEV. The key findings point to characteristics that would allow CUR to emerge. The historical narrative highlighted the territorial stigma present since the neighbourhood’s beginnings. This feature has historically provided a basis for local group identity and opportunities for urban renewal in both residential and commercial zones.

The built environment and values of the working-class, old-city neighbourhoods are important features that can encourage more social interaction. The integration of commercial, residential, and industrial land uses provides an environment where people can walk from home to work, entertainment and shopping. The kind of built environment that encourages the communitarian localism required by CUR already exists in OEV.

Finally, the regional qualities of London, as a ‘centre city’ with slow growth and a self-contained economy, also offer fertile ground for CUR. Slow growth means that external capital will not be the driving force of urban renewal, so it is up to the community itself to mobilize, using resources and capacities already available locally. This is in contrast with metropolitan areas where external capital would likely be more willing to speculate, and neighbourhoods would, therefore, be placed in a reactive rather than proactive position.

Chapter 5

5. 1993–2001: The Foundations of OEV Renewal

This chapter and the next examines early steps toward revitalization in Old East Village (OEV), detailing how dimensions of CUR and NUR have been enacted, negotiated, nurtured, and repressed from 1993 to 2005. The main source of data is planning documents produced by local organizations, supplemented by interviews with grassroots and organizational leaders involved with these projects. I also use media reports and interview data to fill in gaps between the years when the planning documents were written. The story of OEV renewal falls into three stages, each defined by a unique configuration of actors in play and the resulting relationships among the residential, social service, business, and non-profit communities.

The first stage, 1993–2001, is defined by the formation of a relationship between the social service sector and, first, the residential community, then, by 1998, the commercial community as well. I label this the era of ‘mobilizing the community for renewal’ because it is when solidarity among residents, business owners, and the social services began to grow. There is a clear connection between these early projects and what would emerge in the second period as a fully articulated renewal strategy. Much of this period is also defined by work within the community itself, as opposed to relationships with actors outside OEV. Mobilization within the community aimed at cultivating a place-based identity and new social networks. By the end of this stage, the City had established a Mayor’s Task Force on Old East Village, which added the issues of place-branding and infrastructure upgrades to the agenda. The main documents used to analyze this stage are set out in the Table 7 below.

Table 8 Documents, 1993-2001

Year	Title	Lead Organization
1994	Picturing a Healthy Community (long report)	London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC)
1998	Mayor's Task Force on Old East London	City of London
Supplementary Documents		
1994	Picturing a Healthy Community (short report)	LIHC
1995	Unveiling our Hidden Treasures	LIHC

5.1 Mobilizing the Community for Change: 1993–2001

OEV could be described in the early 1990's as disorganized and disinvested. The business and residential community had little relationship with each other and the social service and public sectors appear to have been the main source of economic stability driving investment in the commercial corridor. A housing boom that started after the inflationary period of the early 1980's had tapered off and the neighbourhood was at the beginning of a 13-year decline in housing prices which would not reverse course until 2003.

The social service sector at this time was firmly established. Three organizations located on the commercial corridor between 1989 and 1991, to be joined by two more in the early 2000's. The first three were the Ark Aid Street Mission and the St. Joseph's Hospitality Centre, both religiously-funded soup kitchens serving meals and offering some other supports, and the London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC). They were followed in 2002 by LIFE*SPIN, with programs aimed mainly at low-income individuals and families, and in 2003 by the Unity Project, which offers transitional housing and other supports to the

homeless. The LIHC differed from the other four, as one of a province-wide network of health centres mandated by the provincial government to address the social determinants of health (SDH). While all five organizations still operate in OEV today, it is clearly the LIHC that has played the most active role in neighbourhood renewal.

This first stage, 1993–2001, is defined by the formation of a relationship between the social service sector and residential community which, by 1998, also extended to the business community. This is when the groundwork was laid for what would emerge in the second stage as a fully articulated renewal strategy.

5.1.1 London InterCommunity Health Centre

The London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC) has played an important part in the story of OEV renewal, first in facilitating resident solidarity, then as a partner in organizing community development, finally as a representation of the changing ways that social services were treated throughout the process. The LIHC has brought the concept of SDH and community organizing into the neighbourhood through its mandate to “provide inclusive and equitable health and social services to those who experience barriers to care” and “to foster the active participation of individuals and the communities we serve” (LIHC, n.d.). The values that guide the LIHC’s work as stated in its strategic plan are social justice, equity, caring, inclusion, and respect. These are values that align with those underlying CUR practices. The LIHC is also linked to larger political and social movements from electoral reform, to poverty reduction, to food security and sovereignty (LIHC interview).

The health centre did not have a strong connection to OEV in its first three years, 1989 to 1992. Its original funding proposal to the District Health Council (an organization now replaced by the South West Local Health Integration Network) in 1987 focused on city-wide immigrant and seniors programming (Radcliffe & Lundrigan, 1987a, 1987b). Upon review, however, the council recommended that the LIHC take on a broader mandate embracing local community-building and the provision of primary health care services along with SDH’s (LIHC interview). One early employee of the centre recalls how:

They put in their application for this senior's program [and] two days later the ministry came back to them and said we'd like you to open a health centre. ... They said we can only open health centres in particular areas, areas that have particular social and economic profile and the area you're in happens to have it. That was the extent of the research. So Shanthi [one of the founders of LIHC] tells the story of how she put the application in and, like, two days later she's got this 3 million dollar budget to open a health centre. No research, nothing to really look at: is this the right place for it? If we're going in, what we should be doing? If we're going in, how should we be? None of that work was done (BIA interview).

Reviewing the centre's 1987 funding application (Radcliffe & Lundrigan, 1987a, 1987b), it can be seen that this account is not quite accurate. Rather, there are about 200 pages of research with data from police services, Statistics Canada, the London Psychiatric Hospital, and the Forest City Seniors Program. In addition, a study was conducted on elderly and immigrant populations in terms of their experiences of barriers to the health care system (Radcliffe & Lundrigan, 1987a, sec. 2, p.4). The Radcliffe and Lundrigan report states that "o]ur catchment area has been defined for us over and over by the data presented in the enclosed maps" (Radcliffe & Lundrigan, 1987a, sec. 3, p.6). It is clear that the OEV stretch of Dundas Street was selected for the LIHC's location because: (1) it was a central location for the identified clientele; (2) it was, at the time, on three long-distance bus routes (now two); and (3) it had an abundance of vacant storefronts (Radcliffe & Lundrigan, 1987a, sec. 3, p.6).

The original funding application makes it clear that the LIHC meant to focus on special populations such as disadvantaged individuals and families, seniors, and immigrants. The application did not emphasize the importance of neighborhood community-building. Learning how to work from a neighbourhood perspective would be a learning process. It was three or four years before the LIHC started to work on community-building and created meaningful relationships in the OEV. The Picturing a Healthy Community project discussed below was the beginning of a 30-year process of supporting and resourcing the neighborhood toward revitalization.

5.2 Picturing a Health Community

In 1993, two of the LIHC's community development workers initiated a project called Picturing a Healthy Community (PHC) (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, 1994b), and this was what launched revitalization in the area. Picturing a Healthy Community was driven by participatory community engagement practices and it produced actionable items for the future.

The goal was to capture through photography what health meant to the people of OEV and what they saw as healthy in the community. After the photos were taken and written up and curated with labels and small stories, public showings were held where the people of the neighbourhood could comment, provide new insights, and share ideas about how things could be improved. This feedback and analysis involved responses from more than 1 200 members of the community (26% of OEV's 4500 residents) (BIA Interview).

It might be asked how creating a community health plan could launch neighbourhood renewal. There are several reasons. First, the project was led by the LIHC, an organization that would continue to be involved to varying degrees until the present day. Second, it provided support to several grassroots organizations and to key planning processes. It is important to note that neighbourhood renewal began from the work of a community health organization. The participatory and grassroots approach that has informed its work has made an invaluable contribution to generating and maintaining the momentum that has driven social and economic development in OEV.

Today there is much debate among OEV residents and business owners about the role that social service agencies play in the neighbourhood. While there is a fair amount of acceptance, there is also a tendency to point to them as impeding development. This theme will become particularly relevant as we look at the second phase of OEV renewal, when an 'over-concentration of social services' on the commercial corridor is explicitly identified in planning documents. Throughout the present analysis, attention will be paid to how social services are managed, integrated, or neglected in the planning process.

A further reason that I consider Picturing a Healthy Community the beginning of renewal in OEV is that one of the community developers involved, Andrea Sommers, went on to become the most central person in all official planning of the neighbourhood's renewal through the end of the period reviewed in the present study. Many of the grassroots and organizational interviewees characterize her in this way. Following the Picturing a Healthy Community project, Andrea Sommers remained a community development worker at the LIHC until 2001, when she became the manager of the OEV Business Improvement Area (BIA). From then on, the BIA was the lead agency moving neighbourhood renewal, a role it still has today.

Planning reports of the second stage, 2002–2012, highlight the important role that Andrea Sommers plays as a community leader, stating that her championship is the “most significant” reason that renewal would succeed in OEV (PACT, 2003, p. 1). This is her own take on the importance of Picturing a Healthy Community as a starting point:

So I was in the health centre as community development worker. That is when I did all of the participatory research initiatives using the cameras, the social investigation tool. So that was Picturing a Healthy Community and Unveiling Our Hidden Treasures, right? Everything that we've been doing since then, Mike, came out of those two questions. Every single thing. ... It all got dressed up later on with reports and dances and meetings and la la la. But those were the two critical questions that we worked out as neighbours (BIA interview).

The health centre approached Picturing a Healthy Community as a participatory research project mobilizing residents to capture, through photography, what the community was and what it needed (LIHC Interview). The project was structured around two questions: What do you like about living here? and What can we photograph that will show something positive or healthy about the neighbourhood? (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p. 1). The centre's orientation to community-led planning and programming would continue over the next 25 years, serving as a resource for the neighbourhood, pursuing issues that emerged in the neighbourhood voice, and focusing mostly on the protection and creation of use value – community centres, library maintenance, school food programs, etc.

Although it had been in OEV since 1991, it took the LIHC a few years to figure out how to work with the community. Both LIHC and BIA interviewees confirm that the foundation of the health centre was based on a mandate from the Ministry of Health, not one from the people of the neighbourhood themselves. As a result, the health centre had work to do at the beginning, which was to engage with the community in order to understand how best to serve. One LIHC manager explains:

So what happened, Michael, when we opened the doors – because we were already known as a place that was designed to serve immigrants in an appropriate way –... we opened the doors and we were filled to capacity by the people and the communities that had trusted us [not the Old East Village community]. ... So, looking at it historically, we sort of missed an opportunity to begin right away developing relationships with this community...It didn't matter how we introduced ourselves, the community didn't have a context for what a community health centre was. (LIHC interview).

Andrea Sommers explained along similar lines that the health centre had a hard time engaging with the neighbourhood in a way that was meaningful to the residents. She suggests that that the health centre had been working from a deficit or needs-based model (Mcknight, 1995) and that she brought the concept of focusing instead on strengths already in place. She explains how she remembers first working at the LIHC:

So they bring me in and they say: Okay, we want you to go out and do a needs analysis. Go out and do a needs analysis and tell us what we should be doing. I said: I'm willing to do the work, but I'm not doing a needs analysis. If you want me to do this, I can find out how we should be engaging in this community and how the health centre can be a resource to the community and how this community should be a resource to the health centre. But, first of all, we need to find out if we have a mandate to work here. Because right now we don't have. We showed up and we set up shop (BIA interview).

This shows the roots of the community mobilization and the approach of seeking out the voice of OEV residents to determine how the health centre could contribute to the neighbourhood. It also reflects a larger shift in social work and community development toward Asset Based Community Development (ABCD; see discussion in Section 2.2.2 above), a shift that was just beginning in the early 1990's.

Important to this perspective is that community development should start from an asset mindset, seeking to build on the strengths of a community, rather than on a needs or deficiency mindset. According to ABCD practitioners, the deficiency approach was the creation of elitist social workers who believed that they could solve a community's problems with or without its help (Mcknight & Block, 2010). The ABCD approach starts from the belief that communities have the capacity through their own associations, using the skills, and knowledge they have, to solve problems by working collectively and building on assets.

The emphasis on community participation in *Picturing a Healthy Community* can be seen as a starting point for creating an opportunity to participate in the right to the city and the production of space. The first page of the *Picturing a Healthy Community* report makes it clear that the project was intended to privilege local knowledge and cultivate participation in defining the space.

Picturing a Healthy Community was, from the start, an exercise in community participation and partnership. It started from the view that the people of OEV could decide for themselves what their neighbourhood needs to become a healthier place to live. This project was completely home-grown; who better to document the neighbourhood than its people? It was the work of the photographers, but they were also the eyes of the community (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p. 1).

Identifying the local capacity to address issues is an important indicator of the desire to build local power and start developing the local capacity for a right to the city movement. The community developers facilitated the creation of a vision by neighbourhood residents, one that defined desires and issues from the inhabitants' point of view. Because the LIHC facilitated this process, the inhabitants thus became involved in the relations of production of space. More specifically, *Picturing a Healthy Community* gave residents an opportunity to participate in the production of 'conceived' space. That is, by participating in this project, residents were constructing the meanings of the neighbourhood, providing a basis for the health centre and other neighbourhood actors to create enacted space – the actually responding to and building of that space. The health centre wanted to hear the vision and to provide support and resources for achieving those goals. In this way it became an

intermediary through which to cultivate CUR, and more specifically the right to the city, at least in part.

One indication of the more critical orientation of the Picturing a Healthy Community project is how it deconstructed the notion of health. Its definition appears to have been inspired by John McKnight's notions about a holistic model of health and human services (McKnight, 1995). The introduction to the Picturing a Healthy Community report indicates that the community developers and the community itself started from the collective action and holistic approach.

At the LIHC, a holistic approach to health was the driving force behind the photography exhibition.

In other words, 'health' was always seen as meaning more than just not being sick. When community workers [Andrea Sommers] and [Donna Taylor] asked the people of OEV what health meant to them, they discovered that the people felt pretty much the same: 'health' it meant jobs, good schools, and a safe place for children to play as well as good physical health. It also meant feeling good about where you live and how you are seen by the wider community. (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p. 2)

The holistic model of health stands in contrast to the medical model. The medical model of health seeks to treat disease and heal people; it treats disease as a problem to be fixed, not one to be prevented. The holistic model sees health as part of the social reproduction process, *i.e.*, how we belong to or are cared for within our communities. This is what lets health services use the SDH as a tool for social movement mobilization, focused on collective action, a sense of community, and equity in social and economic realms (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010).

Treating jobs, safety, and a sense of community as subjects for health care is an remarkably liberated notion of health. The focus on the broad range of social determinants of health creates an opening for organizing social movements and for a health centre to facilitate the creation of organizations able to address many of these issues. An LIHC interviewee points out, however, the difficulty in taking on such a broad mandate:

Health promotion is about every [government] ministry in the world. It affects transfer, transportation, shelter, early development, education, etc. – all that impact on health as a resource for everyday living. So it shouldn't be only a Ministry of Health responsibility, but the coordination is not happening at that level so it leaves us looking for money (LIHC interview).

The SDH, therefore, focuses on changing mechanisms in the social structures that promote health and are rooted in the broader community and politico-economic context (Commission on the Social Determinants of Health, 2008). Health Canada identifies 11 factors in the social, political, and economic areas of society that affect health outcomes. These are: (1) income, (2) social support networks, (3) employment and working conditions, (4) education and literacy, (5) social environments, (6) personal health practices and coping skills, (7) healthy child development, (8) biology and genetic endowment, (9) health services, (10) gender, and (11) culture. Other authorities, the World Health Organization (WHO), for example, add issues like healthy places, economic distribution, political empowerment, and good global governance as important elements of the SDH. Recognizing this multi-dimensional and inter-scalar aspect of SDH's, it becomes clear how an organization with an SDH mandate can become a centre for social movement activity and organizing.

A unique feature of the *Picturing a Healthy Community* report is that it presents tensions in the neighbourhood by juxtaposing strengths with problems. Each section is followed by comments from participants on how to solve the problem. The willingness to acknowledge tensions and conflicting solutions shows a level of authenticity and commitment to diversity in the community voice. At page 22, the report states: “East London is comprised of many sorts, as was shown in the exhibition of photographs. The photos and residents of East London need to be *viewed not as a single being, but a group of individuals who are all distinctly different* and together comprise a wonderful whole.” [emphasis added].

There was also a clear consciousness of the need to be inclusive and not gentrify the area. In response to the question “How might we build up our sense of community?”, there are two comments critical to the issue of gentrification: “We need a lot of development here, but we don't want it to turn into Cabbagetown.” (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p.

3), and “I worry about it becoming a middle-class neighbourhood, where the people who live here [now] can’t afford to” (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p. 3).

Cabbagetown is a gentrified area of Toronto where homeless and low-income populations were pushed out in the course of neighbourhood renewal. Identifying the downside of Cabbagetown’s experience this early shows a foundation in OEV for CUR and a consciousness of the threats to low-income and marginalized populations that can arise when neighbourhoods organize for renewal. Other recommendations made in the PHC report also had indications in that direction.

“Try to avoid a clean-up mentality, trying to get certain people out of your neighbourhood” (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994a, p. 16).

We may have a more visible number of 'characters' and people with personal and financial problems, but this is what makes a community. People having difficulties shouldn't be shunned but helped to feel a part of their community and city (p. 16).

However, these statements can be contrasted with other comments in the same report:

We call in the johns' licence plate numbers to the cops and they make arrests once a month (p. 16).

More police protection would reduce crime and the image of East London as being a crime hot spot (p. 16).

We ought to bring interest back to our area so that small businesses will move back in (p. 18).

I don't let my son play on the street unless I'm there. I'm afraid of what he might see. (p. 23)

Have some community awareness and a sense of pride that should belong to the neighbourhood you live in. This means keeping your grass cut, planting flowers, making your home look lived in and loved (p. 23).

These two sets of comment present a conflicting, if not confusing, perspective. The first clearly articulate opposition to unlimited gentrification that would turn OEV into a middle-class neighbourhood. On the other hand, the second set can be interpreted as disposed to gentrification. Emphasising cleaning up front yards and planting flowers, drawing attention to the perceived lack of safety, and calling for more police protection are starting points of NUR and gentrification.

In the logic of CUR, on the contrary, responding to identified social problems calls for mobilizing collectively to advocate for proper supports and facilities that lead to solutions. Prostitution would not, in CUR, be addressed by a crackdown on johns or an increased police presence. It would be addressed through community organizing aimed at understanding the problems and negotiating solutions.

The strongest theme of the Picturing a Healthy Community report centred on neighbourhood image and resistance to negative stereotypes. Photographs were focused on illustrating parts of the neighbourhood that were healthy – the assets. Among the photographs were images of children at play, people gardening together, the neighbourhood’s architecture, storefronts and shopkeepers, along with neighbourhood services such as the school and branch library. These images were indicators of the value of the neighbourhood and the vibrancy of its people. Contrasting with this positive image the neighbourhood had of itself, the event program for the public showings makes the issue of stigma central to the challenges facing the neighbourhood.

The introduction reads:

One of the complaints directed against the media is that they too often ignore certain voices and communities. On the other hand, when they do pay attention, it's sometimes even worse... Headlines just reinforce the stereotypes” (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994b, p. 3).

Many Londoners who have made their homes east of Adelaide Street know that only too well...their community has been treated as a poor cousin for years (London InterCommunity Health Centre, 1994b, p. 3).

This sense of being treated unfairly by the City and by other Londoners runs throughout the story of OEV. It was discussed in the preceding chapter and remains a basis for solidarity to the present day. The question remains whether CUR or NUR is the outcome when solidarity is based on resisting a negative image among outsiders and ceaselessly highlighting poverty and decay.

From 1994 to 1998 the LIHC continued to focus on strengthening capacities and building networks among residents. Most of the work was done at the neighbourhood elementary

school, Lorne Avenue Public School (popularly known as ‘Lorne Ave’). In 1995 a follow-up to Picturing a Healthy Community was undertaken, called Unveiling our Hidden Treasures. This project partnered students with seniors to record neighbourhood history and ‘unveil’ unique people and businesses in the neighbourhood. The health centre also mobilized parents to run a food program at Lorne Ave, providing breakfast and lunch. This program would run from 1995 until 2012 and served as a core network that was drawn on for future community efforts.

Another indication of the strong relationships formed in the residential community is the foundation in 1992 of a voluntary association, the Boyle Activity Council, to run recreational programs at the local community centre (Murphy, 1993). The Boyle Memorial Community Centre had been a public elementary school from 1915 until it was closed in 1979 and turned into a City community centre. It was underutilized and falling into disrepair through the 1980’s and early 1990’s until, in 1992 a group of neighbourhood mothers got together to use the facility so it would not suffer the school’s fate and be shut down. They entered partnerships with the City of London and other organizations like Child Reach, which could provide programming. They were also able to convince the City to come up with money to renovate the building and the surrounding parkland (interview with one of the founding members). This iteration of the Boyle Activity Council would come to an end in 1997 when the volunteers had burned out and their children had outgrown the programming that could, as a practical matter, be offered (resident interview). A new Boyle Activity Council would be established in 2007 with active LIHC support in response to a threatened closure of the community centre because of underuse (LIHC interview; BAC interview).

The business community during this time seemed somewhat inactive. The business association, which went by the name Centertown BIA, had neither full-time staff nor a strong plan for moving forward. An informal organization, the Elizabeth-to-Rectory Merchants’ Association (ERMA), was more active in the earlier 1990’s but it was not connected to the Picturing a Healthy Community project even though it seemed to have the same mantra of resisting the neighbourhood’s stigma as ‘EOA’. In 1993, ERMA hosted a street festival to “soften the face of what has been labelled the toughest section of Dundas Street, or even all

of London” and to “combat the idea that east-of-Adelaide is a bad place to be” (Gillis, 1993b). ERMA also tried to rebrand the neighbourhood in the early 1990’s under the name ‘Lilleyville’, which would be a “buzzing multicultural hub” named for the first mayor of London East, Charles Lilley. Gillis (1993a) states that “revitalization would be the goal. History would be the theme. Giving the area an old identity – and a new name to counter the ‘east-of-Adelaide stigma”.

These initiatives by the business community did not seem to find traction. Between 1993 and 1998 no major new businesses opened – in fact, one of the last large manufacturers, O-Pee-Chee, steps off the corridor on Adelaide, closed in the late 1990’s. The fact that neither ERMA nor the Centretown BIA are mentioned or recognized in the Picturing a Healthy Community project suggests that the new relationship between the health centre and the residential community was, at that time, the only coalition in the neighbourhood. Key players from ERMA – including its two main spokespersons, Pauline Fairweather and Charles Payne – do not appear in any of the future revitalization reports and they seem to disappear from the story of OEV.

5.3 Mayor’s Task Force on East London

By 1998 the organizing efforts of the LIHC, working with the residential community and ‘Lorne Ave’ elementary school, were being noticed by City Hall and the social development sector. In 1998, Old East Village was runner up for the Ontario Trillium Foundation’s Community Improvement Award (Town, 2012), because of the LIHC’s work in the school. With the relationships between the health centre and the residential community now in place, the relationship with the business community started to grow. In fact, even though the business community was not the focus of the Picturing a Healthy Community project, there had been a long-term strategic relationship between the health centre and the BIA during the mid 1990’s (BIA interview).

In the late 1990’s, City Hall became increasingly concerned with the problem of downtown disinvestment (Cobban, 2003). During the preceding three decades, while urban sprawl was

the main item on the urban planning agenda, downtown had been noticeably neglected. City staff reported in 2001 that construction in the downtown had dropped significantly from \$87 million in 1991 to only \$4 million in 1993 (V. A. Cote, 2001). Through the 1990's and into the 2000's, the City invested heavily in commercial, recreational, and entertainment facilities downtown in hopes of attracting private investment (Cobban, 2003). These projects included construction of the London Convention Centre (1989), a large indoor mall, a renovated and publicly-owned Covent Garden farmers market, and a new arena suitable for large concerts and other entertainment as well as for hockey.

Although downtown remained the City's main focus, OEV leaders were able to convince then Mayor Dianne Haskett to create a task force targeting revitalization of the neighbourhood. The territory the task force took as its mandate roughly matched the OEV of today, making this the first large planning project that dealt with all sectors of the neighbourhood together – residential, social service, non-profit, and business communities.

The task force report says that its recommendations are “to be community driven and [the task force] in many ways will be responsible for establishing its own mandate. ... The Task Force will work hard to make sure that the final report represents the views of the whole community” (City of London, 1998, p. 3). By 1998 the work of the LIHC had created a rather vibrant sense of community and participation across the neighbourhood, which is highlighted in this report. The preamble, written by Fred Tranquilli, Councillor for the ward that took in OEV and chair of the task force states:

The commitment of residents, business people and property owners in the Old East should be a model within our community. I am not aware of another situation, aside from public service, where so many people have taken time away from businesses and family to be involved in mapping their own future (City of London, 1998, p. 4).

The task force continued to define the goals of the neighbourhood through a participatory model of community engagement. Its report lists 30 participants representing different voices or communities within the neighbourhood. This group met 12 times over three months, from February to April 1998. To get feedback from the broader community, its draft

recommendations were presented at three public meetings, and the final report was submitted to City Council in May (City of London, 1998, pp. 3–4).

It is noticeable that there was significant participation in the task force's work by the private, public, and non-profit sectors. Different from a community organizing project like Picturing a Healthy Community, task forces are often composed of elites. The goal in this case was to recruit knowledgeable stakeholders with a capacity to provide local leadership in following through on recommendations. Table 8 shows how many participants came from the various sectors.

Table 9 Distribution of Participants in the Mayor's Task Force on East London

Sector	Number of Participants	Types of groups (Number of Participants)
Public	8	Politics (4), schools (3), police (1)
Private	11	Business (8), commercial property owners (2), consultants (1)
Non-Profit/ Charitable/Civil Society	11	social services (6), arts organizations (2), resident organizations (1)

Public-sector representatives came from City Council, local public schools, and the London Police Service. The private sector was represented by the owners of some independent local businesses as well by as representatives of corporate stores (Loeb grocery store and the Bank of Nova Scotia). From the non-profit sector came representatives of six social services including the LIHC, the Tolpuddle housing co-operative, and the Ark Aid Street Mission. There were also representatives of two arts organizations and one residential volunteer organization, the Boyle Community Association (City of London, 1998, p. 20). It is noticeable that almost all participants were organizationally connected while unaffiliated citizens (the grassroots) did not play much of a role. From the perspective of the City, the representatives of organizations are the voice of the community. What was missing is a role for citizens who did not belong to organizations but would participate if they had a chance.

This issue will be addressed in the next phase of renewal, with the founding of the Old East Village Community Association in 2004.

Table 10 Number of Recommendations by Actor Responsible for Implementation

Main Actor	Number of recommendations
City Hall	22
BIA	15
ELCC	8
CCLC	3
Arts Groups	3
LIHC	2
Boyle Community Association	1

Eight of the recommendations involved creating partnerships with different organizations in the neighbourhood. The most important of these partnerships was to link an organization called the East London Community Committee (ELCC) with the BIA, and it was to monitor and implement the recommendations.

It appears, however, that the ELCC was not well enough established to meet this responsibility. No one interviewed for the present study mentioned it as having any importance and it does not appear in any neighbourhood reports before or after the Mayor's Task Force. If the ELCC was more representative than the BIA of residents and stakeholders, then its disappearance from the scene is regrettable from a CUR point of view as it might have kept revitalization from slipping into a top-down model.

Without ELCC involvement, the BIA was left to assume responsibility for acting on the recommendations of the task force, and BIA leadership in OEV revitalization of has only become stronger since then.

Multi-sectoral participation in the task force exercise reflects an emerging new localism in OEV, echoing the experience in many urban regeneration projects. In this case, the municipal government functioned as “a catalyst of urban transformation, mobilizing local actors and extra local resources” (Bradford, 2017, p. 3). This role of the local government, acting as a partner in renewal while allowing the community to develop its own mandate, reflects the intentions of Mayor Haskett, opening a political opportunity structure for OEV and a growing capacity of OEV inhabitants to act collectively in the local interest.

At the same time, the task force faced structural boundaries affecting what types of projects would be considered suitable, based on the political leanings of City Council. The goal was to present realistic recommendations that would mobilize City resources and to provide a framework for how the City should interface with the neighbourhood. These boundaries were used to frame how the task force developed its recommendations. The introduction to the recommendations clearly states that they were developed with a “significant sensitivity to the budget constraints” on the City and focused on short-term projects that could be achieved with “little or no cost for the [municipal] corporation” (City of London, 1998, p. 4).

Such boundaries pose threats to the development of comprehensive renewal strategies with social and economic justice at their core. This is because comprehensive renewal strategies require longer-term projects and facilitated conversations across a neighbourhood to develop a collective sense of what they might look like (Stone, 1993). While such conversations undoubtedly took place behind the scenes, the task force itself was not able to bring these ideas to the surface.

The task force’s recommendations generally take a pragmatic approach, proposing changes that had few costs. These include: (1) new partnerships among local agencies; (2) zoning changes, such as allowing the conversion of commercially-zoned work places to live-work spaces and diverting traffic flows around and through the neighbourhood; (3) rebranding of the neighbourhood, encouraging media and City Hall to call the area ‘Old East Village’ instead of ‘East London’ or ‘East of Adelaide’; and (4) direction to the City to advocate for

more social service spending in the neighbourhood by the provincial and federal governments.

The recommendations were presented under seven headings: (1) business; (2) arts/multiculturalism/festivals; (3) transportation/accessibility; (4) education/communication; (5) beautification; (6) health and social issues; and (7) safety and security. Numbering 42, the recommendations ranged from changing street lighting, to rebranding the neighbourhood, to advocating for better dental and family health care services, to employment training programs, to supporting multicultural and arts festivals in the neighbourhood.

The task force report is significant because of the extent to which its revitalization strategy appears to aim at creating a foundation for private-sector investment through rebranding and public spending on beautification and protective services. More than half of the recommendations (24 of the 42) had to do with rebranding the neighbourhood through such symbolic changes as renaming itself the ‘Old East Village Task Force’ and more direct communications strategies directed to the media, real estate agents, even City Hall. The beautification section of the report is the longest, particularly targeting increased monitoring and enforcement of by-laws.

The rebranding of the Centretown BIA (CBIA) as the Old East Village BIA is very significant in terms of the neighbourhood’s resistance to territorial stigma. The second recommendation of the report reads: “The name of the study area be changed to ‘Old East Village’ and that the CBIA change its name to the Old East Village BIA to better reflect the area it represents” (p. 5). The significance of the change of name is that it becomes the centrepiece of the rebranding campaign. In fact, although representatives of three schools participated in the task force’s work, the three recommendations under the ‘education/communication’ heading in section IV focus only on ‘educating’ the city and the media about substituting ‘Old East Village’ for ‘East London’ or ‘East of Adelaide’; they had nothing to do with educational opportunities for neighbourhood residents or issues within the schools.

Recommendation IV.1 is that a meeting be held with the “BIA, ELCC, area Councillors and member of the board of directors of the London/St. Thomas Real Estate Board to discuss benefits and concerns of marketing real estate in the Old East”. Recommendation IV.2 is that “a meeting be arranged by ELCC with media outlets to encourage the use of Old East London to identify the study area.” It is noticeable that the recommendations and their rationales do not directly address the stigmatization of the area as such. Rather, they proactively frame the neighbourhood as a valuable community; it is perceptions of the community that needs to change, not the community itself.

The task force also made four recommendations about health and social issues. What stands out is that urban poverty and related issues were not directly addressed and that there was a clear structuring of what types of social service users were acceptable. These recommendations focused on: (1) increased provision of health and dental services in the area, and (2) City-supported funding for an employment training program. It is curious that the rationale for these recommendations do not address urban poverty or the need for social housing and social support. Rather, the task force focused on traditional health care services like access to family doctors, extended hours at the LIHC, and the closure of an emergency room at the hospital that serviced OEV.

The lack of attention to the provision of social services, to activities in the schools, and to problems rooted in poverty is a theme that persists through all the planning stages that followed. It is difficult to make sense of why, with representatives of three schools, the LIHC, and a soup kitchen participating in the work of the task force, there were not more recommendations and greater awareness of poverty in the neighbourhood. This is particularly confusing in light of the fact that during the same year Mayor Haskett also initiated a Mayor’s Task Force on Poverty Reduction (NA opinion, 1998).

Rather than dealing with social reproduction and urban poverty, the largest number of the OEV task force’s recommendations fell into the beautification category. These recommendations mainly called for follow-up for City Hall and the BIA. The City was asked to increase by-law enforcement with more proactive surveillance and increased fines for

property violations (City of London, 1998, p. 14) and to extend its program for façade-improvement loans to the OEV commercial area. The BIA's tasks were to coordinate community clean-up projects and advocate for beautification initiatives like new street signs, improved streetlighting, and a community garden.

The emphasis on beautification and public investment in the built environment is not inherently oriented to either CUR or NUR. Whether it is one or the other depends on what such initiatives seek to achieve. Beautification is often imagined as a municipal government responsibility at bottom, with incentives for private investment in the expectation of increased property values and tax base. Beautification and public investment in the physical environment do not have to be situated as a form of neoliberal urban renewal simply because they have market consequences. Much is to be gained by the community when the care and esthetics of property are a focus. Social networks can be built when members of the community undertake projects together. Projects can also provide an outlet for those whose tastes or personalities draw them to such work. Renovation work and the creation of public art can also provide employment to residents, creating social benefits locally.

Beautification projects cannot be evaluated in isolation from a larger agenda for urban renewal. For CUR, it would be important that risks associated with beautification, including gentrification and exclusion, be explicitly acknowledged. In the absence of such an analysis, the interests of capital can enter the local culture in the guise of beautification. The recommendations of the task force do not acknowledge the issues of affordability or community ownership of property and businesses, thus opening the door to gentrification and increased marginalization.

A more sympathetic interpretation of the task force's privileging of the built environment and beautification would be that these recommendations were not intended to be the final statement of OEV renewal. The task force had only three months to complete its work and its report was aimed more at City Hall than at community organizing and articulation of an economic development strategy. It may be that the recommendations were made strategically, to acquire as much from the City as possible while, in the background, the

stakeholders were preparing for a larger CUR mandate. If the task force had addressed the larger structural issues around urban poverty and social services it might not have been heard by the City. In the next phase of OEV renewal, a long-term plan is articulated, based on two years of community planning and continued collaboration among the residential, business, non-profit, and social service communities. This discussion will be continued below.

The most expensive item recommended by the task force – which turned out to be a controversial city-wide issue – was to remove the S-curve that was put on the BIA section of the commercial corridor in the 1970's. The curve was built in hopes of attracting more pedestrian traffic to the area and diverting vehicular traffic around the corridor (Goodden, 1998). The task force argued that the S-curve limited the visibility of local businesses by reducing car traffic and was detrimental to future development (City of London, 1998, p. 10). In November 1998, however, City staff recommended that Council reject straightening the S-curve because it “would take more than 43 years to pay for from parking meter revenue and, by itself, would have little impact on traffic anyhow” (Van Brenk, 1998).

From November 1998 to May 1999, there were several articles in *The London Free Press* reviewing the back-and-forth about whether the City should bear the cost and whether it was worthwhile (LFP, 1998). Most vocal was the chairperson of the newly rebranded OEV BIA, Phil Singers, who positioned the City's position as a reflection of its neglect of the area. “[E]verything we want, they don't want”, he said, tying the City's unwillingness to change the S-curve to other unanswered requests by the neighbourhood, such as changing some streets from one-way to two-way traffic (Van Brenk, 1998). The stance of City bureaucrats was criticized in ‘op-ed’ articles stating that “London East residents feel they're not getting attention” (London Free Press, 1998) and expressing frustration that the S-curve had become “associated with the downfall of this area. It's a stigma that's hard to erase” (Daniszewski, 1998).

By May 10, 1999, the debate had played itself out. This is when the Environment and Planning Committee of City Council approved spending of \$690 000 to remove the S-curve (Carl, 1999). In an address to the London Chamber of Commerce, Mayor Haskett referenced

its removal as one of her accomplishments, praising the work of the City and inner-city inhabitants and proclaiming that “[l]ast year’s labours will soon shape the city’s future, from the straightening of the S-curve on Dundas Street to the creation of a one-stop shop for small business owners” (Sher, 1999).

The task force’s success in getting the City to straighten the S-curve has symbolic meaning in the story of OEV. First, it showed the growing ability of the community to organize to acquire resources from the City and, on the other hand, the willingness of City Hall to hear the community. Second, it spoke to the importance of the built environment as a priority for OEV actors and the privileging of commercial revitalization over issues of social reproduction or systemic issues like poverty, mental health, and marginalization. In fact, only two of the task force’s recommendations even begin to approach the issue of underfunding of social services and social supports in the neighbourhood. The recommendations were more focused on privileging “desirable social-service users” like families and children as opposed to drug addicts, the mentally ill, or the homeless (Kudla & Courey, 2018, p. 14; Takahashi & Dear, 1997).

5.4 The Seeds of CUR

In this first stage of urban renewal in OEV, how were dimensions of CUR enacted, nurtured, and/or repressed? Elements of CUR can be seen, particularly in the emphasis on community-led planning and the opportunities offered residents to participate in defining the neighbourhood. What was not found in the reports of either *Picturing a Healthy Community* or the Mayor’s Task Force was much attention to urban poverty and marginalization. The core social issue they addressed was territorial stigmatization and the community’s resistance to it. The PHC project used this issue to create a target for social action and as a common enemy against which the community could unite. The task force took it a step further, recommending that the neighbourhood be rebranded as Old East Village, thus distancing it from the derogatory East of Adelaide/EOA label and targeting a change in the mind-set of City bureaucrats, media, and real-estate agents.

Territorial stigma showed itself to be a ‘seed of CUR’, rooted in the early history of the area. The problems of urban blight and social disorder that defined the area in the early 1990’s became a reason for the LIHC to locate in OEV. In this way the history of territorial stigma turned out to be an opportunity for mobilizing community resources through the LIHC. The health centre was birthed from a broader provincial movement rooted in the social determinants of health. As such, the health center became a major resource for mobilizing toward neighbourhood renewal, providing community developers/organizers who helped cultivate neighbourhood solidarity through social programs and community engagement. The stigma embedded in the history of the neighbourhood would, further, be used as a rallying point for defining the community as ‘unique and inclusive’ and resistant to external definitions of deficit and need. The community began to build a sense that it deserved more attention and was capable of getting the attention of City Hall.

Through the Picturing a Healthy Community project, the deliberative and participatory voice of the neighbourhood was cultivated; the right to the city was opened for and by ‘inhabitants’ to participate in the relations of production of space. That is, inhabitants began to come together to collectively define problems, strengths, and solutions embedded in the neighbourhood.

The Mayor’s Task Force exercise showed that there was a vibrant community willing to participate in defining the neighbourhood and that City Hall was willing to listen. The health centre, the East London Community Council, and the rebranded BIA were signs that the neighbourhood was growing in its capacity to engage successfully in renewal. The task force emphasized a participatory process and did not express the top-down approach that might be expected in state-initiated revitalization planning. Rather, it brought together a diverse range of neighbourhood stakeholders to capture what the community wanted and its recommendations provided for community guidance of implementation.

At the same time, we can see clear differences in the nature of the recommendations that emerged from the task force and PHC project. In particular, the task force recommendations were much more geared toward increasing exchange values in the neighbourhood and had

less regard for issues of inclusion and poverty. This is likely because of the political climate at the time and because the plan was intended to direct City Hall's actions, so the plan had to speak the language of City Hall and appeal to activities aligned with its goals.

Mayor Haskett, reflecting on the importance of downtown revitalization for London, summed up the City Hall perspective of 1998 when she said, "we need entrepreneurs and visionaries who share and believe that downtown London is going to be a place where people will want come to live, to work, to shop, and to be entertained." She continued by applauding 1998 "as a year of transformation", adding that "London is a good place to do business" (Sher, 1999). This theme of structuring the community voice through institutional ideologies will come back in the next chapter.

The issue of governance was not explicitly raised in the PHC project. The LIHC had a particularly powerful position as initiator of the project and as the organization that could mobilize resources and its commitment to community leadership, grassroots participation, and privileging local knowledge in defining the neighbourhood provided a good foundation. However, no formal governance structure was established at this stage.

The Mayor's Task Force proposed that its recommendations be followed up by the BIA and ELCC. However, the ELCC turned out to be ineffective. It does not make an appearance in later planning documents, nor was it mentioned in any of the interviews I conducted with members of the OEV community. At the end of this period, governance was informal at best. City Hall defined the boundaries of acceptable revitalization goals, with boosting property values, attracting private investment, and changing the perception of the area topping the list. In the absence of ELCC or any other broadly-based organization of residents, it was left to the BIA to express the community voice.

Chapter 6

6. Establishing Organizations for Urban Renewal: 2002-2005

The next stage of renewal in the Old East Village (OEV), from 2002 to 2005, is defined by the creation and long-term mobilization of several organizations. The engagement of the grassroots also grew and contributed to the planning and implementation processes while business, residential, social service, and non-profit sectors increased in number and capacity. All these sectors collaborated in various ways in official planning processes, in securing government grants, and in carrying out programs. The level of engagement in the community continued to grow, creating many opportunities for participation in the production of neighbourhood space and feeding a sense of meaning and solidarity connected to place.

Perhaps the most significant event of this period was the move of Andrea Sommers from the London InterCommunity Health Centre (LIHC) to the OEV Business Improvement Area (BIA) in 2001. From then on, under her leadership, the BIA played the dominant role in guiding revitalization. It facilitated community engagement and input processes, kept up strong relationships with City Hall, particularly in the planning department, helped commercial property owners apply for grants, sought out private investment, and established a community economic development corporation.

The business community, meanwhile, joined the BIA in advocating for special zoning and planning designations such as zoning for live-work spaces on the Dundas Street commercial corridor, accessing incentive programs for convert-to-rent grants connected to affordable apartments on the second floor of shops, and regulating building design and colour schemes.

From 2004, when it was established, the Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA) also played a central role, partnering with the BIA, cultivating engagement within the residential community, and establishing its own relationship with City Hall. Through these years we see growing organizational capacity to take control of the neighbourhood's future and provide a foundation for continued participation in the production of space for its

inhabitants. At the same time we will see the social services become framed as ‘overconcentrated’ and a threat to the viability of the commercial corridor.

The main documents guiding the analysis of this section are set out in Table 10.

Table 11 Main and Supplementary Documents, 2002-2005

Date	Document Title	Lead Organization
Main Documents		
2002, May	Commercial Corridor Transition and Revitalization Study: Community Focus Groups: What you told us	BIA
2003, April	Re-establishing Value: A Plan for the Old East Village	BIA/Ontario Professional Planners Institute (OPPI)
2005, February	Renaissance in London’s Old East Village: Planners Action Team One Year Audit of Revitalization Activities	BIA/OPPI
Supplementary Documents		
2004, October	Old East Village Heritage Conservation District Study	OEVCA/City of London
2004, August	Old East Village Community Improvement Plan	BIA/City of London

6.1 Old East Village BIA

A major step in revitalization was taken in 2001 with the incorporation of the BIA as a ‘municipal board’ (City of London, 2001). By 2004 the BIA was receiving funding for implementation of the Community Improvement Plan based on the reports examined in this chapter. While it had been present in the neighbourhood since 1978, the BIA’s role until then had largely been traditional BIA work (Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2010),

focused on beautification and marketing for the commercial area (though it also, as noted in the preceding chapter, it had a hand in two development/infrastructure projects, the Dundas Street S-curve of the 1970's and the Centertown Mall in the 1990's (Berton, 1991; Hodgkinson, 1979). While merchants and residents shared an identity because both were 'East of Adelaide,' there was little history of collaboration between them. From 2001 on, this would change and the sustained engagement and collaboration between the leaders and engaged members of the residential and business communities would define the work that continues to the present day.

What helps to explain this shift and the growing role of the BIA during this period is the transition of Andrea Sommers from a community-development role at the LIHC to the office of manager of the BIA. The relationship between the LIHC and the BIA had been taking shape since 1993, when the health centre engaged in its Picturing a Healthy Community (PHC) project, described in Chapter 5. Asked how the relationship had functioned before her move to the BIA, Sommers recalls:

It was more than an understanding. It was strategic work. There was a time when the meetings happening at the health centre, they happened in the Melody [restaurant on the commercial corridor]. The chair of the BIA was known to every [LIHC] staff person. It was more fluid days and times than what happened over time, right? So, when it became time to move on the revitalization of Dundas Street, everybody was in agreement that I would do that work (BIA interview).

This shift is important not only because it represents not only a unique transition from the social service sector to leadership in the business sector but also the agentic aspect of neighbourhood renewal in OEV. By 'agentic aspect' I mean the process in which urban change does not occur only because of macro-social and economic structures – such as changes in how globalization, capitalism, or regional features function – but because of the agency of specific individuals making strategic decisions in a specific context. Several such individuals can be identified during this time in OEV, and it may be that without their agency the neighbourhood would not be what it is today.

Through this chapter and the next it will become clear how important the commitment and agency of Andrea Sommers, along with a few other players, is to understanding OEV

renewal. However, it will also become clear how a power imbalance is created when a few passionate members of the community take control, raising barriers, perhaps unconsciously, to participation by newcomers and creating occasions for conflict between the pioneers and later joiners. Further, Sommers' stake in the BIA, and the legal limitations that come with the job, will be highlighted to give an understanding of the need for a clear governance model that includes a more diverse group of actors and interests.

In many ways, Sommers continued the work she had started at the LIHC, but now with more focus on harnessing the commercial corridor and the residential community together as a united force. In her interview, she discussed how she saw the OEV BIA departing from the usual functions of business improvement areas because it looked at the entire neighbourhood – residential and commercial – in terms of building a strategy for revitalization.

We are a very non-traditional BIA because we recognize that if the commercial corridor of Dundas Street, that had really fallen into decline for a whole variety of structural economic reasons from the 70's and particularly the 80's onwards..... We recognized that if we were to bring that part of the community back that we'd have to take on a much stronger base role than that. So we've been using a lot of community-mobilization and community-building methodology to affect that development.... 'Cause we realized that the residential area was inextricably linked to the future of the commercial corridor and that there was a multiplicity of issues around the deterioration of both physical and social networks and infrastructure that needed to be addressed and rebuilt if we were to move the commercial corridor forward. So we have always understood that as well as having this kind of business role, that really what we are looking at is... by strengthening commerce by strengthening community (BIA interview).

A vision that integrates residential and commercial activities is certainly a starting point for CUR because it begins to link the everyday community life of residents with a broader vision of economic transformation in the neighbourhood. Linking these interests is essential to the extent that CUR promotes localism and local control of capital as a tool for combating the alienation caused by global capitalism. Further, when the residential interests of a largely low-income community can be linked to commercial development, it may be possible that use value gains greater importance in renewal plans, at the expense of exchange value. CUR orientations would include attempts to challenge economic inequality, launch community-controlled capital projects, protect affordable housing, ensure that business development

contributes to social benefits, and to create a governance model that facilitates the democratization of the production of space and the right to the city.

On the other hand, integrating community and economic development goals can also result in traditional neoliberal urbanization processes in which the members of the ‘the community’ are defined as those who are willing to act as boosters for local property and business owners. In this perspective, ‘good community members’ are ‘consumers of local goods’ while the issues of urban poverty and marginalization are shunted off to the periphery.

Further analysis will be required to determine whether such an integration will result in CUR definitions of capital, governance, and community in OEV. At this point it is enough to note that the OEV BIA represents a unique type of business improvement area because of its concern for integrating the residential and commercial goals of the neighbourhood.

Under the leadership of Sommers, the BIA led the urban renewal planning process over the next 15 years. Early on, several documents explicitly identify her and her role as the reason revitalization was happening at all and why others should expect the plans to be successful. The first community consultation report led by the BIA states:

It has been a real privilege to work with [Andrea Sommers] and her able team in doing the focus groups and this report. She is a committed and able community developer with a rare ability to use both her head and her heart to great advantage (Sauve, 2002, p. 4).

The introduction to the 2003 Planners Action Team (PACT) report also identifies Sommers as one of the main reasons that this revitalization plan is different than those that came before.

Most significant among these differences is that this time a clear and identifiable “champion” is in place to implement this plan – an Executive Director and dedicated staff at the Old East Village BIA.... There has been no one in place to activate recommendations, work with other parties to ensure that commitments are maintained, and wake up each morning thinking, eating and breathing the mantra of Old East Village revitalization. This time such a champion exists (PACT 2003 p. 1).

Because Sommers plays such a central role in shaping renewal in OEV, an examination of how she sees herself and the work of the BIA contributes to an understanding of the

trajectory that revitalization has taken in this neighbourhood. She herself has lived in OEV since she started working at the LIHC in 1993, and her orientation to community development reflects a privileging of the neighbourhood's inhabitants over the interests of those who live outside its borders. She has taken this position very seriously and uses it to justify her own role as performing more than just a job.

I would not do the work that I do if I didn't live in the neighbourhood. Because I do not believe that you can engage in the kind of transformative journey or the renewal journey that we are all taking if you don't live in the neighbourhood.... But it's also about, for me, ... are you prepared to go to the wall for your neighbourhood? And when things get tough, are you going to stay. So there's been times, if I didn't, and I've just been tested. We didn't know if we were going to get the funding from the City. You know what I would've said? It doesn't matter; I would be here anyway. And I would, Mike, because this is my neighbourhood. This is my life, this isn't a job, right? (BIA interview).

The commitment of Sommers and her orientation to community development continued to inform the planning process, ensuring that it was driven by the voices of inhabitants. A difference was that, now rooted in the BIA and no longer in the LIHC, the notion of community development started turning away from the social determinants of health (SDH), which underlay the work of the health centre, and towards economic development. The importance of this institutional shift will become apparent in the way that 'success' is defined in the renewal plans. Not only does the focus become solely the revitalization of the commercial district for consumerism, but measurements of SDH and orientations to CUR are almost completely lost.

As a key player in OEV revitalisation Sommers has developed a network of actors within the neighbourhood, at City Hall, and with funders at the provincial and federal levels. Speaking with her, it becomes clear that she has a personal stake in the direction of the neighbourhood and sees herself as a gatekeeper, letting in people and businesses that further the revitalization plan and keeping out those who will not. She states:

I fight all the time for this community, but I do it really, really quietly. But if I have to fight I will take prisoners. I'll do my best not to, but if I ever go into a fight I make bloody sure when I go in [that] I'm going to win – otherwise, don't go in, right? So there's been many, many times that I've taken stuff on, very quietly in closed rooms,

on behalf of this community.

So I made a decision, I made a decision, as did [Peter McDonald, incidentally a long-time vice-president of the OEVCA], a long, long time ago that we would do it in our own garden and this is our garden (BIA interview).

6.2 Professional Planning in OEV

Between 2002 and 2005, the BIA led and partnered with several organizations to create an extensive neighbourhood renewal plan. The partnerships produced three reports. The first, dealt with the community consultations through focus groups. The others were the product of the BIA's most significant partnership, that with the Planners Action Team (PACT), a volunteer group from the Ontario Professional Planners Institute. One identified key issues and laid out an action plan and the other evaluated progress after one year of implementation. I focus on these plans because they set out the basis for urban renewal in OEV ever since they were published and have played a major role in structuring relationships within and outside the neighbourhood.

The importance of these plans for understanding OEV renewal is articulated in the BIA interview.

When we brought the [planners] in to talk about the revitalization of Dundas Street we had a very broad-based, fourteen focus groups, that consisted of people from all walks of life that had any role in the neighborhood.... So, a lot of the work that we did in the neighbourhood in those early days laid the foundation for how the community actually thinks about itself and how we engage in the work (BIA interview).

The planning process under BIA leadership had three main phases. The first, running from 2001 to 2002, centred on community consultation, when 12 focus groups gave feedback from the community. Findings from these consultations are presented in the 2002 report entitled *Commercial Corridor Transition and Revitalization Study: Community Focus Groups, What You Told Us* (the Sauve report). The aim was to get “representative ideas as to what people value in the community as it is, and how the community would like development to proceed in the area” (Sauve, 2002, p. 5).

The second phase involved PACT. The professionals undertook a conventional assessment of OEV, based on its physical, social, and economic features, integrating findings from the focus groups, to bring a “trained eye’s perspective” to the planning process (PACT, 2003, p. 5). The recommendations of their first report, *Re-establishing Value: A Plan for Old East Village* (PACT, 2003), were then translated into an official Community Improvement Plan, endorsed by City Council, providing “the legislative basis and context for the initiatives identified to foster revitalization both in the commercial corridor and the surrounding community...[and] to ensure that the Old East Village is dealt with in a comprehensive and coordinated manner” (City of London, 2004, p. 30).

Finally, the PACT group returned to evaluate progress on its 2003 plan and issued a report titled *Renaissance in London’s Old East Village: One Year Audit of Revitalization Activities* (PACT, 2005). The planners reported that they “were absolutely astounded by the magnitude of accomplishments that had taken place in the neighbourhood and on the corridor in such a short amount of time....The community has become galvanized around these issues and has taken a firm hold of their own community” (p.5). This report also made further recommendations on governance and the future role of the BIA. In the next section I will review these documents in terms of how they nurture or repress dimensions of CUR.

Taken together, these three reports represent a moment in OEV renewal when the right to the city was opened up and access to participation in the production of space was possible. The theme of community engagement in creating renewal plans and “representing back to them what they want” (BIA interview) is found throughout. The focus groups that led to the Saue report were an opportunity for the community to participate in defining the place, defining a desirable future, and organizing to participate in implementation. The PACT used this report to create a more formal plan, integrating it with professional insights and best practices. Translation of the community consultations into a formal plan allowed the neighbourhood to impact the municipal government’s interaction going forward. However, because of the urban planning blind field, it would also create some major barriers to CUR and these would remain to the present day.

6.3 Exposing the ‘Urban Planning Blind Field’

Looking at the reports together, it becomes clear that there is a distance between how the community articulated urban renewal in the focus groups and how the professional planners transformed that into objective goals and measurable outcomes in the 2003 and 2005 reports.

I expose this gap by coding sections of the planners’ reports as either oriented or reflecting aspects of CUR or as not. I coded: (1) the 54 themes identified in the Sauve report on community consultations, (2) the 36 recommendations in PACT’s 2003 report; and (3) the evaluation criteria metrics, also 36, in its 2005 report. I then added up the number of instances of coding for CUR and divided them by the number of recommendations in total. This process quantified the percentage coded toward CUR. As can be seen in in Table 11, 57% of the 2002 themes were oriented toward CUR, but the percentage dropped to only 14% in the PACT report of 2003 and, even more dramatically, to 3% in its 2005 evaluation report.

Table 12 Prevalence of CUR Orientations in Revitalization Documents, 2002-2005

	Number of responses	CUR orientation	Percentage CUR
2002 Community Consultation	54	31	57.4
PACT 2003 Recommendations for strategy	36	5	13.9
PACT 2005 Evaluation Criteria	36	1	2.9

I call this gap the ‘urban planning blind field’, borrowing the concept of ‘blind field’ from Lefebvre (2003). For Lefebvre, the ‘blind field’ was really a critique of the dominant modes of interpretation, often embedded in disciplinary silos where they were confined by a need for quantification, technical stability, and calculability. He saw urbanists and planners alike

as specialists in the reproduction of dogmatic knowledge in the service of more powerful decision-makers. Lefebvre states:

In bureaucratic capitalism, productive activity completely escapes the control of planners and developers. Technicians and technocrats are asked for their advice.... But they are not decision makers. In spite of their efforts, they can not escape the status that has been given to them, that of a pressure group or caste, and they become a class.

Even more direct, Lefebvre writes that “urbanism claims to be a system. It pretends to embrace, enclose, possess a new totality. It wants to be the modern philosophy of the city, justified by (liberal) humanism while justifying a (technocratic) utopia” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 154). He says that planners “obey a single and uniform social order” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 98).

A ‘blind field’ is anything that cannot be seen because of the limitations of one’s vision, perspective, or ideology. A ‘field’, refers to attempts to understand areas of human action, both mental and social (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 31). As such, fields are composed of social relations, ways of interacting, and intersubjective meanings as well as ways of thinking, conceptualizing, and intellectualizing.

Urban planning as a specific form of analysis focuses on the urban field and engages in the production of space in a very direct, material way. The built environment is of central importance and the functionality that is sought is one aimed at achieving efficient and effective interaction and economic growth, much less one that leads to social, political, or economic justice. Urban planners are among those whose field is often tied up with reproducing capitalist relations of production, and the instrumental (economic) logic plays a large role in limiting the boundaries of their vision. Thus, the planners’ vision is selective on what can be integrated, and it structures the urban to align with the interests and logic of capital and the dominant ideology. It is no surprise, then, that Lefebvre’s views are not popular among urban planners and other technical specialists in urban design, although they are starting to be taken up (see Leary-Owhin, 2018, in a special issue of *Urban Planning* focused on Lefebvre).

It must be acknowledged that today's urban planners are much less dictatorial than those Lefebvre observed in his time, when top-down planning prevailed. Today's urban planning practice has taken a turn toward community participation and input as an element of best practices (Bherer, 2010; Pierre, 2009). Many planners now see their role not as imposing their own preferred structures and functions on urban space but as collecting wisdom and input from inhabitants in a sincere belief that local people know best (Jacobsen, 2018, p. chapter 6). However, study after study examining the possibilities for urban planners to move beyond the reproduction of capitalism and modes of repression in the city tend to legitimize and produce existing power relations, not challenge them (Gunder, 2010; Jacobsen, 2018; Pierre, 2009; Yamamoto, 2018).

At the time of the PACT's engagement, the turn toward participatory planning was recent, and it makes sense that the PACT would select a community like OEV to volunteer time, as it presented an opportunity for the Institute to be innovative and address 'complexity' (OEVBIA, 2003). OEV was clearly already a vibrant community in terms of participation and its capacity to organize locally, so it presented a challenging opportunity for the planners to display their skill. However, it will become clear that through the PACT's interpretation of the community voice, the urban planning blind field was entrenched and had consequences for how the emergent local regime would evaluate its success and invest resources. In the conclusion to this chapter I will discuss further the content of this blind field as it relates to OEV.

6.4 2002 Community Consultations: Capital, Community, and Governance

In the following section, the Sauve report is analyzed in depth and, as noted above, many themes that lend themselves to CUR can be identified. As in the Picturing a Healthy Community (PHC) report, diverse and contradictory views are presented in terms of how people responded to the focus group questions, and we can see openings to the right to the city and participation in the production of space.

It is clear that the concept of community played a central role in shaping OEV renewal at this stage. The theme that people valued the ‘sense of community’ was the very first point raised in the Sauve report. This theme followed from the earlier PHC project and the work of the Mayor’s Task Force, both discussed in Chapter 5. The sense of community articulated in the Sauve report is indicative of a ‘progressive community’ in which there is a form of communitarianism – caring for each other – alongside a broader recognition that the community must be concerned with issues and people beyond its own social network, outside of the local. The progressive community incorporates a critique of political-economy in its understanding of community and it targets issues of social, political and economic justice in its plans.

6.4.1 Progressive Community: Diversity, Inclusion, Participation

The orientation to community in the focus groups is articulated in a way that resembles the ‘progressive definition of community’ (Defilippis et al., 2006, 2010) and aligns with CUR. Under the heading, ‘What do people love best about this community?’, the sense of belonging and care for the marginalized were core themes. Throughout the Sauve report there is a strong emphasis on how the sense of community, inclusion, participation, and diversity are important features of both the already existing neighbourhood and the desired neighbourhood. The following quotations from the report highlight how these features are articulated.

People who live here do so because of the people.... Again and again, I heard people talk about a community where people know and care about one another, a community where people know your name....

Some thought it [the strong sense of community] was perhaps because the community was face to face with a lot of social problems.... They said they could not ignore problems because they were confronted with them every day. The negative imaging of the community by the rest of London has contributed towards creating a sense of solidarity among those who live and work here.

Equally striking was the oft-repeated desire to protect the area’s most vulnerable citizens, not push them out. While there were concerns about the drug trade and

prostitution, almost all participants were eager to ensure that the homeless and those suffering from mental illness found here the support they needed in their lives....

In more than one group, people used the term ‘real people’ to describe people who lived in the area. This was said with fondness and respect and a sense of being distinguished from the rest of London by the fact that the people in this community are said to live their lives with openness and authenticity (Sauve, 2002, p. 7).

The first extract highlights the communitarian value, the sense of connection and belonging. The second underscores the important role that urban social problems – poverty, addiction, and mental health – played in shaping the consciousness of the neighbourhood. There was a will to address these issues collectively rather than to try removing marginalized people from the neighbourhood. When a local community organizes to address these issues with a social justice ethic, it can contribute to broader social change and develop a collective capacity to articulate and advocate locally and at larger geographic scales. The long-term presence of social services in OEV and the cultivation of local skills and knowledge of social problems provides a strong basis for building a more critical inter-scalar definition of community within the neighbourhood. This analysis of the possibility of ‘progressive community’ activity in OEV is not intended to show that it is actually happening there, but it does bring to the forefront the possibility, if it is nurtured, of the progressive community.

CUR possibilities are also indicated in the statement that “almost all participants were eager to ensure that the homeless and those suffering from mental illness found here the support they needed” (Sauve, 2002, p. 7). Building a community based on such an ethic and sense of responsibility would require strong leadership as these values are contrary to the logic of capital. Such a position on how the community ‘ought’ to think of itself and engage in social justice is very difficult to maintain because it requires resources to cultivate long-term action and relevant community knowledge.

There was also a clear emphasis in the focus group on nurturing diversity in the neighbourhood and maintaining a culture of non-conformity, articulated as a resistance to suburbia, the use of controversial arts, and a desire to move beyond consumer capitalism toward a more humane way of doing community. The Sauve report highlights these features as responses to the question: ‘What do people love about this community?’

People appreciate the diversity of the community: racially, economically, ethnically, and in other ways.... They feel that their children are learning the spirit of tolerance and volunteerism by their exposure to diversity and to parents who set the example to care about others.

Non-conformity was also raised as something people appreciated. People do what they want without too much worrying about what others think, something that is not common in the suburban neighborhoods (Sauve, 2002, p. 8.)

The issue of social inequality also came up in the focus groups as a barrier to realizing the vision, and it was articulated in a way that made inequality visible. The report states that “the diversity of opportunity for people in this area is much more striking than in other areas of the City. The gap between the haves and the have-nots is ‘in your face’, regardless of which side of the balance you are on” (p. 21). Again, zeroing in on inequality and work as a neighbourhood community to address it is an opening for CUR.

There was also an emphasis on community power and the need to work to build the community’s own capacity to organize politically and acquire state resources. This brings the political nature of neighbourhood organization to the forefront, with opportunities for inhabitants to become citizens who participate actively in the production of space. One of the key barriers cited by the Sauve report was a “lack of opportunity for people to contribute to the community” (p. 21). It was pointed out that “no one ever asks us what we think about anything”. The process of community mobilization during this period was understood as an opening of opportunity. The LIHC was, at the time, assembling a volunteer bank that could be used to mobilized grassroots action and, according to the 2002 report, “they hoped this would not be just set on a shelf but that someone would actually call them and put them to work improving the community” (p. 21).

The report also articulated that there was division in the community, that “not everyone was considered or involved in decision-making”. The willingness to recognize division shows an important self-awareness. The challenge is to determine how to coordinate and collaborate among divergent groups. CUR would require an equitable governance table and conflict-resolution strategies so as not to homogenize the community voice but open it to deliberative and participatory processes.

The concern with decision-making was articulated several times and was starting to be addressed throughout this process of community consultation and mobilization. The focus group report called for coordinating the activities of the neighbourhood's various stakeholders (p. 18) and pointed to a need for the community to monitor City Hall and remain politically active.

6.4.2 Governance and the Community Voice

In terms of governance, the clearest direction to be found in the Sauve report is that people wanted a "community council with a paid coordinator" (p. 14), but there is no clear indication of when, how, or what that council should look like. In the later section of the report, when the consultant synthesizes the focus group results, she identifies the need for a leadership team but provides little guidance on the composition, procedures, and reporting relationship of such a team.

We are looking at a long-term plan (perhaps five years) and this needs a solid group of leaders who will be accepted by the community as a whole: by business people, residents, service-providers, and other community stakeholders. These should be people who are already seen as leaders in the community and who can access their own networks to support the process. This would be the implementation team.

It will become apparent that without a clear governance table, the idea of a unified voice for the community becomes problematic. An assumption that this voice would not change over the years of implementation coupled with a plan's failure to anticipate such changes would also be major barrier for CUR to emerge. The idea that, following the consultation and professional planning process, OEV would have a finalized plan to implement would contribute to quieting the community voice, as the leadership tried to protect it from change by new community actors.

'Speaking with a unified voice' is particularly problematic because the focus group process did not clearly develop means for ensuring that the voice was legitimate and democratically determined. It is clear that residents wanted to be active participants in decision-making, but the Sauve report outlines no clear governance structure. To understand governance at this

stage, we need to read past the text and look at the players with the power to collect the data, transform it into a plan, and move on to next steps.

The state's role in shaping the governance of neighbourhood renewal during this phase in OEV is quite clear. The BIA received funding to mobilize for neighborhood renewal from Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC). The fact that the work was done *for* the BIA implied a purpose, namely to focus on the commercial corridor and point the energies of the surrounding community in that direction. It seems to have been predetermined that the key focus should be renewal of the commercial corridor rather than a plan for comprehensive social development. While the extent of community consultation and a commitment to community-led development creates opportunities for CUR to emerge, rooting the revitalization plans in the BIA as gatekeeper poses risks to a CUR approach.

BIA's as a group are known as agents of neoliberalism and specialists in creating gentrification (Eick, 2012; Lippert, 2010, 2012; Rankin & Delaney, 2011; Ward, 2007). Ward (2006, 2007) argues that BIA's are prototypical agents of neoliberal urbanism because they treat urban space as a marketable commodity by dividing the city into discrete governable spaces that encourage inter-urban competition. Besides representing business interests, BIA's are platforms where the public and private spheres converge to form an assemblage of actors, alliances, and interests engaging in multiple and loosely related urban revitalization projects (Catungal & Leslie, 2009). With their focus on economic development and their function to govern the production of space in urban renewal areas, BIA's become promoters of neoliberalism.

At this point we leave the question whether the OEV BIA can be characterized this way, but it can be said that the central role of the BIA from this early point increased the likelihood of NUR orientations prevailing over the community voice. Will the OEV BIA give up power and encourage the creation of a community council to oversee revitalization? Will the grassroots receive funding to organize and participate in ongoing implementation processes? Will the sense of community be traded away for increased exchange values?

In the absence of a structured community council, the BIA continued to be the lead in OEV renewal, therefore holding the power to determine what were legitimate purposes and what were not. BIA's are tightly restricted by their official status as municipal boards and the Ontario Municipal Act, which dictates who can become a member and have a vote. In the OEV BIA the only people with a vote are the property and business owners, whether they live in the neighbourhood or not, on the one-block stretch of Dundas Street, eastward from Adelaide to Lyle. This excludes property and business owners further east on the commercial corridor, the majority, along with most residents of the neighbourhood.

6.4.3 The Village Theme

The Sauve report further articulates the integrating theme of a 'village'. This theme can be a starting point for a progressive community with a vision for future development but it can also be a call to parochial communitarianism. However, the critique of global capitalism, multi-national corporations, alienating suburbia, and consumer culture embedded in this report could be a promising start to community mobilization from a point of critical awareness of how urban renewal offers openings for radical alternatives. In introducing the theme of the village, Sauve writes:

We live in a society in which money and greed, with the concurrent emphasis on efficiency and speed, are promoted as being of high value. Workers and managers alike are more stressed, tired and frustrated with the workloads and lack of free time, than they have ever been. Budgets continue to get cut, especially by governments but also by large corporations, and what people are remembering with fondness were the good old days in which they had time to talk to one another and enjoy the small, daily events of life. The malls are popular because they are efficient and save time but few people think of them as fun. They are also popular because they are convenient. There is lots of parking and parking is free. But in the mall, it is rare for the clerk to know your name or anything about you that is not on your credit card (Sauve, 2002, p. 33).

Starkly contrasting the 'desired' community, on the one hand, with 'money and greed' and 'efficiency and speed', on the other, reflects a non-conformist ethic found in OEV and a utopian impulse to create a more caring, connected, meaningful society. Even situating a

community in this critical framework opens a door to CUR as the organizing principle of planning for the future.

However, we can also see Sauve's interpretive work and the emergence of the 'blind field'. Instead of situating the 'village' as a vibrant community of people producing a progressive space that reflects a future desirable society, she engages in 'romanticizing' the community. She cites a desire to resurrect 'the good old days' rather than to build on the good and leave the bad behind. It is too easily forgotten that racism, classism, homophobia, religious bigotry, and marginalization of the poor were among the features of the 'good old days', and the CUR approach demands that they be addressed. Further, visioning the commercial corridor's renewal in terms of reclaiming the vibrant economic activity that was born the industrial city and built to match it, exposes a lack of imagination on how to repurpose the space for social and economic justice. Rather, we see a call to return to small business/merchant activity, with no attention to the structure of ownership or how to integrate the urban poor and marginalized into the plan.

Last, little attention was paid in the Sauve report to how capital was to be treated, defined, and controlled. Many comments in the focus groups dealt with use value, but exchange value was not much mentioned. In terms of a clear CUR orientation toward capital, affordable housing and the construction of housing co-ops came up. There was also discussion of public spending in the neighbourhood, on such items as OEV's branch library and its public school. (I have not treated comments on investment in infrastructure such as roads and sidewalks as CUR-oriented because they are often premised on the expectation that they will attract private investment and lead to increased exchange values.) Overall, it can be concluded that capital did not receive a lot of attention in the Sauve report.

6.5 2003 PACT: The Vision and The Strategy

Turning now to the work of the professional planners, the incidence of CUR orientations plunges, as seen in Table 11. above, from 57% in the themes of the Sauve report to 13.9% in

the recommendations of the 2003 PACT report, a change that highlights the urban planning blind field.

While the Sauve report reflected the grassroots voice, including dissenting views, the PACT planners re-read this voice in terms that blended neatly into the prevailing ideology of urban planning, *i.e.*, an ideology rooted in free market logic and a commitment to outcomes that correspond to this logic. PACT was selective in its choice of themes to take from Sauve's community consultation. This is not explicitly stated, of course, but it can be seen in the PACT report's silence on inequality, urban poverty and gentrification.

One of the most important features of the 2003 PACT report is the convergence it assumes between the interests of the residential and commercial communities. In this way it differs significantly from earlier attempts at renewal in OEV by channelling the community's 'desire' more intentionally toward the commercial interests of the neighbourhood. The question is: Can the interests of these two communities be integrated without disruption to dominant ideologies, or must certain voices be marginalized in order to construct an appearance of consensus? The answer 'Yes' to the latter is apparent in PACT's report. While the community focus groups did express the desires for safety and beautification that PACT echoed, they also expressed desires for economic equality, the inclusion of marginalized populations, and prioritizing the grassroots role in decision-making. What PACT reports instead is a unified and homogenized voice focused largely on preparing the neighbourhood to attract private investment.

Indicating the planners' attempt to break out of the 'land use planning' mentality and show that planning has a wider scope, the 2003 report says it does "not focus on physical improvements – it identifies and addresses the real issues that are affecting the Old East Village corridor" (PACT, 2003, p. 1). The aim was to be innovative and to "address the underlying problems that are facing the corridor – not just the symptoms of those problems" (PACT, 2003, p. 1). As matters turned out, urban blight, poverty, capitalist relations of production, and social exclusion were, for PACT, only symptoms. The underlying problems PACT saw are set out in the 'Findings' section of the report and listed in Table 12 below.

Table 13 Underlying Problems Facing the Corridor as Identified by the PACT in 2003

The residential neighbourhood surrounding the commercial corridor has lost value and identity within the broader London community.

Like the residential neighbourhood, the commercial corridor has lost its value to both investors and most former and potential customers.

The residential community is no longer linked to the commercial corridor – residents don't routinely shop on the corridor.

Following from the preceding finding, the uses that do exist on the corridor have very little relevance to the surrounding residential community and some of these "nonconnected" uses are even destructive or counterproductive to revitalization.

The commercial corridor is a product of a previous era when retail shopping patterns were much different than they are today. This fact, combined with the decline in the surrounding community's population, means that the corridor is much larger than can be reasonably supported by the local market.

The commercial corridor is not homogeneous. It varies considerably with respect to the quality of the commercial streetscape and to its possibilities as a viable pedestrian-oriented commercial corridor.

Social services are extremely valuable to the London community and likely service a meaningful number of residents in the surrounding community. However, there is an over-concentration of social services along the corridor, particularly in strategically important areas for the health of the commercial streetscape.

There is very little connection between the Western Fair and the community or the Western Fair and the commercial corridor.

There is abundant parking available at strategically advantageous locations along the corridor. However, physical linkages between these parking spaces and the commercial corridor are not clear and, in some cases, could make users vulnerable to criminal activity (*e.g.*, narrow alleyways).

Traffic management practices in this area are disadvantageous to both the community and the commercial corridor.

The "pieces" and ingredients of a viable arts, entertainment and recreation node already exist in this area. However, the pieces of this asset have not been coordinated, nor effectively built upon.

It is difficult to see how the underlying problems set out in Table 12 address the root causes of urban decay and marginalization. It is clear that the focus was on ‘value’, more specifically exchange value, not use value. The heavy emphasis on commercial uses, investors and consumers is directly related to the reproduction of capitalism and NUR type logic. At the same time, framing the social services as ‘non-connected use’ rather than viewing them as a community assets start to close off the possibilities of CUR and alternative ways of thinking about the function of struggling commercial corridors. Further, while the planners say their work is much more than ‘land-use planning’ and is meant to address ‘social and economic problems’, the language and discourse they use do not cultivate an understanding of these problems.

The specific underlying problems identified by the planners was used to create a strategy for moving toward a ‘revitalized’ neighbourhood in ways that would privilege those particular problems. Table 13 below shows PACT’s five-pronged strategy with a breakdown of how recommendations for each strategy were reflected CUR orientations.

Table 14 Strategic Areas with Number of Recommendations and Number Coded CUR

Strategy	# of Recommendations	# coded CUR
Improve desirability of surrounding neighbourhood	11	2
Strengthen the connection between the residential community and the commercial corridor	4	2
Create a village core and concentrate revitalization efforts there	11	1
Support the transition of the remainder of the corridor	6	0
Develop entertainment, recreation, and arts opportunities	4	1

Total	36	6
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Table 14 lists the recommendations coded as CUR-oriented. The first two were coded this way because they focus on investment in use values. The next two point to opportunities for linking economic activity on the corridor with local consumption, which could start to activate an integration of community, economy, and family in a shared sphere. The fifth was coded CUR because a convert-to-rent program could increase the neighbourhood's supply of affordable housing.

Table 15 Recommendations Coded CUR

Improve Carson Library
Consider improvements to the schoolyard at Lorne Avenue Public School and commit to keeping the school open for the long term.
Focus business recruitment on businesses that can serve the community
Develop a buy-at-home program and community newsletter
Develop a convert-to-rent program
Seek out and support controversial arts and entertainment

It is of the greatest importance to recognize that that the first prong of the PACT strategy, as set out in Table 13, to “improve the desirability of the surrounding community”, targets the residential community as a key to revitalizing the commercial corridor. Although the commercial corridor was the stated subject of the plan, PACT extended its reach to embrace the people and property of the surrounding residential streets. It might have been expected, then, that the residential community would be assigned a large role in governance and clear means of shaping implementation. However, as we shall see, no such governance table was ever created. All authority and all funding would effectively remain in the hands of the BIA.

The democratic features of CUR face several challenges in such a wide-reaching plan, rooted in the local state overseen by professional planners and firmly under the overwhelming

influence of the BIA. Not only does the PACT plan impose a strategy on the residential community, it does so without offering that community any ongoing formal power, thus co-opting and homogenizing its voice.

I will draw attention to two ways in which grassroots diversity becomes homogenized, and urban renewal plans, instead of addressing complex social problems in depth, tend rather to propose “simplified spatial solutions” (Wacquant, 2007). These two ways are: (1) how the issue of social services are treated, and (2) how dissenting views in the community are managed, particularly through the absence of governance structures.

With respect to social services, the report is quite clear that its plan for the commercial corridor aimed solely at making it a place of consumerism, not a place of social, economic, or political justice. Here is how the planners put it, under the subheading ‘An important note on trade-offs, in cautioning the community about competing interests.

One of the underlying problems relating to revitalizing the Old East London corridor is that there is a strong temptation to “fix” everything. The BIA, and the corridor itself, cannot be all things to all people. For example, there will be trade-offs between commercial viability and the provision of social services. It is important that these trade-offs are recognized and that a balance is struck which allows for the corridor to revitalize. Failing to understand these trade-offs, and attempting to satisfy all groups and functions will undermine the revitalization process (PACT, 2003, p. 15).

While this passage says nothing about how these trade-offs should be balanced, how the needs of which groups should be satisfied and which should not, it does make clear that the social services already on the corridor are seen as obstacles to commercial viability. Rather than proposing means for ensuring the long-run protection of social services and the marginalized populations, PACT ignores the threat of gentrification and advanced marginalization while placing its emphasis on finding ways to prepare the corridor for private investment. (This will become even more clear when we examine the metrics in PACT’s follow-up report of 2005.)

PACT’s orientation is obvious in the Findings section of its 2003 report. The seventh finding labels the social services as not merely ‘over concentrated’ on the corridor but, “as some

would say, dumped” there during the 1980’s and 1990’s, when OEV’s fortunes were at a low ebb. (PACT, 2003, p. 6). Further, the claim was that this ‘over-concentration’ occurred “particularly in strategically important areas for the health of the commercial streetscape” (p. 9). The problems PACT specified were that the social service agencies “discourage consumers from shopping on the corridor, present a negative retail image, [and] ... introduce a high concentration of London’s most vulnerable populations – a situation ... not conducive to attracting commercial customers” (p.9).

PACT did not put forward a solution to the ‘over-concentration’ problem it saw, but the implication was plainly that social services do not have a place in the future of revitalization. In their examination of the 2003 and 2005 PACT reports, Kudla & Courey (2018) argue that the PACT created a clear hierarchy of social service users in which families and children, essentially the invisible poor, have some importance but the drug-addicted, mentally ill, homeless, and the most marginalized transient populations are ignored as problematic. While there may have been deeper community conversations behind the scenes at the time, there is no record to show how anyone felt that the second category of marginalized people might be dealt with. Even to this day, this conversation has not been cultivated by the BIA.

Of course, the exclusionary perspective of this report is delivered in a soft way, acknowledging that “[s]ocial services are extremely valuable to the London community and likely service a meaningful number of residents in the surrounding community” (p.9).

Reading further between the lines, the resolution can be seen in how the governance structure is set up – or, putting it in more realistic terms, how a governance has not been set up in OEV since the PACT report was completed. The report says that “[t]he plan, prepared by the PACT, will be given to the BIA. It is at their discretion to use it and integrate it into their own study and larger plans as they see fit” (p. 4). While, on the one hand, involving local residents in the development of the plan is stated as one of the main goals of the BIA (p. 4), the co-opting role of commercial interests starts to become more clear. What has taken place in reality can be stated in the following steps: (1) engage the community; (2) emphasise the important role that all residents and stakeholders play in creating a plan; (3) determine where

there is a consensus, get buy-in and recruit boosters; (4) give little power to the grassroots after the plan is created; and (5) manage the community voice going forward.

In addition, the BIA's ability to control community discourse following this co-optation grew, in particular because the planning process appeared on the surface to have a strong commitment to reflecting the wishes of the community. Herein lies the problem of consensus-building as a strategy for community development and the problematic issue of fixing on a unified voice. Consensus-building is necessarily based on the lowest common denominator, and voices that do not fall within the consensus have no role in the ongoing production of space, governance, or decision-making. The only way to be a key player is to submit to the consensus as the highest available value. Assuming the domination of neoliberal logic in contemporary urban renewal, the lowest common denominator is easy to find: it is economic gain.

The ends are clear, but the means of achieving them are obscured and foreclosed by experts and gatekeepers. The logic of 'simplified spatial planning' and 'consensus-building' does not allow these terms (community, economy, governance) to be defined clearly (nor are they found anywhere in the PACT reports) or to be discussed in terms of their nuances. Each definition is passively created and accepted in ways that conform to or that reproduce middle-class consumerist sentiments, capitalist concepts and processes of prosperity, and urban planning governmentality which generally aligns with the previous two.

The role that the LIHC and OEV's other social services agencies played in this stage of the planning process reflects how submission to a presumed consensus overrides more progressive and radical visions embedded in the mandates and logics of these organizations. The LIHC accepted a marginal, supportive role in creating the PACT plan. Other social services – the Ark Aid Street Mission, St. Joseph Hospitality Centre, and LIFE*SPIN – were not part of the process at all. Nor did the neighbourhood's churches and schools play a role compared with that seen in the work of the Mayor's Task Force.

The LIHC and the concept of the social determinants of health (SDH) were clearly relegated to the margins in the PACT exercise. In ways that will be described later in this section, the LIHC actually became a legitimizer of the process, possibly without knowing it, and helped move the project to completion. The lack of emphasis on social justice and the SDH is quite surprising considering how the LIHC's work is situated in the report.

The London InterCommunity Health Centre has initiated a series of excellent leading-edge programs which outreach to the community in various ways. They continue to be one of the community's most valued partners and wish to continue their role as a major champion of community improvement in the Old East Village. Their efforts to date cannot be over-stated (PACT, 2003, p. 14).

The LIHC's role was largely to support, not influence planning. It provided staff and space for the community consultations of 2001-2002 and took on the job of documenting the process. One community development worker at the health centre was recognized by name in the PACT report as a "key partner" (p. 50), but her role was simply to document the process on video and with photographs. The relegation of the health centre to this modest role, not as a shaper of the plan, is connected with an illusion embedded in the ABCD theory and practice reviewed in Section 2.2.2. above.

The assumption leading to the illusion is that facilitating community development is value-free, ideology-free, and apolitical. In the ABCD view, bringing a community together to identify, define, and build up its assets does not raise issue of power relations. The good community developer just listens and facilitates. Power relations among community members, *e.g.*, those arising from different class and status, are ignored.

This illusion can lead community developers to be co-opted for purposes in direct conflict with their underlying goals. With it's a mandate to work within an SDH framework, the LIHC might be expected to emphasize social and economic justice considerations in every conversation and to promote the appropriate ethic among neighbourhood inhabitants. When these considerations are not supported by the dominant community voice, then the job of a SDH advocate would be to organize neighbourhood residents in order to bring social and economic justice issues to the surface and build support for such a community voice. What

happened instead is that the health centre was convinced to support a consensus-based, ABCD process, embedded in an urban planning ideology that would appear to lead to further marginalization of the very populations whose problems it was created to address. This made the LIHC an active participant in establishing a plan that did not, in any direct way, address SDH or focus on how to integrate and protect the already disadvantaged. Essentially, the resources and mandate of the health centre dropped out of sight in the urban planning blind field. This co-optation was likely not easy for the health centre to detect, especially when it was involved so deeply in the process and would even be praised as a 'key partner'.

This mirrors something that happened in the Mayor's Task Force exercise. As noted in Section 5.1.3, three schools participated in the work of the task force but the task force report gave no attention to how schools and the education system could be engaged in revitalizing the community. Similarly, neither the LIHC nor any other social service sector received attention as potential players in the strategy and plans put forward by PACT.

The second feature of the blind field that emerges in PACT's report is the boundaries set on acceptable ways of thinking about revitalization. We can see how the planners have defined the 'proper' use of the commercial corridor, namely for traditional 'village style' consumerism. By failing to offer a social justice or SDH set of values, by not addressing the core problem of gentrification, they close the imagination to emancipatory possibilities. In fact the word 'gentrification' is found only once in the two PACT reports. Page 16 of the 2004 report says that "the revitalization of Old East Village corridor should not, in the view of the PACT be based on an expectation of gentrification". Nowhere is the gentrification issue explored, explained, or resisted.

This is concerning because a basic understanding of urban renewal suggests that gentrification is the outcome of most urban renewal plans that have been successfully implemented. Whether the process takes five years or 25, it takes a strong plan to ensure that city-building does not result in advanced marginalization or the further creation of economic inequality. The very least that can be said is that PACT planners did not propose a strong plan for resisting gentrification or provide discerning statements on what types of capital and

ownership structures would best suit the future of the neighbourhood. They seem, rather, to have interpreted the community voice in a way that makes gentrification invisible. It becomes increasingly apparent that the main goal is to increase the exchange value of the surrounding residential community as well as of the commercial corridor. While the PACT planners acknowledge that “there will be no quick fix for revitalization of the Old East Village corridor” and “it is not realistic to expect a turnaround within a one or two-year period” (PACT, 2003, p. 16), it still appears foolhardy to ignore the issue altogether.

Secondly, PACT closes off the development of the community voice by establishing a long-term plan without mechanisms for negotiating future changes. In fact the sole use of the term ‘voice’ in this report is in the statement that the Ontario Professional Planners Institute is “the recognized voice of the province’s planning profession” (PACT, 2003, p. 5). The report goes on to note that the team intentionally included professionals from outside the institute and other fields in the planning process. These professionals have “brought specific areas of expertise to the project and have made this plan stronger (*e.g.*, police officer, marketing expert, real estate agent, community worker)” (PACT, 2003, p. 2). Contributors to the report are identified on page 4 as 18 PACT members, seven project participants, and 14 project assistants. Of the 39 individuals, only one came from the social service sector and there was just one police officer. The remaining 37 can be identified with professions that generally focus on free-market practices and have little orientation toward transforming capitalism or addressing the root causes of social, political, and economic justice.

This analysis would not be complete without a consideration of the ‘instructive example’ cited by PACT. It is Wortley Village, the middle class, ‘old city’ neighbourhood discussed in chapter 4. PACT says that Wortley Village offers a “realistic vision for the Old East Village” (PACT, 2003, p. 17). While it recognizes that “Old East Village is physically and contextually very different from Wortley Village ... [it] provides a tangible illustration of a commercial corridor” (PACT, 2003, p. 17). Features of Wortley Village that are “core to the vision that the PACT has for the Old East Village” are set out in Table 15. The second column presents counter points about why the Wortley model is not suitable for OEV, especially if CUR would emerge.

Table 16 Wortley Village as the PACT's Model for OEV

Wortley's Commercial Corridor	Analysis from a CUR perspective
Provides a focal point for the surrounding residential community	Wortley Village's corridor is much smaller and in the heart of a traditionally middle-class neighbourhood with very little history of urban blight and urban poverty.
Does not emphasize 'high income' goods and services (consider Valu-Mart; Wortley Roadhouse; the pharmacy, Tuckey hardware, the butcher and the bakery)	This is only partly true. The middle-class history of Wortley Village cannot be escaped, and prices at the local baker and butcher are higher than those at large grocery chains.
Offers goods and services which are useful to and used by the surrounding community	Wortley Village has a smaller corridor and wealthier population. The Wortley corridor of include no social services and, while Wortley is a good example of localism and unique shops, it does not move forward an emancipatory agenda.
Offers <u>some</u> goods and services for the broader London market – some of which relate to higher incomes	If the only vision for the OEV corridor is the reproduction of consumerism, then it would have to change to satisfy the wants of a wealthier demographic than it now has. While creating products for higher-income people does not directly conflict with CUR, the key question of who owns and benefits from that production.
Offers some health and social services, without over-concentrating them	No social services targeted on urban poverty, homelessness, or the addicted are visible in Wortley Village. Services provided in Wortley Village are directed to the more 'acceptable' users, such as young families at the YMCA, or tenants of the affordable housing sprinkled across the neighbourhood (though not directly on the corridor).
Builds upon heritage theme – focusing on heritage buildings	True, but this is relevant to any 'old city' neighbourhood. In OEV the heritage is working-class, urban poor, and labour movements.

Fosters a unique identity that cannot be replicated elsewhere in London	Place-based identity is important, but this tells us nothing about its content. What are the values and what is the connection to social, political, and economic justice?
Is a pedestrian-oriented streetscape, while not excluding automobiles	Walk-to-shop, localism, and environmentalism all underlie this point, but does Wortley Village really have CUR values, or do its values simply reproduce capitalism in a village setting?
Is modest and manageable in size	OEV's commercial corridor is anything but manageable in size. It was built around big industry and as a regional shopping hub for the city's less well-off and nearby rural communities to the east. Wortley Village's corridor is one-third the length of OEV's and it has a higher population density within a one-km radius (PACT, 2003, p. 8).

OEV's underlying problems are lost in this list, where the focus is entirely on increasing business activity and creating a localist consumer culture. The implication of the PACT report is that if this means using the community's voice to underwrite neighbourhood boosterism, connecting residents to a plan over which they have no control going forward, so be it. It is hard to imagine how Wortley Village could have been chosen as a model for OEV. This is especially true for anyone whose leading goals include ensuring that London's most marginalized feel at home in OEV, as indicated in the community consultations. A walk through Wortley Village reveals as gentrified a neighbourhood as there can be in a mid-sized city. The bistros, boutique shops, and the couples strolling along with sweaters thrown over the shoulder are unmistakable markers of gentrification. Where the down-at-heel, the drug-ruled homeless, the mentally ill and the radical artists and activists fit into this picture is not at all obvious.

The difference in history and structure of these two neighbourhoods, the higher levels of poverty and social-service use in OEV, and the desire of the community for ongoing participation in decision-making, all these point to the planning blind field that let the PACT zero in on Wortley as a model. Why is governance not an important part of this plan when it

aims to transform the residential community? Why are the concentration of the poor and the important work of the social services (as acknowledged in the PACT report itself) not key defining features for future developments? Why are urban planners not attuned to the processes that create inequality through city-building? And, where is the strategy for bringing about collective prosperity rather than prosperity only for those who already have it?

David Harvey's observations about the use of community in neoliberal urbanism make an apt conclusion for this section.

In its practical materialization, the new urbanism builds an image of community and a rhetoric of place-based civic pride for those who do not need it, while abandoning those that do to their underclass fate (Harvey, 2000, p. 170).

Or, as one OEV resident put it when he was interviewed for the present study:

They're trying to build this neighbourhood in their image. But it's already got a soul and [it's] already a place, which [is what] attracted them to here in the first place, maybe. And so there's a little bit of rebranding and I don't care so much, except don't clean out all the poor people and stuff – like, they're the soul, they're great.... They want more cops on the street to basically harass the people that don't look like they belong. I mean they're trying to create in their image and that's a corporate thing going on (Resident interview).

6.6 The Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA)

There was an explosion of activity in the years between PACT's 2003 report and its follow-up report of 2005. The energy created by the earlier community consultation and feedback had started rousing the residential, arts/non-profit, and commercial communities to action.

The most significant organizational change that followed from the PACT reports was the foundation of the Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA) in 2004. The initiative was taken by two residents, Jeffrey Taylor and Peter McDonald. Taylor was relatively new to OEV, a real estate agent with experience as an environmental activist, and he served as the association's president for most of its first 10 years. McDonald was the partner of the BIA manager and vice-president of the OEVCA for the first 10 years. Taylor recalls the

neighborhood before the community association was formed, highlighting the roles of the BIA and LIHC and noting that residents were detached from the commercial corridor.

At that time, it was just the BIA that was going. I mean there were networks here but primarily flowing out of the health centre at the school and BIA on the corridor, whereas residents already at that point had turned their back on Dundas Street. They had retreated into themselves and spent most of their time complaining how nobody took the neighbourhood seriously, right? (past-president, OEVCA, interview).

Taylor concluded that the neighbourhood needed a community association that could encourage the City to take the neighbourhood's voice more seriously. Although he did not personally have a hand in developing the first PACT report, he was aware of it and knew that the BIA was actively involved.

So I phoned [Andrea Sommers], who I didn't know at that point ... and said: Look, what's going on here? And [she] said, we're doing our work [arising out of the PACT report]. We're trying to include the neighbourhood but it's tough outside of the school.... So [she] had built those networks at the school already [while working at the health centre] so I said, lets form a community association. [She] said, go for it! ... She suggested Peter, so I called Peter and said let's do something, so I just did it (past-president, OEVCA, interview).

The revitalization plans (the PACT reports and Community Improvement Plan) and the relationship with the BIA played key roles in shaping the priorities of the association during the decade from 2003 to 2013. Taylor notes: "All the stuff that's happened is coming out of the PACT report. I don't think people realized just how important that report was. I mean everything we have done virtually has come out of there." The strategic alliance between the BIA and the association to blend the business and resident voices on neighbourhood issues has resulted in an effective relationship that moved forward many of the recommendations in the PACT, such as:

1. the City's designation of a large portion of the residential zone as a heritage conservation district in 2004 (Baker, 2004);
2. re-orientation of the OEVCA newsletter as a vehicle for 'good news' stories about the neighbourhood, to combat the stigma felt still felt by some residents and to create a positive sense of OEV. (Earlier issues had found more room for the presentation of issues, *e.g.*, the importance of a low-carbon economy.);

3. contributing to organizing community celebrations, including the first block party, a ‘one-off’ when one block of Dundas Street was closed for two days in 2004, showcasing local artists and artisans;
4. facilitating other groups – *e.g.*, a group that staged an annual ‘garden crawl’ (a tour of gardens in the neighbourhood); and
5. keeping tabs on City Hall, attending meetings and providing feedback on OEV issues.

The community association was largely active on issues with the municipal government at this stage. While social planning were not completely ignored, the focus of the president and vice-president were on implementing action items from the PACT reports. The main issues addressed between 2003 and 2005 were:

1. designation of the OEV Heritage Conservation District;
2. redevelopment of Queens Park;
3. enforcement of property standards; and
4. social activities including garden crawls, the block party, and annual general meetings.

6.7 2005: Evaluation and Metrics for Success

In 2005 the PACT planners published an evaluation of progress on its 2003 recommendations, with a list of indicators for measuring ongoing success (PACT, 2005). Entitled *Renaissance in London’s Old East Village: One Year Audit of Revitalization* (PACT, 2005), the new report also articulated a clearer vision of a governance structure that would incorporate various stakeholders along with the BIA in a ‘steering committee’. In this section, I first look at the PACT’s evaluation metrics, then examine the proposed governance structure to see how CUR is either nurtured or repressed.

6.7.1 PACT’s Metrics

The evaluation measurements laid out on pages 42-44 of the *Renaissance* report represent the core metrics of what success would look like to PACT and, therefore, represent the final

iteration of the professional interpretation of the community voice. Comparing PACT's metrics with the 2002 Sauve report on community consultations (reviewed in Section 6.4), the widest gap is found in the orientation to CUR. As we have seen, while 57.8% of the sections in the Sauve report could be coded as CUR-oriented, only 3.2% – a single one of PACT's 31 evaluation metrics – were CUR-oriented. The planners laid out a framework targeting the five prongs of the strategy proposed in 2003. Table 16 has been drawn from their sets of 'potential benefits' and 'indicators' to track each strategy.

Table 17 The PACT's 'Potential Benefits' and 'Indicators'

Benefits	Indicators
Improve image of neighbourhood	Home values Marketability of residential properties Reputation of the Old East Village Number of property-related crimes Criminal activity Number of residents (population density)
Increase commitment of residents to revitalization efforts	Efforts to beautify Volunteerism and/or resident involvement in revitalization efforts (CUR coded)
Increase commitment of property owners to revitalization efforts	Number of property owners living in area Property standards Condition of houses Condition of buildings
Increase number of residents who patronize businesses on the commercial corridor	Commercial diversity Commercial activity Resident interest in shopping on corridor
Increase positive activity on Dundas Street	Number of property-related crimes Criminal activity

	Vehicle traffic during ‘open’ hours Pedestrian traffic during ‘open’ hours
Increase commitment of business owners to revitalization efforts	Participation in community – Number of businesses Police academy participants
Increase profitability of businesses	Business income
Increase number of businesses	Commercial rental space Business recruitment efforts
Redevelopment of existing buildings and vacant land	Building values Rental accommodation Commercial rental space
Increase positive activity on Dundas Street	Criminal activity Vehicle traffic ‘after’ hours Pedestrian traffic ‘after’ hours
Create greater awareness of entertainment, recreation, and arts	Arts, music, and cultural events
Improve perception of community	Public art
Increase commitment of Western Fair to the revitalization efforts	Business activity stimulated by Western Fair events

To identify CUR components of the evaluation plan, I focused on the indicators set out in Table 16 above. The PACT planners intended these indicators to function as performance measures that would assess how effective their 2003 report, *Re-establishing Value: A Plan for the Old East Village*, had been as a catalyst for community revitalization. Tracking these measurements was also intended to “help decision-makers make mid-course corrections to

the implementation of the program” and to “improve programs, raise external awareness, increase funding eligibility, and establish benchmarks for the Old East Village community revitalization” (PACT, 2005, p. 41). The PACT recommended that the BIA “coordinate the performance measurement process because it is ‘spearheading’ the community revitalization initiatives” (PACT, 2005, p. 41).

Primary data would be collected in annual surveys of residents and businesses, covering the reputation of the neighbourhood, the degree of safety felt by community members, business participation in crime prevention programs, and the activity of community groups. Secondary data would be gathered from the municipality, including tax assessments, vacancy rates, property tax revenues, crime data, and real estate data.

Only one indicator seems to track a theme important to CUR, namely volunteerism and resident involvement (see the second item in Table 16 above). This indicator was to track the number of community groups created, if any, their total memberships, and the number of volunteers in neighbourhood programs or events (PACT, 2005, p. 42). This indicator reflects CUR to the extent that the evaluation treats the level of participation of the surrounding neighbourhood as a serious matter. Although PACT did not specify what types of groups would be more or less desirable, at least there was some attention to a participatory element in the revitalization process. One might suspect, however, that this measure was ultimately aimed at tracking the residential community’s buy-in to revitalization as proposed by the PACT in 2003 rather than an authentic measure of community control of revitalization.

Aside from this faint reflection of a CUR impulse, I did not code any of the other indicators as CUR-oriented. The PACT’s emphasis tended to be on increasing exchange value through beautification and increasing control on both property standards and criminal activity. It is rather troubling that no strategy was articulated to underwrite an expectation that crime would go down while property standards would rise. Coupled with the way that both the 2003 and 2005 reports treat gentrification as a non-issue, the reality of NUR becomes clearer, even if unintended. The community had been mobilized, resources had been secured, but the

power to define the future remained concentrated in the hands of the BIA and the professional planners.

Further, this list of indicators and benefits is particularly alarming from a CUR perspective in the way the role of residents is defined. Aside from the measurement of grassroots activity – residents are perceived as good citizens if they participate in the community life of the neighbourhood – all other measures define good citizens as those who engage in beautifying their properties and/or consuming commercial goods and services on the corridor. While I have argued in previous sections that the connection of residents to the corridor can be a sound basis for CUR when citizens are seen as producers of space, the dominant theme of the evaluation metrics is clearly more oriented to citizens as consumers of space and commercial goods.

CUR indicators would include the creation of consumer or worker co-operatives that linked residential and social reproduction needs with the entrepreneurial desire to revitalize the corridor. They would track economic benefit and focus on creating development/programs that addressed issues of urban poverty, addiction, homelessness, and mental health. Without emphasizing the connections between residential and commercial activities in terms of who owns the means of production and who benefits, it is hard to envision what progressive possibilities could emerge. At worst, we are left to ask what value residents who do not care as much about commercial development have in the future of the neighbourhood. Residents who cared more about ensuring long-term protection of the marginalized or participation in social, political, or economic justice movements/organizing did not seem to have a clear place in these plans.

In fact, the follow-up *Renaissance* report identifies absentee ownership of many corridor properties as one of the biggest barriers to revitalization. In section 7, the PACT states:

While we have seen the residents, City Hall, Western Fair, BIA and others rise to the occasion to make a real difference in assisting with this revitalization initiative, we have not seen evidence that the majority of property owners on the corridor are doing their part.... The PACT unhappily reports that many property owners (NOT all) on the corridor do not appear to be in a co-operative or collaborative frame of mind....

The irony of the situation is that it is their properties that we are ultimately aiming to improve! After several days of attempting to contact ten owners on the corridor (who collectively own 22 properties on Dundas Street), only one owner agreed to meet with us to discuss the revitalization initiative (PACT, 2005, p. 48).

Narrowing the concept of citizen to that of a consumer of local goods and services and booster for revitalization of the corridor, without tracking economic equality or the distribution of benefits, is problematic. This is because it draws citizens into activities that, ultimately, would disproportionately benefit absentee property owners on the corridor while creating a more controlled and sanitized environment that resulted in advanced marginalization and displacement of residents. In this context, residents simply seeking to be part of a meaningful, place-based community in OEV could unknowingly become a measured feature of the ability to market the commercial corridor.

Essentially, this resulted in using the free labour of residents to increase the economic value of property for absentee landlords. It funnels public resources to revitalization with the ultimate outcome of raising property values for the owners, leaving the rest behind. From a CUR perspective, one way around this problem would be to develop a plan for creating collective wealth and focusing outcomes on social benefit. For example, to take advantage of relatively low property values, a state-community partnership could facilitate resident investment in community bonds to finance the purchase of under-priced properties and transition them into community-owned properties like land trusts (the Cleveland model is an example – see (Wolff, 2012)). Under such a program, the increased value of the property would create social and economic benefits for a more equitable distribution in the community. Such activities cannot occur, however, without valuing the community labour and building place-based solidarity. While it is unrealistic in the context of OEV to think that all property could be community-owned, having a plan to move in that direction would be a clear indicator of CUR and would be integrated in the measurements for evaluation.

The emphasis on improving the image of the neighbourhood is also concerning. While OEV has experienced long-term territorial stigma and has a concentration of social services and residents experiencing poverty, the PACT's indicators show no concern for guarding against

gentrification or for ensuring that marginalized populations benefit from revitalization. In the community consultations reported in 2002 and the Picturing a Healthy Community exercise, the themes of affordable housing and being a community that embraces the marginalized were present. But defining and measuring affordability, inclusion and diversity are absent in the PACT's work.

Rather, the PACT's indicators for measuring improvements to the image and perceptions of the neighbourhood focused on increasing exchange value and reducing crime. They included the marketability of the neighbourhood, property values, beautification, enforcement of property standards, and increasing the number of owner-occupied businesses (PACT, 2005, p. 42). These indicators all point to a narrow focus on increasing exchange value in the neighbourhood. In the absence of a more definite plan about who ought to benefit from the increasing values, they lend themselves to gentrification and NUR.

Indicators aimed at tracking crime were presented with no acknowledgement of the complexity of criminality in neighbourhoods like OEV or how to address the issue in a more holistic way. Nowhere in either PACT report was the problem of crime, which is often associated with mental health, addictions, and homelessness, discussed at length. Rather, the planners and the BIA chose to focus on creating an idealized, sanitized, and commodified urban village void of the need to address the root causes of criminality or to engage in more broadly based and relevant advocacy. The LIHC and the other social services in the neighbourhood do some of this larger advocacy and basic needs work, but their absence from the metrics and their devalued positioning in the 2003 PACT report reinforces concerns that the core drive of revitalization as it has been pursued in OEV is reproduction of the status quo – in other words, capitalist development.

This relates to a further concern about the continued co-optation of the residential community and social services. Social services were completely ignored in the PACT's 2005 listing of benefits and indicators. There was no plan to measure, much less to ensure, adequate access to support services for the poor or the community in general. While the PACT planners were eager to get buy-in from the residential community – and were successful in doing so – the

expected benefits would be meaningless to a large proportion of the inhabitants. The focus appeared to be on increasing the percentage of homeowners in the neighbourhood and it was quite clear that any long-term benefits would go to property owners, with no concern for renters and the poor.

The PACT distinguished business that would participate in beautification and increasing marketability from business without the resources or the motivation – sometimes because they did not own their premises – aligned with these goals. Homeowners without such interests or resources seemed to have no place or voice in this final professionalization of the plan. Essentially, the absence of a more nuanced plan that put social benefits for inhabitants ahead of benefits to property owners, capital investors, or ‘good consumers’, makes the PACT process and this foundational planning phase unlikely to produce a general CUR-oriented revitalization of the neighbourhood.

It cannot be sufficiently overstated that the PACT planners were brought in to revitalize the commercial corridor with the surrounding residential neighbourhood playing mainly a supportive role. The PACT minces no words. “While there are numerous benefits to the Old East Village revitalization,” it says, “the ultimate goal is a prosperous commercial Dundas Street corridor” (PACT, 2005, p. 41). This thinking structures the meaning of almost all other activities in the neighbourhood. For all the celebration accorded community participation, consultation, and buy-in, and without a broader vision of what revitalization is meant to achieve in OEV, the PACT plan was destined to introduce NUR as its dominant principle.

Here we return to the concept of selling community. All the work that has been done, the buy-in from the residents and their belief that they can participate in creating the neighbourhood, is clouded over by the push to make revitalization all about the commercial corridor. Perhaps this is why these plans are not well known among residents, nor much talked about at community association or public meetings. As NUR slips all but unobserved into a well-intentioned residential community, the likelihood of reproducing the status quo, gentrification, advanced marginalization, and the ultimate transformation of the citizen into the consumer, appear all the greater. The seeds of CUR – low property values, slow capital

investment, a concentration of urban poverty and social services, a history of labour activism and unionization – all appear in the PACT approach to be but peripheral items, overlooked and left for the market to address.

6.7.2 Proposed Governance

Turning now to governance, the key portion of the 2005 PACT report is Section 7, “The Critical Role of the BIA” (pp.45-47). Here, while the PACT planners praise the BIA as the “capable and dedicated leader to date” in facilitating revitalization, they recommend that leadership now be transferred to a broadly representative steering committee.

From 2001 to 2005 the BIA had reached beyond the usual mandate of business improvement areas to undertake community development and grassroots organizing. It played a supporting role in the creation of the Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA), acted as fundraiser and community liaison with the City, arranged for the community consultations report of 2002 and the PACT studies, all while promoting business development (PACT, 2005, p. 46). In 2004 the City had adopted the substance of the PACT report of 2003 as a Community Improvement Plan (CIP) for OEV and granted the BIA \$100 000 a year to implement it. This remains the main funding for neighbourhood revitalization in Old East Village to date.

The PACT concluded, however, that the BIA was not broadly enough based to oversee the entire revitalization strategy. It should, the planners said, take on a more focused role directed at “time intense recruitment, retention, and marketing initiatives” along with facilitating use of the City’s convert-to-rent and façade-improvement grants, both of which had recently been extended to the OEV’s commercial corridor.

To free the BIA for this work, the PACT recommended “that a new Old East Village Revitalization Steering Committee should be struck” to:

1. oversee implementation of the revitalization plan in all its aspects (residential, commercial, industrial, etc.);

2. monitor successes and weaknesses that needed to be addressed;
3. coordinate the work of key stakeholders;
4. take on tasks not clearly within the mandate of any single stakeholder so that none “slip between the cracks”;
5. identify priorities and next steps in the revitalization process; and
6. provide mechanisms for accountability and the celebration of successes (PACT, 2005, p. 47).

The PACT further recommended that the following “areas should be considered as a starting point” for composition of the committee:

1. BIA (both staff and board);
2. Old East Village Community Association;
3. Western Fair Association;
4. the arts and culture community;
5. the heritage community;
6. the social service community;
7. property owners; and
8. the City of London (PACT, 2005, p. 47)

Significantly, the PACT says that the OEVCA as well as the BIA “should have high representation as the two key drivers of the revitalization initiative to date – they have done an outstanding job of moving the revitalization effort forward and this momentum needs to be sustained with their key direction” (PACT, 2005, p. 47).

Overall, this seems a good starting point for mobilizing a cross-section of the community and ensuring, in particular, that the residential community, through the OEVCA, would have a seat at the table where decisions were made. In the list of functions set out above, several strengths stand out, such as coordination, ongoing monitoring, and the need to catch pieces of the plan that might fall through the cracks. The proposed membership is genuinely representative of the OEV’s diversity of interests so that – assuming that the committee had

appropriate terms of reference and procedures – each sector would have a way to bring its concerns to the table.

However, the “new Old East Village Revitalization Steering Committee” never materialized as a body independent of the BIA. The BIA established an internal ‘revitalization committee’ made up of property owners and entrepreneurs along the corridor together with the LIHC and a some City officials. The deliberations of this committee were not recorded and it does not appear that any official procedures were in place. A review of BIA board minutes suggests that the committee was essentially a non-voting arm of the BIA board (OEV BIA, 2014, p. 1). The minutes from 2013 to 2015 show that there were five or six revitalization committee members at any given point in time and that all were connected to one or another business or organization on the corridor. There was no representation from the residential community as such, (I say ‘as such’ because some of the business members did live in the community) and, no seat reserved for a OEVCA representative.

Recognizing Andrea Sommers as the key person shaping revitalization on the basis of the PACT reports, it is useful to examine her position on governance and community in order to make sense of why no fully representative governance plan came to exist in OEV. Sommers saw community, politics and navigating bureaucracy as three separate things. Underlying her position is the ABCD and communitarian orientation discussed in Section 2.2.2. Beyond the perception of the good citizen as a consumer of local fare (a perspective found throughout the planning reports), Sommers seemed to believe that residents do not need to be deeply engaged in the ongoing bureaucratic and technical aspects of community development. Good community engagement, as she saw it, revolves around a notion of ‘organic community’ in which participation amounts to no more than taking part in the rituals and everyday culture of the neighbourhood, not the struggles over defining the space, creating agendas, and implementing a plan. In the BIA interview, Sommers went as far as to suggest that the formal aspects of ‘doing community’, *i.e.*, the bureaucratic and business aspects of community participation, are damaging to community life and, therefore, should not be brought to the centre.

Don't be fooled ... this is how business gets together, this is how bureaucracy gets together. If you bring that into community your community won't move forward because it's not how you engage with each other, it's not who you are. And that's why – and I'm not saying that we shouldn't have meetings and that we don't have any – but what I'm saying is that it is not the be-all and end-all and what we end up doing is superimposing bureaucratic, white, middle-class ways of engagement into community, and when you do that you put people at disadvantage (BIA interview).

Rather than promoting community organizing and the power of citizens to control the 'means of production of space', which are the bureaucratic and business (read 'economic') aspects of the urban, the suggestion seems to be that the main focus for inhabitants ought to be on non-political and recreational social bonds. The view that producing space and being involved in bureaucratic structures ruins community gives the elite a basis for claiming, in all good faith, an exclusive right to access the means of production, believing that they are protecting the community from having to enter messy terrain.

In this view, the role of rank-and-file members of the community would be to support the elite's decisions and, if they felt something was not correct, to then provide input to the local decision-makers and trust that something would be done. The problem is that neither the BIA nor the OEVCA were transparent about when or where meetings were held or how members of the community could engage with them. In fact, when the OEVCA got a new president in 2014, a new by-law made the association's board meetings open.

Light is shed further on the collaboration of the BIA and OEVCA by Taylor's comments on transparency and openness in the OEVCA and the way the OEVCA's name was used to negotiate development without board approval or even discussion. In highlighting the work that he did as president of the OEVCA in attracting and negotiating with developers, he says:

The other long-term thing that I think was so incredibly important as an organization – I shouldn't say it as an organization because some people weren't involved, some people may have disagreed – but as an organization to sit down with developers and trade neighbourhood support for urban design wins, and we've never viewed developers here as the enemy, right? (Past-president, OEVCA, interview).

Going on to discuss how this was the strategy used to bring Medallion Corporation to the neighbourhood, where it has built three high-rise apartment blocks, he says:

I mean, we met with Medallion long before anybody knew Medallion was involved. We met with the BIA and Medallion and said, how do we make this happen?... We sat with them, we said we will support your rezoning applications, all of that work, we're with you as long as you give us a seat at the table, right? Because I believe, and I think the neighbourhoods believe forever, that if you don't have a seat at the table you're probably on the menu (Past-president, OEVCA, interview).

Taylor said he felt that he had to function this way because there was no opportunity to go *in camera* at meetings of the OEVCA board (a strange limitation when passing a by-law would have overcome this problem). He states:

How do you have those off-line conversations if everything is public, right? ... This is a problem we had when I was president, right? Lots of things were going on that I couldn't talk to my own board about because there wasn't that trust, right? So Medallion would come in and reveal a trade secret in our meetings, right? and I would be left in the position: do I go to my neighbourhood and talk about this or do I not because we could lose the project if word of this gets out, whatever it was. And in the end, with the exception of a few confidants, I didn't go to the board, right? (Past-president, OEVCA, interview).

This orientation toward 'the community' is perhaps based on legitimate experience and due to a lack of sufficient funding to maintain legitimate processes for claiming community voice, but it is also based in a willingness for the ends to justify the means. The authority of the OEVCA was used in a way that supporters of the association were unaware of, and this seems to be the way revitalization unfolded from 2006 to 2016. If community members wanted to get on board and support the leadership, then they were welcome, particularly if they were not going to push too many issues, like open meetings. However, Taylor's response to nay-sayers is rather telling of the drive to keep power in the OEVCA leadership, even when there were little means to bring community concerns to the table. He says:

Somebody was complaining and I said: if you don't like the way we're doing it form your own community association. There's room in Old East for another community association. Form your own group. If you think you can do it better, if you think we are doing something wrong, do it. I wouldn't be threatened in the least by other groups forming (Past-president, OEVCA, interview).

What helps explain this confidence is that the OEVCA was, in fact, very closely tied to the BIA. All City funds for revitalization were channelled through the BIA, the partner of the BIA Manager was vice-president of the community association, and the president and the

vice-president were apparently able to put in long hours on OEVCA business (OEVCA, 2014b). As such, these actors were able to wield the name of the association, create strong relationships with local elites at City Hall and with funders (who usually directed their funds to the BIA), and negotiate on behalf of the community, but without accountability. In fact, the BIA and the past president and vice president distanced themselves from the OEVCA by 2014 when the new president came in, one with a broader vision of community engagement and participation. This separation has continued to the present day and is discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

6.9 Conclusion: NUR in OEV

We have seen that CUR dimensions were articulated in the community consultation and planning phases, but when we examine the evaluative criteria and blind field we find that they lost ground when it came to implementation. The role of the professional planners in turning the ‘heart’s desire’ of the community into a technical road map for revitalization had a big impact in creating blind fields. While the discourse of inclusion, participatory democracy, and diversity has some prominence in the PACT reports, no arrangements were proposed for measuring these ‘process features’ of revitalization. Thus, the community was guided by a plan that emphasised outcomes rather than process. The utopian vision was turned into a static blueprint that foreclosed negotiation. Further, through the technocratic logic of the professionals, the community’s voice and diversity was co-opted. Locking the ‘heart’s desire’ into a road map for change removed agency from the community to continuously rearticulate/negotiate its desire.

This feature of OEV renewal has become the closing point for democracy. With the BIA as guardian of the plan, democratic governance becomes a threat because democracy opens the door to turning the plan in new directions. Democracy in neighbourhood governance opens the production of space to an ongoing negotiation. While the planners did recommend a more broadly-based governance table, the success of that table did not make its way into their proposed metrics of success, indicating a rather loose commitment to it. As well, the

‘blueprint utopianism’ that can be seen in these reports forecloses the vibrancy and innovation of an experimental utopian orientation. If the goal is CUR, it is not enough to talk about community participation and consultation, even to do so emphatically. Also required, indeed essential, is the integration of CUR outcomes with the ongoing measurement of progress towards them.

In the next chapter look at the community in the decade following the PACT reports, from 2006 to 2016. It makes an argument that even with a plan that resembles NUR more than CUR and with the planning blind field remaining to structure the community over that time, the neighbourhood still has within it many areas where CUR values and orientations have emerged and exist. The goal is to identify where these values and orientations are located, in order to ‘cut a path’ to a CUR-oriented future.

Chapter 7

7. Explosion and Implosion: 2006 - 2016

In this chapter I look at changes in Old East Village (OEV) from 2006 to 2016 – *i.e.*, from the time the CIP and PACT reports came out through the end of the study period. This period can largely be defined by mandates outlined in these reports, yet the possibility and seeds of CUR remain present. The chapter begins with a broad overview of the shifting coalition between the Old East Village Community Association (OEVCA) and the OEV Business Improvement Area (BIA), completing the chronological account of renewal to 2016. It then presents, with an eye to where CUR is present, an environmental scan of the neighbourhood, looking at activities that have occurred in OEV's four communities (residents, social services, arts/culture, and business) and demographic shifts from 2006 to 2016.

7.1 The Shifting OEVCA-BIA Relationship

The partnership between the OEVCA and BIA remained strong from 2006 to 2014 while Jeffrey Taylor was almost continuously president of the OEVCA and Peter McDonald, vice-president. The partnership focused mainly on implementing recommendations of the 2003 PACT report and much of its work was, in consequence, pre-determined and focused on conventional urban planning activities. Social planning and community mobilization centred largely on responses to state retrenchment, specifically threats that resources would be withdrawn from the neighbourhood's public assets, namely the branch library, community centre, and public school.

Several interview participants explicitly credit the trio of Jeffrey Taylor and Peter McDonald for the OEVCA and Andrea Sommers, manager of the BIA during the study period, as the main drivers of all neighbourhood renewal activities during this time.

The Aeolian Hall interviewee states:

I would say that it's been a handful of people that have started and got this whole thing going. And led it for years before the community association got to where it is and everything started [sic]. It was a very small group. And yeah, and they worked their asses off.

One resident who became active through the association was very glad to see the work of this trio take hold. For her, it was a relief to see that people in the neighbourhood cared and things were getting done. Reflecting on her feelings about the community association, she says:

Well I just remembered that I felt relief that there were other people around the neighbourhood that cared.... I'm not much of a joiner, but I felt I really should support ... and I don't remember the details ... I felt it was more of a social obligation.... I do believe this association has done fantastic things for the neighbourhood. It wouldn't have happened without [them] (Resident interview).

In terms of urban planning, the OEVCA and BIA, led by these three community members, worked closely together to develop relationships with key decision-makers at City Hall and in other public and private funders. This is confirmed in a 2014 interview with Jeffrey Taylor and Peter McDonald themselves as founders of the OEVCA. In that interview, they discuss the history of the association and what they believe were the reasons they were successful in the revitalization effort. Peter McDonald states that one thing that has “been real [sic] important is that the community association and the BIA have worked closely together over the years.... They were doing the same thing we were doing; they were building relationships right” (OEVCA, 2014a). Peter McDonald continues: “My impression is that it wasn't until the BIA became really active” that the relationships with City Hall and other funders “became strong enough that they could really get attention” (OEVCA, 2014a).

Jeffrey Taylor traces the history of the relationship with City Hall to the time that the Planners Action Team (PACT) came to the neighbourhood. He says:

We also had an inroad because when the planners came into the neighbourhood for the Planner's Action Team work, a lot of those relationships were built then, right? I think we've always had good relationships since the Planner's Action Team; we've certainly had good relationships with planning staff (OEVCA, 2014a).

In these years, four substantial urban plans related to OEV were created by the City, targeting brownfield redevelopment (McCormick Area Study 2010, and Secondary Plan, 2015), public

park design (Queens Park Master Plan, 2009), cultural development (London's Cultural Prosperity Plan, 2013), and urban design (OEV Commercial Corridor Urban Design Manual, 2016).

These plans represented an extension of the type of planning found in the PACT report, largely focused on the built environment with a sensitivity and desire to integrate new development with what was already in place. The BIA and OEVCA contributed to shaping these plans, which would ultimately guide future development in the area. The BIA's and OEVCA's ability to influence these plans reflects 'community-controlled redevelopment' to the extent that neighbourhood-based organizations drove the agendas and could get the City to accept and facilitate them. In the words of Jeffrey Taylor, "the interesting thing in all of those [plans getting made] is that they only happened because we asked. I mean it wasn't offered to us, was it?" (OEVCA, 2014b) .

In the urban planning process in OEV during these years, cultivating broadly based community engagement was little emphasized. What appears to have occurred was that the input/participatory phase (Bherer, 2010) of the revitalization strategy was completed with the PACT report and now it was time to implement the vision laid out there. Bherer (2010) suggests that this type of organizing is connected to a broader shift in how governments and organizations acquire and maintain legitimacy, shifting from output-oriented to input-oriented legitimacy.

With a change from 'government' to 'governance', the source of legitimacy for government and community organizations increasingly lies in the 'input-oriented' activities of public participation meetings, community consultations, and community feedback (Bherer, 2010; Pierre, 2009). In the implementation phase, legitimacy arises from the success of the outputs in achieving desired goals. Democratic participation becomes secondary in the implementation phase, if it is not lost altogether. Pierre (2009) goes so far as to suggest that governance tilted toward input-oriented legitimacy creates a context that threatens democracy. This is because once the input-participatory phase is complete, power shifts to organizations, often undemocratic, that are capable of implementing the plans on the basis of

their own agendas. Such organizations can then claim legitimacy because the community voice was heard in the input phase, regardless of whether or not it was heeded in the outputs. Actors and voices with ideas that have been bypassed in the plans are then easily marginalized and excluded from ongoing participation in shaping the community.

Aside from maintaining legitimacy within the community and building local capacity to implement the plan, there was little immediate need to keep cultivating participation while successfully engaging City Hall and other large stakeholders. As Andrea Sommer says:

What that plan did for us was that it gave us something to go to people with. It's easier to go to a group or an organization and say here's what we want to do and here's your piece of it, here's where we think you can help, as opposed to going to people and saying, you know we're really in trouble over here, can you help us? So that plan helped to shape our thinking, but it also helped to shape the thinking of the various groups that have gotten involved with us. Like the City of London, the by-law enforcement group, the London Police Service with their crime prevention program, and certainly the affordable housing piece (OEVBIA, 2003).

With a small but energetic and purposeful team at the helm, most resources were invested in the implementation of the plan. This would be expected of the BIA, in line with its mandate as a municipal board and with a large part of its funding coming from the City. Because City Hall held the purse strings, it was there that the BIA needed to remain relevant. The ability to shape the agenda with the City largely rested with the BIA as the only organization funded to do the work.

Turning now to the OEVCA, it is more concerning, though not surprising, that more attention would be given to urban planning than to the cultivation of a culture of participation and to issues of social concern. With the PACT report taken to represent the voice of the community as expressed by the community association, the planners' recommendations resulted in both positive and negative outcomes. On the positive side, the PACT helped focus the association's activities and, due to the extensive consultations, provided legitimacy to a claimed right to implement the mandate. On the other hand, it continued to direct the community association toward reproducing the urban planning blind field, neglecting participatory democracy and decreasing the likelihood of organization for social and

economic justice.

As a grassroots, volunteer-driven organization with no formal connection to the state, the OEVCA's support lent legitimacy to planning based on the PACT reports. On the surface, this type of organization ought to be a model of democratic, community-controlled development (Stoecker, 1994). However, because of the nature of 'blueprint utopianism' and the urban planning blind field found in the PACT reports, the OEVCA's commitment to the plan closed off the possibility of radical community organizing in favour of activities that would generate 'output-oriented' legitimacy and ongoing development.

The appearance that control was entirely in the hands of a three-person OEVCA-BIA coalition, with one of the OEVCA people and the BIA manager as partners in personal life, caused some members of the community to question the association's legitimacy. One long-term resident who participated in the association in its early years explains how it made her feel:

The component with [Andrea] being on the BIA and [Peter] on the Old East Village CA is kinda like, it's a little tricky because you can't say anything negative against the BIA when [Peter]'s at the meeting because that's his wife (Resident interview).

Recounting his attempts to engage with the community association during these years, another long-term resident expresses frustration that the association was not really interested in developing the social fabric with resident projects.

The association was whatever [Peter] and [Jeffrey] were going to do.... That wasn't really an association as far as I'm concerned.... They were looking at how to get Queens Park done and how to get Queens Ave done. So, they were looking at a different picture than what I was looking at as community.... You didn't know when the meetings were going to be ... so you never really felt like you had a voice in the community. So the association, and like I said, you went and you supported it. The association was owned if you like (Resident interview).

While community mobilization did not define the work of the OEVCA or BIA in terms of urban planning, several broadly based mobilizations did take place in this period, in which these organizations, joined by the LIHC, led. For the most part, the purpose was to head off further public divestment. Mobilizations took place around three threats: (1) a proposal to cut

hours at the neighbourhood's branch library, seen in the community as a stop along the road to closure; (2) saving the community centre from closure; and (3) steps taken by the Thames Valley District School Board to close the neighbourhood's last remaining public school. Two of these mobilizations were successful. The branch library was not only saved but was given a facelift while the collection was improved and programming was increased (2008). The community centre was renovated, all but rebuilt, at a cost of \$1.2 million (2010-2012). The eight-year campaign to save the school was, however, unsuccessful, and the doors closed behind the last pupils in June 2016.

Through these initiatives, the strength of the partnership among the OEVCA, BIA, and LIHC is apparent. They were and remain the channels through which the community can advocate for itself. The challenge, however, is that the mobilizations just cited were reactive, not proactive. That is, that the impetus was to protect the *status quo* from state retrenchment rather than to further build community. The energy required to address these threats may help explain why issues of governance and gentrification did not take hold during this phase of OEV renewal.

Through the responses to these threats of state retrenchment we see contradictory impacts of neoliberalism on the neighbourhood. On the one hand, grassroots energy was largely siphoned off by the ongoing need to be vigilant in protecting the community from disinvestment and the energy and focus of community members was diverted from proactive community projects potentially focused on CUR ends. On the other hand, these threats contributed to a culture of participation by drawing out many previously unengaged inhabitants to take a hand in protecting the neighbourhood's assets.

From the threat to the community centre, for example, grew an active group of resident volunteers who would establish and maintain the neighbourhood recreational association, the Boyle Activity Council (BAC). This group has been an important part of the neighbourhood's history, by both creating networks of residents and stimulating a sense of community empowerment. As discussed later, a network that grew out of the BAC would eventually come to play a key role in turning the community association toward a more

democratic model as well as in assuming high-profile roles in the effort to save the school.

The threat to the school provided a basis for ongoing collaboration between the OEVCA-BIA coalition and the LIHC, which contributed in advocating on behalf of the community to City Hall and the school board. This team worked together for nearly eight years and its ability to mobilize the community was impressive. The threat of school closure went through two waves. The first was in 2007 when the school was named to be considered for closure (Van Brenk, 2007). The OEVCA-BIA-LIHC group, named the Lorne Avenue Collaborative (LAC), was successful in having the school removed from the school board's Accommodation Review Process at this stage, as the school was acknowledged to be an important community hub. Following that success, the group continued to organize to build a case to keep the school as a community hub and to be prepared for future threats. In a sense, this turned out to be a proactive step, pre-empting the future threat to the school.

In 2009/10, the LAC hosted several community consultations and created a report called *The Preservation of Lorne Avenue School: A Case for the Establishment of A Community 'Hub'*. Named in the report were the OEVCA-BIA trio, plus one social worker from the LIHC and one member of the Lorne Avenue School Council. This report gave an impressive overview of the community voice expressed in the consultations and set out a vision for the school with a clear plan for establishing the hub. It highlighted the role that the school already played as a center for the community, emphasizing that there were currently, and had been for many years, non-school board programs occupying all the free space in the building (Lorne Avenue Collaborative, 2010). The report connected its plan with literature on community schools and the province's push toward creating community hubs in underutilized schools. The plan proposed to continue the legacy of child-targeted programming, such as the healthy-eating and breakfast programs that the LIHC had run in the school since 1996, to expand programs for young parents and seniors, and possibly to offer some health services (Lorne Avenue Collaborative, 2010). Dated March 28th, 2010, the plan never had time to get traction because the school became under threat of closure again little more than a year and a half later, in November 2011, (Martijn, 2011).

At the time, the school was at 27% capacity, with 250 pupils in a space built for 800 (Martiiin, 2011). The accommodation review process, ordinarily expected to last five months, went on for nearly three years in the case of the Lorne Avenue school. The LAC group reached out into its grassroots networks and organized people to present at the public meetings, write letters to various government actors, and turn out for protest demonstrations at school board meetings. The main opportunity for keeping the school open was through community use of space in a large portion of the building. The first group to step up to the table was the LIHC. It proposed to move much of the its family, child, and youth programing as well as administrative offices into the school and launch new programs for the pupils. However, this proposal found resistance within the community, reflective of the failure to cultivate a social justice mandate in the core of community organizing.

On the one side, the health centre was seen by many OEV residents as an undesirable neighbour because it attracted people experiencing homelessness, addiction, and mental health issues to the sidewalk in front of its Dundas Street location. Even the leadership of the OEVCA seemed ambiguous in its support for this option and the BIA remained largely silent. The *London Free Press* article on the LIHC proposal painted a dreary picture, suggesting that the health centre would have to overcome the image of street outreach work “if it is to persuade residents to support a move” to the school (Sher, 2013). The article went on to quote a parent who said “the real parents of Lorne Ave. children are very against having this in the school property and intend to withdraw their children if this goes through” (Sher, 2013). Taylor the article said, “thinks the health centre is seeking a responsible way to use the school” but “it’s potentially an incendiary issue” (Sher, 2013).

The LIHC proposal did not move forward following the community consultations on the topic. The next proposal came from the City, which committed to using the space for a family centre and an international Chinese private school and to finding other community partners (Daniszewski, 2013b). The LAC helped to bring proposals from local arts and cultural organizations as possible tenants, including the Aeolian Hall, the Palace Theatre, and Growing Chefs (Daniszewski, 2013c). The school board responded by demanding that community tenants would have to pay for all renovations and upkeep. This demand came

after the proposals were submitted and energy appeared to be moving toward keeping the school. The response from the community was to blame the school board for ‘shifting the goal posts’ every time new solutions came forward (Pedro, 2014).

In the end, the board decided to close the school and send the Lorne Ave students to nearby schools, one of which would need renovation and expansion at a cost that ballooned from an original projection of \$3.8 million (Daniszewski, 2013a), to \$5.6 million at the time of the board’s decision, to over \$10 million (Dubinski, 2015) by the time the work was completed; the school also opened one year later than projected.

The campaign to save the Lorne Avenue school showed the vibrancy of the residential community and the skill of the organizational leadership to advocate and bring larger institutional partners together. Once again, the residents of the neighbourhood mobilized at impressive levels, holding up the process much longer than expected. The long-term commitment of the LIHC, OEVCA, and BIA to opposing the school closure provides a foundation for continuing to build a highly skilled coalition to continue pursuing neighbourhood projects. However, following the school campaign there did not appear to be more threats to the neighbourhood and, although the battle to keep the school open created cooperation among actors across the neighbourhood, what followed was increased distancing between the OEVCA and BIA.

The cleavage started opening around 2012, when Susan Walker, previously a vice-president of the BAC, replaced Jeffrey Taylor as president of the OEVCA. With its relaunch in 2007, the BAC and its core volunteers began to develop strong networks unrelated to the OEVCA and BIA leadership. During the 2012-2013 years this emerging network eventually crossed over to acquire representation on the OEVCA board. Under its new leadership, the OEVCA broadened its scope beyond urban planning and reactive organizing and moved toward greater community engagement. During Susan Walker’s two years as president, the association was transformed from a small group of tightly knit ‘doers’ to a larger group in a variety of networks. The OEVCA interviewee sees it this way:

So I think that was a pivotal year in terms of the structure [2012]. I would say that

because it was the first time that the president's role had ever rolled over and so that made a change in itself, but we also added four more director-at-large positions in that year. So that also expanded the reach of the executive roles itself and then with that addition we were able to introduce specific committees (OEVCA interview).

Part of this transformation was to address community concerns that OEVCA activities were overly controlled from outside its membership. In fact, the OEVCA interviewee suggests that there has been a strategic move to put some distance between the association and the BIA because of this perception:

I think some of the distance as well that has been created over the last two years between the two groups has been a bit strategic. Because it has been one of the critiques of the membership in the past, is that it's too closely tied, it felt like, you know, the association was sort of driven by the same objectives as the BIA and then, therefore, that created uncomfortable feelings for people who didn't necessarily agree with the work that the BIA was doing. So I feel that people felt less inclined to be involved with the association because it was closely tied between [sic] the BIA. And, with a bit of a separation between the two organizations, I think we've seen more of an uptake in our own association and our membership, because people can see a clear difference now (OEVCA interview).

Reflective of this desire to address concern about the control of the OEVCA, the by-laws of the association were changed in 2013 to make all executive meetings open and to post the minutes of executive meetings to the association website for review by anyone who cared to read them.

With the focus on engagement and the groundwork laid for good relationships at City Hall, the association began to follow a more participatory, democratic model. One active resident identifies this transition and makes the claim that a cultural shift had occurred in the OEVCA. He says that since the past leadership stepped down:

there's been a new direction and it's been a good direction of inclusiveness, of more broad appeal and communication. There's been more avenues for more individuals to get involved where they want to get involved (Resident interview).

In 2015 the OEVCA executive's annual statement of purpose was a clear call to action for the grassroots. The mission was to:

make it easy and rewarding for every resident and friend of Old East Village to

engage with and contribute to community identified priorities, including local economic development, sustainable living, safe living, arts & culture, and historical preservation.

Consistent with this mission, the executive established seven committees to address various aspects of neighbourhood development: (1) Communications and Public Relations’ (2) Historical Society; (3) Social; (4) Community Safety; (5) Neighbourhood Data; (6) Sustainable Living; and (7) Economic Development. This reflected a desire among residents to participate in the ‘right to the city’ by engaging in the production of neighbourhood space and creating meaningful local connections. Reflecting on the growth of the association’s vision and activities, the association’s president stated:

I think some of the work that we do now is more directly related, is more related to what some of the community would say its values or hopes of the association are. Which would be, like, sustainable living and clean leaving, or reduced waste, and improvements in terms of landscape and tree planting and ... safety. So as we shift away from making sure that the City knows who we are, now that they know who we are, we can spend some more time focusing on more of the social elements. (OEVCA interview)

After nearly a decade of less attention to community organizing, this shift signifies an opening to participatory democracy in building the neighbourhood. While the list of community values in the previous quotation do not embrace social and economic justice, it is too early yet to tell whether the association will move in that direction.

7.1.1 The OEV Economic Development Corporation

During this period of transition, the BIA was moving forward with the formation of a Neighbourhood Economic Development Corporation (NEDC) and an accompanying local economic development strategy (LEDP). By 2012 the BIA had acquired funding from the Government of Ontario’s Labour Market Partnership to hire a consultant to research creation of both the corporation and the plan (OEVBIA, 2012b). The MaRS Center for Impact Investing was hired to assist with the research and provide recommendations on steps forward. The stated goal was to “create a more resilient local economy by developing mechanisms and processes that can generate local solutions and responses to our social and

economic challenges and opportunities” (OEV BIA, 2012b, p. 10).

Research had previously been conducted over several years through a strong relationship between the BIA and an urban planning professor at Western University. He provided research support and advocacy on neighbourhood issues regarding local economic development. The research not only served the professor’s academic purposes but also helped inform and legitimize the work of key stakeholders in OEV. The professor’s team developed important information on the impact of the Western Fair Farmers’ Market, turning OEV from a ‘food desert,’ where food was expensive and not readily accessible, into a neighbourhood with better access to more nutritious and less expensive food (Larsen & Gilliland, 2009). This research team also did geographical analysis of consumer patterns, identifying the key businesses and organizations that drove the local economy. They showed that the farmers’ market, the Aeolian Hall, the Palace Theatre, and the London Clay Art Centre were drawing consumers from all across the city and the surrounding rural areas (OEV BIA, 2012a). From this analysis, the food and culture features of the economy emerged as drivers for future development and became the focus of the local identity (City of London, 2013; OEV BIA, 2012a).

The core features of the development corporation drew on the themes identified in the research. There were to be four main areas where the development corporation would invest: (1) food production live/work space; (2) cultural production live/work space; (3) a neighbourhood loan fund; and (4) a green energy program (OEV BIA, 2012a). The amount requested from the City was \$5 million over ten years.

No funding has yet been provided by the City. However, the BIA proceeded to incorporate the NEDC in 2015. To date, however, there have been no major community consultations, no participatory engagement, and/or report to the community at large on the corporation’s work. At the time of interviewing for this study, very few mentioned the corporation and those who did appeared to think that it was either defunct or that there had been a general breakdown in movement toward its establishment.

An important indication of the distancing between the BIA and OEVCA is that the association had been listed in reports dated 2012 as a core partner in movement towards the corporation but by the time of incorporation in 2015 it was not given a seat on the board of directors, nor was there a seat for any other ‘partnering’ organization except the BIA. The absence of the OEVCA as a key stakeholder in the corporation signifies not only the distance that had grown between the association and the BIA but a loss of grassroots power to affect economic development going forward.

The development corporation has been referred to as a sister organization of the BIA. The pre-2012 leadership of the OEVCA had been active in the process of creating the corporation but OEVCA later became a marginal player. The board of the corporation includes a former president of the OEVCA and the former manager of the BIA. Just as in the previous period, there is no broadly-based governance body to oversee redevelopment and integrate varying interests in the neighbourhood. The lack of such a body continues to limit democratic participation in defining the future of the community and the ability to bring CUR-oriented projects to the centre of the plan.

According to the draft by-laws of the corporation membership would be open to anyone who applied and was approved by the nominating committee and the board of directors. My data collection has produced no evidence that the corporation has held public meetings or made a public call for applications to join since its incorporation. Further, the draft by-laws would ensure BIA supremacy in the decision-making process. Section 38 provides that “at all times, not less than 60% of the Directors of the Corporation shall be persons who are either current or former directors of the Old East Village BIA” (OEVBIA, 2015, p. 7).

7.2 Spaces of Hope In OEV

The organizational dynamics that unfolded over these years have features that align with CUR but also pose barriers to it. Through the work of the OEVCA and BIA, the community has created a voice for itself at City Hall, with funders, and in the media. While some of the mechanisms controlling that voice have been critiqued above, the organizations and

relationships that have been built serve as ready-made vehicles for moving toward CUR. The work that the trio of OVCA and BIA leaders did in the PACT process to create and maintain these relationships is to their credit and provides legitimacy to the future of the neighbourhood. The experiences of grassroots organization in protecting the neighbourhood from state retrenchment indicate the willingness of residents to participate when provided the opportunity. While the cleavage between the OEVCA and BIA could result in complete breakdown and further siloing, it also creates an opportunity, if not a need, to redefine the relationship between the organizations and perhaps create a clearer governance process for shaping ongoing projects.

The challenge going forward is how to bring CUR ideas to the centre of OEV renewal. The following section examines the four communities (residential, business, social service, and arts/non-profit), highlighting ways in which CUR seeds have sprouted and points where CUR could emerge. The argument is that there remain strong ‘seeds of CUR’ to cultivate in the neighbourhood and spaces where coordination might be useful.

7.2.1 Social Service Community

The social service agencies now located in OEV are not only a ready-made foundation for a community consciousness of care but are also centres for acting out values of social, political, and economic justice. While it has been argued that social services can be damaging to people and communities (see McKnight’s critique of ‘the careless society’), they are needed to meet real and present needs. Further, they can provide access to state and foundation funding for sustainable neighbourhood development projects that put justice at the centre, especially if there is a strong grassroots, neighbourhood-based voice behind them. Open, ongoing dialogue between the agencies and the community at large would help ameliorate negative consequences and lead to an understanding, although the kind of governance table discussed in Section 6.7.2 would have to be established as a forum. The following brief analysis of the activities of the social service agencies will show that they have a CUR orientation aimed at the creation of use values and the protection of

marginalized populations, thus at social and economic justice. However, it is also clear that there has not been strong coordination among the social services generally, neither with one another nor with the broader community. The LIHC has been and remains the most active in overall neighbourhood renewal, but there remains a need for a coordinated integration of the social determinants of health (SDH) if OEV renewal is to turn toward CUR.

There are five social service agencies in the neighbourhood today: (1) the Ark Aid Street Mission; (2) St. Joseph's Hospitality Centre; (3) Life*Spin; (4) the Unity Project; and (5) the LIHC. All have street-level 'storefronts' on the Dundas Street commercial corridor and all offer services of some kinds to marginalized people living in the neighbourhood and across the city. Their 'clients' are people experiencing poverty, mental health and addiction issues and homelessness.

The LIHC has been discussed at length throughout the present study. It is by far the largest of the agencies, with an annual budget of approximately \$9 million in 2016, more than 120 employees, and a satellite location in another low-income part of London. In addition to providing primary health services, it has engaged in community development in OEV, with a mandate driven by the principles of (SDH) which allow it to direct health funds to community projects.

Since its Picturing a Healthy Community project of 1993-94 (reviewed in Section 5.1.2 above) the health centre has remained active in OEV, assigning about one full-time staff person to community development work. It is remembered as a family-friendly place in its early days, one where anyone could go if they did not have a doctor (LIHC interview). Over time, however, it became more known for its street outreach programs and service to a mix of people with homelessness, mental health, and addiction problems. This has led to a widespread concern that people are 'pouring' into OEV from all over town to access services and clustering on the sidewalks in a way that discourages people with money to spend from visiting the shops along the corridor.

On the other hand, the LIHC has participated in and supported a great many OEV projects, most of which advocate for greater public investments in use value and provide resources to neighbourhood civic groups. Among projects in which the LIHC has played a part are:

1. ensuring that OEV's branch library did not shut down when the London Public Library's metrics underestimated its use;
2. running breakfast and lunch programs at Lorne Avenue Public School;
3. underwriting revival of the neighbourhood's recreational association, the Boyle Activity Council (BAC), whose program from 2007 to the present has led to many close relationships among OEV residents;
4. providing funds and other supports for neighbourhood events, notably the neighbourhood Block Party and annual BAC Barbeque;
5. participating in BIA projects, with representation on the BIA board; and
6. vigorously supporting the doomed campaign to save the neighbourhood public school from closure.

The other social services in the neighborhood are smaller and have narrower missions. Faith-based and able to draw on funds from their church partners, the Ark Aid Street Mission and St. Joseph's Hospitality Centre are both primarily soup kitchens although they do provide other supports like access to clothing and drop-in programs including art classes and they help people access other social services such as welfare offices. Ark Aid and St. Joseph's have medium-sized budgets (Ark Aid reported an operating budget of \$362 425 in 2011).

The Unity Project is a transitional housing service that provides short-term lodging and helps people find other, more permanent housing. At the time of its interview it also administered the LondonCares program, a city-wide initiative for harm reduction and non-police intervention with people experiencing mental health and addiction issues. The Unity Project budget in 2014 was \$1.5 million (of which \$618 000 was allocated to LondonCares). The history of the Unity Project points to how much a local group of activists can do when it is driven by with a strong commitment to social justice and a deep concept of self-governed communities.

The Unity Project sprang from a group of activists (known as the ‘action family’) engaging in large-scale social movements such as the struggle against globalization. From its experience and ultimate sense of disempowerment in trying to address global systems, the ‘action family’ turned to an expression of local power, addressing injustice at home. The Unity Project, therefore, brings the consciousness of both global and local emancipatory politics into the community.

Life*Spin has a varied program focused on individuals and families in need. Its building has 10 affordable apartments for long-term tenants and a ‘free store’ where no cash changes hands. A long list of services includes advocacy for people having problems with officialdom, a free summer day camp, Christmas sponsorships that match donors with low-income families, and occasional seminars on the likes of financial literacy. It has no programs directly targeted on the homeless, the mentally troubled or the addicted. While, like the other agencies, Life*Spin makes its services available to anyone, regardless of home address, it identifies itself more – with the notable exception of the LIHC – with the OEV community. It is, for example, a conscientious custodian of its heritage building.

In general, however, and with the exception of the LIHC, the social service agencies have not been very active in neighbourhood renewal. Few strong links can be seen between them and business development initiatives. Rather they appear to function within the confines of their social service mandates, participating in the broader neighbourhood renewal strategizing only as occasions are thrust upon them. At the same time, all acknowledge that they wish they could work more on community development as well as on coordinating their efforts for broader-based impact. Two barriers appear to be in their way.

The first barrier is very practical – they are funded to deliver certain services and no more, and funding is often tight already when it comes to paying salaries and maintaining basic service delivery. Organizing across organizations becomes an extra, unfunded task. Unlike the LIHC, the other agencies do not have community development workers they can assign to community organizing and to addressing the local and larger-scale social and political

change they believe necessary. If these agencies are to do more, it may be necessary to find funds that let them devote resources to the community organizing effort.

The second barrier, which may be more difficult to overcome, is that the agencies are somewhat fearful that their engagement might not be welcomed by the many community members who would rather see them gone, at least from the corridor if not from the whole neighbourhood. Such a barrier calls out the need for the residents to take a leading role in inviting the agencies to become central players in visioning the neighbourhood.

7.2.2 Business Community

The business community of OEV has played the strongest role in shaping neighbourhood renewal over these years. While the analysis presented in this study is critical of the central role of the BIA in shaping renewal, openings to CUR can be found in the business community. The core issue for CUR is not business as such, rather how business is done and how capital is defined and mobilized. How does it affect the definition of community and in what ways does it generate alternate economic arrangements that transfer capital to lower income populations and create opportunities for collective ownership? Although the planning documents emphasize exchange value and traditional capitalist uses of capital, there are many business activities in OEV that connect with CUR.

The years following the PACT report and leading up to 2016 saw the business community grow in several ways which provide opportunities for organizing toward CUR in the future. In this section three aspects are identified for this purpose: (1) an emphasis on localism and community-led development; (2) the tradition of co-operative development and social enterprise; and (3) the connection of businesses to social movements.

The emphasis on localism in OEV business development has been present since the PACT report. The desire to create shops that serve the community and are owned by local inhabitants to create a ‘village type’ neighbourhood has been discussed in previous chapters. Since the years of the PACT, localism has taken root in OEV and has resulted in a place-

based identity, capacity for community-controlled development, and the attraction of private and public investment. The BIA manager is quoted in a 2010 *London Free Press* article emphasising the point that OEV business success is directly related to the ‘community’.

One of the reasons this revitalization initiative is working is that East London is a very strong community, always has been. But what we have been doing with this initiative is using community development methodology to affect social economic revitalization...What that means is that everything we do has to be about strengthening the community first of all, and building the community's capacity to take control of its own future (Meyer, 2010).

This statement reflects the history of localism and a drive toward local self-management that has underpinned the urban renewal process in OEV. The emphasis on localism has also built a do-it-yourself culture that has permeated across the business and residential communities.

The groundwork laid by those who led the implementation of the PACT plans, including building up the organizational capacity of the OEVCA and BIA, have created effective vehicles for future development. Yet there remains the question of localism’s content. Will it be the type that creates local empires and serves neighbourhood elites or the type that transforms capitalist relations both in the production of space and in the distribution of capital? At this point, it would appear that there remains an ambiguity within the community about what type of localism it will prevail, and there is certainly no clear indication aside from maintaining a sense of local control/ownership of future development. No plans at this point have fully articulated a preference for worker co-operatives, land trusts, or social enterprise business models. However, we can see some of these types of business taking hold.

Currently there are three co-operatives in the neighbourhood: (1) the London Food Co-operative (one of the first consumer food co-operatives in Canada); (2) the Forest City Workers Co-operative (FCWC); and the London Skateboard Co-operative. Of greatest interest is the FCWC because of its continuous growth and the unique vision it brings to the business community of the neighbourhood. The idea was borrowed from the Spanish Mondrogan Co-operative in the Basque region of Spain. The world’s largest worker co-operative, in operation since 1956, Mondrogan owns several multinational production lines

and has its own university. The concept is largely to form a parent company, the co-operative, and run corporations as subsidiaries as a way to scale and grow the co-operative movement. The FCWC is attempting to follow this model for its current businesses. While it is yet to be seen if the Mondragon style will hold, the OEV business that are intended to run along its lines have been successful and growing players in the neighbourhood.

Under the FCWC banner there are currently three companies. On the Move Organics is retailer that does deliveries, the Root Cellar is an up-market organic restaurant, and the most recent addition is the London Brewing Co-op. The company started with the food delivery company, moved into the restaurant business and then started the brewing co-op. From the beginning, the founders' intention was to use the business as a vehicle of social change. They are connected to the co-operative movement, the organic food movement, and more broadly the food sovereignty movement. This group provides insight about the types of companies that can flourish in OEV and also access to the values of democratizing economic activity and building capacity for co-operative development in the neighbourhood.

Further, these co-ops are part of a larger trend in activism in the Old East Village connected to the Unity Project, the Action Family, and social justice educational programs at King's University College.

A Root Cellar interviewee identifies how he landed in OEV around 2005, prior to opening On the Move Organics in 2008. One owner says "this is the neighbourhood in which the leading frontline activists in London congregated ... a decade ago" (Root Cellar interview). Citing the Unity Project as one of the driving forces of this congregation, an interviewee went on to say that:

I guess the biggest part was the accessible rents. It was cheap. Like it was cheap to live down here. I mean that's gone now. I mean those days are long gone so I don't think you'd see that many kind of, that style of activism emerge here anymore. Just 'cause they're getting priced out of the neighborhood (Root Cellar interview).

While it was clear in the interview that the business models and activities were intended to align with activism and social change generally, the idea of building the neighbourhood

identity and linking the movements specifically to neighbourhood renewal seemed somewhat a peripheral issue. Asked more specifically about how they see their role in the neighbourhood or contributing to the identity intentionally, one responded that:

as far as, like, crafting it or intentionally broadcasting the neighbourhood as looking like X, Y, or Z, that's not what we think about. No, no thought into it. I want to say a little, but I don't think any conversation has ever been had about what we're trying to project as a neighbourhood through the lens of the Root Cellar or On the Move. We're just trying to do our thing (Root Cellar interview).

At the time of the interview, the co-operative was in the process of expanding the Root Cellar and establishing the brewing co-operative. Interviewees mentioned the lack of time for the political aspects of the business because of the sheer amount of work in setting up, and they were not visible participants on the neighbourhood planning or the battle to save the Lorne Avenue school. However, since 2016 a closer relationship has grown with the BIA, with two co-op members joining the board of directors and another being named to the board of the NEDC. This shifting relationship is promising for the chances of CUR to emerge. Such a transition may encourage economic development in the neighbourhood to build from co-operative principals, as part of the broader co-operative movements.

The co-operative movement can also be connected to a broader movement of alternative economic development. By 'alternative', I do not only mean because it is controlled by local owners rather than global capitalists, but also because it provides post-capitalist possibilities for local organizing. Social enterprise can also be a vehicle for post-capitalist transformation and business models. London is, in fact, become well suited to support social enterprise and social finance tools to help support such developments because there are currently two organizations, Verge Capital and Pillar Non-Profit Network, that have been working in that sector for several years.

7.2.3 Arts and Culture Community

While the arts and cultural community in OEV provides several opportunities for CUR to emerge, it is also rather ambiguous in terms of its emphasis on economic and social justice.

As part of a much broader trend toward arts and culture as drivers of economic development in inner cities, the arts and culture community has become an important part of OEV's economic development. Old East Village was designated by the City's Cultural Prosperity Plan of 2013 as a culture district, joining downtown as one of the two major nodes of cultural activity in London. This designation provides direction to the City on how to invest in these areas to support the growth of the sector, not only the performing and visual arts but physical heritage, food, and agriculture as well (City of London, 2013, p. 33).

Research conducted between 2011 and 2013 in preparation for the plan identified the following cultural features of the neighbourhood:

Old East Village is home to significant numbers of cultural resources and important pieces of cultural infrastructure. It is the location of the Western Fair Farmers and Artisans Market, which has become a hub for cultural activity and innovation in London. It contains 28% of the City's listed and designated heritage properties as well as some key venues that serve the whole City. (Evenson & McDonough, 2013, p. 11)

The research also found a relatively high density of cultural workers among OEV residents, in areas including live performance, writing, publishing, interactive media, and the visual and applied arts. However, the extent to which CUR orientations have emerged through the formation of an arts and cultural identity in the neighbourhood is ambiguous. The recommendations of the Cultural Prosperity Plan open doors to gentrification, particularly by ignoring the issue of urban poverty in OEV. The document is barren of a socioeconomic analysis. The recommended place-making strategies target beautification and the creation of safer, cleaner, more inviting, and accessible pedestrian environments (Evenson & McDonough, 2013, p. 13). While such activities are not inherently problematic for CUR they tend to be part of a larger thrust to 'clean up the area', which often can include repression and or criminalizing of people experiencing homelessness.

As such, the arts and culture aspect of the community can be seen as a vehicle for social exclusion and gentrification, and these tensions can be found in the two biggest arts organizations interviewed for this study, the Aeolian Hall and the Palace Theatre.

The Aeolian Hall and Palace Theatre are located in landmark heritage buildings on the commercial corridor and attract visitors from across the region. The Aeolian Hall is a training and performance center known for its after-school music program, El Sistema, and as a venue for nationally and internationally famous performers. It has also been a location for building grassroots relationship, where OEVCA and BIA events are regularly held. The Palace Theatre is a community theatre for local production companies and provides community programs for children and youth. While both organizations provide programs for at-risk children and emphasise equal access to arts opportunities regardless of economic situation, their orientation toward homelessness and services in the neighbourhood is less hospitable.

The Palace Theatre interview made it very clear that it feel negatively affected by the social services and does not believe they belong on the commercial corridor. The interviewee states:

I mean I've walked outside of intercommunity health center and have felt very uncomfortable. I think, as much as I totally respect the work that they are doing and appreciate what they are doing, they shouldn't be in the business corridor. Bottom line. As a person who was an entrepreneur years ago, LIHC needs to move, ... I don't think they should be hidden *per se*, but they shouldn't be ... on a main drag. You know. It needs to be in a place. For me it's also Ark Aid, for example, and the Sisters of St Joe's. And the methadone clinic across from Beal (Palace Theatre interview).

The Aeolian Hall also took the view that social services were putting the community at risk and that there were too many on the commercial corridor. Talking about the transition on the corridor and the challenge of balancing business success with social service delivery, the interviewee says:

I'll be happy to be the poster child to stand up and say, love the work you're doing, but while you're working with people who are at risk, don't put a community at risk. Right, there's too many in one block. You cannot do that to a neighbourhood and expect businesses to be able to survive. Or expect it to have a good impact on the neighbourhood. ... We've got to get out and have everybody share the responsibility of helping solve our social challenges (Aeolian Hall interview).

There's a sense here that the services are 'doing that' to the neighbourhood, as though they invaded the neighbourhood and ruined the business community. However, as shown in the historical analysis, when the health centre opened on the corridor in 1989 and other

organizations first established, it was because the neighbourhood was defined by blight, a lack of resources, and a concentration of low-income residents. It would be fair to say that it was the establishment of the health centre, with a mandate based on the social determinants of health that introduced the community-development lens that sparked the entire OEV renewal process. It is somewhat ironic that, at the end of the study period, it is now the social service agencies that are blamed for holding back the neighbourhood.

In contrast to these rather blunt condemnations of the social services, the Aeolian Hall interviewee also says the community is at a crossroads in terms of how to move forward without leaving anyone behind, and that there is no clear path forward. He says:

So it's a community that I think is really considering, how do we keep everybody and lift everybody up? And hold them as equals in this process. That's probably the biggest question and the biggest motivation for us as we move forward is that we all want to make it better and we know we all want to celebrate life and have more joy and fulfill our creativity and passions, but we don't really have, we haven't developed the tools yet to figure out how we can do that for everybody (Aeolian Hall interview).

In addition to the Aeolian Hall and Palace Theatre, anchor institutions for OEV's art and culture identity, there are also many smaller expressions of the arts community in the neighbourhood.

The most radical organization, the East Village Arts Collective, was founded in 2006 as a democratically run space intended to bring people together "to do art and to have a jam space" (Resident and EVAC member interview). As it turns out, many of the people linked to the Unity Project movement were also part of creating EVAC. As the interviewee informed me, the space was meant at first for just straight art creation among friends, not full-out activism. However "slowly everyone came to realize that it's really hard to separate art and activism. They kind of go together, hand in hand" (Resident and EVAC member interview). She further discussed the co-operative structure of the organization, with individuals or groups paying monthly membership fees and creating a non-hierarchical decision-making structure. Asked why that model was chosen, her answer was directly anti-capitalist: "Well, because we're all pitching in the same amount and we're all, I don't know, we're trying to be the opposite of the capitalist structure. None of us really like that model. ... [We do that] to

show that something can work in a different way.” (Resident and EVAC member interview).

Although EVAC closed its doors in 2018, the interviewee believes that its membership and community decision-making model had been part of its success to date.

We’ve been there for going on eight years now, but we’ve seen so many businesses open and close, open and close around us, and we’ve been able to be there without having a profit, just surviving. Just being there and doing things in the community. ...So it’s a nice example of how, you know, you don’t really need to be obsessed with constant growth (Resident and EVAC member interview).

Here we can see much of the emphasis of CUR in this community group, which used its venue not only for arts production but also for political organizing, including opening its doors two days a week as a safe space for women at risk and serving community meals with groups like Food Not Bombs. The EVAC interviewee states:

We’ve always been really concerned about gentrification, and we understand that usually, it’s before gentrification happens, it is artists that move in and then things slowly become gentrified. I don’t know if it’s because of that, but we wanted to make sure that we weren’t this elitist gallery space in London (Resident and EVAC member interview).

Regarding the safe space, she said the BIA was “really frightened by it” and that at one point a group threatened that “someone was going to stand across the street from EVAC and watch and record everyone they saw going into EVAC and publicly shame them” (Resident and EVAC member interview). In the end, these tactics didn’t work because “they realized that we weren’t going to leave”. EVAC would continue to be a bastion of radical politics, hosting groups such as an Anarchist Fee School and members of the local Communist Party as well as Food not Lawns and Food not Bombs.

However, EVAC did not seem to engage with the ‘mainstream’ organizations of OEV, such as the BIA and the OEVCA. Asked what she knew of the OEVCA, it was clear that she had not taken much interest, although she was aware of the campaign to save the Lorne Avenue school. If EVAC and its associates had engaged with the OEVCA, perhaps the culture would have been different, but it is a sign of a mismatch in thinking between how an anti-capitalist, social-change arts group works compared with how the BIA and OEVCA were working.

Several times in the EVAC interview, the participant states that compared to these organizations, “I think we’re just coming at these issues differently” (Resident and EVAC member interview).

What can be observed is that the larger arts organizations have an ambiguous approach to the issue of urban poverty and a clear dislike for social-service delivery on the commercial corridor. Rather than thinking about how their programming and success could be used to address some of the street issues, or how they could engage with the social-service sector to develop local solutions, they perpetuate the notion that the social services are over-concentrated on the corridor and impede the community’s opportunities for growth. Smaller arts groups such as EVAC are able to take advantage of cheaper rents and draw on the activist heritage in the neighbourhood to resist gentrification by providing space in the community, not only for counter-culture artists but also to provide voluntary care for some of the most marginalized members of the community.

At the same time, the larger arts organizations are more stable and provide two important openings for CUR to emerge. First, they are non-profit organizations, taking valuable real-estate off the market and opening the space for community control through the non-profit governance models. As such, their mandates are open to being impacted by the general direction of the community and to democratic possibilities for the control of property. The challenge for the arts community is to develop a strategy integrating social development that addresses poverty, while at the same time, viable spaces remain open with enough traction to attract a regional audience.

7.2.4 Residential Community

In this section I explore the residential community in two ways, first by looking at changes in its demographic and property-value makeup, then by highlighting a key tension that needs to be resolved among inhabitants in terms of breaking through the parochialism of communitarianism and cultivating a post capitalist language.

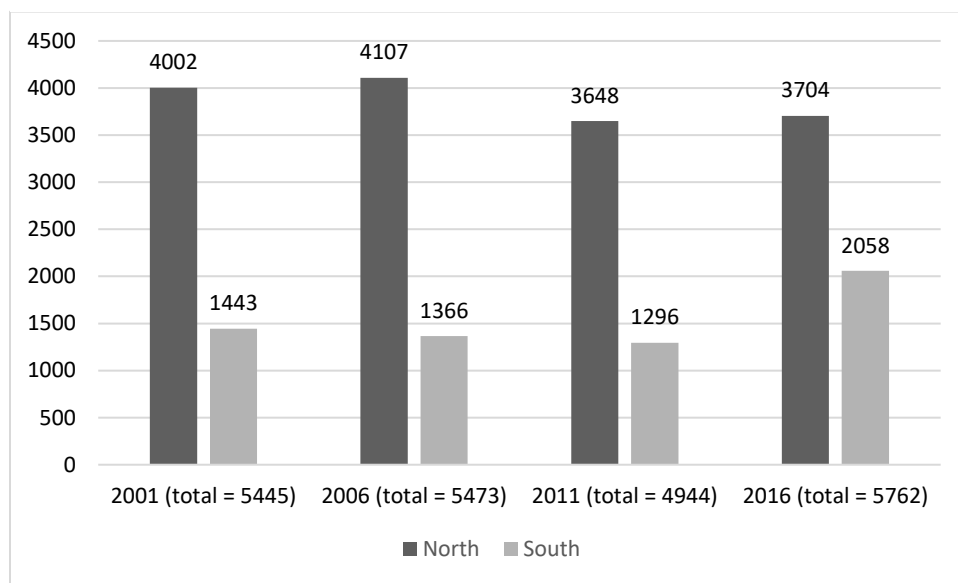
The following data looks at the north and south sides of Dundas Street separately. This is for two reasons. First, each side constitutes a census tract, making it easy to see where, on the map, changes are taking place. Second, there is a clear distinction between the residential populations of the north and south. The north side is made up largely of one-, one-and-a-half and two-storey houses built as single-family dwellings (although a number have been divided into two and three apartments, and many still are). The north side accounts for the vast majority of the volunteer effort in the neighbourhood, and, as can be seen in Figure 12, its proportion of low-income households is lower than the south side's.

Although it includes some houses, most of the south side is characterized by mid- and high-rise apartments buildings. Of particular interest in the present study's perspective is the Tolpuddle Housing Cooperative as a rent-geared-to-income social housing development. It has been home to some of London's more radical groups, such as the London Labour Council, and hosts events for progressive political movements. However, community development in the Tolpuddle buildings has not been integrated into Old East Village plans. There is also a medium-rise block with affordable-housing for seniors with frontage on the commercial corridor, built in 2011. But the largest development consists of three market-rent, high-rise apartment blocks built by the Medallion Corporation between 2012 and 2018, just off the corridor. These high-rises were seen as a signal to other developers that the area was worth investing in. Since Medallion showed the way, Dundas has attracted one more application for a high-rise building, a City-approved low-rise, affordable-housing project (not yet built), and an application for a second low-rise, affordable housing project that would offer assisted living to people with drug and mental health issues.

Population Change

The total number of residents in OEV rose by about 300 from 2001 to 2016, but there was a marked difference between the north and south sides of Dundas. Figure 5 shows that the north side lost population, slipping 7.4% from 4002 in 2001 to 3704 in 2016. Meanwhile, population rose south of Dundas from 1443 in 2001 to 2058 in 2016, a 40% increase largely accounted by the seniors' development of 2011 and the two Medallion high -rises that had been completed by the time of the 2016 census.

Figure 5 Population Change in OEV 2001-2016



Source: Statistics Canada: Census 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016

It is significant that the decline on the north side occurred after 2006, supporting the observed arrival of more young residents (Figure 9) and the gentrifying process. As can be seen in Figure 6, the actual number of housing units changed only slightly, rising by just 1.5% from 1925 units in 2001 to 1955 units in 2016. What happened was that number of apartments and flats declined by 5.5% from 1138 to 1030 (author's calculation) as multi-unit houses were converted back to their original single-family use. These conversions were often accompanied by restoration and upgrading spurred by hopes that neighbourhood renewal and creation of the heritage conservation district (2005) would be bring about increased property values. This process is in line with the intentions of the OEV revitalization plans. Their call

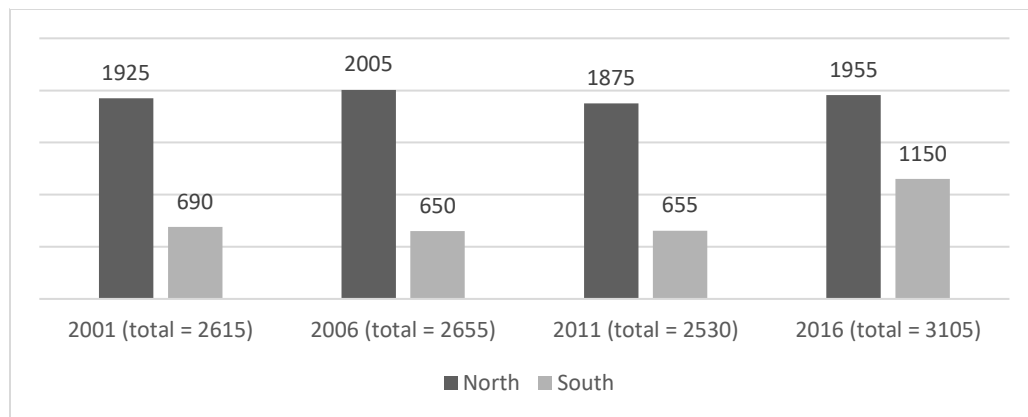
for increased density was matched by the wish for an increase in the number of single-family dwellings in the neighbourhood, on the theory that these provide a more stable residential base than apartments, whose residents are more likely to be transient.

Source: Statistics Canada: Census 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016

Household Composition and Age Structure

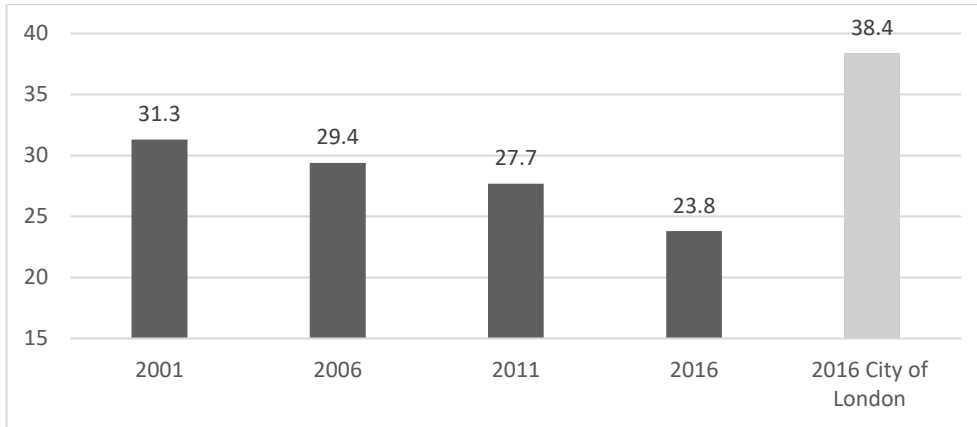
A significant change also occurred in household composition from 2001 to 2016 as the

Figure 6 Number of Occupied Dwellings in OEV 2001-2016



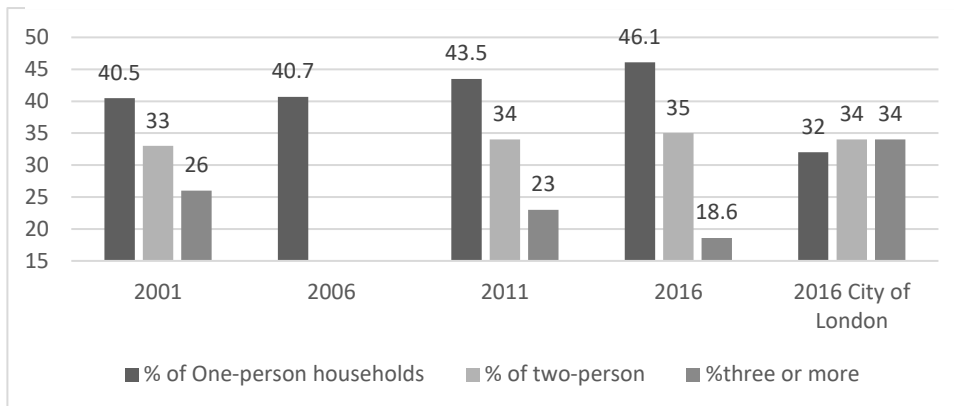
number of households with children dropped and the number of one-person (or non-family persons) households increased substantially. Figures 7 and 8 show that the proportion of households with children declined from 31.3% in 2001 to 23.8% in 2016 (Figure 7) while the number of one-person households rose from 40.5% to 46.1% (Figure 8). Put another way, as of 2016, there were children in about one in four OEV households while nearly half of the households were composed of just one person.

Figure 7 Percentage of OEV Household with Children



Source: Statistics Canada: Census 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016

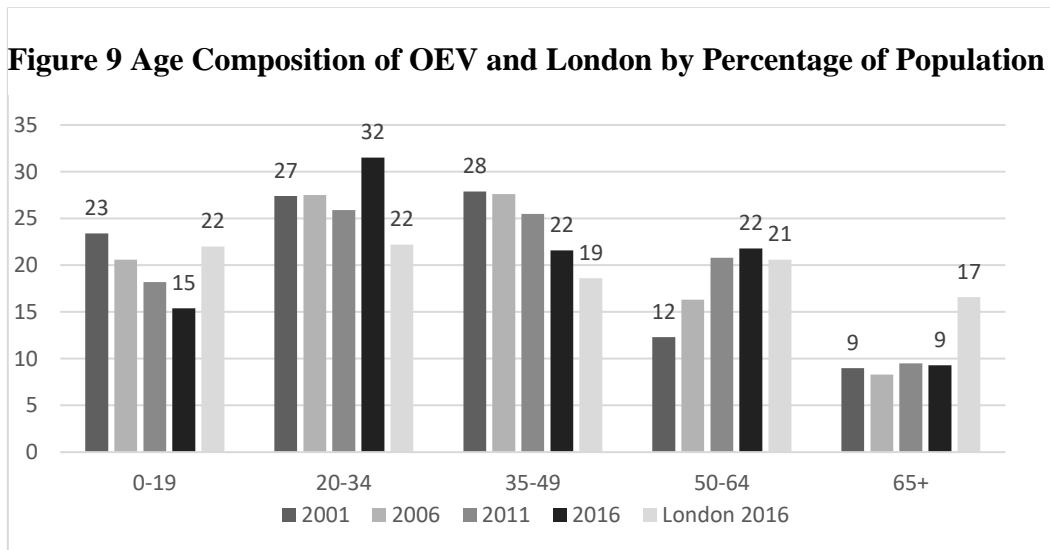
Figure 8 Household Size in OEV 2001-2016



Source: Statistics Canada: Census 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016

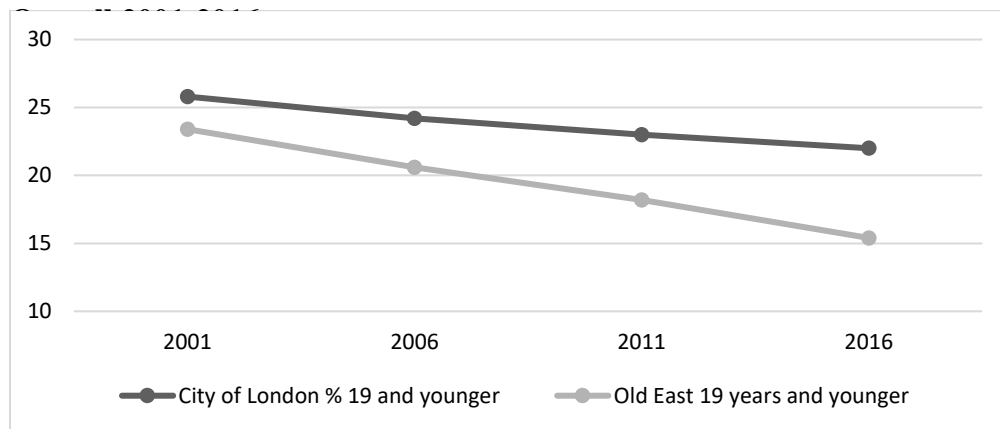
Figure 9 goes further in identifying the changing age structure of the neighbourhood between 2001 and 2016. Here we see a marked decline in the percentage of children and youth as well as of those in the core working years (35-49) while young adult (20-34) and middle-aged (50-64) populations increased substantially. Further, comparing the age structures of OEV and the city as a whole, we see that OEV is a very long way from the average in 2016,

particularly in its low youth and seniors populations and the high population of young adults.



While the proportion of children and youth in the population is trending downward in London as a whole, Figure 10 shows that the rate of decline is faster in OEV.

Figure 10 Comparing Child and Youth Population in OEV to London



Source: Statistics Canada: Census 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016

Low-Income

Finally – and most importantly for measuring displacement – Figure 11 looks at the changing proportions of low-income populations in OEV and London from 2000 to 2015. The low-

income proportion of the population in OEV increased by about 4% in these years, twice the 2% increase found in the city as a whole.

Figure 11 % Low-Income households in OEV (LIM-AT)



Looking at where changes in OEV’s low-income populations have occurred, Figure 12 breaks out percentages for the north and south sides of Dundas. On the north side, the percentage of low-income households slipped between 2000 and 2012 (the period when total population in that area also fell). On the south side, however, this segment of the population increased substantially between 2000 and 2012, then dropped back by 2015, though not enough to match the 2000 level. This overall increase is likely due to the building of the Tolpuddle Housing Co-operative and the decrease in the later stage due to the Medallion high-rises, which added some 600, market-rent apartments to the OEV’s housing stock.

Figure 12 % Low Income (LIM-AT) 2000 - 2015

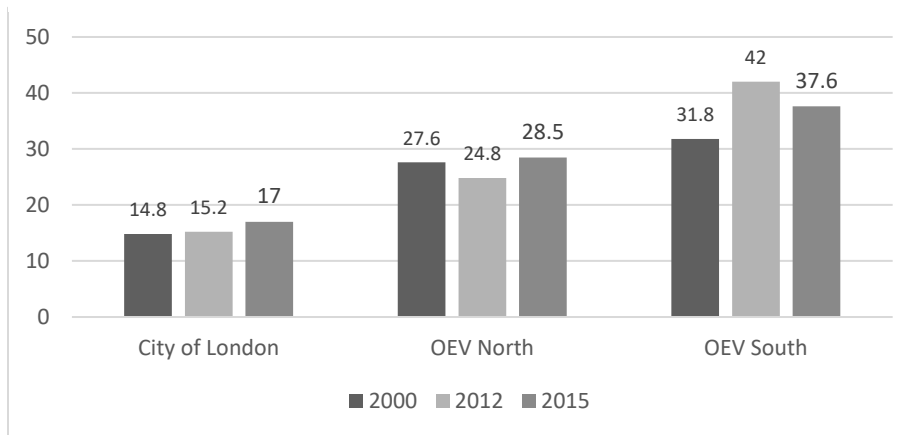
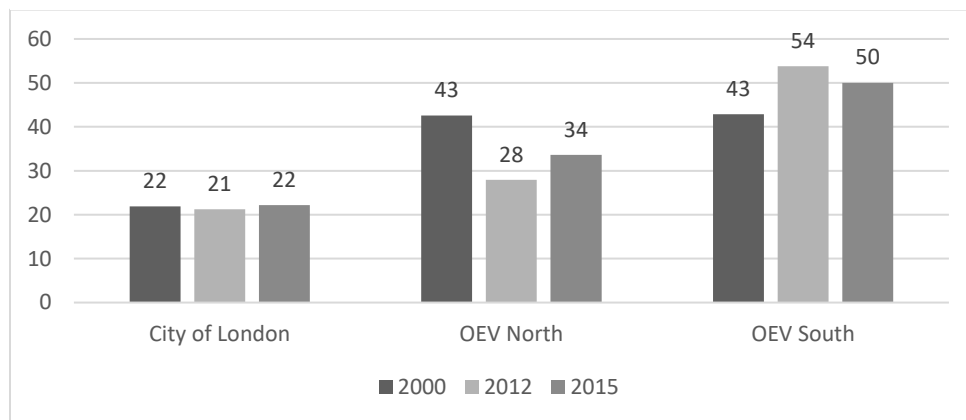


Figure 13 looks at the changing rates of children living in low-income households. What is most noticeable is that between 2000 and 2012 the proportion of children living in low-income households north of Dundas dropped by just over a third, from 43% to 28%. This is the main indicator of displacement occurring in this part of the neighbourhood. It appears that the declining overall population on the north side between 2006 and 2011 may have been accounted for largely by the displacement of low-income households with children, many of them likely living in apartments in multi-unit houses bought by new owners eager to convert them back to single-family homes.

Figure 13 % Under age 18 in LIM-AT, 2000 - 2015



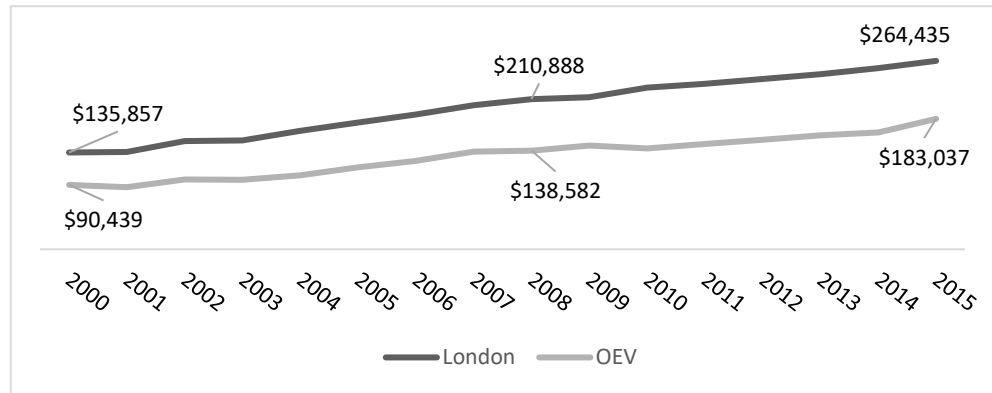
Residential Property Value

Figure 14 compares average MLS sales prices for OEV north of Dundas and in London/St. Thomas as a whole from 2000 to 2015 (the last year for which data is available). It can be seen that, in the broadest terms, prices in both cases rose at a fairly steady pace, though with some slowing in OEV from 2009 to 2014.

However, OEV prices took a sharp upswing from 2014 to 2015 relative to London/St. Thomas. The average price of a house went up 11.6% in OEV compared with 4% in London/St. Thomas. In dollar terms, the increase in OEV was \$20 000 and in London/St. Thomas only half that much, \$10 000. Until 2014, the average London/St. Thomas price rose 87.1% over the 2000 level while, at 84.1%, the OEV average nearly but not quite kept up. However, extending the period to the most recent year, 2015, then the London/St. Thomas

average rose 94% while the OEV average handily outpaced it at 102%.

Figure 14 Average House Prices, OEV and London/St. Thomas, 2000-2015



Source: MLS listings were acquired from a local real estate agent and lists all sales by real estate agents.

While only time will tell, this could signal a turning point north of Dundas, suggesting that gentrification has established a firm foothold there. With the change in the low-income population during this period as the backdrop, it appears that low-income families with children were displaced although the percentage of low-income households remained rather stable. Beyond the impact of the OEV renewal plan, we would expect this trend to persist because of changes in mortgage rules and rising interest rates. Housing market observers note that making it harder to get mortgages has put upward pressure on mid-priced houses. There is reason to fear a dual effect as a drift to gentrification brought about by urban renewal is intensified by market forces.

Summarizing the key points about OEV made in the foregoing sections:

1. 46% of households are single-person;
2. nearly 25% of households include children (compared with 40% citywide);
3. nearly one in three residents is between the ages of 20 and 34;
4. almost one in three households is low-income (compared with one in six citywide);
5. 40% of children 18 and younger live in low-income households (compared with 22% citywide);
6. the prevalence of low-income households is twice that of the city as a whole; and

7. house prices on the north side of OEV were up substantially in 2015 from 2014, increasing faster than the rate found in the city overall.

This profile suggests that OEV is close to a tipping point in terms of gentrification, *i.e.*, the displacement of low-income families, and a reduced supply of low-cost housing. At the same time, the number of low-income households does remain high and, in fact, increased twice as much in OEV as in the city overall between 2000 and 2015.

Within London, OEV remains a relatively affordable neighbourhood with a high incidence of low-income households whose interests can be met through a CUR-style approach to urban renewal. The high incidence of single-person households is also a strength in CUR terms because single people have more freedom to participate in social movement activity and can be more agile in absorbing any financial costs that flow from starting up community-owned enterprises and engaging in advocacy.

The question remains whether it is possible to mobilize these groups to shape the neighbourhood's future on CUR lines. What is beyond question, however, is that it cannot happen without more intentional community-mobilization initiatives directly targeting issues of social, political, and economic justice.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has examined OEV between 2006 and 2016 and pointed to areas where seeds of CUR are present today. It appears that, although the urban planning blind field persisted in the organizational dynamics of the neighbourhood, there remained many ways in which the neighbourhood has been well prepared for moving forward. This is true particularly in creation of a context for community-controlled renewal. The democracy component, however, remains dormant in the absence of a formally structured governance table. Here the effect of the blind field can be seen in the lack of commitment to ongoing deliberation and participation in the implementation processes.

The OEV residential community proved itself ready for mobilization during this period. This was shown by its successful defence of the branch library and community centre and the impressive, though failed, mobilization to save the school. The most direct routes to participation were through either or both resident associations, the Old East Village Community Association and the Boyle Activity Council. Less directly, other residents volunteered at local non-profit enterprises and social services. For example, some participated in the arts and culture scene, whether as performers or volunteers, and others were members of the OEV-based London Food Co-operative. What stands out is the many options that OEV offers for expressing citizenship, volunteerism, and activism. While some opportunities were more radical, such as volunteering at EVAC's safe space program for street workers or participating in its Black Flag Anarchist Free School, others were more apolitical, such as organizing sports programs at the Boyle Memorial Community Centre.

Having such a range of opportunities for participation is an important building block for CUR. The CUR intention to create, participate in, and reproduce relations of production that move beyond capitalism through localized collective action requires strong social solidarity built on co-producing space through neighbourhood volunteerism. The progressive community definition that underlies CUR involves a communitarian commitment built on face-to-face and organic community relations, but one that goes beyond the parochialism and romanticism of communitarians in general. There is a clear sense of the communitarianism in the 'village' theme of the neighbourhood, but the mechanisms to break free of parochialism are not clearly in place.

Rather, it appears that components of the neighbourhood that push past parochialism, namely the social service organizations and more countercultural voices, are on the periphery of OEV renewal. The social services are in a precarious position, and countercultural groups such as EVAC and the Root Cellar were not particularly engaged in the OEVCA-BIA program for renewal. As a result, the discourse of anti-capitalism, cooperative development, democracy in the workplace, and horizontalism was not present in the work of the OEVCA-BIA. However, with the recent addition of members from the Forest City Worker Co-operative to the boards of directors of the BIA and development corporation, there is already

convergence occurring to align with CUR possibilities. The greatest challenge is to bring the renewal plans into closer line with the social service mandates and bring concepts of social, political, and economic justice to the centre.

Last, the demographics/real estate data also point to some seeds of CUR. While demographic changes show some displacement from the north residential district, it is clear that OEV remains a low-income neighbourhood overall. As such, it presents an opportunity to mobilize around economic inequality and a more equitable distribution of social benefits. However, up to this point there has been no coordinated plan for making such issues targets in future renewal and the likelihood of gentrification appears to be looming with the displacement of children on the north side of Dundas.

Overall, this chapter shows that there are ‘seeds of CUR’ in OEV for the realization of CUR. The ingredients are there, even if they appear to exist in various distinct silos, with one group seeking justice for the poor while others take on green energy and environmentalist initiatives, promotion of the co-operative movement, food security, and so on. The challenge is to bring these orientations together into a unified strategy that aims at CUR processes and goals.

Chapter 8

This project set out with two theses: (1) that neighbourhood renewal provides a structure that offers opportunities for the Critical Urban Renewal (CUR) approach; and (2) that the Old East Village (OEV) has within it aspects of CUR, which have been expressed and repressed at different times in its history. The goal of developing these theses was also twofold: (1) to create a conception of urban renewal that emphasizes its emancipatory capacity, drawing on the intellectual traditions of critical theory, critical urban theory, and community organizing; and (2) to show that dimensions of CUR persist in OEV today.

8.1 Nurturing CUR in OEV

The ‘seeds of CUR’ have been identified as part of the neighbourhood’s history and many remain present despite attempts to repress and ignore them. Among the ‘seeds’ identified in Chapter 4 was the stigmatization of the area as a run-down, working-class part of London, with low property values and slow growth. Territorial stigma was the most significant and persistent theme encouraging collective action, by providing a basis for solidarity and place-based pride among residents. We have seen territorial stigma become a target for change in the Picturing a Healthy Community project, blaming the media for creating OEV’s poor image and as a reference point for identifying the ‘healthy’ parts of the neighbourhood. Territorial stigma was also an impetus for rebranding the neighbourhood as ‘Old East Village’ and for beginning to build a vision for economic development and a stronger place-based identity.

The transformation of OEV from an industrial suburb of London into a deindustrialized, blighted neighbourhood was important in facilitating the long-term presence of CUR impulses there. Seen through the lens of CUR, the blight of the industrial ‘old city’ was not simply a matter of breakdown and disinvestment. Rather it was a matter of transformations in the flows of capital, scalar changes due to globalization, and capitalist-led suburbanization. The reasons for disinvestment and the societal transformations that drove them are not trivial

in understanding the full meaning of urban blight and CUR. Empty factories and storefronts, abandoned houses, and the congregation of the urban poor are not the result of industrial society. Yet the logic of industrial society – including its values, conceptual tools, methodological approaches, and architectural norms – inform urban renewal today and, in so doing, reproduce the logic of the industrial city. The end product is capitalist reproduction and the dehumanization of those non-market oriented activities/persons. Neoliberal urban renewal and gentrification are what appear to flow from such approaches, which we have identified in Chapter 6 as embedded in the urban planning documents of the PACT.

Because CUR is embedded in Lefebvrian thought, in identifying the concept's strength it is important to look beyond the 'industrial city' and aim at 'urban society' as *per* Lefebvre's assertions in *The Urban Revolution*. For Lefebvre, the entire concept of 'the city' in the industrial era is dominated by industrial-capitalist thinking about the form and function of space to facilitate consumption and the reproduction of everyday life through capitalist modes of engagement. The form and function of Old East Village were shaped by this concept of 'the industrial city', characterized by integrated land uses, integrating industrial land with purpose-built housing for the workers and their families and a commercial area to serve the immediate neighbourhood and surrounding agricultural communities. The recommendations of the professional planners of the PACT sought to recreate the vibrancy of the commercial corridor as if was still in the industrial city, with shops to serve inhabitants and draw consumers from the surrounding region. There was no rethinking about what living in a post-industrial urban society means for the conceptualization of space.

Rather, the PACT planners pointed to an already gentrified and middle-class old city neighbourhood, Wortley Village, as an instructive example of what OEV should aim to become. It was implicit in the planners' logic, and especially in their evaluation metrics, that the success of OEV's revitalization would be measured by an increase in exchange value in both the residential and commercial zones of the neighbourhood. The lens of equity and democracy were not particularly on their radar, and ensuring that the social problems of the neighbourhood were dealt with 'in-place' was not at all strategized.

The PACT's interpretation of space is not surprising, first because of the ideological constraints on professional urban planners, and, second, because alternative models of urban renewal were not readily available. It is here that an analytical framework of transduction becomes useful as tool for interpreting historical actualities and bringing forward new, possible-worlds in order to "cut a path toward the virtual object" which, in the current study, is CUR. As intended by the use of transduction, CUR encourages us to set alternative measures of what urban renewal could look like, measuring success by the ability to nurture emancipatory coordination of social, political, and economic life. More directly stated, CUR does not seek to recreate the industrial city in terms of consumerism and exchange value, rather to build the city as a 'collective right', a place of radical inclusion, and a space in which the least among us become lifted up. We have heard hints of this type of thought throughout the case study, from the Picturing a Healthy Community project, where it was clearly identified that "we don't want to become Cabbagetown," to the community consultations of 2002, where the vision for the community was to be a welcoming place for London's most marginalized. Even in the Aeolian Hall interview, where the social services were seen as an impediment to commercial success, this thought is followed up with a 'desire' and 'need' to identify a way forward that would result in collective benefits for all.

What Lefebvre calls for, and what CUR attempts to offer, are tools created for and by urban society. Lefebvre's urban society is a radical alteration where the drive for exchange value and consumerism is replaced by concepts of autogestion (radical participatory democracy) and transformed relations of production of space and everyday life. In this framework, empty storefronts and factories are not structures waiting to be re-industrialized and re-commercialized but structures available for serving the emergence of socialist forms of production, consumption, and reproduction. Their diminished exchange value gives them high use value, and the vision of the city expands from that of an isolated, parochial neighbourhood into one of larger scale, historical struggle to be addressed in and across place.

This is one reason that the co-operative business model is so appealing for CUR. It is committed not only to democratising the workplace and profit but also to connecting with

other cooperatives across space. The social service sector also has much to offer in terms of conceptualizing space for the purpose of transforming human relations and directing neighbourhood activities toward broader notions of social change. The London InterCommunity Health Centre not only brings important value systems, such as the Social Determinants of Health and health equity, to the neighbourhood as possible points to integrate into urban renewal. It also provides access to both broader networks in the health-care sector across the province and social movement groups that intersect with their mandates.

While it is clear that there are divisions within the OEV around how to interpret the presence of the poor as a defining feature of the neighbourhood, the possibility of CUR emerges and persists in OEV specifically because of their presence. With values and leadership experience in advocating and mobilizing social movements, the social services embedded in the neighbourhood today provide an opportunity for solidifying CUR projects.

However, the urban planning process, particularly as it is found in the PACT report, has not defined social services as an asset to OEV. The social services have been moved to the periphery of urban renewal discourse in the neighbourhood, targeted as non-connected uses, and they are uncertain about their own security, often remaining within the walls of their organization. By bringing the CUR lens to bear on OEV renewal, however, we can reinterpret their presence as an asset and begin to develop a plan that brings values of social, political, and economic justice to the centre of the neighbourhood's identity.

It is here that we can address the challenge of the OEVCA-BIA alliance of 2004-2014. While the present study has shown and argued that these organizations have been powerful vehicles for establishing relationships with allies at City Hall and private and public funders/investors, they have also played a large role in reproducing the 'urban planning blind field', providing legitimacy for the exclusion of social services and more radical neighbourhood-based groups from active participation in decision-making. During these years, the OEVCA and BIA claimed to represent the 'voice of the community' in urban planning. They sought to transform the neighbourhood on the basis of plans prepared by professional planners rather

than through collective action and the cultivation of democracy. They protected their power to influence City Hall by making it rather difficult for residents to engage in their work on an ongoing basis, citing a need for confidentiality in negotiations with developers and the City planning department. There was no evidence of attempts to cultivate residents' understanding of the variety of options for thinking about neighbourhood plans and their possible consequences. What occurred over those years can largely be summed up by Jeffrey Taylor's assertion that 'if you don't like how we're doing it, then start your own association'. The message was largely: Get on board with our vision or move along.

Even under this regime we saw the emergence of other neighbourhood groups, including the Boyle Activity Council, the establishment of the Forest City Workers Co-operative, and the expansion of social service and homelessness outreach programs. We also saw the vibrancy and willingness of the residential community to mobilize in trying to save the neighbourhood school. However, by the end of the study period there was a breakdown in the relationship between the OEVCA and BIA, and a general sense of dislocation among the neighbourhood's organizational actors. The quiet establishment of the Neighbourhood Economic Development Corporation, with very little engagement of the residential community and no seat for the OEVCA on the board of directors, signifies the collapse of the OEVCA-BIA alliance. This appears to be true to this day and new formations are yet to emerge.

The implosion of the alliance and the absence of a community plan for moving forward open doors to new possibilities. It may, in fact, be that the neighbourhood is now better situated than ever to adopt a CUR approach to renewal. In the early period, prior to Picturing a Health Community, the neighbourhood was completely disintegrated and offered little to attract resources, whether physical infrastructure, private investment, or low-income opportunity structures. From 1993 to 2016 the neighbourhood built up its own capacity to mobilize and to show funders and investors that the neighbourhood was vibrant. Of course, this largely translated into pleased observations that private investment and property values were increasing, that the commercial corridor was becoming increasingly viable, and that the Medallion high-rise apartments signaled new confidence among private investors. In fact,

with what appears to be gentrification thrust upon Old East Village, the opportunity now arises for the community-controlled foundations to harness the energy of external actors and direct it toward CUR mandates and projects that transform capitalism, to link the neighbourhood to broader struggles, and to establish a more appropriate governance table. It speaks well of CUR possibilities that, while the thrust of OEV renewal has largely focused on exchange value, the presence of radical counter groups has continued to grow nonetheless. The opportunity lies in re-integrating a cross-organizational governance and planning table which brings the counter-cultural organizations to the centre and, perhaps most importantly, drawing on the assets of the social services, co-operative business models, and the social enterprise sector.

8.2 Overcoming the Urban Planning Blind Field: An Instructive Example for CUR in OEV

While researching and writing this study, I came across what appears to me an instructive example of a CUR planning process. It is in Toronto's Parkdale neighbourhood, where the Parkdale People's Economy Project (PPE) involves many of the ideas of CUR and provides a counter-example to Wortley Village for OEV. While the regional qualities of Toronto and London are quite different, particularly in the pressure of capital to shape the urban landscape (Toronto being a fast-growth city while London is a medium to slow-growth city), most of the physical, social, and organizational features in Parkdale align with those found in OEV.

Parkdale is a working-class part of Toronto, built up as an industrial neighbourhood that became, like OEV, a blighted, low-income zone with a concentration of the poor and of social services (Whitzman & Slater, 2006). As has occurred in OEV, narratives of urban blight and 'a lost golden era' were mobilized in Parkdale to justify government policies and private-sector marketing that would foster gentrification (Whitzman & Slater, 2006). However, the story of Parkdale is one in which, regardless, 'seeds of CUR' have been present and continue to grow, resulting in several neighbourhood plans that use language closely aligned with CUR, including equity, participatory democracy, local currency, the sharing

economy, urban land trusts, food security, and have an explicit focus against gentrification (Bath, Girard, Ireland, Khan, & Major, 2012; Goodmurphy & Kamizaki, 2011; Kamizaki, 2016; PPE, 2015).

As in OEV, the PPE project started in the social service sector. Unlike the situation in OEV, where the neighbourhood's influence in renewal has now shifted almost entirely into the hands of the BIA, the social service sector in Parkdale has remained at the helm of neighbourhood planning there. Further, the PPE integrated many sectors into its steering committee and ongoing governance, not excluding professional urban planners but with strong representation of social service agencies, grassroots groups, social planning departments, housing authorities, and also the local BIA. OEV revitalization, in contrast, has been almost exclusively embedded in the planning department at City Hall and connected to the urban planning profession through the Ontario Professional Planning Institute. One of the key recommendations for OEV to move forward toward CUR is to expand its institutional affiliations to involve the social service, neighbourhood, and housing bureaucracies in City Hall in governance.

Reflective of the diversity of interests represented in the PPE planning process, a list of 'Parkdale Neighbourhood Wellbeing Indicators' was developed in 2015. Focused on problems of advanced marginalization caused by gentrification, not on exchange value, these indicators are: accessibility and inclusion; housing and land use; economic opportunities for decent work; health and food security; social and natural infrastructure; participatory democracy; and learning (PPE, 2015) (see PPE, 2015, pp, 4-11 for the full impressive list of indicators). Reflecting a plan drastically different from what is found in OEV, Parkdale's indicators are easily associated with its more inclusive planning process.

The Parkdale project has developed multidimensional approaches to challenging capitalist development in the neighbourhood while, at the same time, respecting the need for capital to achieve its goals. Of great interest is the formation of a community land trust that aims to maintain housing affordability, access to healthy food and local capacity to advocate for low-income tenants (Bath et al., 2012). Reflective of the equity and participatory-democracy lens

around which the PPE has been developed, the urban planning blind field appears to be gone. A focus on social and economic justice is at the centre, measurement of these areas is accounted for in almost every document, and inclusive governance is not only a main focus in every plan but a key indicator for assessing the success of implementation.

Finally, PPE's sources of funding are significantly different than those found in OEV renewal. Parkdale has been supported by the Atkinson Foundation, the Ontario Trillium Foundation, the Metcalf Foundation, and the Echo Foundation, which are interested in social movement organizing and specifically in equitable economic development and increasing the power of the grassroots to create such futures. In OEV, funding for renewal comes almost wholly from the City and private investors and sometimes from other levels of government. OEV would do well to start seeking out funders in the social movement and equitable development sphere, allowing more freedom to advance CUR initiatives.

The purpose of describing Parkdale's experience is to provide an instructive example for OEV, specifically to show a way to overcome the urban planning blind field that has kept CUR from shaping a coherent neighbourhood plan for OEV. The PPE experience shows that social service organizations are not, as framed in the PACT reports, a threat to commercialization and community vitality. The key takeaway from Parkdale is the power of open and explicit governance, making social service, equity, and democracy core guiding principals and providing a way toward renewal that nurtures rather than represses CUR.

Considering the current inter-organizational breakdown in OEV, and the increasing risk of runaway gentrification, the time may be ripe to draw on the Parkdale experience. The problems of homelessness, poverty, affordability, and social inclusion have only grown in Old East Village and are on the agenda of City Hall as it gropes for ways to address them. The PPE has painstakingly documented its process and it is clearly outlined on its website (<https://parkdalecommunityeconomies.wordpress.com/planning-shared-wealth/>).

8.3 Conceptual Contribution and Future Research

Aside from CUR's usefulness as an analytical tool for examining neighbourhood renewal generally and its implications for Old East Village, the concept and its elaboration from critical urban theory is a contribution in its own right. The concept is founded on critical urban theory (Brenner, 2012; Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 2003; Purcell, 2013) and the work of associated critical theorists and practitioners (Alperovitz & Dubb, 2012; Defilippis, Fisher, & Shragge, 2010; Stoecker, 1994; Wolff, 2012; Wright, 2009). My intention in creating the concept was to develop a vision of urban renewal that looked forward toward possible emancipatory social, political, and economic practices within the context of urban renewal. It is intended to spark the imagination of radical possibilities, rooted in actual practice and in traditions of anti-capitalist and post-capitalist thought/practice, social movement, community organizing, and experimental utopianism, in order to open up new and innovative space for understanding urban renewal. Rather than approach renewal solely from a deconstructionist viewpoint, exposing the harsh realities of co-optation and gentrification, a large part of the goal was to provide positive assertions of how urban renewal could be practiced. In the introduction, I contended that, without radical visions, the types of actors needed to create emancipatory change would remain disenchanting and disengaged from urban renewal processes.

The need to create the CUR concept arose from a gap in the literature, suggesting a requirement to connect broader concepts such as the 'right to the city' and the 'production of space' directly to urban renewal. CUR articulates logical connections from critical urban theory to specific statements about neighbourhood renewal, guiding us in how to think about and define community, governance, and capital in ways that transcend capitalism and build foundations for post-capitalist relations of production and everyday life. This translational work lays a foundation for continued engagement in theorizing how urban renewal could be conceived as a critical practice. As is the case for Marcuse (2009), it is the goal that such an activity would lead:

to a position not only necessarily critical in the sense of negative criticism, but also critically exposing the positive and the possibilities of change, implying positions on what is wrong, and needing change, but also on what is desirable and needs to be built on and fostered (p. 185).

The CUR concept is also a response to the emerging literature on the geography of social movements and the ongoing search for how localist, place-based urban movements become spaces of transformation capable of breaking free from the parochialism often associated with neighbourhood movements toward a grand vision of inter-scalar activity bringing broad based social change goals in line with localist activity and vice versa (Miller & Nicholls, 2013; Nicholls, 2017; Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). Specifically, CUR responds to the challenge raised by Miller and Nicholls (2013) that “we are not furnished with theoretical tools to help us explain how cities play a crucial role in broad social movements that effect change beyond the individual cities in which they arise” (pp. 453-54). The concept of CUR is intended to start a conversation about how we can conceptualize neighbourhood renewal in a way that makes these connections and is driven by more universalist emancipatory goals than merely revalorizing the built environment and offering localist consumer opportunities.

As such, the dimensions outlined in the present work are to be debated, extended, retracted, sharpened, and affirmed as modes of praxis. There is a technical and applied aspect of the concept which seeks best practices and opportunities for mobilizing CUR practices. Whether worker co-operatives are ultimately the best way toward economic justice is not settled, and only through further praxis can this be determined. It is likely that others who take up CUR would create a different list of associated practices and, as with all concepts, CUR would be molded in the process.

There is always a danger in working with multidimensional concepts that one feature may be highlighted over the others. The ‘right to the city’ has been noted as a concept that was constructed as a radical assertion for economic, political, and social justice but has been co-opted by writers who ignore its focus on justice and, rather than seeing the right to the city as a ‘collective right to the commons’, frame it only in terms of modes of participation (Belda-Miquel, Peris Blanes, & Frediani, 2016; Mayer, 2009). If the concept of CUR is to be meaningful for emancipatory struggle, its theoretical and intellectual roots cannot be ignored because it is through them that we are constantly pulled back to the question of equity, justice, emancipation, and possibilities for a post-capitalist urban order.

When setting out on this study, I expected that the results would point much further in the direction of the repression of CUR, that the seeds of CUR would fade and be weaker at the end of the study period than at the beginning. I was not putting forward a historical-materialist argument for the existence of CUR. However, considering the persistence of the ‘seeds of CUR’ in the face of strong opposition, it may be that CUR could be more strongly connected to Lefebvre’s argument that a new urban society would emerge from the destruction of the industrial city, bringing about a more humanistic, transformative everyday life and driving toward socialist revolutionary activity. The finding that CUR impulses have persisted in OEV, despite what appeared to be the PACT reports’ hollowing out of the radical components of the neighbourhood, speaks to the possibility that CUR is more than an alternative to the dominant form of renewal, but that it is emergent and called forth by historical forces.

While this single study is not enough to establish this claim, I would hypothesise that seeds of CUR are present in many other neighbourhoods with historical socio-economic features similar to those in OEV, but not yet articulated as such. I would further hypothesise that mid-sized cities have a problem similar to OEV’s in defining a renewal in which the tension between NUR and CUR are not resolved. In larger cities we might expect the case would be different because of the rapid movement of capital results in more explosive confrontations and quickly defines a community as either accepting capital’s domination or resisting and working to transform capital.

In mid-sized cities, the process is much slower and even when gentrification becomes noticeable there is not such an extreme migration of the lower classes out of the neighbourhood. Thus, there may be differences in how CUR expresses itself, is repressed or nurtured, in different sizes of cities. Further research on these questions would help to validate the ‘seeds of CUR’ identified in the current study and might make the case for a more historical, materialist argument for CUR as part of the capitalist crises upon us today.

If such claims could be made, then we could make the case more strongly that CUR is the form of urban renewal expressed through ‘urban society’ as envisaged by Lefebvre. In the

same way that urban society is emergent from the destruction of the industrial city, CUR is emergent from the destruction of the industrial neighbourhood. As urban society continues to develop, CUR will emerge along with it as a local expression of its values, logic, and historical necessity. It may, in fact, be that urban renewal is the front line of urban society, that it is in the transformation of the physical and social infrastructure of the industrial city that urban society is most readily observed.

8.4 Conclusion

Examining the historical, organizational, and grassroots components of OEV, I found that some dimensions of CUR are present, but there are also ideological and structural barriers to turning them into a more effective reality, namely the intense focus of more traditional urban renewal on increasing property values and on private ownership, which lead to gentrification. On the one hand, the community consciousness in OEV appears to nurture ideas of social inclusion, solidarity with marginalized groups, and a desire for strong communal ties. On the other hand, however, we see unresolved tension over who are 'good' community members versus those who 'deserve' further marginalization. Economically, I identify hope for CUR in OEV because of the presence of non-capitalist forms of production such as worker/consumer co-operatives, not-for-profit enterprises, and social services, all of which represent alternative uses of capital not centered on maximizing profit. However, the urban planning documents do not place these values at the centre but rather emphasize increasing property values. The gap between the grassroots voice and the renewal plans that have been developed in OEV is identified as the 'urban planning blind field'. When urban planning is the dominant logic that neighbourhood renewal is conceptualized through the result is that the ideology of urban planners defines the direction for the future of the neighbourhood.

Further, although the neighbourhood has a strong community association, the authority to shape urban renewal planning rests largely in the hands of the BIA. Its authority is derived from the municipality through ongoing funding as well as from provincial legislation providing for 'Business Improvement Areas' in which business organize their voice and pay

a modest levy to fund initiatives. This creates a power imbalance between the needs of private business/developers and those of the residential community. While these interests are not completely mutually exclusive, CUR seeks to put the needs of the most marginalized rather than the needs of capital at the center of renewal. To integrate this alternative feature of CUR in OEV, the governance structure and evaluation criteria for urban renewal would have to be reconsidered.

Overall, this study shows that even in a neighbourhood such as OEV, where features of CUR are present, it is difficult to keep CUR principles at the center of neighbourhood renewal. As an alternative approach, CUR requires intentional organizing from the grassroots as well as from state actors. If the logic of capital is not actively controlled within urban renewal processes, it is inevitably going to transform urban space into its own image and define community and justice on its own terms.

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Appendices

Neighbourhood Organization Interview Guide

Study Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood

Neighbourhood Organization Interview Guide – this interview guide is for leaders or representatives of social movement organizations in Old East Village – including institutional and non-intuitional organizations.

This is a semi structured interview with questions for outline purposes. The interview guide will be used as a check list for each question. The probes will be formed based on participant responses.

Open Statements

Interviews will start with the personal introduction of the research support staff and with brief information about the study. Then, letter of information and consent form will be provided to the participants. They will be reminded that there is no best answer for the interview questions. This study is interested in their experiences from their own point of view.

SMO Description

1. Tell me about your organization
 - What is the purpose of the organization?
 - Is there an official membership to this organization?
 - Why was your organization established in Old East Village? Was there a specific reason why this neighbourhood was chosen?
 - Was it originally established in OEV or elsewhere, why?
 - Can you describe the general type of people who participate in the activities of your organization? (Age, marital status, children, etc)

Collective Identity

2. To what extent do you feel that this organization is a part of the community of Old East Village?
 - What does it mean that the organization is a part of the neighbourhood?
 - What kinds of concerns does the organization address in the neighbourhood?
 - In what ways do you think the organization is contributing to social change outside of the neighbourhood?

Supply for Social Movement Activity

3. In what ways is this organization trying to contribute to change in Old East Village?
 - How important is it for you to contribute directly to the neighbourhoods development?
 - What other types of activities does your organization do that are not directly related to the neighbourhood?
4. How many volunteers has the organization mobilized over the past year in the neighbourhood?
5. What kinds of projects did the organization participate in over the past three years?
6. Did the organization initiate any community building projects over the past several years? What were they?

Local and Extra Local Concerns of Organizations

7. Do you see your group as contributing to local and global issues? How?
 - To what extent does your organization make decisions based on global and local concerns?
 - Where does funding come from for your group?

Governance Model

8. Are you able to give me any literature about this organization, how it functions, and about its intended work in Old East Village?

Volunteer Interview Guide

Neighbourhood Volunteer Interview Guide - this interview guide is for people (residents and nonresidents) who volunteer in the neighbourhood to contribute to creating the local environment.

This is a semi structured interview with questions for outline purposes. The interview guide will be used as a check list for each question. The probes will be formed based on participant responses.

Open Statements

Interviews will start with the personal introduction of the research support staff and with brief information about the study. Then, the letter of information and consent form will be provided to the participants. They will be reminded there is no obligation to participate in this study and they can withdraw at any time. They will also be reminded that there are no best answers to the questions, the study is interested in their experiences from their own point of view.

Questions

A. Neighbourhood Identity

I'd like to start by talking to you about your experience of the neighbourhood overall and how you perceive it.

1. Live, Work, and/or Play in neighbourhood

Do you live in the neighbourhood? Yes No

How long? _____

Other connection to neighbourhood:

Work Volunteer Musician

How long participating in neighbourhood? _____

2. Why did you move into the neighbourhood? Can you remember what factors went into your decision?
 - What did you know about the neighbourhood before moving here?
 - If participant does not live in the neighbourhood I will ask about how and why they started doing work in this area of the city and to what extent they consider themselves members of Old East Village.

3. Interviewer will present a map to the interviewee and ask them to draw a boarder around where they consider the boundaries of Old East Village.
4. In this study I'm trying to get a sense of how people identify OEV. How would you describe Old East Village?
 - What kinds of values do you think underlie Old East? Why?
 - Are there things that you think make this neighbourhood unique compared to other neighbourhoods you've lived in?
5. Do you consider yourself a member of the Old East Village?
 - If yes, what does it mean that you are a community member?
 - If no, why do you not consider yourself a community member?
6. What are your top three concerns for the future of Old East Village?
 - How would you like to see those concerns dealt with?
7. Neighbourhood history is not always written down and I'd like to capture some of the history that may be missing. Can we draw a timeline of your experiences in the neighbourhood and what you consider to be key events that have happened?
 - Important events that you think have shaped the neighbourhood?

B. Engagement in Community Building Activities in Old East Village

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your participation in neighbourhood activities.

8. In what ways are you currently active in the neighbourhood? Are you leading or supporting any projects or groups? (Interviewer records project 1, project 2, project 3)
 - What role and tasks do you do on these projects?
 - How much time do you spend on neighbourhood projects throughout the year?
 - What are the goals of the groups and activities that you currently participate in?
9. In order to help understand your participation in community building activities or other forms of activism (other organizations that you have been active in, churches, other neighbourhood or city groups, political party, etc.) can we make a personal timeline for you that show's entrance and exit from community building as well as other types of social activism throughout your life?

Timeline

C. Initial Involvement – Demand for neighbourhood based social movement

10. What initially sparked your interest in participating in community activities in Old East Village?
 - Do you have friends or family that are also involved in these activities?
 - o If so, what role did they play in sparking your interest?
11. When you look at your own participation in neighbourhood activities how important are these activities for the way you see yourself?
12. In what ways do you think that your participation in neighbourhood activities are contributing to the sense of community in the neighbourhood?
13. As you know, there are many opportunities to contribute to society that are not related to the neighbourhood activities. Why do you choose Old East Village as a place to participate?
14. Do you think that your decision to act within the neighbourhood is connected to any broader social concerns outside of the neighbourhood? If so, how?
15. What do you think are the main opportunities and challenges for members of the neighbourhood to participate in community activities?

D. Neighbourhood as a site for Social Movement Activity: Benefits and Drawbacks

Now I'd like to ask you about your life outside of community activities

16. What is your current marital status or living arrangement?
 - Does your partner also participate in community activities?
 - In what ways do you think your partner is impacted by your participation in community activities?
17. How does participating in neighbourhood activities impact your household?
18. Do you have children? How many?
 - Do your children volunteer with you?
 - In what ways do you think your children are impacted by your participation in community activities?

19. (If have children and spouse) By doing work in the neighbourhood, what benefits and drawbacks have you seen for your family/household over all?
 - How do you cope with the balance of family life and community work?
20. Do you see ways in which your personal life and community participation are intertwined, such as the kinds of challenges you face, and how you cope with those challenges?
21. Are you currently employed?
 - Is your employment related to the community activity that you do?
 - Have you experienced any inner tensions about your community work and paid employment?
 - How do you prioritize your community work and paid employment?

E. Sociodemographic variables:

22. Age
23. Gender – marked by interviewer
24. Education – Highest level achieved
25. Ethnicity – marked by interviewer
26. Occupation/occupational history
27. Home ownership
28. Other political engagement (voting, party politics)

Notes:

Consent Form: Organizational Leader

Organizational Leader Interview

Project Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood

Co-investigator: Michael Courey (co-investigator)



I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant's Name (please print):

Participant's Signature:

Organization Represented:

Date:

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print):

Signature:

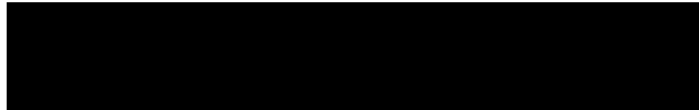
Date:

Consent Form
Community Volunteer Interview

Project Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood

Co-investigator:

Michael Courey
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology



I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant's Name (please print):

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Letter of Information Community Volunteer Interview

Letter of Information

Community Volunteer Interview

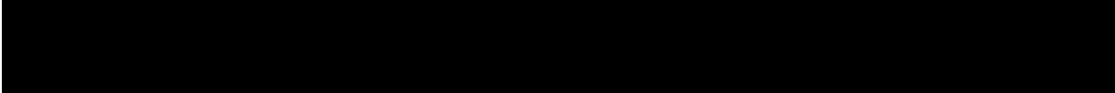
Project Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood

Primary Investigator:

Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology

Co-investigator:

Michael Courey
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology



You are being invited to participate in a research study because you are or have been actively involved in community-building projects in Old East Village (OEV).

1. Purpose of the Letter

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

2. Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the organizational, social, and historical dynamics of Old East Village and the ways in which these dynamics contribute to, and attract, participation in community-building activities. This interview will help us to understand how people experience participation in community-building activities and how that participation is understood among other life demands.

3. Inclusion Criteria

Individuals, over the age of 18, and who are currently volunteering or have volunteered in the past to the development or implementation of community-building projects that happen in Old East Village are eligible to participate in this study.

4. Exclusion Criteria

Individuals who cannot speak English, who are under the age of 18, or who do not/have never participated in community-building in OEV are not eligible to participate in this study.

5. Study Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an interview about your participation experiences and your sense of the neighbourhood overall. The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. It is anticipated that the entire interview will take 45 to 90 minutes. If you do not want to be audio recorded then we ask that you do not participate in the study.

6. Possible Risks and Harms

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study.

7. Possible Benefits

Possible benefits of participating in this study are that you will have a chance to share your experiences and reflect on them. As well, by contributing to this study the community overall may have a better understanding of the place that they live, which could inspire further community participation. Lastly, your participation will help to contribute to a better understanding of why people participate in community projects which can help guide community developers/organizers in other contexts.

8. Compensation

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research.

9. Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future.

10. Confidentiality

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. All audio recordings and transcripts will be kept on research computers and will be password protected. If the results are published, **your name will not be used.** When audio tapes are transcribed all transcriptions will be done using pseudonyms so that your name will not be attached to the file. If you choose to withdraw from this study, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

11. Contacts for Further Information

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact the Principle Investigator Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann, at [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. Or, the Co-Investigator, Michael Courey, at 226-

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The University of Western Ontario Office of Research Ethics [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

12. Publication

Results from this study will primarily be used for publication in academic journals, books, book chapters, or public presentations.

If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact the Michael Courey at [REDACTED] [REDACTED] ema [REDACTED]

13. Consent

If you agree to participate in this study and accept the conditions outlined above, please sign the attached form and return to me before the interview.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Letter of Information Organizational Leader Interview

Letter of Information

Organizational Leader Interview

Project Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood

Primary Investigator:

Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology

Co-investigator:

Michael Courey
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology

You are being invited to participate in a research study because your organization functions within Old East Village (OEV) and contributes to community-building in the neighbourhood.

1. Purpose of the Letter

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

2. Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the organizational, social, and historical dynamics of Old East Village and the ways in which these dynamics contribute to, and attract, participation in community-building activities. This interview will help us to understand how organizational leaders see the role of their organization in contributing to community-building in the neighbourhood.

3. Inclusion Criteria

Organizations that function within Old East Village that potentially contribute to community-building projects in the neighbourhood are included in this study. Organizational leaders are asked to speak on behalf of their organization.

4. Exclusion Criteria

Organizations that do not function in Old East village will not be included in this study.

5. Study Procedures

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an interview about your organizations activities and how you see your organization contributing to the neighbourhood.

The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. It is anticipated that the entire interview will take 45 to 90 minutes. If you do not want to be audio recorded then we ask that you do not participate in the study.

6. Possible Risks and Harms

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study.

7. Possible Benefits

Possible benefits of participating in this study are that you will have a chance to share your experiences and reflect on them. As well, by contributing to this study the community overall may have a better understanding of the place that they live, which could inspire further community participation. Lastly, your participation will help to contribute to a better understanding of how organizations contribute to community-building projects and collective identity in neighbourhoods.

8. Compensation

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research.

9. Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future.

10. Confidentiality

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. All audio recordings and transcripts will be kept on research computers and will be password protected. If the results are published **your organizations name may be used** however where possible organizations will be discussed in generic terms (i.e. a local restaurant, a health service provider). **The name of the person being interviewed will not be used.** If you choose to withdraw from this study at any time, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

11. Contacts for Further Information

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact the Principle Investigator Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann, at [REDACTED]. Or, the Co-Investigator, Michael Courey, at 226-[REDACTED].

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The University of Western Ontario Office of Research Ethics [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

12. Publication

Results from this study will primarily be used for publication in academic journals, books, book chapters, or presentations.

If the results of the study are published, your organizations name may be used. Where possible generic descriptions will be used when referring to your organization (i.e. a local café or a social service organization). If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact the co-investigator: Michael Courey at [REDACTED]

13. Consent

If you agree to participate in this study and accept the conditions outlined above, please sign the attached form and return to me before the interview.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Ethics Approval Notice



**Western
Research**

Research Ethics

Use of Human Participants - Initial Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Wolfgang Lehmann
 File Number: 104529
 Review Level: Delegated
 Protocol Title: Neighbourhood Revitalization and Social Movement Participation: A case study of a revitalizing post-industrial neighbourhood
 Department & Institution: Social Science/Sociology, Western University
 Sponsor:
 Ethics Approval Date: November 05, 2013 Expiry Date: September 01, 2014

Documents Reviewed & Approved & Documents Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Instruments	Interview Guide	
Other	Bibliography	
Recruitment Items	Recruitment Email	
Western University Protocol		2013/10/14
Advertisement	Facebook Call for Participants - Revised according to REB recommendations	2013/10/28
Other	Consent Form - revised for REB recommendations	2013/10/28
Letter of Information	LOI - Revised according to REB recommendation	2013/10/28

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the approval date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the NMREB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

Members of the NMREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the NMREB.

The Chair of the NMREB is Dr. Riley Hinson. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Grace Kelly (grace.kelly@uwo.ca)	<input type="checkbox"/> Vikki Tran (vikki.tran@uwo.ca)	<input type="checkbox"/> Erika Basile (ebasile@uwo.ca)
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This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Curriculum Vitae

Michael Courey

Department of Sociology
The University of Western Ontario

Overview

As an inter-disciplinary critical sociologist with a strong commitment to praxis, I have been working in the space between research, community organizing, and knowledge mobilization since 2011. My research background spans the methodological spectrum from quantitative to qualitative analysis and study design, working with national datasets, designing program evaluations, conducting interviews, and engaging with public planning and historical documents. My current position at the London Poverty Research Centre brings all of this work together focusing on addressing issues of poverty and inequality through local and broad-based mobilization of research, community action, and knowledge dissemination.

Education

Ph.D., Sociology, The University of Western Ontario

Specialization: Urban Sociology, Social Movements, Community Organizing, Critical Theory

(Defended: March 2019)

Dissertation Title: Critical Urban Renewal: A theoretical framework and case study

MA, Sociology

The University of Western Ontario

Specialization: Criminology and Identity Formation

(Defended: August 2009)

Thesis Title: A Closer Look at the Relationship between Self-Control and Delinquency: The effects of identity styles

BA, Sociology (Hons.), Business Administration (Minor)

University of Guelph

(Completed April 2007)

Associate Diploma in Agriculture

University of Guelph

(Completed April 2004)

Refereed Journal Articles

Kudla, Daniel, and Michael Courey (2018). Managing Territorial Stigmatization from the 'middle': The revitalization of a post-industrial Business Improvement Area. *Environment and Planning A*, (online)

Courey, Michael and Paul-Philippe Pare. (2016). A Closer Look at the Relationship between Self-Control and Delinquency: The Effects of Identity Styles. *Crime and Delinquency*, 62, 3.

Academic Conferences

Paper Presentations:

Kudla, Dan, and Courey, Michael. (2016, June 2). Business Improvement Areas and Social Services: Negotiating Space in a Revitalizing Neighbourhood. Presented at *Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference*. Calgary, Alberta.

Courey, Michael. (2014, May 28th). Post Industrial Neighbourhoods as 'Spaces of Hope'. Presented at *Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference*. St. Catherines, Ontario.

Courey Michael (2014, May 29th). Neighbourhoods as a Site of Social Movement Activity: Linking Localized and Large Scale Social Movements. Presented at *Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference*. St. Catherines, Ontario.

Jeresky, Jeremy and Courey, M. (2014 May 26th). The New School of Colour: A framework and practice of public cultural critique and engagement. Presented at *Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference*. St. Catherines, Ontario.

Courey, M., and Shantz, A. (2012, May). Social Change by Siege: A Comparison of the Economic, Political, and Social Movements during the Great Depression and Now. Presented at *Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Courey, M. (2012, April). Cultivating the Concept of Generativity: An attempt to revitalize generative concern in the context of contemporary society. Presented at *Engage Graduate Student Research Symposium*, Guelph, Ontario.

Jeong, J., and Courey, M. (2011, March). A Review of the Relationship between Religiosity and Crime: Have Things Changed Over the Last Decade? Presented at *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences*, Toronto, Ontario

- Courey, M., Miller, A., and Baiden, P. (2011, April). Attitudes towards Cohabitation: Individual Attitudes, Behavior and use of Discursive Rhetoric. Presented at *Western University Sociology Graduate Student Conference*, London, Ontario
- Courey, M., Pare, P. (2009, October). Identity Styles and Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime. *University of Windsor Sociology Graduate Research Symposium*, Windsor, Ontario
- Courey, M. Pare, P. (2009, April). Determinants and Delinquent Outcomes of Identity Processing Styles: Identity Processing Styles in Self-Control Theory. Presented at *Society for Research on Identity Formation Sixteenth Annual Conference*, Pacific Grove, California
- Courey, M., Pare, P. (2009, March). The Role of Parent-Child Relationships, Family Functioning and Gender in the Formation of Identity Styles. Presented at *10th Annual Graduate Student Conference: ENGAGE: Rethink. Research. Rediscover*, Guelph, Ontario
- Courey, M. (2007, May). Self, Meaning, and Action: A Grounded Theory of the Self. Presented at *The 24th Canadian International Qualitative & Ethnographic Research Conference*, Fredericton, New Brunswick

Poster Presentation (s):

- Courey, M., Pare, P. (2010, March). Identity Styles as Mechanisms of Peer Selection and Influence. *Society for Research on Identity Formation*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Courey, M., Pare, P. (2009, November). The Relationship between Identity Styles and the Selection of Delinquent Peers. *The American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Courey, M, Pare, P. (2008, November). "What about Identity?" Does Adolescents' Identity Style Mediate the Relationship Between Family Characteristics, Self-Control and Delinquent Behavior? *The American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting*, St. Louis, Missouri

Documentary Production

The new normal: Precarious employment in London, Ontario (2018)

Website: <https://precariousinlondon.weebly.com/>

Role: Executive Producer – London Poverty Research Centre

Overview: This documentary built on research conducted by the London Poverty Research Centre looking at the prevalence and correlations of people experiencing precarious

employment. The documentary added to the quantitative research with interviews of lived experience of Londoner's struggle with precarious employment.

Part-time Teaching

January 2012 – Present, **Kings University College**; London Ontario
Department of Sociology

Courses Taught:

Crimes of the Powerful (9 Times, 2012 - 2018) – Third year course
Youth in Conflict with the Law (3 Times, 2013, 2014,) - Second year course
Organized Crime (1 Time, 2016F) – Third year course

January 2012 – December 2016, **University of Western Ontario**; London Ontario
Department of Sociology

Courses Taught:

Policing and Society (1 Time, 2016) – Fourth year course
Advanced Topics in Deviance (1 Time, 2014) – Fourth year course
Social Psychology (1 Time, 2012) – Second year course

January 2011 – August 2011, **Fanshawe College**; London Ontario
School of Language and Liberal Studies

Courses Taught:

Introduction to Sociology I, Introduction to Sociology II – First year course

Professional Experience

London Poverty Research Center (see povetyresearch.ca for overview of center's work)

Center Coordinator

March 2017 – Present

Duties: Oversee day to day activities of the centre including ongoing research projects, knowledge mobilization, volunteer recruitment and community engagement, internal and external communications, fund development, and staffing.

Generative Consulting

Founder – Program Development and Evaluation

September 2012 – Present

London, Ontario

Duties: This company was founded to engage in community development consulting and program evaluation activities. I have been responsible for acquiring contracts, study design, data collection, and report writing as well as management of other staff and client relationships.

Academica Group Inc.

Data Analyst

July 2008 – October 2012
 London, Ontario
 Duties: Data analysis and report writing

Teaching Assistantships

September 2007- 2013, **University of Western Ontario**,
 Department of Sociology
 In the courses of:

Introduction to Sociology – First year – Supervisor Kim Luton
 Social Psychology (3x) – Second year – Supervisor Tom Murphy
 Social Theory – Third Year – Supervisor Tom Murphy

September 2007 – 2010, **Kings University College**
 Department of Sociology
 In the courses of:

Introduction to Criminology – First year – Supervisor Dr. Matthew Yeager
 The Sociology of Law (3x) – Second Year – Supervisor Dr. Matthew Yeager
 Crimes of the Powerful – Third Year – Supervisor Dr. Matthew Yeager

Research Assistantships

June 2009 – August 2009, University of Western Ontario
 Department of Sociology
 Supervisor: Dr. Paul Philippe Pare
 Research Topic: Adolescent identity and peer delinquency

November 2006 – April 2007, University of Guelph
 Department of Sociology
 Supervisor: Dr. Tony Winson
 Research Topic: Wheat Production

Academic Scholarships and Grants

December 2015 - \$1500

Student Success Centre – RBC Community Partnership Grant
 Purpose: Public Sociology Speaker and Workshops in March 2015

September 2009 – 2013 – \$10 000/year

Western Graduate Research Scholarship, PhD

July 2012 - \$2000

Student Success Centre – RBC Community Partnership Grant
 Purpose: Implement project to increase neighbourhood cohesion – OEV Block Party

June 2010 - \$960

Population Change and Lifecourse Strategic Knowledge Cluster: Student training, workshop attendance, and conference presentation grant

Purpose: To attend SPIDA data analysis workshop at York University, Toronto, Ontario.

September 2009 - \$25 000

Co-researcher (not applicant) on SSHRC Collaborative Research Grant

Purpose: Travel funding for research team to travel to Finland to set up a project comparing the secondary education system in Finland with Canada

September 2007 – August 2008 - \$10 000/year

Western Graduate Research Scholarship, M.A.

Community Organizing/Development Grants**September 2012 – September 2014 - \$137,000**

Ontario Trillium Foundation

Purpose: New School of Colour – Art-based personal and community development program

Lead Applicant – Glenn Cairn Community Resource Centre

Role: Program Evaluator

April 2013 - \$4 000

London Strengthening Neighbourhoods Community Development Grant

Purpose: Old East Village Fall Festival

Lead Applicant – Old East Village Community Association

Role: Project Coordinator

July 2011 - \$5 000

London Strengthening Neighbourhoods Community Development Grant

Purpose: Old East Village Block Party

Lead Applicant – Old East Village Community Association

Role: Project Coordinator

Professional Associations

Member: Canadian Sociological Association (2012-Present)

Member: Society for Research on Identity Formation (2007 – 2011)

Member: The American Society of Criminology (2007-2011)

University Committees and Groups

September 2015 – Present

Secretary Treasurer

Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) 5265

May 2012 – 2016

Speaker Series Coordinator - Public Sociology @ Western (Founding Member)

<http://publicsociologywestern.ca/>

January 2012 – Present

Program Coordinator, Public Humanities @ Western

<http://www.uwo.ca/publichumanities/about/people.html>

September 2012 – 2013

Student Representative at Society of Graduate Studies

Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

September 2008 – April 2009

Student Representative at Departmental Assembly

Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

September 2007-April 2008

Student Representative on Graduate Committee

Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario

Community Work/Service

2015 – Present

Vice-Chair (since 2017) – Glen Carin Community Resource Centre

Duties: Governance board of a neighbourhood resource centre in London, Ontario.

2013 – Present

Data Collection Committee – Old East Village Community

Association

Main project: OEV Community Exchange (see oevcommunityexchange.ca)

2012 – Present

Community Advisory Council, London Intercommunity Health Centre (LIHC)

Duties: provide council and feedback to the ongoing and new projects of the LIHC serving low income and marginalized communities across London.

2011 – 2016

Chair (2011 – 2013) - Old East Village Block Party – London Ontario

Committee member (2014 – 2016)

Duties: This project was a community organizing project to build community capacity and solidarity within the Old East Village. As a founding member I was instrumental in

mobilizing more than 50 neighbourhood volunteers and 20 local organizations to create and implement the annual event.