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Mixed Views on Community Building in Mixed-use Spaces

**An Investigation on Mixed-use Spaces and its potential to increase
Trust and Community Building among Residents
or increase Social Mixes in Toronto, Canada**

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Summary

English

This study explores the residents' perspective about community building in their mixed-use neighborhoods. In Toronto, there are several neighborhoods that have been intentionally or unintentionally planned as mixed-use neighborhoods. Due to the nature of these spaces having several uses near home, the residents feel that this form of urban planning leads to more opportunities for social mixes rather than the space itself creating community building.

I observe the ways in which space itself may be a reason for lower levels of trust and community building among residents. I explore the ways in which people's interactions in their neighborhood is impacted based on their trust in the spaces and in the individuals themselves. In this way, I am focussing on the spatial element of trust, as people have their relational experiences in spaces. I also analyze what residents feel about their community based on trust and space. Their views can be both positive and negative, which is why the residents' stories need to be heard to understand what they need to improve their sense of community in their neighborhoods. The goal is to find solutions to these growing problems, which can improve the living conditions of several people. I use a mixed-methods approach where I conduct surveys and interviews with residents and related authorities.

Community is a complex term and I classify it as both a social and spatial concept. I define it as the feeling that people have when they belong to and identify with a group. It is where they feel comfortable. As most people have their homes in neighborhoods, it is where they spend quite a bit of time and noting what they feel about these spaces allowed me to find out the link between mixed-use spaces and community building. To analyze the concept of community in neighborhoods, I introduce the concepts of "theoretical community," which is how we think of community and "experimental community," which is how we perform community in relation to mainly residents, but also to policy makers, planners, and architects. By understanding the views of residents, it can benefit policymakers, planners, and architects to effectively implement social justice in our environment, which will positively influence our positionality in society and our communities as well.

Two neighborhood case studies from Toronto are used to show the link between theoretical community and experimental community and how these concepts should be acknowledged when planning spaces. The first is the Regent Park neighborhood that is still undergoing construction since 2006 to become a mixed-use and mixed-income neighborhood which has both market-rent and community housing residents. The second is Harry Sherman Crowe Coop in the York University Heights neighborhood where residents are informally using the facilities of York University as mixed-use. Through qualitative research methods, I interviewed residents and they explain their views and their understanding on the links between trust, space and community building along with possible suggestions for planners.

Some observations from residents indicate that working together towards a common goal can positively impact community building, since residents will try to accomplish something that is important to them. They will even become a part of those spaces, as they will be working to improve the conditions of their neighborhood. As both these neighborhoods have several spaces, the residents can utilize these spaces by planning events which will bring residents together and actively work on community building. There is a great emphasis on active participation in the neighborhood to lead to community building, and that is not possible without trust. Involving members at the planning stages and keeping information as honest as possible is all important to lead to true community building.

While mixed-use spaces may sound ideal as a concept, this study focusses on the underlying issues, that arise, such as accessibility of space, lower trust levels and group formation among residents. Residents provide possible suggestions both at the local and authoritative level.

A suggestion for planners is to make the spaces accessible to all kinds of users in proximity. In planning, spaces are usually intended for a particular group of people. However, as the findings from this dissertation demonstrate in the case of York University Keele campus, several residents live close by to the campus yet are not able to enjoy and use those spaces, due to feeling of nonacceptance and inaccessibility. Based on this possible solution, planners will not be planning new spaces, but rather they would be making existing spaces accessible to users in proximity, which is a sustainable solution as well. In neighborhoods such as Regent Park where there are market-rent residents coming in the neighborhood through the ongoing redevelopment phases, the original Toronto Community Housing (TCH) residents feel a sense of inaccessibility to the spaces they have in their proximity. In this neighborhood the Regent Park Neighborhood Association tries to bridge the gap between the two groups. All these aspects can positively impact a person's theoretical and experimental community, since they will be shown acceptance from authorities, which will encourage them to maintain and enhance their neighborhoods, which are all seeds to sow for community building.

German

Diese Studie untersucht die Perspektive von Bewohnenden auf die Gemeinschaftsbildung in ihren gemischt genutzten Stadtvierteln. In Toronto gibt es mehrere Stadtviertel, die absichtlich oder unabsichtlich als gemischt genutzte Stadtviertel geplant wurden. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass es in der Nähe des Wohnortes mehrere Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für diese Räume gibt, sind die Bewohnenden der Meinung, dass diese Form der Stadtplanung zu mehr Möglichkeiten für soziale Durchmischung führt, anstatt dass der Raum selbst zur Gemeinschaftsbildung beiträgt.

Ich beobachte, wie der Raum selbst ein Grund für ein geringeres Maß an Vertrauen und Gemeinschaftsbildung unter den Bewohnenden sein kann. Ich untersuche, wie die Interaktionen der Menschen in ihrer Nachbarschaft durch ihr Vertrauen in die Räume und in die Menschen selbst beeinflusst werden. Auf diese Weise konzentriere ich mich auf das räumliche Element des Vertrauens, da Menschen ihre Beziehungserfahrungen in Räumen machen. Ich analysiere auch, was die Bewohnenden über ihre Gemeinschaft auf der Grundlage von Vertrauen und Raum denken. Ihre Ansichten können sowohl positiv als auch negativ sein, weshalb die Geschichten der Bewohnenden gehört werden müssen, um zu verstehen, was sie brauchen, um ihr Gemeinschaftsgefühl in ihren Stadtvierteln zu verbessern. Das Ziel ist es, Lösungen für diese wachsenden Probleme zu finden, die die Lebensbedingungen mehrerer Menschen verbessern können. Ich verwende einen mixed-methods Ansatz, bei dem ich Umfragen und Interviews mit Bewohnenden und zuständigen Behörden durchführt habe.

Gemeinschaft ist ein komplexer Begriff, den ich sowohl als soziales als auch als räumliches Konzept einstuft. Ich definiere ihn als das Gefühl, das Menschen haben, wenn sie zu einer Gruppe gehören und sich mit ihr identifizieren. Es ist der Ort, an dem sie sich wohlfühlen. Indem ich festhielt, was Bewohnende über diese Räume denken, konnte ich den Zusammenhang zwischen gemischt genutzten Räumen und Gemeinschaftsbildung herausfinden. Um das Konzept der Gemeinschaft in Stadtvierteln zu analysieren, führe ich die Konzepte der "theoretischen Gemeinschaft" ein, d. h. wie wir über Gemeinschaft denken, und der "experimentellen Gemeinschaft", d. h. wie wir Gemeinschaft hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Bewohnende, aber auch auf politische Entscheidungsträger*innen,

Planer*innen und Architekt*innen leben. Wenn Entscheidungsträger*innen, Planer*innen und Architekt*innen die Ansichten der Bewohnenden verstehen, kann dies für sie von Vorteil sein, um soziale Gerechtigkeit in unserer Umgebung effektiv umzusetzen, was sich positiv auf unsere Position in der Gesellschaft und in unseren Gemeinden auswirkt.

Anhand von zwei Fallstudien aus Stadtvierteln in Toronto wird der Zusammenhang zwischen theoretischer Gemeinschaft und experimenteller Gemeinschaft aufgezeigt und wie diese Konzepte bei der Planung von Räumen berücksichtigt werden sollten. Zum einen das Viertel Regent Park, das sich seit 2006 im Bau befindet und zu einem gemischt genutzten und einkommensgemischten Viertel werden soll, in dem sowohl Marktmieten als auch Sozialwohnungen angeboten werden. Das zweite Beispiel ist Harry Sherman Crowe Coop im Viertel York University Heights, wo die Bewohnenden die Einrichtungen der York University informell als gemischt genutzte Einrichtungen nutzen. Mit qualitativen Forschungsmethoden habe ich Bewohnende befragt, die ihre Ansichten und ihr Verständnis der Zusammenhänge zwischen Vertrauen, Raum und Gemeinschaftsbildung sowie mögliche Vorschläge für Planer*innen erläuterten.

Einige Beobachtungen von Bewohnenden deuten darauf hin, dass die Zusammenarbeit an einem gemeinsamen Ziel die Gemeinschaftsbildung positiv beeinflussen kann, da die Bewohnenden versuchen werden, etwas zu erreichen, das ihnen wichtig ist. Sie werden sogar Teil dieser Räume, da sie daran arbeiten, die Bedingungen in ihrer Nachbarschaft zu verbessern. Da beide Stadtviertel über mehrere öffentliche Plätze verfügen, können die Bewohnenden diese Plätze nutzen, indem sie Veranstaltungen planen, die die Bewohnenden zusammenbringen und aktiv am Aufbau der Gemeinschaft arbeiten. Es wird großer Wert auf die aktive Beteiligung in der Nachbarschaft gelegt, um den Aufbau einer Gemeinschaft zu fördern, und das ist ohne Vertrauen nicht möglich. Die Einbeziehung der Bewohnenden in die Planungsphase und eine möglichst ehrliche Informationsweitergabe sind wichtig, um einen echten Aufbau der Gemeinschaft zu erreichen. Obwohl gemischt genutzte Räume als Konzept ideal klingen mögen, konzentriert sich diese Studie auf die zugrunde liegenden Probleme, die sich daraus ergeben, wie z. B. die Zugänglichkeit von Räumen, geringeres Vertrauen und Gruppenbildung unter den Bewohnenden. Die Bewohnenden machen sowohl auf lokaler als auch auf behördlicher Ebene Vorschläge.

Ein Vorschlag für Planer*innen ist, die Räume für alle Arten von Nutzer*innen in der Nähe zugänglich zu machen. Bei der Planung sind Räume in der Regel für eine bestimmte Personengruppe vorgesehen. Wie die Ergebnisse dieser Dissertation im Fall des York University Keele Campus zeigen, leben jedoch mehrere Bewohnende in der Nähe des Campus, können diese Räume jedoch aufgrund des Gefühls der Nichtakzeptanz und Unzugänglichkeit nicht nutzen. Auf der Grundlage dieser möglichen Lösung werden Planer*innen keine neuen Räume planen, sondern vielmehr vorhandene Räume für Nutzer*innen in der Nähe zugänglich machen, was ebenfalls eine nachhaltige Lösung ist. In Stadtvierteln wie Regent Park, wo durch die laufenden Sanierungsphasen Marktmietbewohner*innen in das Viertel kommen, haben die ursprünglichen Bewohnenden von Toronto Community Housing (TCH) das Gefühl, keinen Zugang zu den Räumen in ihrer Nähe zu haben. In diesem Viertel versucht die Regent Park Neighborhood Association, die Kluft zwischen den beiden Gruppen zu überbrücken. All diese Aspekte können sich positiv auf die theoretische und experimentelle Gemeinschaft einer Person auswirken, da sie von den Behörden akzeptiert wird, was sie ermutigt, ihre Nachbarschaften zu erhalten und zu verbessern, was alles Samen sind, die für den Aufbau einer Gemeinschaft gesät werden müssen.

Abstract

Mixed-use spaces, which is having various land uses near home, are increasing in several neighborhoods of Toronto as a solution to some issues, such as affordability and increasing a sense of community. The data about the residents' experience in a formal and informal mixed-use space identifies the residents' community building, and it provides an initial understanding if mixed-use spaces are a viable planning option for the future. To analyze the concept of community building and mixed-use spaces, a lens of the urban dimension of trust is beneficial, as it focuses on the relational experiences that residents have in the spaces, through the act of interacting by trusting other residents, which can lead to community building. Planners, architects, developers, and neighborhood associations impact the ways in which the relations in these spaces form. To fully understand the dynamics, a trust-related concept, which is authority, is also necessary to note the power relations that can influence the residents' community building in their neighborhoods. This study reveals the importance of planning city spaces based on the residents' needs since they live in these areas, and it provides new insights on the links between the urban dimension of trust, mixed-use neighborhoods, and community building.

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Chapter 1 New Housing Problem in a Global City – Toronto

In some cities land is being divided in a manner where people are being placed in cities based on their financial situation. This is a form of discrimination where certain people are at a disadvantage. In a city, a neighbourhood is a local space that residents belong to, and it can be analyzed to understand other urban processes. Amidst all of this, there are new planning concepts, such as “mixed-use” housing. The purpose of this is to create advantageous communities for people who can afford these areas. These people have access to most resources near them since facilities are usually at a walkable distance. There are also open spaces that are made to prompt interactions between residents. The idea of mixed-use housing is supposed to bring back the concept of close-knit communities where people can trust each other. However, mixed-use housing is continuing the commodification of housing in global cities, such as Toronto, which is what the new housing crisis is about.

Canada’s largest city, Toronto, which was originally known as the Township of York, was a one-hundred-square-mile area, bordered by Lake Ontario, Humber River to Don River and ten-miles north to what is now known as Steeles Avenue, which is the city’s current northern border (Solomon 2007, 3). It is a multicultural city as people from different cultural backgrounds live together. Toronto is also known as an immigrant city since several European immigrants inhabit various parts of Canada.



Map 1a: Map of Toronto (c. 1990), from the 10th edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

Toronto has been known as the most multicultural city (Statistics Canada 26 October 2022). There are many cultural neighborhoods in Toronto, for instance, Little India (which is 6km east of the city centre), Little Italy (3km west), Portugal Village (3km south-west), Greektown (8km north-east), and Chinatown (2km west) (BBC February 24, 2022). There is a lot of diversity in the city, especially with regards to food. It is possible to find every imaginable culture represented in some way in Toronto (BBC February 24, 2022). In a city where there are various cultures and the population is made of several immigrants, the perspective of residents is usually different from other countries where immigrants are the visible minority. It is interesting to note the way residents from a multicultural city observe and perform community in their neighborhoods.

One housing issue in Toronto is of affordability for several years. Toronto, a global city, is one of the world's most unaffordable cities to live in (Wetzstein 2017, 3160). The high cost of housing, homelessness and climate change have created a "polycrisis" where residents are reporting high levels of depression and anxiety (Kopun November 15, 2023). The Toronto Foundation is a charitable organization which focuses on building community, and they have been researching on quality-of-life issues in Toronto for nearly 20 years. The foundation's 2023 report shows that Toronto is one of the loneliest places in Canada, as residents are not a part of their communities, they are interacting and volunteering less, they have fewer friends and fewer close relationships with their families (Kopun November 15, 2023). A link between stressful situations, such as, unaffordable housing, can lead to less community building, as people are not feeling well.

There are other housing issues as well, such as, "mixed-use" housing under the principles of New Urbanism, which consists of a new image of the good community (Grant 2002). The concept is based on building an attractive environment that can enhance interactions by keeping residents close to each other, since most facilities and amenities are built in the mixed-use space. Cities have mainly been designed for the quantity of inhabitants rather than for the quality of inhabitants (Harman 2011). That is why now there is a focus on creating attractive places that encourage interaction, such as mixed-use areas. In theory, as many people feel alienated, the concept of mixed-use is bringing a sense of trust and

community back into the city through design. In practice, mixed-use is often strengthening the class divide in urban spaces. Therefore, the concept of mixed-use is sometimes working against the idea of increasing a sense of community for residents. It is continuing to commodify housing, although housing is a basic need.

The definition of “community” has also been under debate because it is considered an ambiguous concept (Mannarini and Fedi 2009, 211). Community seems to be an ideal concept, but it also functions as a two-edged sword because the use of the term provides two suggestions. It identifies the members of a group that have something in common with each other, and this point distinguishes them from members of other groups (Cohen 1985). Clearly, this exemplifies the complexity of this term based on the professional and practical uses. Boundaries are created between communities by identifying members and non-members in a “community.” This shows that where community is supposed to be inclusionary, it also is exclusionary by the very principles that define a community. For this research, I will define community as an act that residents of a neighborhood aspire to achieve through recurring interactions, which can be planned or unplanned encounters. I will explain this idea further in chapter 2, section 2.1.

Many neighborhoods are built on the design principles of New Urbanism, which is an architectural movement (history and details follow), it includes high-density, mixed land uses along with mixed housing types, well-connected streets and easy access to transit or walkable distance to facilities (Park, Huang and Newman 2016). Social interaction is encouraged by designing homes where residents get out of their house, which is possible by building smaller private spaces and bigger public spaces outside their homes (Talen 1999). These elements can increase chances of interaction within a neighborhood, but the question is do residents interact? The mixing of land uses often increases housing prices, which only allows certain individuals to move to mixed-use areas and does not make the space accessible to everyone. The focus is to analyze social interaction in the public spaces created in mixed-use spaces rather than the private spaces which are their residences, because public spaces are where residents can interact with other neighbors.

For this research, public space and private space will be analyzed through a specific lens. Space itself is understood through the interactions that occur in it, which is termed as “social space.” This concept will be explained in greater detail in chapter 2. Public space comprises of areas that are not peoples’ homes, but rather areas that are open to all. This consists of commercial land uses such as stores, food places, coffee places, grocery stores, pharmacies, doctor offices or banks. On the other hand, communal spaces consist of spaces where residents of a neighborhood can gather for the purposes of interaction or other activities. These spaces are usually in the vicinity of a neighborhood. Private spaces are peoples’ homes, which is usually the space they prefer to be in alone, with their family or maybe invite their close friends. Usually when residents want to spend time with other residents for community building it is in the communal spaces.

According to the United Nations Habitat, an annual report about public spaces shows that public space has proved to recuperate the health and wellbeing of communities, along with increasing social interaction (Martinuzzi et al. 2022, 7). Places that people want to be in have a strong sense of place, and they are seen as quality places (Wyckoff 2014). Quality places are usually found in mixed-use areas (ibid). This shows the potential that mixed-use spaces have to promote community building in neighborhoods. However, policymakers see public spaces as areas for private profit. Privatizing spaces interferes in communication while public spaces encourage communication. Residents should be involved in the planning process of these areas because they would be able to describe best, which areas they would want to be in. Unsuccessful public spaces that are underused result in antisocial behaviors because of the top-down process that limits engagement of community members (Martinuzzi et al. 2022). Such examples show the importance of involving residents in the planning process and understanding their story. I am trying to achieve this in my research by talking to residents to understand their perspectives on community building in their neighborhood.

Moreover, the design principles of New Urbanism seem to promote a better quality of life, as it may increase social interactions. However, most studies have analyzed whether residents’ preferences match the theoretical arguments of New Urbanism by analyzing

property values (Park, Huang and Newman 2016). This type of research cannot quantify or qualify neighborhood satisfaction because contrary outcomes are being compared. There are still several people that prefer large lots, lower density, secluded space with less connected streets (ibid). This point can be related back to one of the reasons for the increase of alienation and isolation in cities.

As people keep desiring for bigger homes, psychologists and behavioral economists are on a consensus that humans are not able to make decisions that lead them to happiness, but rather always wanting more and comparing themselves to others (Montgomery 2014). This psychological process is known as the “evolutionary happiness function,” which increases our desire for bigger homes and then shortly after moving in it, we are dissatisfied, as we want to move again to a bigger and better home (Montgomery 2014, 80). People usually buy homes in the suburbs because it is possible to build spacious houses there. Mixed-use developments in cities are being built with the intention to attract people back to the inner core. The main question regarding this situation is that who can afford this lifestyle? Certain people cannot afford this lifestyle, and this already demonstrates that these people may have other problems to deal with, which can affect their sense of community. Interaction itself is at a decline and it is necessary to understand the reason behind this occurrence.

Urban Planning principles in Toronto also do not focus on public interest, but rather on economic prosperity (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer 2010). There are new spaces in the city for living, but these are not spaces for people who do not have economic or cultural capital for this lifestyle (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer 2010). In Toronto and many other North American cities, planning has mainly focussed on segregating land uses; however, the modern trend is to mix land uses. In Canada, zoning regulations are applied to preserve land to ensure that the area is developed for “affluent groups” (Wright May 25, 2021). Such actions result in the physical segregation within cities, which determines where people belong and affects their overall sense of community. As a result, people are placed in spaces based on their economic standing. An economic concept of determining where people belong affects their perception about others and of urban processes as well. People who have the means to choose where to

live are not affected by this phenomenon. Mobility is the “pulse of community” (Park et al. 2019, 59) which is why suburbs and cities have people from all age groups and different backgrounds. Currently, people are breaking the notion of urban sprawl as some live in the suburbs but prefer to work in cities, while others want to live in cities and work there as well. It is all a matter of choice, but not everyone has this choice.

Toronto is known for its multiculturalism, yet based on one classification, it is becoming spatially divided into three types of cities (Lehrer and Wieditz 2009). This includes a city of the rich, of the middle-income households and of concentrated poverty (ibid). Spatial segregation impacts trust relations because people feel discriminated, which affects their way of communicating and this negatively impacts community building. Mixed-use areas in Toronto are usually targeted to people who can afford high-rise condominiums, as they are in downtown areas (Foord 2010). Toronto is being planned through an entrepreneurial planning model, which has led to the formation of a competitive city (Kipfer and Keil 2002). Mistrust is also a form of alienation that goes beyond a sense of separation from others to a suspicion of others (Ross, Mirowsky and Pribesh 2001). It usually occurs in “disadvantaged neighborhoods” where resources are limited and to individuals that feel powerless (ibid). There is this general idea that life in the city fosters mistrust of others due to the economic and social disadvantage in one’s neighborhood (ibid). The important point of inquiry is to analyze if people in “advantaged” neighborhoods have a greater sense of trust or mistrust? As people are becoming more focussed on obtaining their financial goals, they are fulfilling the goals of developers and planners through the entrepreneurial model. The focus is much less on establishing and building communities, but rather on flourishing financially, which may cause harm to the financial growth of some individuals, as they take high risk loans for these houses in a turbulent financial market.

Many mixed-use developments are selling community. A fake sense of community is being sold because individuals are being caged and alienated in their fancy homes, rather than communicating with each other in the open spaces. These places do not even seem to be stimulating interactions, which shows that the problem lies somewhere else in society. It

seems to be because of the way people think about each other and this perception of otherness (Beville 2019).

A lack of resources affects residents' sense of community because cities with greater inequality tend to provide less support to social infrastructure, such as to social, educational, and recreational services (Raphael et al. 2001). Some places can encourage or discourage conversations and interactions between people; however, it is not the places alone that have a direct effect on sense of community. The way cities are set up, as the affluent are colonizing the core of cities, the rest are being pushed out (Florida et al. 2018). People are classified in space, which affects their understanding of space and simultaneously impacts their way of communicating with others. This concept of a physical divide in the city creates a divide in peoples' minds as well. Such concepts intercept when trying to improve communities. Based on the current situation of cities, it is crucial to research how community building is being planned in cities and how residents in different circumstances perceive this concept.

1.1 Developing Research Questions and Hypothesis

Nowadays community building is important in residential communities because more people are living alone "including more than a quarter of Americans over the age of sixty-five, who are at particular risk of becoming isolated. This is worrisome, because, as a large body of scientific research now shows, social isolation and loneliness can be as dangerous as more publicized health hazards" (Klinenberg 2018, 31-32). Consequently, initiatives that encourage community building can help in resolving the serious societal issue of isolation. It is important to note that community building is also possible on online platforms, but the effectiveness of this varies from person to person.

While planning neighborhoods, especially according to mixed-use neighbourhood ideals, the focus is usually on the connections between facilities, but "social infrastructure" is not accounted for. "Social infrastructure" refers to the physical places that enable bonds to develop (Klinenberg 2018, 5). Places cannot create community, but places that have a healthy "social infrastructure," encourage people to have frequent interactions while

engaging in activities that they enjoy even with people from different ethnic backgrounds (Klinenberg 2018, 18). This has a positive impact on social capital. As a result, it is possible to build community with residents through these constant interactions which can turn into relationships.

There are disagreements on the definition of mixed-use, but most people agree that mixed-use policies involve the “co-location or immediate proximity of homes, workplaces and services in buildings, neighborhoods and districts” (Hirt 2016, 134). Mixed-use development blends residential, commercial, cultural, institutional and/or industrial uses together. This means various forms of necessities and desires that possibly enhance the experience of living in a neighborhood for residents are in proximity. The point is to reduce travel and therefore facilities within walking distance are beneficial in mixed-use planning (Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005). As Jane Jacobs outlines in her research from 1961 that mixed-use development has been deemed as making vibrant and successful neighborhoods (1992). The ideology behind this is that people from different economic backgrounds live close to each other.

Zoning and segregation of land uses prevents mixing of uses for everyone and it has nothing to do with proper growth of community (Rowley 1996). However, mixed-use cannot be seen separate from cultural priorities and lifestyles where people choose to live in a certain area. The interest of developers and owners in mixed-use areas is mainly due to financial benefits, such as rising land costs (Rabianski, Gibler, Tidwell and Clements 2009). New Urbanists brought these design ideas in response to the social and spatial segregation by race and income (Garde 2020, 453). The idea is to promote mixed-use and mixed-income developments that incorporate several housing types and various types of transportation (ibid). As a result, it is valuable to explore how the mixed-use design is affecting the residents’ conceptualization of communities.

In certain neighborhoods, various neighborhood associations or planning schemes attempt to make mixed-use space result in more social mixes between people. Mixed-use space is not only possible in a vertical layout but also horizontally. The core idea is that

various types of land use with facilities are in walking distance from people's homes. Such spaces may lead to more social mixes, since residents have more chances for encounters while utilizing the spaces, as Jane Jacobs also mentions (1992).

Research on New Urbanism has been conducted from various perspectives since it has gained popularity as a design principle. One of the main concerns is that New Urbanists need to clarify the meaning of sense of community in relation to physical design (Talen 1999). This approach comes from the idea that physical design alone cannot have a link on sense of community. For New Urbanists success is based on the quality of design rather than social goals (Talen 1999). New Urbanism has also been noted as a place-based sense of community for residents (Grant 2005). Clearly, there is a need to have a clearer definition of sense of community from a New Urbanist perspective. Furthermore, New Urbanism proclaims to have a sustainable approach in accordance with the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU); however, New Urbanism builds an image of community for those who do not need it, while deserting certain people due to their "underclass" fate (Harvey 1997). This dilemma shows the limitations of New Urbanist projects as they are catered for a specific group of people and are not accessible to everyone which does not address the current need of affordable housing. Nevertheless, New Urbanism is said to improve public health (Iravani and Rao 2020) because neighborhoods are built with a mixed land use principle where residents have to walk for utilitarian purposes, which is different from walking for leisure, and this is usually done in conventional suburban neighborhoods (Rodriguez et al. 2006).

A huge controversy regarding the concept of New Urbanism is the claim that it can solve social, economic, and environmental problems based on an aspiration of an ideal image of premodernity (Hirt 2009). This identifies the juxtaposition that exists on the literature of New Urbanism, as New Urbanists assume their design principles can solve societal problems while other scholars believe that design itself cannot be the cause of greater social interactions. There are several condo towers rising in Toronto, some of which are mixed-use, but residents believe that the design of amenities themselves does not increase interaction among residents (Qadeer 2019).

Housing is a major foundation for building social capital (Lang and Hornburg 1998, 5). “Housing is essential for our health and well-being” (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation November 22, 2022; The importance of housing.). When we do not have access to stable housing, then we are not able to fully participate in our communities (ibid). Clearly, it is important that everyone has a home that they can afford, and which suits their needs (ibid). This can be the starting point to improve community building. Residents of different housing types are part of communities. This is because community is seen as “territorial” and “relational” (McMillian and Chavis 1986). Territorial is seen as a geographical notion of community, such as a neighborhood, town, or city, while relational is concerned with the quality of human relationships without reference to location (Gusfield 1975). In this sense, the plausible “community” that forms in neighborhoods can begin with residents interacting with each other. Also, it is important to note what aspects of a housing type encourage or discourage community building. Scholars specify that design of buildings influence personal interactions and social networks in neighborhoods (Lang and Hornburg 1998, 10).

There seems to be a link between the built environment and the possible connectedness in society, which is usually referred to as social cohesion (Boessen et al. 2014). Access to places and walkability relate to an increased neighborhood social cohesion (Mazumdar et al. 2018). This can be linked to the mixed-use model which offers access to places at a walking distance. However, the relationship of social cohesion with land use mix and local amenities has been explored less (Mouratidis and Poortinga 2020). That is why I want to focus on this idea in my research to add to the scholarly canon on this topic.

In Toronto, just like many other global cities, the housing market is being commodified and not being treated as a home or as a place of security and freedom for residents. This is increasing distrust in cities among people. The idea behind mixed-use neighborhoods is to create a potential community for residents and to bring back trust, but the commodification of housing is increasing. It is necessary to understand the perspective of residents on this matter. **This leads to the following research questions:**

- 1. How does the relational nature of trust and space affect residents’ community building?**

- 2. Which actors/practices affect the residents' experiences with community building in the various spaces?**
- 3. How is housing and community building being impacted by mixed-use spaces?**
- 4. How do common spaces in the neighborhoods affect the performance of actors?**
The performance consists of people's trust in the space and people which impacts their way of understanding and practicing community.

In my research, I want to explore the ways in which people's interactions in their neighborhood is impacted based on their trust in the spaces and in the individuals themselves. Then I want to note and analyze what residents feel about their community based on trust and space. Their views can be both positive and negative, which is why the residents' stories need to be heard to understand what they need to improve their sense of community in their neighborhoods. My hypothesis is that mixed-use space can lead to more social mixes between people in some neighborhoods, but the space itself cannot lead to community building. Trust is the key element that functions as social glue and leads to quality social mixes, rather than placing the sole focus on space itself. Our theoretical community and experimental community play a huge role on how we behave in cities and how we trust (see chapter 2, section 2.1). It is a mixture between the way actors behave in space and the ways in which space is inviting or uninviting that leads to community building.

1.2 Structure of Dissertation

This thesis focuses on residents' perception of community building in mixed-use areas of Toronto. Residents are impacted by these spaces as they live in them, and it is a prominent space for their potential interactions. It is where they have access to their private spaces, but also to potential public spaces that the mixed-use form offers. I want to analyze how such spaces, that are created with the motive to increase social interaction, can encourage or limit interaction among residents. In many cases, policy makers, planners and architects complete their work on these areas, collect their salaries and leave, while residents usually have to stay in these areas. In densified North American cities, such as Toronto, many people seem to be living in isolation and are not interacting that much with others. I want to observe the ways in which space itself is a reason for lower levels of trust

and community building among residents. The goal is to find solutions to these growing problems, which can improve the living conditions of several people.

I will be looking at two areas in Toronto as case studies for this research. The first is Harry Sherman Crowe Coop which is located near York University. It is 400 meters away from York University. Harry Sherman Crowe is a coop as mentioned in the name and it consists of people who pay market rent and subsidized as well. The concept of community is at the core of the coop, yet it is important to hear what the residents think. This neighborhood has been built in 1992, which means several years ago from today. On the York University website, it is mentioned as an option under “Student Housing,” the details of the property ownership are not given there. The arrangement of land in this area is functioning as mixed-use for the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop. But since it is not officially stated as a mixed-use land, the residents are making an informal form of mixed-use.

Regent Park, on the other hand, is a well-known example of mixed-use with extensive research conducted on this area about various topics. It is Canada’s largest public housing project (August 2008, 83). The Revitalization Plan brought mixed-use because the residents were surrounded by old structures. Many people have felt displaced, and Regent Park consists of both types of people: subsidized and market income payers. This is a formal use of mixed-use and they have several initiatives which support community building, such as the Regent Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA), a website for the members and an app as well. With an initiative to build community, comes trust and a sense of community within the spaces that people are in.

Interviews and surveys will be conducted with residents from Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and Regent Park where they will be asked about their experiences. Literature review on space, trust and community will enrich my understanding about scholars’ views on these topics, as I will be able to comprehend the theoretical and practical implications of the participants’ responses. Information on the demographics of the case study areas will also be collected to note the complete story of these neighborhoods. The historical element

behind the making of these neighborhoods is vital, as this will make it easier to understand the politics involved in the plans of these areas.

Along with this formal and informal form of mixed-use, the Infrastructure Institute of University of Toronto has an approach of creative mixed-use buildings. These “bring together public, private, and non-profit uses in novel ways, co-locating unexpected partners in the same facility” (School of Cities). Although this idea is within a building, the idea of mixing of uses is currently popular in Toronto. This approach is becoming formalized in the planning practice and Toronto is a leader in the implementation of creative mixed-use buildings. The idea behind their approach is that the mixing of uses fosters community, not only among the people using the building, but also among the partnerships that have been made between various organizations to bring the creative mixed-use building into reality.

This research will begin with a literature review in chapter 2 about community building and trust relations in city spaces. The links between community building, trust and space will be established based on scholars’ research. Then this will be applied in the mixed-use form that is being implemented in several North American cities to understand how these specific spaces are impacting trust and community building. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodologies utilized in this research which consists of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The reason for choosing the case study areas is also explained. Moreover, the ways in which these methods help me accomplish my research goals is also highlighted in this section. Chapter 4 introduces the demographics, history, and physical layout of both case study areas. Then an analysis and a discussion of the interviews and surveys is included in chapters 5 and 6 where the implications of distrust in cities and a loss of community is emphasized. The thesis ends with chapter 7 which is the conclusion and includes possible topics for further research on this topic.

Chapter 2 Theories on Trust and Space and its Link to Community Building

Community is both a social and spatial concept. Blokland (2017) identifies that community comes into being through repeated everyday interactions. I define it as the feeling that people have when they belong to and identify with a group. It is where they feel comfortable. Community is seen from a geographical lens at the local or neighborhood level among the residents. The neighborhood is the area where residents have their homes and other spaces, such as communal areas which are accessible to them. For this research, both spaces are important, as residents have this sense of belonging to their communal spaces which is seen as their community. Constant interactions either planned or unexpected are where residents get the chance to engage with one another.

The case studies for my research are mixed-use spaces which, according to planning, are areas that have several land uses (such as institutional, commercial, residential, recreational, etc.) in proximity. The idea is to enhance the living experience of residents through these spatial structures. Mixed-use spaces are being implemented in Toronto because it is seen as an affordable, safe, and effective design option especially where densification is on the rise in Downtown Toronto. An investigation on the residents' community building in mixed-use spaces of Toronto provides an initial understanding if mixed-use spaces are a viable planning option for the future.

Residents are the actors and makers of space in their neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood consists of peoples' homes, where they live with their family members, individually or share the space with other residents. It is a private space where residents tend to be on their own or can invite friends. There are also common areas in the neighborhood where members of the neighborhood can come, sit, and choose to chat with other residents. Facilities such as a grocery store, gym, medical centre, food places or coffee places are public spaces where residents can have chance encounters, which means that they meet by coincidence in those spaces. The residents behave differently in both spaces due to the way they perform in these spaces and how they understand or perceive the dynamics of each space. Their theoretical community, meaning how they perceive these spaces, impacts their experimental community, meaning how they behave in these spaces.

2.1 Introducing the idea of Theoretical Community and Experimental Community

Community is connected to our social identity (Blokland 2017) and our interactions are based on our conceptualizations of the areas around us. However, there is a gap between the way we think about and perform community. I want to introduce the concepts of “theoretical community,” which is how we think of community and “experimental community,” which is how we perform community in relation to mainly residents, but also to policy makers, planners, and architects. This will create a bridge between theory and practice and show that further research is possible on other topics as well that focus on the “theoretical” and “experimental” notions of a concept. By understanding the views of residents, it can benefit policymakers, planners, and architects to effectively implement social justice in our environment, which will positively influence our positionality in society and our communities as well.

I believe that the idea of “theoretical community” is about how residents think of community in relation to identity and similarities based on their conceptualizations of areas around them (Blokland 2017). Planners think of community based on their policy documents where they assume mixing certain uses will encourage community. However, neighborhood access cannot predict a resident’s likelihood of interacting with neighbors (Lund 2003). Architects plan a “community” based on their design of places for people to gather and interact. The key issue is that residents will most likely not coincidentally gather in these places when there is a notion of otherness in their minds, where some residents see other residents as strangers. Planners and architects that work on mixed-use areas have a focus on community, based on how they think of community or how they need to think of community. Once the areas are created, residents then also have conceptualizations of these places, and this impacts how they think of community.

On the other hand, “experimental community” begins with policy makers, planners, and architects since they create a physical setting for residents to live in and where they can possibly perform community. It is important to focus on residents and their sense of community based on the spaces that planners and architects have created, because actors

within a social context construct several spaces which determines the characteristics of space (Reichmann and Müller 2015). In this situation the planners and developers have created spaces for residents and since the design of a building does impact the perception of space for people (ibid), this will be an important point of analysis. I believe that by understanding both the theoretical and experimental community of people, building better communities is possible. In this research, the term “community building” will be used for this concept.

Community crosses geographical boundaries. Based on our interactions, we create our identities. The same symbols in physical spaces can have different meanings, which creates everyone’s individual experiences. We have theoretical communities in our minds and experience it in experimental communities. From these “potential” communities, we become prominent members. Mental and physical geographies are deeply interrelated and have a reciprocal effect on humans. Due to present inequalities in cities, people have a growing distrust in places and with people. As a result, it is beneficial to research the paradoxical approach of mixed-use spaces that try to bring trust back into cities through the marketing of community, which seems to militate against our theoretical and experimental communities.

To better analyze and distinguish theoretical and experimental community three terms need to be defined: trust, mixed-use neighborhood, and mixed-use spaces. Although trust has been researched as a sociological concept over the years by several scholars (Giddens 1991; Luhmann 1979), I will look at the urban dimension of trust which is a concept that Ulrike Gerhard, Judith Keller and Cosima Werner have introduced, where they analyze trust and space in terms of “relationality and mobility” (2021). I use this lens of trust and applying it in mixed-use spaces, which I will explain below, to research the concept of community building.

The three terms trust, mixed-use space, and community building work in relation to one another. It is important to analyze the performance of interactions between residents in mixed-use spaces (see Figure 1). Performing in these spaces is based on trust in the space,

and in the people, which leads to community building. Human beings are essentially social and cannot survive without others (Sztompka 2019, 34), which shows the importance of community in peoples' lives. However, we can hardly be sure how others will react on our actions and how others will act with us, because of a lack of knowledge about others, their intentions, and motivations (Sztompka 2019). In turn, trust is based on experience, as we build on what we learn (Rosenblum 2016, 72). There is a need for trust to live with other humans and to learn from it to be able to move forward in a society. The local unit in a society is a neighborhood where people live among other people, and it is important to know if others will act in beneficial or harmful ways (Sztompka 2019). That is why trust is needed for community building in these spaces. People need to first have this belief that others will be trustworthy. Nevertheless, this can be seen as mere confidence, that is why the action of trust is complete once a person decides to commit themselves with the other person (Sztompka 2019). Clearly, trust is needed to form relationships with one another and that is central to have positive and successful communities. According to Sztompka (2019) trust is a two-fold process:

1. Belief that a person is trustworthy – confidence
2. Action of committing with the other person – relationship

I consider that “1” is what I have labelled as “desired trust,” what we wish to think of others in Figure 1. While “2” is our “delivered trust” which is what we show through our actions (see Figure 1). Trust comes with risk as Sztompka (2019) also outlines. Above all, the need for trust is clear to have prosperous community building in neighborhoods. Trust is the “foundation on which the edifice of good society stands” (Sztompka 2019, 39).

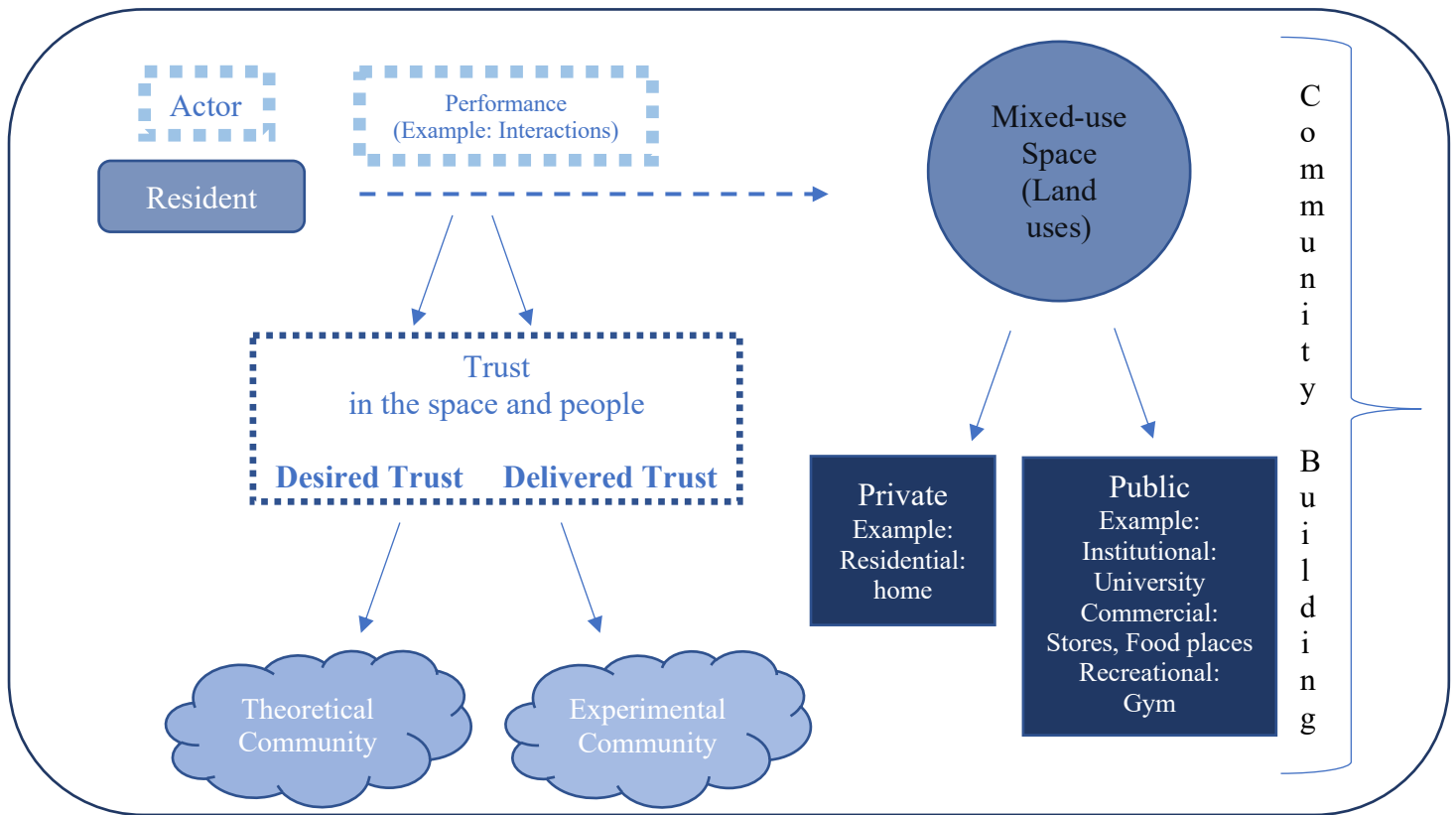


Figure 1: Relationship between Trust, Mixed-use Space and Community Building

The way we trust affects our community building. People’s conceptions of the ways they think of community (theoretical community) affects the way they practice community (experimental community) in these spaces, and the way they practice can continue to impact the way they think about community. Both variables are correlated. In mixed-use spaces, there are several land-uses close to each other, which provides residents with various options and opportunities to use these spaces. In this way they get more chances to develop their understanding of trust and community along with practicing it. Residents seem to have more chances to experience theoretical and experimental community in mixed-use spaces.

2.2 Analyzing Trust in Human Geography and Related Fields

In geography, a cultural geographer, David Matless describes trust as “a quality that gives statements, individuals or organizations credibility and authority” (Matless 2009, 777 qtd. in Withers 2018, 15). There is an intrinsic relation between trust and authority, as

people gain authority in spaces, which can help in gaining another person's trust. Matless also shows that trust has been analyzed in economic geography and geographies of scientific knowledge (ibid). In economic geography trust has been analyzed in relation to place, as "places are temporally trusted regulations in the dynamic socio-spatial landscape: they are site and outcome of processes of regulatory bargaining" (Hudson 1998, 934 qtd. in Withers 2018, 15). Space is an important element in the trusting transaction, as that is where the action of trusting occurs and the associated consequences of it. Space is where trust is established, practiced, and reproduced, as it is a process that people are always involved in, and shows the fundamental nature of it in building communities.

Many North American cities are filled with diverse people, where people have different backgrounds and cultures, which shows that people need to have an open view on trust to be able to move forward as a society. It is also necessary to pinpoint that people's past experiences with trust in various spaces impact their way of trusting in the future as well. The ways in which trust impacts people spatially is necessary to understand how trust is shaped in spaces and how it impacts people in their practices. As a result, advancing trust research in human geography is essential.

Another way trust has been researched in geography is in scientific knowledge, as trust research is about personal or inter-subjective trust (Withers 2018, 17). From this work, historians of science paid attention to the role of trust and making of science in 17th century England (Shapin 1994 qtd. in Withers 2018, 17). As a result, trust in science has social and spatial dimensions since the trustor has to place trust in information about distant or unknown geographies (Withers 2018, 18). Furthermore, Shapin explains that when people have to judge "observation-claims" by not being at the place and time the "phenomena" are being explained, then judgement is made "at a distance" (1994 qtd. in Withers 2018, 18). Through this process, trust is "inscribed in space" (Shapin 1994, 245 qtd. in Withers 2018, 18). According to this viewpoint, space is the container in which trust functions as a social glue so that societal relations and a sense of community can flourish. However, several scholars argue against the idea of space being a container, but rather space being a product of social relations (Castell 1996 qtd. in Löw 2008, 29).

Over the course of research in various disciplines, trust is analyzed in several ways which produces different results. For instance, political geographers examine the connection between social capital and trust in governments at either the national or neighborhood scale, which produces different results from studying trust-based workplace relationships of individuals in a political institution (Withers 2018). Economic geographers analyze trust as a socially situated commodity (ibid). Historical geographers focus on others' written words about trust (ibid). The scale and the methods used to research trust are important because it impacts the results. It cannot easily be quantified, as it is a process that involves several actors with different histories in various settings. Trust is an important aspect that still needs to be researched in the field of human geography.

However, research on this topic has been initiated as scholars, such as Ulrike Gerhard et al. analyze trust and space in terms of relationality and mobility, which are two concepts coming mostly from geography (2021). When relationality and mobility are "interrupted or suspended, be it by a natural disaster, an investment-friendly landlord, or a hungry shoplifter, trust ends" (Gerhard, Keller and Werner 2021, 131). When spaces are seen as "relative" rather than "absolute" then people can understand the "emotional, social, and economic meanings of trust relations in cities" (ibid). Based on the existing scholarship of trust from various fields, human geographers can enrich their research to be able to bring substantive results in the field of geography as well. Human-made environments and the social relations along with the interactions that are made in them, are critically analyzed in the field of human geography. Through this approach, it will be possible to note the plausible link between resident interactions, mixing of land uses and the available amenities.

Research on trust has been conducted in the field of sociology, as it occurs with other people in spaces and is not an action that happens individually. It has an impact on interpersonal and social cooperation, which shows the link that trust has on community building. Large cities are usually densified and that leads to a decline in trust, as there are several people (Putnam 2000). Moreover, in many cases, several immigrants come from different places, and they are usually seen as a "stranger," which leads to distrust. In cities where new people keep coming, people find it challenging to trust one another. When people

choose to stay silent, then that also impacts trust and community building, as they are not communicating. A typical cultural notion is that people move from apartment buildings to houses to have their own property (Kusenbach and Paulsen 2019, 2). In this way they move in new spaces with new people. Many residents from Harry Sherman Crowe Coop have moved in the past few years, which means many people move in and out of the building. There is a diversity of people in the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, since people keep moving in and because there are people from various races. In the Regent Park neighborhood, several residents are now moving in the revitalized areas, which demonstrates that several people are coming in this area as well.

People tend to be a part of spaces where they fulfill their daily tasks, and the spaces vary from private to public, which shows that trust is practiced in different types of spaces, that leads to various types of relationships. In human geography, the existing scholarship in sociology and psychology in trust can aid in understanding the spatial dimensions of trust in people's daily interactions. Trust has a close link to community building, which is vital for the well-being of people, where several people are living isolated lives in cities that are crowded with people. It is necessary to understand trust as a socio-spatial concept first, to analyze the link between trust and urban spaces.

2.2.1 Lens of Urban Dimension of Trust: Trust as a Socio-Spatial Concept

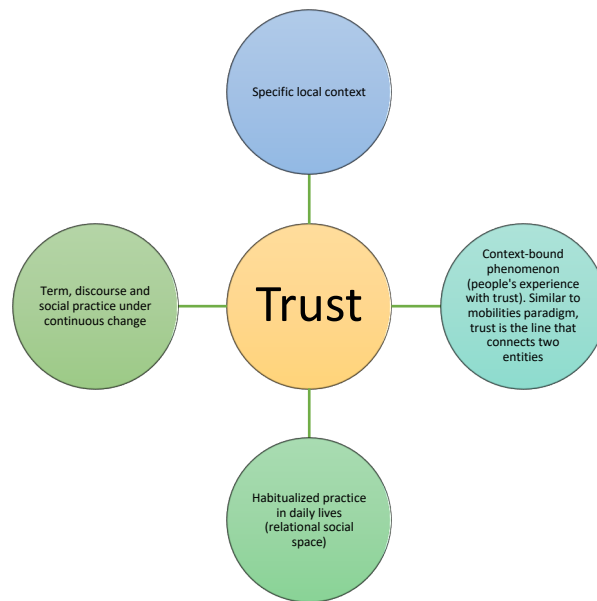


Figure 2: Diagram based on Gerhard, Keller and Werner's Trust as a Socio-Spatial Concept (2021)

The main point of applying trust as a socio-spatial concept to mixed-use spaces is to understand community building. In this context, the mixed-use space is the residents' neighborhood. As the concept of mixed-use is to move from one space to another to fulfill needs and wants, it allows people to feel safe in their homes and to enjoy the positive possibilities of neighborhood life. Residents from my case studies have daily practices, where they go for walks in the common areas, around the neighborhood, or go to the stores where they tend to create their own relational social space through trust (see Figure 2 for reference). Each resident experiences their relational space through the everyday practices of visiting the stores, the common areas, the laundry room, checking mail, the weekly fresh food market, or the athletic grounds. The act of interacting takes place in these spaces by trusting others. These attributes are what lead to community building, which is the main point of investigation for this study.

These mixed-use spaces are created and designed by planners and architects respectively, which shows that they are a form of authority that impacts the residents' community building. To institutionalize trust relations in these spaces, it is beneficial to

understand a trust-related concept, which is authority (Gerhard, Keller and Werner 2021). Analyzing authority helps to comprehend the hidden power relations that exist in these spaces. Power relations are present in each person's relational space, which is also useful to identify when researching community building in mixed-use spaces. These power relations tend to implicitly impact people's community building, as people start looking at others through a hierarchy. Such power relations can consist of the board and management in a coop which includes elected residents, neighborhood associations, the City and Planning officials.

Another key component of this investigation is to understand from residents if they feel community building has decreased over the years (for example, post-COVID-19). Community building is seen as a practice in this study, and the lens of trust helps in comprehending why community building is happening in a specific way (as described by the residents). Within the neighborhood, not every neighbor is deemed as a friend, but they all are each other's neighbors. This is the starting point for trust to blossom because it fixes the neighbors in an absolute space, yet they all have their own relational spaces. The nodes of interactions in these relational spaces tend to affect the overall absolute space. Each resident's way of interacting impacts the entire neighborhood, since there are labels assigned, such as an active community where residents engage with each other or the opposite which would be an inactive community. These characterizations that are generalized, become common and affect the way residents see the space as well.

In this research, I identify trust through people's repeated actions in their neighborhood. Most neighbors tend to acknowledge others with a nod or a smile, especially in the elevators or common meeting rooms. I also labelled such gestures as the beginning of trust because people expect the same practice from others. People usually have boundaries of unspoken expectations in which they expect the other person to behave in a certain manner. If these limits are crossed, then it affects trust and it results in the development of distrust (Gerhard, Keller and Werner 2021). Apart from physical, absolute boundaries, there are also these mental, relational boundaries that people have created in their minds regarding trust. Trust is the first brick needed for community building. Due to safety

precautions, many people do not use the common areas. Such reasons identify that people may have crossed some legal boundaries in their neighborhood, which breached their trust and instantly affected community building as well. Neighbors need certain aspects in the physical environment and in their mental environment where they have a sense that they are respected and belong in their neighborhood. The physical environment also consists of the use of design and zoning policies, which lead to certain interpretations of the space, and it shows the power that planners have in the creation of these physical spaces.

2.2.2 Spatial Element of Trust in Neighborhoods: Gluing Society Spatially

In a city, the neighborhood is what seems to be most close and representative to people because it encompasses their homes. In places such as work or school, people can control our behaviors, but in our homes, ideally, we can be true to ourselves, where we feel freedom and comfort (Kusenbach and Paulsen 2019, 4). This experience of a “home” shows that several social processes are at play in a neighborhood among residents and the spaces around them. However, “neighbor relations fall outside of articulated social structures and purposes” (Rosenblum 2016, 5). Neighbor relations function “in the shadow of law and public policy: zoning ordinances, property law, landlord-tenant contracts, association covenants, the unlovely law of torts – nuisance above all, and criminal law as well” (ibid). This notion shows that these aspects may affect neighbor relations, but neighbors are on their own in personal encounters (ibid). Neighbors create their own framework to function with other neighbors in the spaces in their neighborhood. Each neighborhood is unique in its own way. The intercommunity dynamics forms the larger social landscape of the neighborhood. Trust becomes a force or a glue which is in the visible and the invisible spatial elements of the neighborhood.

The way practices unfold in such an area is through trust. What exactly is trust? As it can be seen, “for rarely is undiluted trust possible and nowhere except perhaps for intimate relations is it desirable” (Rosenblum 2016, 73). Therefore, residents tend to develop a sense of distrust. In different types of land uses, residents may see their neighbors performing in altered ways based on the nature of the space, which may also have an impact on the way

they trust. Nevertheless, it is “ongoing interactions” that “give us a degree of confidence in the trustworthiness of people who live nearby” (Rosenblum 2016, 72). Clearly, the action itself of interacting is important in both trust and community building. “We anticipate ongoing interactions – proximity guarantees it” (Rosenblum 2016, 23). Residents want and expect interactions and being nearby other residents encourages interactions. Interaction is also a basic act needed for trust and community building. As a result, it is beneficial to analyze trust and community building in mixed-use spaces where residents should get frequent chances to meet each other, as facilities are in proximity.

City neighborhoods are an important environment, as they can facilitate social connections and connection with place itself (Leyden et al. 2011). Several people acknowledge that some neighborhood designs seem to be better suited for social connectedness than others (Freeman 2001; Leyden 2003; Frumkin, Frank, and Jackson 2004; Wood et al. 2008; Richard et al. 2009 qtd. in Leyden et al. 2011, 870). Jane Jacobs (1992) introduced the idea of city neighborhoods being designed with mixed uses which means having a combination of residential spaces and workplaces along with shops, pubs, parks, civic buildings, and an active sidewalk that can positively impact social interactions (Leyden et al. 2011, 871). The interesting point that Jacobs raises is that mixed-use areas encourage a sense of “public trust and social connectedness” among residents (Leyden et al. 2011, 871). The reason may be that people should have a consistent face-to-face contact, which leads to a familiarity and may result in community building among residents.

Society seems to run on the concept of trust in various fields. For instance, politicians have to trust policies, educators have to trust the ability of their students, inventors have to trust the reliability of their products and common people have to trust this system (Dahrendorf 1990). From this breakdown, trust glues society together to move forward collectively. Also, as cities are globally interdependent upon each other, this will only increase the demand for trust in order to be able to cooperate (Misztal 1996). When it comes to social life, neighbors also have to trust each other in order to be able to live in the same building or on the same street. If they feel unsafe all the time, then it will be very hard for them to live there which will impact their social life. As a result, at a larger scale, trust is the

fundamental component of holding a society together, while at a smaller scale, trust is the fundamental component of holding a neighborhood together.

One of the case studies in this research is in the York University Heights neighborhood, and within it the specific neighborhood of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop/York University Keele Campus. York University Heights is undergoing a transformation where a Vision and Strategy is planned to make the area into a mixed-use area officially, while the Regent Park neighborhood is a planned mixed-use neighborhood which is still undergoing several phases of development. I want to analyze if these mixed-use spaces, which are deemed to promote a greater sense of community through the possibility of more chance encounters, are benefitting the residents' community building positively or not by asking the residents.

2.2.3 Spatiality of Trust and Sociality of Trust with “Strangers” in City Neighborhoods

Cities are a central place where several immigrants and tourists regularly gather, which shows that there are many unfamiliar people. Residents of these areas know that several strangers move to the areas they live in or come for visits as well. The stranger is usually associated with the unknown, which is seen as an outside space and separated from the “familiar” (Giddens in Beck et al., 1994, 81 qtd. in Sztompka 1999, 14). Based on this conceptualization, the concept of the “other” exists in society. To adjust in such a society where there are different types of people, who have different cultures, religious beliefs and values, trust is an essential resource.

Behavior, diversity, environment, and experience all influence a person's decision to trust another person. Choosing to trust others is a thought process and is practiced in spaces that people are in, which includes their local neighborhood but is not limited to it. The interesting point to note is that the action of trusting occurs in space, which is why research needs to focus on the spatial element of trust as well. Trust does include a thought process, but the actual action of trusting others in spaces shows the complex nature of trust, and how

difficult it is to execute trust in spaces that are cohabited with people from diverse backgrounds.

In urban settings, we interact with people who we do not know that well or have not met before, which emphasizes the concept of a “stranger” (Giddens 1991, 80). It may be called “polite estrangement” (Giddens 1991, 81). This form of interaction is common, where people may not have a high level of trust but are comfortable to say “hello” and smile at the stranger. A lack of basic trust in people’s intentions leads the individual to avoid even looking at people to circumvent any kind of interaction (ibid). However, people, who have an optimistic view of the world, are able to have social interactions with unknown people in a positive way (Freitag and Traunmüller 2009, 788). Since they have a positive outlook, they can trust people even after their trust is breached and it does not stop them from trusting again (ibid). Therefore, there is a link between people’s general attitude or behaviour that affects their trust towards “strangers” in cities. Another type of behavior in cities is of people not interacting that much with other people.

Several people are busy in their own spaces, which increases silence and the concept of the unfamiliar. In such cases where people do not know much about the other person, Simmel believes that they rely on trust to be able to communicate the “non-knowledge” (1950). Where residents do not know much about each other, but try to communicate through a smile, nod or simply saying hi, they are putting their trust in their neighbors without having complete knowledge about them. This reliance shows that trust is the social glue that bonds the existing community and the unfamiliar together, since this is their starting point in forming a relationship. These interactions occur in the spaces that people live in, which identifies the importance of physical space in building trust. More positive spaces in the neighborhood are built through trust, which reflects the spatial nature of trust as well.

Trust is built into this world both as a foundation and its consequence, due to several spaces in cities where people must or choose to interact. Many people living in a country are citizens who follow common rules of conduct and share basic similarities (Frevert 2009).

Once strangers are seen as citizens, it gives them a status in society. This phenomenon creates a common base among people, which aids in trusting one another. Strangers are usually not considered trustworthy and nowadays the ways in which someone is classified as a stranger has become more intense. Racism, sexism, and class differentiation are all factors that impact a person being deemed as a stranger. Such “stares” of society increase the level of distrust in cities, which impacts community building as well. However, trust in people can only increase by communicating with other people.

Putnam’s theory of social capital presumes that the more we connect with people, the more we trust them, which helps in forming associations (1995). However, in cities this idea becomes complicated where there are more people and a risk attached to trusting different types of people. Many people seem to be less connected with one another, as residents express a lack of interaction amongst one another (see Chapter 5). In spaces where there is a mix of various uses, which leads to a higher probability of more chance encounters and communication, there still seems to be a lack of connectivity. This is a concerning point for future city planning, which means a greater focus is needed on what types of behaviors and settings lead to more diverse community building.

Scholars on the topic of social capital in the community have noted that diverse community involvement helps individuals develop emotional bonds with one another, which aids them in developing their social trust (Cui et al. 2018). Social trust is impersonal and does not rely on knowledge about individuals but rather is generalized to others (Green and Brock 2005; Leana and Van Buren 1999; Letki 2004; Nannestad 2008; Putnam 1993; Welch et al. 2005 qtd. in Cui et al. 2018, 2). People learn to respect and tolerate different opinions (Cui et al. 2018, 4). This behavior is also a way to solve the issue regarding trusting strangers in neighborhoods. Social interaction in community organizations tends to help members develop the feeling of happiness and emotional connection, which helps in developing social trust (ibid). This social trust should lead to interactions, which can break the barrier with strangers and that seems to be the goal of mixed-use spaces, since several facilities are available in proximity, people will get out of their homes and be inclined to interact with

other residents. The conceptualization of a stranger impacts the residents' theoretical community, which inevitably influences their experimental community.

2.3 Trust and Mobile Nature of Communities

Community has several definitions since it is seen differently in various disciplines. In anthropology, community is seen as a collection of social processes (McKeown, Rubinstein and Kelly 1987). Social scientists focus on the social nature of community, which is based on social interaction and negotiation (Cohen 1985; Gusfield 1975). Another perspective is that people think community is a "personal mental territory" (Mannarini and Fedi 2009, 212). In the discipline of psychology there is a branch of community psychology, which analyzes the concept of "sense of community." Community "fundamentally refers to an individual's experience of community life" (Hyde and Chavis 2007, 179). The main focus is on the improvement of social wellbeing and the quality of life. McMillan and Chavis (1986) created a theoretical model of Sense of Community (SOC) which is made of four aspects: "membership," "influence," "integration and fulfillment of needs" and "shared emotional connection" (McMillan and Chavis 1986, 9-10). All these aspects highlight a sense of belonging to a space and the people within it. In this research project, "community" is analyzed from a resident's perspective, which is at a neighbourhood scale. The resident's perspective of community is important along with the elements in the neighborhood that give them a sense of community. These elements could be the spaces available for events, activities planned and the availability of various facilities which raises opportunities for chance encounters.

Communities are mobile, and people can be a part of several communities across many geographical boundaries through social media, which indicates the "mobile" nature of trust in spaces today. Trust can be seen as a property of "collective units" because trust operates with the relations among people rather than individually (Lewis and Weigert 1985, 968). Based on this understanding, trust is central in communities, and it is a social reality (Luhmann 1979; Simmel 1978). It would be hard for societies to exist without trust because

trust has a great impact on interpersonal and social cooperation (Sasaki 2019). Relations exist in spaces, which shows that trust has a spatial element when being practiced.

A constant mobile process prevents people from trusting each other, which has an impact on community building. The people in the community keep changing, which has a direct impact on the level of trust. Several new people come into existing spaces and impact the current residents based on their behavior. This cycle seems to exist in cities, where spaces are recycled with new people, as people choose to move into new spaces. Since many people are constantly moving, many people may not even get enough time to make themselves familiar with their surrounding neighbors, which impacts their sense of community. On the other hand, the closeness in a community also leads to gossip and envy, which causes distrust rather than trust (Barbalet 2009). Due to the way people behave in a community, they may adopt a distrusting behaviour towards strangers. As a result, people may be unwelcoming to new residents, which is another challenge. In modern day cities, this type of behavior only increases the complexities related to trust and community building in these spaces that some people believe they have power over. Although if one former resident gets the chance to speak with the new resident and notes some good qualities and aspects, they can let the other former residents know which will spread trustworthy information about the new resident. Ultimately, this action will have a positive impact on community building for all the residents.

Research indicates that the further people move away from their circle of friends and colleagues, the less likely they are to trust (Delhey et al., 2011). While in mixed communities, people trust their own race more than others (Delhey et al., 2011). The level of trust varies based on who is being trusted. Being far away from familiar people may make a person feel dislocated, which shows the close connection between trust and space. An important point to note is that people's trust in spaces may increase based on the relationships they have with people around them.

Greater participation in communities leads to a greater sense of social trust in the public. As mentioned earlier, since trust is the social glue in society that helps in community

building, participation in local community activities is beneficial to strengthen a sense of trust. Nonetheless, there is a decline in several North American cities, where upper-class and some middle-class people are focussed on gaining economic stability by moving to bigger houses with private spaces that they do not consider interaction as important (Montgomery 2013). Clearly, communities are not restricted just to the local neighborhood, but rather a person can be a part of several communities at once, as it is mobile in nature. Nevertheless, the main point to note is that a sense of community and community building comes through trust.

2.4 A Framework to understand Community, Trust, Authority and Space

To comprehend the multifaceted concept of community, I have developed a framework for it (see Figure 3). Nonetheless, as scholars have also acknowledged that it is a complicated process to define community, I will be focusing on the act or “performance” of community (Blokland 2017), which is why I am describing the necessary components for community building in a residential neighborhood. There are three components that make up community building. The first one is **sociopsychological wellbeing**, which acknowledges the close link of community in the fields of social science and psychology (McMillian and Chavis 1986; Cohen 1985; Gusfield 1975). This component consists of a feeling of trust, which is an understanding that others are good and caring.

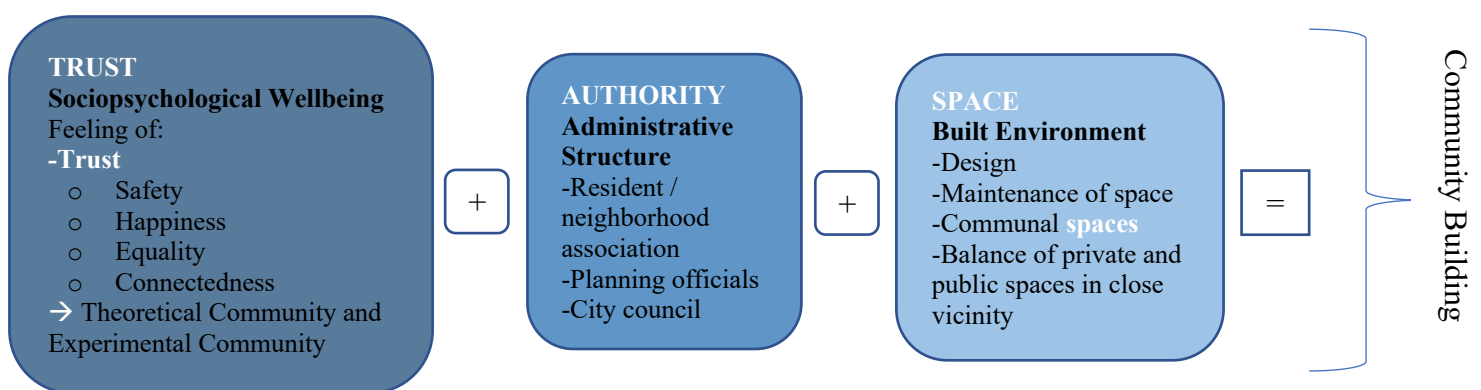


Figure 3: Framework to understand Community Building

These judgements are based on the practices that neighbors witness of each other while living in the same neighborhood. The feeling of trust comes with a sense of safety, where

residents feel comfortable in their environment. It is also linked to feeling happy in the space, because where residents feel happy with other residents, they can also trust them.

There is a need of a structure in a neighborhood that creates opportunities for events and monitors them. Hence, the need of an administrative structure, which I mention in the second box (see Figure 3). A neighborhood association can help in staying connected with each other which is essential in community building. If residents feel connected to such an association, then their feelings of trust, safety and happiness can also improve. Another point to note is that with an administration there is also a sense of authority. According to Max Weber “authority is a power to which we submit willingly because we feel it embodies a higher good” (1947, 324). Similarly, in a neighborhood association, residents expect positivity and organization from it.

All these emotions and the existence of organizations occurs in spaces. That is why it is important to acknowledge space (see Figure 3 – third box). The built environment is the physical aspect of space and space itself can be inviting or uninviting based on its design. However, maintaining the space is also important so that people want to utilize the space for their pleasure. The administrative authorities can manage this task. To make such a system work, people need to have a good balance of private and public spaces near them. The private spaces would be their homes. The public spaces would be close to them through a mixed-use model where they would have access to entertainment, commercial, institutional, recreational facilities, and services. Moreover, communal spaces within the neighborhood are vital for residents to get together to interact with other residents. It would improve the social aspect in residents’ lives.

As a result, the concept of community building is clearer through the domains of trust, authority, and space. A positive and balanced amount of these aspects is needed for abundant community building. Without one, it is hard to achieve the other. An individual becomes a member of a community with other people and develops their sociopsychological wellbeing with other people. When there are several people, then there is a need for structure and

maintenance, which is why an administrative body is necessary. These aspects occur in spaces, which identifies the significance of space for humans and their community building.

2.5 New Forms of City Living like Mixed-use Space

The way physical space is formed, it influences residents' community building. Recently, the world suffered from a pandemic, COVID-19 and crowded cities have been affected more drastically by this disease (Martinez et al. 2021, 3). The single-family home in the suburbs was a pleasant place to live in during the lockdown, as they had access to stable neighborhoods with lots of open private space (Friecke 2021, 431). At such a time, the public trust of several inhabitants was higher in countries that integrated government response policies and in the governments that maintained transparent and truthful communications (Liu et al. 2022, 22). Moreover, the cities where inhabitants responded well were the cities that had a high level of community resilience, as research shows (Huang et al. 2021, 146). "Community resilience is the ability of a society to cope with and rebound in the face of adverse events or crisis" (ibid). For instance, people in a neighborhood can come together virtually to not get negatively impacted by a pandemic, such as COVID-19. "Communities with high resilience are mostly able to recover from adversity and building resilience is usually linked to building strong communities" (ibid). The cities that responded to the pandemic comprehensively show good community resilience during a pandemic (ibid). From the experience of COVID-19 and past pandemics, it is important to be prepared for the future, by creating the needed social and economic infrastructure for inhabitants, which can increase their public trust. However, residents need to build strong communities in their neighborhood, to be prepared for such world crises, but it also shows the need for residents to be strongly connected for their wellbeing in their living spaces.

In relation to the concepts of mixed-use space, the idea of having work close to home is increasing after the pandemic due to the advancement in digital technologies (Friecke 2021, 431). Many companies have made it possible for people to work from home, and this means that architects need to build apartments where different forms of living coexist in one house (ibid). If the apartment is small in the expensive city, the public space begins to matter,

to provide residents with more living space. For instance, having public green spaces, and places within walking distance, short distances to shopping and to medical practices (ibid). Such a concept is like mixed-use space, and it seems to be the need of city dwellers after COVID-19, in case of further world crises. Based on the current situation, 55% of the world's population lives in urban areas, and this is expected to increase to 68% by 2050 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2018). This number identifies the power of city spaces, as people will continue to move in cities.

The power of space is also evident, since people use the cities to become successful in achieving their goals. The way spaces are used shapes the potential of communication patterns as well. In 1991 Henri Lefebvre focuses on the way spaces are produced and their political nature (2014). According to epistemology, the status of space is a mental thing or a mental place (Lefebvre 2014). There are several kinds of places, such as geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, and global that we experience in our daily lives (ibid). Capitalism has produced abstract space or physical space, due to the "world of commodities" along with the power of money and the political state (ibid). Such a space can be found in banks, airports, and business centers (ibid). Abstract space functions as a set of signs (ibid). Lefebvre suggests that socially produced space and time is held in place through social interactions so that this system of space and time is reproduced. Space itself considered in isolation is an empty abstraction, which shows that space needs to be seen and understood in relation to something. Space has a relational nature, rather than absolute, and that can be seen with the relations people have with other people in the spaces around them, specifically their neighborhoods.

The city is a center to produce social relations. It is the "production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects" (Lefebvre 1996, 101). The city is not just a space of commodity, but it is also a potential area of "play" (Lefebvre 2003, 18 qtd. in Zieleniec 2018, 10). Lefebvre emphasizes that cities are a place for recreation and leisure. The city has spaces for social interaction as well, but many people seem to be extremely busy in their own lives. Furthermore, Lefebvre believes that space is essential in making capitalism flourish, which shows that space has become instrumental (Brenner and

Elden 2009, 359). The political and economic spaces of the city seem to overpower the social spaces. Thus, space has the power to influence peoples' lives, which shows that such city processes negatively impact trust relations and the potential for community building. Hence, Lefebvre believes that space has a highly political nature (Brenner and Elden 2009, 358). Space can manipulate, alter, and influence interactions, which affects community building in cities.

In several cities, many spaces are bringing new infrastructure, which simultaneously incites the class struggles, as not all people can access all the newly built places. Space then tends to determine which type of people live in an area, and it impacts people's views about themselves and others. Social relations are also usually controlled, because people feel they need to communicate with a certain group of people that they belong to. In such situations, trust is naturally affected, because people's communication is controlled by spatial power. In cities, space is a controlling factor in building and breaking relationships between people, which is why community building is at a decline.

Socializing is complicated in spaces because people have several thoughts before they begin to communicate. These include an assessment if the other person would even want to talk to them due to their class, ethnicity, race, or gender. All these points are connected to space, as these differences are experienced in spaces. Space is connected to a geographical area, as Lefebvre pointed out (Janzen 2002, 103). However, the concept of space in our minds affects our practice of space as well, as I mentioned about theoretical community and experimental community (see Figure 1). The way we communicate with others can be affected by power imbalances in society. People attach meanings to space and act accordingly. Boundaries and power imbalances reinforce the idea of the "other" in cities which affects communication patterns.

In this research project, I explore the ways in which people's interactions in their neighborhood are impacted based on their trust in the spaces and in themselves. Then I note and analyze what residents feel about their community based on trust and space. Their views

can be both positive and negative, which is why the residents' stories need to be heard to understand what they need to improve their sense of community in their neighborhoods.

In mixed-use spaces, one of the main emphases is to reduce travel and therefore facilities within walking distance are beneficial for residents in mixed-use planning (Hoppenbrouwer and Louw 2005). The success of mixed-use cannot be measured by the number of uses mixed but rather by the functionalities provided by the combination and the interaction of different uses (Shen and Sun 2020, 4). There are different consequences for mixed-use in wealthier and poorer communities (ibid). The key point of analysis in my research is to note if these areas are beneficial in increasing interaction among residents, or if it is simply benefiting the economy of the city. The conventional definition of mixed-use overlooks human activities that take place in space and focuses more on the blending of uses (Shen and Sun 2020, 5). It is more important to have spaces that focus on increasing possible chances for interactions and for community building.

In the mixed-use spatial form, places to work, shop or recreate are close to people's houses which encourages social integration between people of different incomes, races, or ages, as people can walk more and drive less (Talen 1999). The assumption is that with such social integration, "the bonds of authentic community are formed" (Audriac and Shermeyen 1994, 163 qtd. in Talen 1999, 1364). However, in current mixed-use models in cities, there is mainly mixing of different land uses and not mixing of people with different incomes. An "authentic community" is not being encouraged with such planning principles (ibid). The idea behind mixed-use which is connected to community is that mixing residential and commercial spaces creates the opportunity for people to have "repetitive chance encounters" which is noted as building and strengthening community bonds (Achimore 1993, 34 qtd. in Talen 1999, 1364). Nevertheless, in most current North American mixed-use cities, chance encounters usually occur with people who have a similar income and class status in society. Such chance encounters encourage more of a group formation rather than a sense of community between people. Such a group is formed due to the similar characteristics that people living in these spaces have, but a community is built on a set of values and does not have to be tied to a specific geographical location. By mixing land uses

for a specific group of people, there is not much social integration as noted from the case studies in this research, which leads to lower levels of trust and that impacts community building. As a result, the concepts of trust and community building are not such a priority in mixed-use development.

2.6 Power in Planning through Zoning as a Discriminatory Practice impacting Trust Relations

Power has a central role in urban planning due to the political character of planning practices (Flyvbjerg 1998; Swyngedouw et al. 2002 qtd. in Van Assche et al. 2014, 1). Space has also been stated as a product of relations of power (Massey 2009). Planning occurs in spaces and the power relations make these spaces inviting or uninviting. People behave in a certain way in these areas based on the power dynamics behind these spaces. When cities are built with such a political agenda where capitalism tends to guide planning practices as well, then trust and community building are affected. On the other hand, such practices increase the idea of the stranger and make basic trust an issue. But it is important to understand what is planning. It is the “coordination of policies and practices affecting spatial organization” (Van Assche and Verschraegen 2008 qtd. in Van Assche et al. 2014, 6). Planning and policy are closely related. Power consists of “relations that exist at different levels, in different forms ... they are not fixed once and for all” (Foucault 1997, 291-292 qtd. in Van Assche et al. 2014, 6). There is a relational nature of power as well. Planning is engrained in these different levels of power, since there are municipal, provincial, and federal levels of policy.

Power imbalances affect people’s communication in spaces. The sense of belonging and unbelonging limits interactions, as people feel they can only interact with people who are like them. The physical spaces influence peoples’ social relations. The dominant notion is that wealthy people are more powerful due to all the access that they have in cities based on these planning practices that affect spatial structures as well. These perceptions of power imbalances in spaces affect people’s understanding of trust and community building, which

shows that trust and community building can be seen as a social and spatial concept in urban planning.

Zoning principles influence people's trust relations, because discriminatory practices clearly lead to a lack of trust in systems and eventually in other people as well. Such zoning laws have the goal of controlling land use mix and development (Carmona 2016), which turns into an important point of analysis to see who has access to basic or luxurious facilities. Similarly, architecture and design have an impact on the way people communicate because it can encumber or encourage community building. Architects plan a "community" based on their design of places for people to gather and interact. The key issue is that residents will most likely not coincidentally gather in these places when there is a notion of otherness in their minds. Planning policies which sometimes creates a concept of otherness in the physical landscape affects people and then even designs that encourage interaction do not necessarily help. The idea of belonging to certain areas and not belonging to other areas is engrained in people, which affects their way of living in cities. The creation of division in urban landscapes further complicates the idea of understanding spaces and simply encourages the concept of boundaries for people. As a result, trust and community building are negatively impacted by zoning planning policies and architecture which are usually induced by capitalist ideals, since spaces are being controlled through design. Winston Churchill said that "first we shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Pearson and Richards 2003, 22). Clearly, planners influence the way structures should be built and those structures then influence our way of interacting with others. Planners and other professionals can make a positive change by encouraging residents to participate in the planning meetings where they get to voice their opinions.

Space is connected to us because we are always in the process of producing it and reproducing it through our intentions. We are actors and have agency in space, which shows that we socially construct space. Policy makers, planners and architects are all involved in the process of creating produced spaces that we can use with the intention of economic prosperity. They also create boundaries which divides space and results in social hierarchies. This idea reinforces the idea of the stranger which makes it challenging to trust others and

eventually form community. Zoning impacts social relationships as well. The distance between people influences the type and number of conversations that people have. If people do not have access to central points of contact in cities, then their interactions with others also becomes limited. All these factors impact our way of trusting and community building which demonstrates the link between community, space, and trust.

Planners can design public and private spaces in such a way that people may be encouraged to interact. This idea is possible by shrinking the private space and making the public sphere attractive through design (Talen 1999). The emphasis on designing space to encourage community is clear in mixed-use models under New Urbanism. It can also be connected to a sub-category of human ecology which is known as “environmental sociology” and it deals with the impact of spatial organization on social interaction (Gutman 1972 qtd. in Talen 1999, 1365). New Urbanists focus on the impact of sense of community on humans and note that community attachment is associated with mental health (Sarason 1974 and O’Brien et al. 1994 qtd. in Talen 1999, 1365). The point to note is that New Urbanists acknowledge the link between community building and physical spaces, which is a key research point for this research as well.

Public spaces are privatized in several areas of cities where only residents have the key to gates and that prevents access to everyone (Blokland 2017). Private cities are also created in private consumer spaces, such as shopping malls and entertainment centers that come with certain rules and surveillance patterns, which exclude people who do not follow the “behavioral expectations” (Squire 2011, 207-12 qtd. in Blokland 2017, 118). Certain types of people are allowed to be a part of these private spaces, and not everyone is considered equal. In such an atmosphere people can have challenges in trusting others because, relations exist on a system of being part of an area based on their status in society and what they can afford. Public space is established by active participation and collective engagements and consists of communicative action based on critical dialogue among “equals” (Habermas 1991 qtd. in Blokland 2017, 120). If a person is not considered an equal, they are not a part of the public space, and this illustrates the discriminatory nature of these

spaces. People need to be at a certain level to even be considered an equal, which shows the prerequisites required to be trusted and to be a part of a community.

The concept of community building is also very different in such spaces because people have to be able to qualify to even live in those places to have access to these areas. Public space has been considered the place where strangers meet (Sennett 1992a, 719 qtd. in Blokland 2017, 118). However, the concept of public space is changing with these planning principles that are discriminating between people, and it also demonstrates the power that people with authority have over space. Their domination over space impacts peoples' understanding of space. Clearly, developers and planners influence city spaces and people's interactions, which explicates the link between space, trust, and community.

2.7 Space, Architecture and Community

Where trust is experienced spatially, community building is also performed in spatial contexts, that are influenced by our habits and routines. Since people are involved in routines on a daily basis, they have adopted this lifestyle where community building does not seem to be a priority in cities, due to the practices of capitalism (see Lefebvre [1991] 2014). Many of our routines are influenced by capitalist ordeals, which shows that capitalism may influence experiencing spaces and the associated relationships with it. People rarely analyze on how they create spaces, which demonstrates that people experience space through practical consciousness. They do not reflect on their actions but are constantly recreating these capitalist processes that they have learned over time. The power of capitalism is clear, as it tends to affect people's actions and their social relations with other people. Capitalism is affecting not only economic and political institutions, but also social institutions, as interactions are impacted by these processes.

People within a social context construct several different spaces which determines the characteristics of space (Reichmann and Müller 2015, 11). Löw and Lefebvre both share an assumption that space does not exist on its own, but rather is socially constructed (ibid). However, both scholars analyze space differently, as Lefebvre focuses on the symbolic

dimensions of material and non-material objects, while Löw focuses on the role of the objects in creating spaces (ibid). Both these approaches are important when understanding the ways in which architecture and design influence people's meanings associated to spaces. Human perception depends on the symbolic meanings of objects, such as buildings, which has various meanings for people (ibid). In this process, they produce spaces of representation in physical places (ibid). The role of symbols, images and representations in a social context are fundamental to understand space (ibid). Clearly, people are in an active relationship with space through their minds and bodies on a daily basis.

According to Löw, humans observe objects in certain ways and develop a connection between the objects and themselves (Reichmann and Müller 2015, 11). She terms this phenomenon as "spacing" (Löw 2001, 158-61 qtd. in Reichmann and Müller 2015, 12) in which the process of observing involves a process of selecting, because each object is not important for all individuals. Everyone has their own unique experiences, histories and biographies which leads to their process of selecting various objects that are important for them in socializing in space (Löw 2001; Harvey 2010). People have their own interpretations of these spaces based on their social interactions, values, and preferences (Löw 2001 qtd. in Reichmann and Müller 2015, 12). In this way each individual produces a certain space, which shows that individuals create various spaces (ibid). However, in these spaces, architecture also plays a key role in people's understanding of space, as "architecture is the intended construction of material artefacts" (Reichmann and Müller 2015, 17). This idea relates back to the ideas of previous scholars in relation to capitalism and its effect on peoples' relationship with space (see Lefebvre [1991] 2014). Architecture is also driven by a capitalist agenda because the intention behind creating most buildings in cities is for economic prosperity.

With the rise of modernism in cities, several high-rise buildings were built as a solution to the population growth issue (Mahdavinejad et al. 2012). However, this model had several weaknesses, as people were displaced, for instance in Pruitt-Igoe Housing (Mahdavinejad et al. 2012). It showed a few consequences of modern architecture and planning because it created issues of security (Heathcott 2012). Nevertheless, high-rise

buildings are still being built and at an increasing rate in North American cities. With such architecture, zoning laws were also implemented. “Functional zoning destroyed life and liveliness of cities and neighborhoods and made neighbors strangers. At this time a lot of disruption in the community came into existence and residents need remained unanswered” (Rafeyan, Khoramgah and Ismaili 2011 qtd. in Mahdavinejad et al., 2012, 334). Architecture and planning also has a link to type of lifestyles that people lead, because mostly in buildings people live isolated lives. Therefore, a lower rate of community building can also be at a rise in cities due to architecture and planning.

Several studies have been conducted on the connection between form and behavior where architectural design plays a role in developing resident interaction (Talen 1999). According to New Urbanism doctrine, housing types affect social interaction (Talen 1999). Scholars such as Soja (1989), Löw (2008) and Massey (2009) may not be in accordance with this New Urbanist argument, as they see space as a product of social relations. They do not focus on the physical design of spaces as much as they emphasize that spaces exist due to the social relations that form in them. New Urbanism analyzes design in spaces and its power in impacting social interaction among residents. Therefore, understanding this aspect of New Urbanism is an important element for my research.

Research indicates that there are some factors that increase resident interaction which is connected to the “design ideology” of New Urbanism (Talen 1999). For instance, feelings of safety (Cozens 2008), greater use of public space (Brain 2019) and better use of local facilities for shopping (Lund 2008) are linked to a higher chance of neighboring (Jabareen 2006). New Urbanists believe that these factors can improve through design with an emphasis on mixed-use, since it can contribute to increased neighboring. The design of space itself cannot increase social interaction among residents, but it can make spaces seem more inviting. It is not the answer because spaces are produced based on complex relations that comes into existence through psychological and physical reasoning of people through their unique histories.

Another point that New Urbanists emphasize is that by providing local neighborhood facilities, it gives the residents a sense of control over their environment (Kashef 2009). Moreover, New Urbanists believe that residents who are politically active are more likely to have a strong sense of community (Williamson 2002). Both these points are broad assumptions and the design and planning of places itself cannot be the sole cause for low trust levels. Sense of control is only possible when people feel that they belong to the spaces where they reside; nonetheless, many people do not interact in their neighborhoods due to this exact reason, where they feel they don't belong. Also, people are politically active when their opinions matter, otherwise people choose to live quietly in neighborhoods. As a result, space itself cannot provide residents with such power that they become involved in society and choose to interact with other people.

In New Urbanist research although community is seen as “liberated” and “placeless,” the role of neighborhood is an important factor in building social relationships (Talen 1999, 1366). This point is imperative for my research project as well since I focus on different neighborhoods and what residents understand as community in their neighborhood. Spaces that encourage interaction are vital to somehow direct people's attention towards interacting with each other and comprehending the need to interact in order to build communities. Nevertheless, mere emphasis on design of spaces is not the solution to the problem of residents' low interaction in neighborhoods. Scholars have identified the complex processes regarding space, along with the ways in which spaces weaken trust and community bonds among people (see section 2.2). The designing of space does matter, as there are higher chances for people to interact in inviting and open spaces, yet the sole emphasis on design and interaction is not accurate.

2.8 Organization of Spaces and its Impact on Social Relations in Neighborhood Spaces

An analysis of the location of objects and the socio-spatial organization of the infrastructure of the city asserts the point that proximity and distance are important when looking at the access and use of amenities (Zieleniec 2007). Not everyone has access to all the facilities and amenities in a city, which reinforces the point that boundaries encourage

the sense of the “other” or “stranger” in cities, and as analyzed in the previous section it also has an impact on trust relations. Relationships begin and grow from the space that they can flourish in, which shows that space can have a decisive role in making or breaking relationships between people. By placing certain features such as recreation and sports centers in certain areas, many people are discriminated due to a lack of accessibility or affordable transport. As a result of discrimination, people choose who to interact with and it results in the lower level of trust in systems and people.

Mobility is also related to the fixity of objects or institutions. For instance, if a cultural institution, such as a museum is immobile in space, then people have to travel to be able to access it (Zieleniec 2007). Such institutions are fixed in location and social interactions can occur in these places, but people have to be able to reach these places. The access to common points of contact for social, economic, cultural, educational or leisure purposes affects people by feeling either included or excluded in society. People living on the outskirts of cities or people living in rural areas are not close to these areas that are usually located in the center of cities. Also, if they do not have access to transport then it is even harder for them to reach these places. In such scenarios, a lack of mobility affects people’s access to other people in these institutions which impacts their social interactions, relationships, and trust levels. As a result, mobility is necessary to have access to spaces where positive interactions with others is possible. The point of mobility relates to mixed-use because having places of necessities (grocery, medical center, pharmacy, etc.) and places of leisure (gym, coffee places, fast food, nice scenery with a sitting area, etc.) near home allows residents to easily walk to these spaces. The experience of living in such a neighborhood becomes socially enriching which positively impacts community building in a neighborhood.

Proximity leads to chance encounters as Jacobs (1992) also presents. In a neighborhood setting, people may feel they have to act or behave in a certain way based on how others are behaving, which also affects the way people think of others. Spatial settings may impact interactions in this way, but also the barriers, such as walls, doors, and windows, draws a line between an individuals’ privacy and what the individuals wants to make public. These are seen as private regions, which would consist of the residents’ apartment or

townhome, which is “territoriality” which is an attempt to control space (Sebba and Churchman 1986, 10). Respect of privacy is very important in neighborhood settings because that also adds up to a member feeling that they belong. It comes under safety, which exemplifies the need for privacy and safety in a neighborhood to positively impact community building. The urban dimension of trust is needed to understand this issue completely, because it functions as a glue that permeates through the other elements to make way for an adhesive community.

On a daily basis, people tend to act repetitively based on their routines (Löw 2008, 28). People have a routine, where they know which route they take, where they situate themselves and how they connect people and things (ibid). People have routines set in spaces around them. These can be called “habit-determined activities” which helps them organize their lives (Löw 2008, 36). But there can be intervals of sudden surprises in between these habitual activities of daily life. This point can be related to consciousness and Giddens (1986) makes a distinction between “discursive consciousness” which are the things that people can express in words and “practical consciousness” which is the knowledge, in the physical and emotional sense, that people realize in daily life without reflection (ibid). People are involved in these thought processes unconsciously every day. Many times, people do not even realize why they are performing a certain action. Similarly, trusting others also turns into a routine where people sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally habitually trust other people. Their consciousness, however, may lead them to question their choices. Through trust, residents can develop relationships with other residents, which has a positive impact on community building. Therefore, trust and community building are spatially experienced through this manner as well, where people constitute space through their repetitive actions.

Many people’s lifestyles tend to revolve around a model in several North American cities, where people are not necessarily connected to their local neighborhood, but rather join communities of interest. The connection with locality is also changing in modern cities. However, the formation of localities cannot be understood merely by looking at place alone (Massey 1993). It is important to note the links between this sense of “us” and “them,” which

is the actual point that affects people's trust relations and social interaction. These aspects of domination, subordination, influence and power impact people's identities and their way of communication with other people. Hence, space cannot be understood without focussing on the wider context. These complex social networks can be connected back to the complex trust relations that exist between people in society as well. Trust exists in huge metropolitan regions based on people's daily lives and is not simply connected to locality. The main point is that space does impact these relations in cities yet is not the sole reason.

Several people tend to affiliate themselves with homogeneous social groups and avoid heterogeneous social interaction (Talen 1999). This point rejects the importance of neighborhood in building community, as people are naturally inclined to like-minded people (Talen 1999). However, it also rejects the idea of mixing of uses in spaces. Homogeneity is not the answer in many diverse cities of today, where working together is necessary to move forward as a society. Moreover, many people can have similarities but also differences and the similarities can be a point to begin interaction which can eventually lead to a sense of community. Spaces also promote this idea of homogeneity, as people are placed in certain areas due to zoning policies. Space has power in impacting possible social interactions between people, but space itself cannot dominate other complex social processes that we all are a part of.

Organizing space in a way where residents have access to various facilities, institutions and meeting points creates a potential community, but that is not the only required aspect for community building. Moreover, people are a part of communities in various spaces, which can also be on online platforms, due to the placeless nature of communities, which emphasizes a new understanding of mobility. This way of communicating may also be at a rise due to the consequences of the COVID-19 lockdown where people had to isolate themselves. At that point people had to live isolated lives, yet many people started to adopt this lifestyle before the lockdown. Most of the times people see cities and suburbs differently regarding community building, since cities are usually seen as people having busy lives, while suburbs are seen as family-oriented spaces where children can help parents develop community building by regularly visiting parks. However,

community building is not linked directly to suburbs or cities, but rather the spaces are where residents have the chance to experience community building.

Suburbs are also a type of neighborhood that several people chose over the city in the past few years. Suburbs tend to have homogeneous populations and some researchers claim that suburban life creates a strong sense of community, yet scholars have also noted that suburban patterns are not producing behavior patterns for enhancing community building (Bosman et al. 2019). Neighborhoods can play a role in community building, but the placeless nature of community also plays a key role in people's lives. Several people decided to move back to the city, as many North American cities, such as Toronto and New York experienced and still are experiencing a condo-boom (Lehrer, Keil and Kipfer 2010). People want to enjoy the city lifestyle again where several facilities and amenities are near them along with their workplace and other leisure activities. New Urbanists believe that residents will be happy to reduce the use of a car, which can make the financial situation of residents better to some extent. (Bosman et al. 2019, 12). Also, being car-dependent in cities causes a lot of traffic congestion, which is why there needs to be a focus on providing people with other options instead of cars to move around the city (Harrison July 16, 2024). This change in the mindset of people is also visible in the planning of city landscapes. It is interesting to note who influenced the other, as many people prefer this lifestyle but the design of spaces around them is also encouraging it.

The importance of analyzing communities as placeless entities is evident in cities of today, where people are surrounded by various spaces and have the choice of interacting. Mobility, which is having access to these spaces is a key point to analyze when assessing people's sense of community in mixed-use neighborhoods. In such instances, research should focus on who has access to the public spaces, because many people are not able to be a part of this lifestyle. Some people do not have access to the necessary resources to be able to access these spaces. As a result, mobility is also connected to the position people are given in society based on the hierarchy of power, because it determines their way of living in the city.

Mixed-use was introduced to mix people from various incomes and land uses, but now the focus is on mixing land uses where most people who live in these places are seen as a homogeneous group. They share a similar income and lifestyle. Several public spaces are created by planners in these areas, but the design of space itself cannot increase social interaction. It can only encourage it to a certain extent. Interactions in public spaces are usually small encounters which lead to weak ties. One of the core attributes that are utilized in establishing relationships is trust. Community building is one of the positive results of having strong trust relations. Space is manipulated and consequently so are the relations within it. Access to resources and mobility are all linked to where a person is placed based on their economic capital. As a result, these processes shape the way people interact in cities or even choose to interact. The image of most North American cities, as people live in their own private spaces and lead isolated lives by utilizing facilities for their needs, is comprehensible due to these processes.

2.9 Connection to Case Studies

The case studies for this research have unique stories, since the first case study area is York University Heights, and within it I am analyzing the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood. The residents are informally using the available spaces as mixed-use, as they can walk to the available spaces. However, it is not a question about availability, but rather of accessibility. Not all residents feel that they belong to the spaces, and they feel they are unwelcomed. In this case they have the mobility but not the accessibility, which makes it challenging for them to have community building in the university spaces. Due to these feelings, many residents choose to go somewhere else with a desire for community.

On the other hand, Regent Park is formally a mixed-use space where it got transformed from a public housing development. The design of the newly constructed spaces is appealing, as it has modern architecture and there are several spaces for residents to sit and talk. Nevertheless, in this neighborhood there is a difference made between types of residents. They consist of market-income residents and Toronto Community Housing (TCH) residents. In this neighborhood as well, some residents feel an issue of access, because the

TCH residents feel that the spaces in which they have lived in for years, even when it was a public housing development, is being taken away from them by the market-income residents. This situation impacts trust relations between residents, the neighborhood spaces, and the neighborhood authorities. With low trust there is a lower possibility for residents to build community. These issues of accessibility, even in mixed-use spaces, causes problems in building community. From this viewpoint, the relational nature of trust, community building and space is evident, as each person observes the same space differently. Clearly, the mixed-use spaces cannot generate community on their own, but rather the feelings that people have associated to these spaces either strengthens or weakens community building.

To grasp these ideas a summary of the theories used in this research is necessary. Through interactions residents can stay connected with one another. However, the act of interacting does not merely occur on its own. It happens through trust, by trusting other neighbors that they will also be kind and caring. Both acts of interaction and trust occur in spaces, which shows that trust is practiced in spaces. Clearly there is a spatial element of trust, which I will be focussing on in this dissertation. Each person has their own way of trusting in spaces, which emphasizes the relational nature of trust and the importance of researching it in this manner. A community is a feeling that people experience in space when they feel that they belong to or identify with a group. In this way I am looking at people's views about community in their neighborhoods. Trust is closely linked to community since it is not possible to experience community without trusting people in the spaces around them. All these aspects are relational to everyone, which shows the complexity of understanding these concepts of trust and community. To narrow my focus, I looked at community building, which focusses on the performance of community. I believe that a mixture of trust, authority, and space leads to community building (see Figure 3). In a neighborhood setting, which is a physical space, residents put their trust in their neighbors, which is the beginning point in relationships that eventually leads to community building. Clearly, there is a strong link between trust and community building, which is evident in this research project.

To recognize space, we have to comprehend that based on our practices we make social spaces around us. These social spaces influence our ability to know ourselves and the way we practice in these spaces as well. Based on the way spaces are created, it impacts interactions, but space is also socially constructed by such interactions. Space has an impact on which people may not. There is not equal access for everyone to the various facilities and amenities, which shows that there is a sense of boundaries, and that impacts relationships, which ultimately has an impact on community building. In this way, space seems to have power in effecting relationships and community building among residents.

To interact with other residents, it is important to have access to spaces where positive interactions with others is possible. Mobility for residents is necessary where they have access to transit or where they can easily walk to such places. In this manner, mobility relates to mixed-use, as the concept implies having several land-uses where residents can walk easily. The busy life of the city impacts the way neighborhood spaces are utilized as well. Since many people develop a mindset of focusing on their own goals, they tend to forget to use the spaces in their neighborhood to communicate which impacts community building.

Space has a relational nature as we all create unique meanings in the same spaces around us. Space has an action element, as we perform an act of engaging with other residents to improve community building. Space has a situational nature since people behave differently in certain situations. We create spaces based on how we behave with others in these social spaces, which shows the close link that space has to community building. Relationships are built through trust in these spaces, and all these aspects ultimately influence residents' community building.

Produced spaces in cities are built by planners and architects through planning policies, which are based on a political agenda, that are usually steered by capitalism. Clearly, power plays a central role in urban planning and that is reflected in the relations that people have with the produced spaces. It also affects peoples' communication in these spaces, which shows that physical spaces influence peoples' social relations. Most of the times wealthy people have access to most produced spaces, but the average person is usually not able to. A

class difference is evident in space. As produced spaces are planned by planners and architects, zoning principles reinforce these ideologies, where there are discriminatory practices. Architecture has a link to the way spaces are produced, which impacts people's community building in those spaces. The division in land complicates the concept of understanding space and further emphasizes the idea of boundaries for people, which can be experienced both physically and mentally.

As outlined, Jacobs (1992) saw mixed-use development as having people from different economic backgrounds living together. Zoning and a division of land uses does not allow a mixing of uses for everyone and it does not lead to community building. The original idea of mixed-use was meant to encourage social integration between people of different incomes, races, or ages, since people can walk to the various uses without driving all the time. Currently, in mixed-use models in cities, there is mainly a mixing of different land uses, but not really a mixing of people with different incomes. Certain spaces are created and are privatized where only residents have access to these areas, and that creates a class difference in space. Due to this, people may have challenges in trusting others, as the space is not inviting and accessible to all. People with authority have power over space, which shows that the concept of public space is altering with these discriminatory planning practices. People attach various symbolic connotations to objects, such as buildings based on their human perception, meaning people are in an active relationship with space through their minds and bodies. The concept of mixed-use space, trust and community is also similar, since people have a concept of community in their minds through their theoretical community, which changes in the way they continue to actively experience community in space through their experimental community, and trust is also relationally experienced in spaces, which is the underlying element that can lead to community building.

Chapter 3 Methods and Methodological Approach for Research

A qualitative researcher studies people and their practices, but also how and why they perform in a certain manner. As actors in spaces, residents perform community through their everyday practices. In this sense it may seem residents have the authority and autonomy to make decisions individually, yet these actors are affected in various ways. Governing bodies, of the spaces that these actors live in, are active authorities, such as in neighborhoods for this research study. As an authority, they can have a strong impact on residents' interactions in spaces. Moreover, societal norms, pressures and presumptions may influence the actors' performance in spaces as well. By trying to achieve the standards of society and simultaneously trying to fulfill individual motives, residents seem to be in a dilemma. These thought processes may cause negative impacts on trust relationships with others, as actors may be struggling with themselves. Neighborhoods have several spatial components, such as the private homes, and the public spaces accessible to residents. Such spaces are deemed social spaces since actors perform in these spaces. They perform in these spaces based on trust. They have a desired trust in their minds and delivered trust which they present. As a result, it impacts their theoretical community and experimental community (see Figure 1).

The definition of community is open to subjectivity since there is not one clear definition in academia. It is fluid in nature. Cities transform over time, but people "continue to place a high value on what they call communities" (Charles and Davies 2005, 672). Communities are not restricted to a specific place. Scholars note that physical proximity means living in the same neighborhood, but mental or moral proximity is different, since it deals with a person's willingness to experience an associated feeling, or to look at others like oneself, with their own independent motives (Bauman 1990). As it can be seen, analyzing the concept of community in a research study is not an easy task. With the vast conceptualization of community, it is hard to complete research on it in a dissertation. For the purposes of this study, I narrowed down the scope of the term, by focussing on the performance of communities in neighborhoods, which I call community building. I focus on this through the conceptualization of community in our minds, which is theoretical

community and how we practice that in daily life with other residents, which is experimental community.

Community building, through the lens of performance in communities, is a unique experience for everyone. People's understanding of community building is a social construction, which is always developing in social space, that is any space that involves social interaction. A phenomenological approach such as understanding the meaning of community building for residents and how it is practiced based on the specific circumstances is beneficial for this study. People's perspectives about the way they understand various processes in daily life also affects their understanding of community building. Their experiences can change with time and the circumstances, but the act of community building is practiced in spaces. People experience spaces through their perception and in this process tend to, "project [their] past lived experiences onto that thing through the idea of association and memory" (de Vega 2010, 393). People have their own subjective view of reality and based on that they act in these spaces. The terms that I introduce in this paper "theoretical community" and "experimental community" also relate to this point. People think about how they want to practice community based on their own identities, histories, and positionalities. Community is a phenomenon that people experience by having a sense of belonging in space. Using phenomenology, I seek to describe the lived experiences of individuals. In this case, I will be asking residents from two neighborhoods about their experiences of community building in their daily lives in the spaces that architects and planners have designed and implemented for them.

Mixed-use spaces can be seen physically, as architects and planners create these spaces for residents of the neighborhood. Planners have several roles in their profession. Unlike many other professionals, planners and policy analysts need to be "astute bridge builders, negotiators, and mediators at the same time" (Forester 1999, 3). Planners are also actors in these spaces, who have authority to affect the way spaces are physically created. They are on the other end of the shaft of residents who affect space, yet in a different manner. Residents experience these spaces from the way planners use their role to create these spaces available to them. Planners are not active users of the space, while residents are

actively performing in these spaces made available to them. The practical focus on community, which is community building, calls for a pragmatic approach that analyzes the practices and experiences itself.

Residents have different experiences of community building through their lens of trust. Community building and trust are both concepts that are hard to measure, which is why I use qualitative research methods as the primary approach for this study to ask residents from two mixed-use and mixed-income neighborhoods about their experiences with community building. Residents from the two neighborhoods are also asked to fill out questionnaires which provide an understanding of the demographics of the area. The questions also ask about the components of trust and community building to get a general understanding of what residents have to say about these terms. But an in-depth understanding is possible through interviews, which is why that is the main form of data collection in this study. An interdisciplinary approach is kept throughout the research, as this research addresses several fields, such as urban planning, geography, architecture, sociology, and psychology.

The two case studies are important for this research based on their history, spatial setting, and location. The first neighborhood, Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, is in a university campus. The building itself is a coop, where people can reside. An affiliation with the university is not necessary, although that used to be the case in the formative years when the building was made. The initiative of the building started with a sense of community, as members of the university had the opportunity to live in the coop. They all had a form of membership and shared identity, which encourages community building. Now the coop is open to everyone, which presents a different story about community building in a university setting.

The second neighborhood was a public housing neighborhood that is still being revitalized to mixed-use housing. There are several buildings in the neighborhood and the residents have access to communal areas. The aim is to have resources at a walking distance, and some have a shared identity with a common history, while others are relatively new

members. This neighborhood is formally seen as a mixed-use space, while the coop neighborhood is informally functioning as a mixed-use space and is planned to turn into one officially. It is interesting to note the ways in which people make use of space for their wants and needs, which is why an ethnomethodological approach in situationism is beneficial to comprehend the social situation of these neighborhoods and develop a theory in grounded theory. Through these methods, I developed a framework to understand the residents' theoretical (what they think about community) and experimental community (how they practice community) and the link between the two.

3.1 Reason for utilizing Mixed Methods

I made an online survey for residents from both neighborhoods, and I received 50 complete surveys from residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and 22 complete surveys from Regent Park. The questionnaires are multiple choice, and the purpose is to get a general understanding of the residents' views about trust, community building and mixed-use spaces. The interview responses explain the questionnaire results. Both methods complement one another to have detailed responses. The quantitative approach applied in this study is to get a general idea from two neighborhoods: Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and Regent Park. Harry Sherman Crowe Coop has been practicing a mixed-use model in a university setting for several years, yet the area is still not formally classified as mixed-use. Regent Park is working on community building in a mixed-use setting through different working groups. The residents have greater experience of working on community building over a greater time span, which is why a questionnaire addresses the data gathering component. In this neighborhood, interviews are geared towards organizational figures who are actively working on implementing community to hear this perspective as well. Both methods have advantages and disadvantages, which is why I focus on a mixed-methods approach to make the research effective. There is extensive research available to demonstrate the strengths and limitations of these two methods. Below is a table explaining the difference between quantitative and qualitative research methodologies (Queirós et al. 2017, 371).

Dimension	Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Focus on understanding the context of the problem	Smaller	Bigger
Dimension of group studies	Smaller	Bigger
Proximity of the researcher to the problem being studied	Smaller	Bigger
Scope of the study in time	Immediate	Longer range
Researcher's point of view	External	Internal
Theoretical framework and hypotheses	Well structured	Less structured
Flexibility and exploratory analysis	Lower	Higher

Table 1: Strengths and Limitations of Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

(Table taken from Queirós et al. 2017, 371)

As this table illustrates, that the two methods have strengths in various dimensions, I use both, to have more strengths in the research data collection process. Qualitative methods provide a bigger scope to understand the possible underlying reasons that residents have for why community building may or may not be working in their neighborhoods. The quantitative approach also has advantages, as it provides the researcher with an external point of view. This point addresses the issue of the researcher's subjective influence on the data. With an external and internal perspective, the researcher is aware of both perceptions, and it helps in being reflexive throughout the research process. For instance, with the surveys I gained a general overview of the situation in both mixed-use spaces; however, the interviews allowed me to comprehend the issues in detail.

This study focuses on the spatial practice of community. The main point is that community is practiced in spaces. Our "theoretical community" comes into an "experimental community" through our performance in some type of space. There are fixed spaces, such as the common areas in a neighborhood, where residents can sit and talk, but the performance of the community is not fixed to that space. It can occur in various spaces, as it is essentially about the way a person feels in space. It is complicated to quantify peoples' feelings, which is why a qualitative method approach is important for this study. Then with the findings of what people say about their feelings regarding community and mixed-use spaces, the aim of this study is to develop a theory. The theory may help planners in the future when dealing with mixed-use spaces. Since the mixed-use approach is currently being noticed as a viable option in Toronto, based on University of Toronto's Infrastructure Institute "creative mixed-use" approach, this study is addressing the present-day matter in Toronto.

3.1.1 Narratives of Residents as a Qualitative Method

As “community” and “community building” is a multi-faceted concept, which has various meanings for each person, a qualitative method approach would facilitate in understanding the residents’ concept of community building and how they practice it with their neighbors. This is because a qualitative method approach focuses on recognizing “the complexity of everyday life, the nuances of meaning-making in an ever-changing world and the multitude of influences that shape human lived experiences” (DeLyser et al. 2010, 6). This resonates well with the way in which people experience and understand space. My main goal is to understand what residents in mixed-use spaces have to say about community building. My focus is on their individual narratives. As trust is understood from an urban dimension in space and is dependent on spatial contexts, it is closely linked to community building, I will use the lens of trust in the qualitative method approach, by understanding the residents’ experiences through their spatial contexts.

Communities are built of different stories where residents are the main actors. That is why it is crucial to hear the residents’ stories. Storytelling is an important element in urban planning as well. “Through telling and re-telling, actors shape their identities. Stories told might reflect some core of a community and at the same time limit or facilitate the ways in which communities can change” (Eckstein and Throgmorton 2003, 302). Storytelling positively impacts planning practices and communities, which identifies the importance of this act. Through semi-structured interviews, I tried to hear residents’ narratives about what they think about community building in their neighborhood. Some residents did not open as much, because they felt they couldn’t share more information, but there were other residents who shared a lot of details. After hearing stories, it is important that “as critical researchers, administrators, politicians, planners and citizens involved in planning, we should always ask for more than a single story” (van Hulst 2012, 15). With this approach, planners can hear diverse narratives, and note if there are dominant stories, then “who wants this story to be true or come true, and why?” (van Hulst, 2012, 15). This point will identify the possible power imbalances in a neighborhood. These are all critical questions, and it is necessary to focus on the answers, to rightfully help the stakeholders involved. Similarly, I looked at the

interview responses as puzzle pieces to a larger picture, which points towards the story of each neighborhood. In this procedure it is important to focus on *who* is telling the story. What is their role in the neighborhood and what is at stake for them? I took interviews from different stakeholders in both neighborhoods to understand the various perspectives and to understand the greater story that the individual narratives lead to.

It is imperative that the participants can trust the researcher, for the researcher to be able to understand the whole picture. There were several residents, who I had to ask numerous times to join the research study, as they seemed hesitant, which highlights the importance of their privacy. Like the ways in which residents have private space in their homes and it is secluded through architectural design, I had to build a relationship of trust with them in their relational space. This was either through face value or the snowballing technique. It is true that with the snowballing approach I had a reference in the eyes of the participants, which boosted the interview, as the residents did not seem reluctant.

Another component of respecting the privacy of the participants is anonymization and pseudonymization. I changed sensitive information, which can impact participants, such as anonymizing their real names with pseudonyms. Names give the participants a character, while using abbreviations makes them lose their humanism. It is necessary to maintain the connotations of the original names because it affects data analysis. The names reflect a background, and keeping the same background is necessary to reflect the authenticity of the stories being told.

All in all, these interviews would not have been possible without trust. There was some form of trust that encouraged the residents to talk to me for as long as they did. Trust is not only the lens used in this research, but it is fundamental in every relationship beginning with the researcher and participant. In the data analysis, where some information was unclear, it was due to trust. Some participants did not express all the details, due to the level of trust in the researcher. Trust is the lens for this research, trust is the basis for the researcher to have interactions with residents and authorities, trust is an analytical tool to understand the way the research and respectively the results disclose.

In the coop neighborhood I contacted one of the members of the board to receive some contacts for possible interviews. She initially included me in the building's WhatsApp group where I was able to message the members in the group about my research. I asked the residents to complete the questionnaire and to let me know if they would be interested in an interview. Then I also posted posters in the building, with the management's permission, about my research and it included my contact details for interested participants. Many people wanted to have a face to my name that they read in the WhatsApp group or on the poster and for that I got the opportunity to speak at one of the members' meetings where I told the residents about myself, my research and that their input could lead to positive change. After I finished speaking, several members displayed their interest and I gathered their contact information to arrange a date and time for the interviews, mainly over the phone. As a former resident, residents gained trust as well, and I had an outside perspective. I tried to get a mix of residents based on their duration of stay in the neighborhood in order to comprehend the transformations of the neighborhood. With this approach, the main speculation is: has community building changed over time? How have factors, such as the maintenance of space and residents' relations altered over the years?

Several residents gave me the contact information of their friends or close neighbors in the building. This fact alludes to the concept of residents being classified as close neighbors and simply neighbors. In most cases, close neighbors were the residents that lived next to each other, otherwise they were usually close friends. Proximity between different land uses plays a role in bringing residents close to each other, which references the possible link between community building and mixed-use spaces.

In Regent Park, I researched about the neighborhood and found that they have neighborhood associations with leaders of the Social Development Plan (SDP). The SDP was developed through community consultations to make sure that social inclusion and social cohesion of residents is kept throughout the Regent Park revitalization process (Regent Park Social, SDP). After ten years of revitalization the plan is being refreshed, which is initiated and managed by Toronto Community Housing (TCH) along with City of Toronto (Regent Park Social, Social Development Plan Refreshed). I had the opportunity to interview the leader,

where I learned about this plan and how it is being initiated in the neighborhood through residents' input. The leader contacted the media coordinators of the Regent Park Newsletter, and I asked them if they can post information about my questionnaire so that residents can fill it out online.

3.1.2 Questionnaires as a Quantitative Method

In this research, I also made two questionnaires specific to each neighborhood to gather data on social networks and the quality of life and community (McGuirk and O'Neill 2016, 247). I made the questionnaires on LimeSurvey, as it is easily accessible and is an effective software to analyze the results. The content of the questionnaire is directed towards understanding the demographics of the residents and what their opinions are about the nature of mixed-use, especially its impact on community building.

In the coop neighborhood the first few questions (see Appendix 3) are about the demographics, which are attribute questions. The next few are about the neighborhood and trust relations, which are behavior questions. There are several attitude and belief questions, which are about what residents think about communication, community building and trust. The residents are also asked about suggestions for the neighborhood. Then residents are asked about York University and the Vision and Strategy that is proposed for the area. People are asked about the link between these concepts and if it enhances their community building in the neighborhood. Since this neighborhood has an informal use of mixed-use, as it is not officially classified as a mixed-use space yet, I wanted to learn about the resident's practical experiences with the spaces to note the possible implications for mixed-use spaces and community building.

For the Regent Park neighborhood (see Appendix 4), the first few questions are about the demographics as well, which are attribute questions. Then the next few are behavioral questions, discovering about the various amenities that the residents utilize. The questions are mainly about the features of mixed-use that residents think are desirable and what people prefer along with their suggestions for other neighborhoods, which are attitude and

belief questions. The questionnaire also has category list questions, which has the option of “select all that apply” and these questions create “satisficing behavior” where participants keep reading and ticking until they feel they have provided a satisfactory answer (McGuirk and O’Neill 2016, 249). The reason for making questionnaires was to respect the participants’ time, acknowledging that most are busy. The questions are aimed to get an overall understanding on the topic, and since mixed-use space has been in this neighborhood for several years, I wanted to hear their opinions on how it is working for them and what are the disadvantages.

3.2 Discussion of Positionality

“Our metatheoretical assumptions have very practical consequences for the way we do research in terms of our topic, focus of study, what we see as “data”, how we collect and analyze the data, how we theorize, and how we write up our research accounts” (Cunliffe 2011).

Sociologist Jane Cunliffe summarizes the stages of a research study by saying that our presumptions about a topic affect the whole outcome of the study. Her points acknowledge that our assumptions impact the very beginning point of research which is formulating the topic. I had the opportunity to research condominium tower amenities in Toronto and residents’ sense of community during my master’s research. The topic of community has always resonated with me as a researcher because I noticed the inclination towards alienation in cities at large and neighborhoods at the microscale. With the rise of mixed-use in Toronto, I gained interest in analyzing community building in mixed-use spaces. I acknowledge my personal position based on this matter, that I feel several people do not seem to have a sense of community, as many people tend to stay within themselves and do not interact with others. Due to this thought, I know my hypothesis is driven in this direction as well, since I find this statement to be true. However, to address this positionality of mine, I chose a mixed-use neighborhood, such as Regent Park which has been going through this development for several years, and I can get different views on this matter.

As I am an associate of the GKAT research group: Authority and Trust, I had a clear focus for the research from the outset, and it is clearly reflected in my whole research

process. More specifically, as mentioned previously, my perspective is an urban dimension of trust. This focus is kept throughout the whole research process. I view myself as a researcher trying to help humans have better housing situations that can lead to meaningful community building. However, the participants can see me as if I am using them through this research for my own motives. To combat this thought, I tried to explain to the residents that I want to see change and my goal is to present this research further to various authorities, who have potential to play an important role to bring positive change for the residents.

The researcher has an influence on the research process due to their own identity and background. Qualitative research is embedded with relations of power (Horrigan-Kelly et al. 2016). Power is involved while hearing or interpreting stories, because knowledge is both directly and indirectly powerful (Horrigan-Kelly et al. 2016). After hearing stories from participants, the researcher tells the story that they have understood, which can affect the way people think about neighborhoods or people. The researcher must neutrally hear all sides of the story and then critically engage with the data in order to comprehend the whole story. A certain degree of trust is involved in the participants' responses, which exemplifies the pivotal role that trust plays in research with human participants. This point leads to having an idea of reflexivity during the research process to avoid biases and presumptions. The researcher influences both the research and interpretation of primary and secondary data, which is why reflexivity is important. I have a clear lens for this research project, as I am analyzing the topic through an urban dimension of trust. Nevertheless, preconceived assumptions can impact the interpretation of data. To address this dilemma, I used both qualitative and quantitative methods to have an external and internal point of view about the data. Nevertheless, the research is influenced by my ideas as I choose how to interpret the data. That is why critical analysis of all stages of the research is key to stay true to the research project and especially the data. I focused on the circumstances that the residents described to comprehend their narratives, and to prevent myself from jumping to conclusions.

I observed the case study areas in action where people were practicing their daily activities and performing community. In the research process, the researcher is stuck in a

double-edged sword situation, since they need to engage with the field, participants, and their accounts, but at the same time the closer they get to these aspects, the more challenging it becomes for them. In such a situation, the researcher may reflect their subjective views on the topic and accounts of the participants. To address this concern, while listening to the residents and analyzing their responses, I focused on their responses, rather than on my preconceived assumptions. To avoid threading a story on my own, I focused on similar key terms and themes in the transcripts to maintain my focus.

3.3 Importance of Researching Community Building in Mixed-use Spaces

Growing up in a city, I saw the change in the way people interact. Mixed-use spaces are seen as a phenomenon that encourages community building. With the theoretical framework of Jane Jacobs and the current trend of mixed-use in Toronto, I see analyzing mixed-use spaces as beneficial to understand the dynamics and needs of current and future urban planning. For this study, mixed-use spaces are seen as social spaces, where residents interact with other residents while moving in the various land uses in their neighborhood. The different land uses are near residents' homes for their ease of access, but also to promote interaction among residents. In this way, interaction is possible in mixed-use spaces through mobility with the different land-uses. People need to actively interact in these spaces for community building. The space itself is available, but it cannot solely result in community building. Initiative, input, and inclusivity is needed from the residents, because they are the main actors in performing community in their neighborhoods. Trust permeates between the three elements mentioned above to make community building possible (see Figure 4 below). Similarly, I utilized spaces in the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop to arrange interviews where the participant and I had the chance to discuss their views.

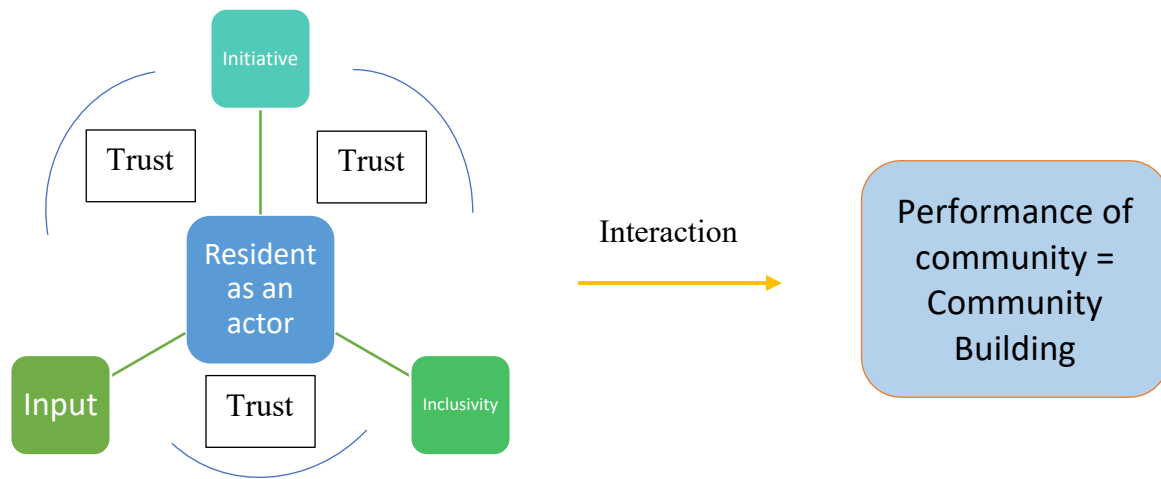


Figure 4: Role of trust in actors and performance of community

This research study focuses on people's homes, but also the mixed-use spaces available in proximity. Through mobility, space and body take shape. Each body "produces itself in space and it also produces space" (Lefebvre 2014, 170). As bodies inhabit space, people come to "feel at home" (Simonsen 2013, 7). The feeling of home is not only the private space that people have in the shape of their apartment, condo, or house, but also associated with the surrounding neighborhood. The neighborhood plays an important role in making the residents feel that they belong, which leads to community building. To understand the concept of people inhabiting space, the focus is on their experiences in these spaces. Which actors/practices affect their experiences with community building in the various spaces? The relational nature of space may have an immense effect on residents, as they have several spaces to use nearby. There may be both positive and negative implications for interactions in these spaces. More spaces may lead to more possible encounters, but it may also lead to quick interactions, rather than deep conversations. Unexpectedly, the quick interactions were not valued as highly as planned events where people have deeper interactions with one another.

Where residents are actors, there is innately a performance of community building as well, which begins with trust (see Figure 4). The residents perform community through their actions, which is community building. The performance is possible through everyday

practices, such as using the common areas to talk with one another. Community is essentially where people feel they belong (Blokland 2017). With a focus on belonging, there is minimal understanding about the processes that create these communities and the related experiences (Blokland 2017). Merely talking about where people feel they belong does not directly address the processes that create community; instead experiencing belonging through practice can aid in understanding the processes (Blokland 2017). I tried to keep this approach in my research study by focussing on the physical aspects that foster community. Other scholars note the need to focus on performativity when discussing belonging (Benson and Jackson 2013). There is a link between community, belonging and performativity.

3.4 Philosophical Assumptions for this Research

In a research study, the methodology consists of philosophical assumptions and methods (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell 2012, 15). The philosophical assumptions lead the methods and the way the researcher approaches the various steps. The objective of this study is to hear the residents' voice about community building in their neighborhoods, which falls under the philosophical assumption of "interpretivism." It takes "human interpretation" as the foundation to learn about the social world (Duberley, Johnson and Cassell 2012, 21). This process includes understanding the interpretations that the actors, who are the residents in this context, explain regarding a phenomenon, which is community building. The researcher needs to describe and explain the behavior of the actors by analyzing how they "experience, sustain, articulate and share with others these socially constructed everyday realities" (ibid). The metanalysis of the interviewees' responses is that they are sharing their version of socially constructed realities, and as a researcher being constantly aware of this point during the research process adds to reflexivity. I am understanding the various meanings that people attach to the concept of community building, in which their social constructed realities related to this concept play a great role. The relation between the residents' meaning of community building and the actual performance of it is the point of analysis for this research, which is labelled as theoretical community and experimental community, respectively.

In order to conduct this research in a step-by-step manner, it is important to firstly understand the residents' meaning of the main terms of this research, such as "community building" through phenomenology. Then it is important to see theory in practice, by analyzing the concept of community building in action in the neighborhoods through pragmatism. This point can be seen from both aspects, from a resident and a planner's perspective, since both contribute to the way community building unfolds in a neighborhood. Then I note the ways in which residents behave differently in various situations which occur in different spaces through ethnomethodology and situationism. Based on the residents' views I provide a theory that they present about community building and trust in mixed-use spaces. These ideas can be used by neighborhood associations, planners, and residents to make their situation better in relation to community building in neighborhoods.

The qualitative researcher has subjective experiences that can impact the research design, although grounded theory focuses on making theories based on the data collection. This aspect is the dilemma of grounded theory, since a researcher formulates the research topic, decides which methods to use, and interprets the data. The researcher impacts the way a research study unfolds, which is why several approaches can help in addressing these issues. Through such an approach, the researcher can prevent the impact of their subjective views on the research results. While phenomenology focusses on the meanings that people assign to experiences, pragmatism concentrates on the experiences themselves. Moreover, the specific context in which the action takes place is also relevant to understand social processes. Trust is the core lens to note why certain interactions unfold in a certain manner in spaces.

Firstly, people have conceptualizations about community, where they attach meanings to this term before practicing it in spaces. The way they see and experience community in action, also alters their meanings. Phenomenology is based on a life-world idea which was developed by Edmund Husserl, as the foundation of everyday acting and thinking (Hitzler and Eberle 2004, 67). Life-world analysis aims to understand the meaning of the actors' subjective perceptions (ibid). Meaning is intrinsically connected to an act or performance, which highlights the connection between an individual's thought processes of

concepts and the actual performance. In order to explain social phenomena from the actions of individuals, the subjective meanings that actors have for these actions are the point of reference (Hitzler and Eberle 2004, 68). I asked residents about the various meanings they assign to the complex word “community.” They live in these neighborhoods and have the chance to interact in the spaces they have around them. Based on their subjective experiences it is clearer if they feel welcomed or not and which other authoritative figures affect their experiences.

Secondly, residents have varying experiences in their neighborhoods and the quality of their community building depends on the way they practice community building. Having a phenomenological approach helps in understanding the meanings attached to community building, and a pragmatic approach helps in analyzing the actual practices that lead to the phenomenon itself. Both these approaches are needed to note theory and practice in the everyday scenarios of residents. Charles Hoch (1984) makes a link between John Dewey’s concept of pragmatism and planning theory. Hoch explains that planners utilize the pragmatic concepts of “experience, inquiry and participation” to link planning theory to practice (1984, 336). Dewey’s three ideas consists of problem definition as a form of experience, plan formulation as a form of inquiry and plan implementation as a form of democratic participation bridges the gap between “doing good” and “being right,” which are the concepts that planning theorists focus on (Hoch 1984, 336).

“Problematic experience” as a pragmatic concept is where people learn through experience, and it becomes the “medium” through which they learn about the problem and solution (Hoch 1984, 336). A qualitative researcher can learn about their research topic through active observations, obtained through experience. Experience has a key connection to interactions because a qualitative researcher gains experience through interactions with the environment or people. A planner can also not effectively plan without experiencing the space, because that will help them understand the problems people face in the area. For instance, in the Regent Park neighborhood there are many community consultation meetings where residents get the chance to express their needs. By conversing with various authoritative figures in both neighborhoods, who play a role in the planning process, the

planners, who truly understand the physical area and the psychological connection that people have in the physical spaces based on their social realities in society, are able to deduce the needs of the residents and the neighborhoods.

Moreover, “experimental inquiry” is testing actions that help in determining which will work best and what is the right plan (Hoch 1984, 336). This point also relates back to experience and testing which is only possible with the people who have to experience these spaces on a daily basis. Residents need to be a part of the thought process with planners while making plans to have effective plans. Similarly, it is important for a qualitative researcher to note the ideas of residents about community building based on their needs in their neighborhood, which can be possible through observations in the case study areas. During my research trips, I visited both neighborhoods to physically see the conditions of the neighborhood, the spaces available/unavailable and the surrounding amenities available/unavailable. This step played a pivotal role in being able to understand what the residents said about their neighborhood.

“Democratic participation,” according to Dewey, is that in times of conflict, the public interest is best served through “intelligent and reflective transaction” (Hoch 1984, 337). An overarching authority is not the way to address conflicts among people, but rather negotiating and persuasive arguments are needed. Thinking is a social act because people search for “public validity,” which strengthens their ideas. This point refers to the concept of community as well, since people express their ideas where they feel they will be heard and accepted. Through this concept of pragmatism, a researcher can provide the participant with the foundation to express their ideas, but they may still be reluctant, as they may be unsure of the public validity they would receive or not. To address this issue, a planner needs to develop a level of trust with the people of the area. When asking residents about the various plans being discussed and implemented in their neighborhoods, they felt that they were not getting the fair opportunity to be involved in the process. In the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood, some residents had a strong feeling about this, because they felt they were not even being acknowledged by the university, although they live within walking distance.

The main point from analyzing the two case studies of this project is that a reconstructed pragmatic theory of planning is necessary by defining problems in relation to the specific histories and attachments of the people in the neighborhoods (Hoch 1984, 343). Understanding the context of the residents' experiences is key to working towards solving their problems. As a qualitative researcher, it is beneficial for the study to learn about the specific stories attached to each neighborhood. Experience helps to understand the theories behind why practices occur. This point also relates back to my conceptualization of community, which focuses on theoretical community: how people perceive community, and experimental community: how people experience/practice community. Both these aspects in correlation lead to community building itself. Theory and practice are related in several aspects, as the ideas and methodologies of this research outline.

Thirdly, it is crucial to understand if these spaces that are *supposed* to develop a sense of community are *actually* achieving this or not. A key question is which situations result in community building? I try to answer this question by asking residents about suggestions that they have for their neighborhood, based on their experiences to note the existing drawbacks. Several scholars have developed methodologies to address the ways in which social order works in society. Garfinkel (1967) introduced ethnomethodology, which is a sociological approach, and the goal is to note the principles that result in the meaningful structure created by actors. There is a great emphasis on what the actors express and do in social interactions with others (Garfinkel 1967). Another point of interest was in what members of a society "know, think and do in dealing with everyday circumstances" (Bergmann 2004, 72). In a neighborhood, this is a fundamental aspect, because no action is possible without the residents. They are all individuals who may be educated/uneducated, knowledgeable/unknowledgeable, powerful/powerless all according to the standards of society. Based on what those individuals know, they act accordingly in their neighborhood. It is a space where they should feel safest, but these preconceived notions affect their interactions. I focus on all these aspects when analyzing the neighborhoods, to understand the power dynamics and how that may be affecting the ways in which residents are behaving in their neighborhoods. I specifically focus on who is telling the narrative, and how their individual experiences and expertise impacts the way they behave in their neighborhood.

Actors actively develop their social realities through interactions with others in meaningful contexts (Bergmann 2004, 72). This reflects to the point of situationism. Situations are tied to specific contexts to understand the whole story. "All social action consists of social practices, situated in time-space, and organized in a skilled and knowledgeable fashion by human agents" (Giddens 1981, 19). Situationists observe that the city isolates individuals through the commodification of space and time, and this isolation should include a "controlled reintegration" where isolated individuals should be "isolated together" (Bonnett 1989, 136). For instance, housing developments are organized to perform a "pseudo-community" (ibid). Housing developments in neighborhoods naturally have such situations, which should create a sense of community, yet there are cases where people are isolated in these neighborhoods.

Ethnomethodology describes the underlying beliefs of the process of understanding the actor and the actor making themselves understood, which is recognized in action itself (Bergmann 2004, 75). The focus is on making the members' everyday activities "accountable," which in other words also means "recordable," "storyable" and "representable" (ibid). The accounts have a fundamental reflexivity, as it becomes clearer what the meaning is of social events and the actors are also a part of the event themselves (ibid). The actor has a direct impact on the interaction, which makes it necessary to understand and note the reflexive nature of the accounts. In this research, all the stories are told in an interview context. This point may make some of the residents feel a power imbalance between the interviewer and interviewee. The comments and actions have an indexical character as they relate to the context (ibid). Moreover, the terms in an interaction are defined ambiguously, which shows that there are vague meanings to the interactions (ibid). In order to comprehend the interview responses completely, it is important to note the situation in which the interviews took place along with the situation of the scenarios that the residents describe when discussing community building. Within a social space, residents are constantly involved in their relational, reflexive accounts about community building by interacting in the communal areas available to them. This aspect is important for the research because as there is a decline in trust in the neighborhoods, it is necessary to analyze the situations that have led to this result. I observe the residents' responses based on the

chronological order of events based on their responses to see when residents felt there is a good sense of community, what was the surrounding situation, and when there was a satisfactory sense of community, what was the encompassing situation.

Assessing and analyzing these accounts can become a challenging task, which is why the lens of trust allows the researcher to note the principles and patterns involved in interaction situations between residents in neighborhoods. Trust is a core element in situations because it leads to possible interactions that can begin from the simplest smile or greeting. From a situationist perspective, trust helps in defining the reasons for the way a conversation or encounter unfolds. Especially in social spaces, trust functions as a cement in interactions. It impacts situations directly, because the level and degree of trust results in fruitful or dry interactions. This point identifies the need to look at trust as a socio-spatial concept when researching community building in neighborhoods.

In summary, there is both a theoretical and practical approach to this study to understand the various actors and performances involved in the process of community building in neighborhoods (see Table 2). The theoretical approach of phenomenology analyzes the broad term of community as a concept in people's minds. Through this approach, a general understanding of the concept of community is possible. However, for this study, the actual performance of the community is the topic for the dissertation. A specific topic such as understanding the residents' viewpoint on community building in mixed-use and mixed-income spaces is necessary for this dissertation and it is possible by having a bottom-up approach in the hierarchy of authority. The researcher has the role of understanding the principles that lead to community in peoples' relational spaces. I bring another approach to this study as a planner since I focus on urban planning. Community building, trust and space are all seen from a planning perspective to comprehend the practical implications of these terms in peoples' lives.

Theoretical approach	Practical approach
Phenomenology	Pragmatism
Approach of a researcher	Approach of a planner
Principles of community in relational spaces (ethnomethodology)	Urban dimension of trust in specific situations (situationism)

Table 2: Summary of theoretical and practical approach for this research study

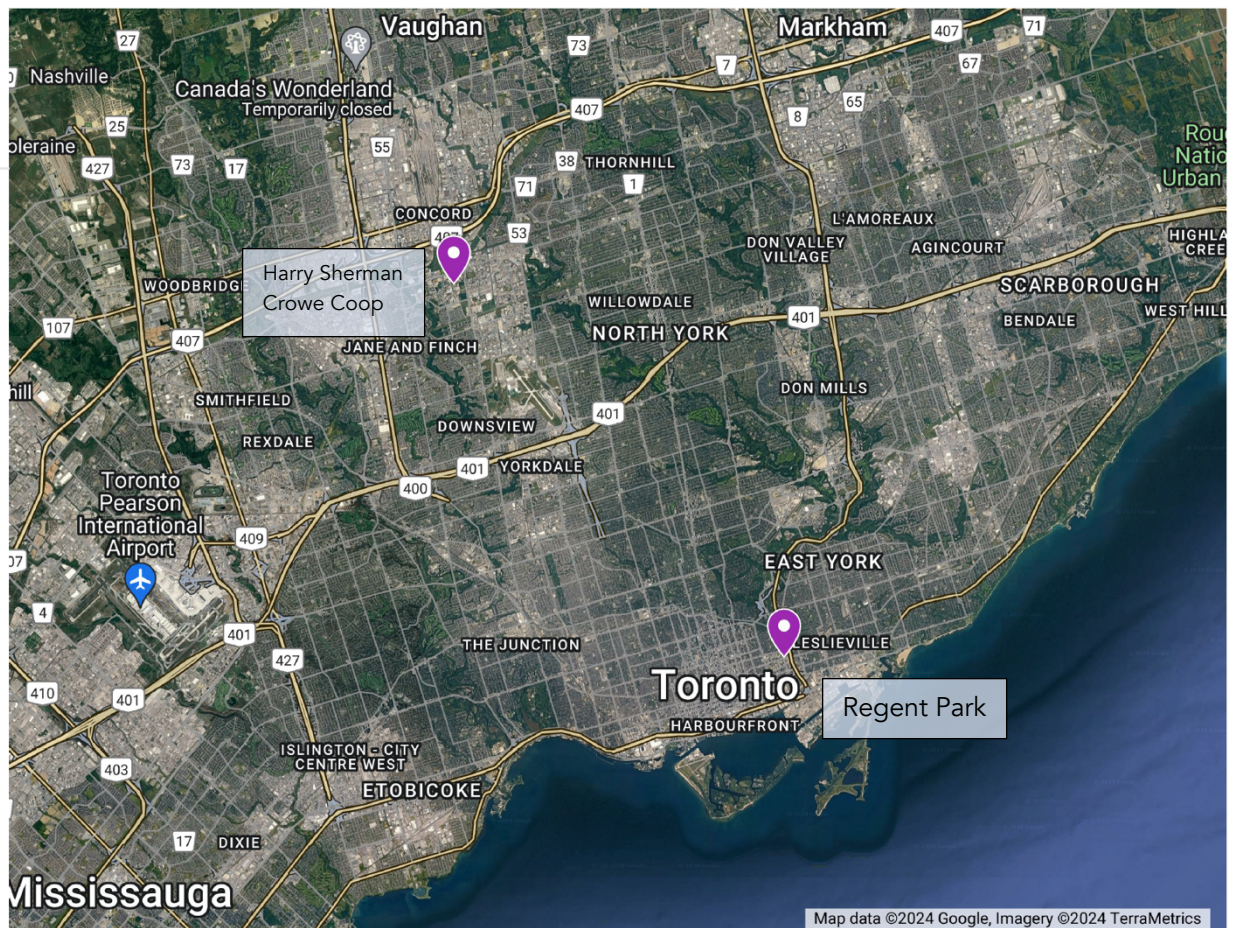
Chapter 4 History and Neighborhood Analysis of Case Study Areas

Toronto was originally the land of Indigenous people and today it is a multicultural city. While Los Angeles and New York are considered “the two American cities with the strongest claims to global city status” (Gladstone et al 2003, 79 qtd. in Pooch 2016, 33), similarly, Toronto is usually seen as the smaller and safer “Canadian copy of New York City” (Rosenthal 2011, 7 qtd. in Pooch 2016, 33). Toronto has the “strongest Canadian claim to a global city status” (Hall 2010, 63 qtd. in Pooch 2016, 33). Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles are prominent because of their ethnic diversity and the numerous waves of immigration, which changes the city population, space, and images (Pooch 2016, 34). Toronto has transformed from an “exclusively white enclave” (Troper 2003, 20 qtd. in Pooch 2016, 79) to the immigrant city and role model of social integration (Pooch 2016, 79). This statement is comparative, since each neighborhood has a different story to tell with regards to social integration; nevertheless, compared to other global cities, Toronto is home to several immigrants from different countries.

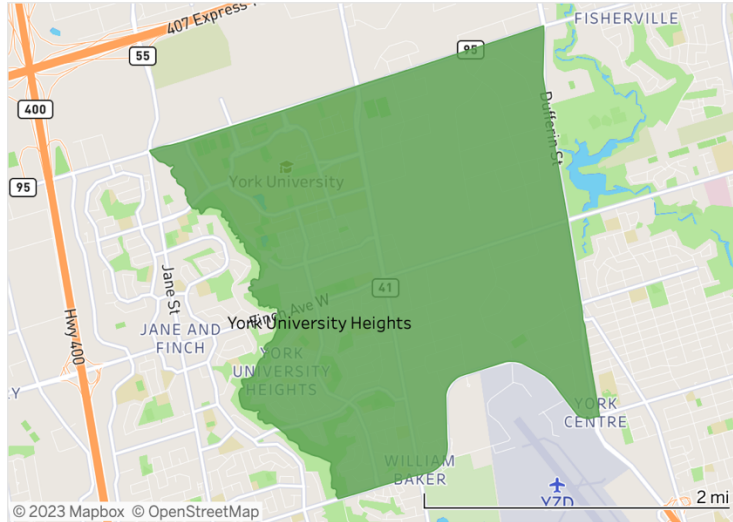
There are two case studies from Toronto for this research: Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and Regent Park. The location of both areas plays a great role in the current situation. Based on the location, there are related urban processes. Moreover, the people, who started living in these areas from the beginning, are there because of the unique stories. At the core of every story is housing, but for some it is to find housing near the university, while others had no choice as immigrants and had to live in public housing arrangements. Housing is seen as having a place to live, but that is not the only point that matters. Proper living conditions are also important, and the design of the house plays a role for sustainable and long-term living. The home, be it in the form of an apartment, townhome, condo, or detached house is the physical structure, but people in the neighborhood are the ones that make social relations in these physical spaces.

While York University is planning a Vision and Strategy that will have mixed-uses within the university neighborhood, Regent Park has implemented mixed-use for over

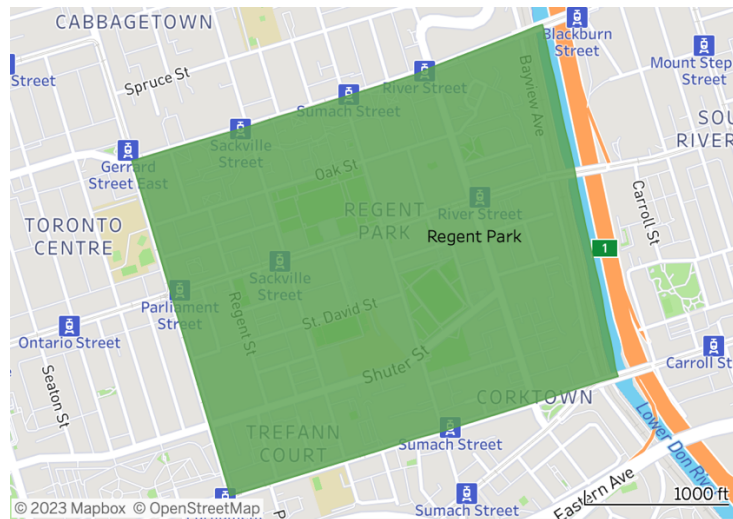
seventeen years. Harry Sherman Crowe Coop can learn lessons from Regent Park and see it as a model, which will help in more effective planning, as it is in the beginning phase right now. The story of Regent Park shows that participatory planning with the help of the Regent Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA) played a prominent role in bringing the residents' voice to the planners. The aspect of storytelling was effectively possible through an official administrative association, such as RPNA. The only difference is that it is for the residents, from the residents, which makes it inclusive and does not present an authoritative figure to residents. Another possible mixed-use solution is through the “creative mixed-use” model that researchers at University of Toronto have implemented with various partners, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.



Map 1b: Map of Toronto with the Two Case Study Indicators



Map 2: Area of York University Heights



Map 3: Area of Regent Park

4.1 Neighborhood Number 1 Harry Sherman Crowe Coop – University Heights



Image 1: Landscape view of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

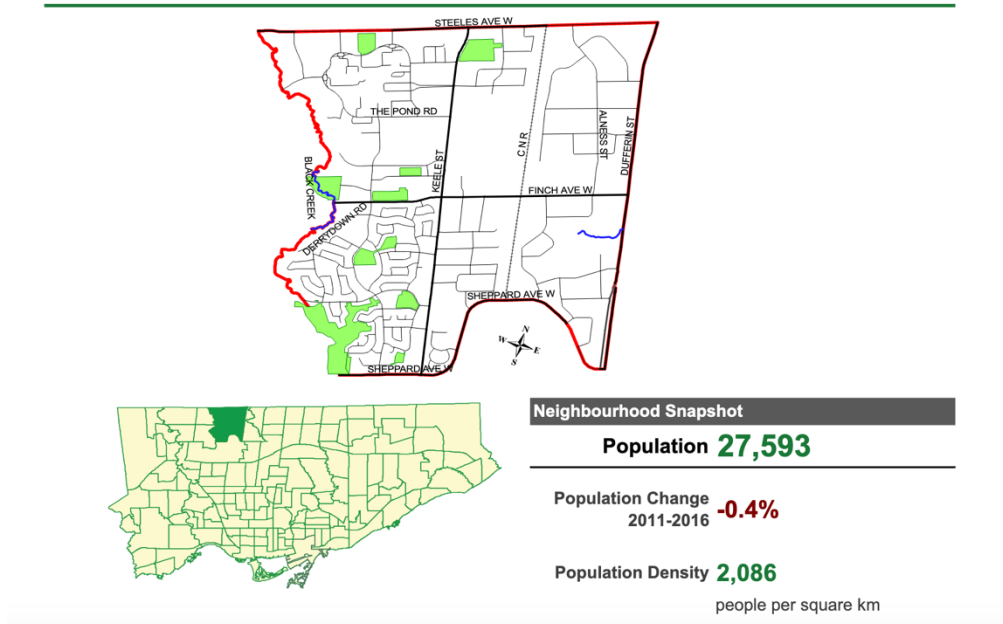


Image 2: Townhomes around south side of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop Building

This neighborhood comprises a building that has eight floors and surrounding the south, east and west side of the building are townhomes. There are thirty-eight townhomes, which means they are not separate complexes, but rather connected. The area in between the building and townhomes has a parking lot and a courtyard where people can gather and sit. On the east side of the building, there is a playground area, with two tiny slides and two swings. There is also greenery surrounding the playground area.

Harry Sherman Crowe Coop building is in the York University Keele campus. The building is located on York University property itself. The land has been leased from York University, which is why the residents of this neighborhood have walkable access to the university facilities. The various land uses are possible through this setting. Harry Sherman Crowe Coop is classified under the “York University Heights” neighborhood on the official City of Toronto website. There is a vast amount of area covered in this neighborhood. It is in the northern part of North York (City of Toronto, Neighborhood Profile Data, 2016). The boundaries of the neighborhood are: Black Creek intersects with Steeles Avenue West, then East on Steele Avenue West to Dufferin Street, then South to Sheppard Avenue West and then it continues back West to Black Creek (City of Toronto, Neighborhood Profile Data, 2016). As of 2016, the population of the York University Heights neighborhood was 27,593.

York University Heights



Map 4: York University Heights Neighborhood Profile

(Taken from Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population)

A brief history about the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop building begins with the name of the building. Harry Sherman Crowe lived from 1922 to 1981. He was affiliated with York University for the last fifteen years of his life as a professor and administrator of Atkinson College (Archives York University, Crowe, 1922-1981). He joined the Atkinson History Department in 1966 as professor and chairman from 1966 to 1969. From 1978 to 1981 he was named dean of college. The coop which is one of the case studies of this research is named after him. Harry Sherman Crowe Coop was originally for people who have an affiliation with York University. Now it is open to all, which is clearly visible with the current condition of the neighborhood. Residents have close access to the university at walking distance.

The coop is part of the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada, where members also cooperatively own the coop, by electing a board of directors to govern and take care of the building's management (Find a Co-op 2023). To live in the coop, potential residents have to apply for membership, where members are expected to take part in coop activities to keep

it as a thriving neighborhood. Harry Sherman Crowe Coop has both rent-geared-to-income units and market-rent units. Both types of people reside within the building. The model of a coop is meant to make members feel part of the community where they look after one another (About Co-op Housing 2023).

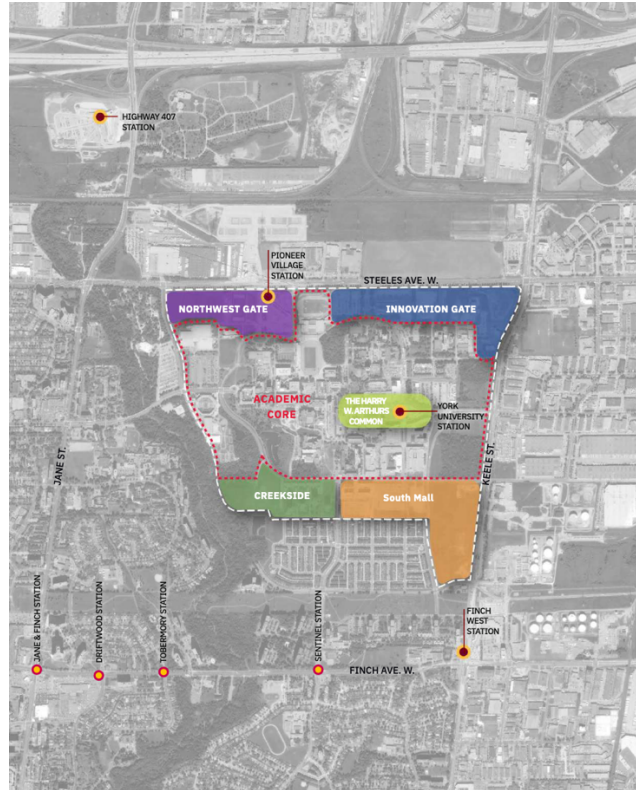
Originally seen as a farmland and York University received its license in 1959 as an affiliate of the University of Toronto (YUDC York Lanes), which is one of the reputed universities in North America. In this way York University's history is interesting because now it is a university on its own with three campuses. In 1962 York University had 474 acres of land in North York (YUDC York Lanes). In 1965 the Keele campus officially opened (YUDC York Lanes). However, there was not enough space, as there was an overflow of students, which resulted in the York University Development Corporation (YUDC).

The Keele campus at York University has a mall named York Lanes, which is also under YUDC. This mall is a less than five-minute walk for the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop. However, this mall was created for students. Since the mall is in such proximity to the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, they also take advantage of this structure. It opened in 1991 and has gone through several changes till today (YUDC York Lanes). The campus has 121,000 sq. ft. and has several places which are categorized under "Restaurants," "Health and Wellness," "Financial Services," "Shops and Services" and the "York University Bookstore" (YUDC York Lanes). There are fifteen places listed under "Restaurants," which consist of both fast food and coffee stores. There are four places under "Health and Wellness," which include a medical center, a dental clinic, an optician, and a drug store. There are two major banks under "Financial Services." Under "Shops and Services" there is a mini grocery store, which has basic items, a salon among others. The design and structure of this setting is like a mall, which is why several residents from the coop come, visit and utilize the services even if they are not students.

York University has a Vision and Strategy for the York University Keele campus, which is the third-largest university in Canada (York University Living Well Together 2021). The goal is to make the Keele campus into an “even more vibrant university community” (York University Living Well Together 2021). “Public investment in the ... Yonge-University subway extension has made Keele campus one of the most accessible locations in the region” (York University Living Well Together 2021). It is linked by transit to Vaughan, Yorkdale and downtown Toronto, and through road connections to Pearson Airport. Due to this accessibility, York University created this Vision and Strategy to make use of the valuable land in the City of Toronto (York University Living Well Together 2021). The document implies improving the sense of community for the people in the area. A university town has powerful space, since it is influential with the status it holds. People living in the neighborhood regardless of if they are students or not can physically access these spaces. Increasing the social capital for residents through the university space can be beneficial for them. This point can lead to positive long-term goals, as residents may be encouraged to obtain university education or participate in other programs at York University campus without being a student through active engagement with the university.

There are two ideas that inform this Vision and Strategy, which are related to this research project as well: “complete community” and “a well-connected campus” (York University Living Well Together 2021). Under “complete community” the goal is to “enhance and expand diverse housing options (including affordable and market-based), supporting uses and employment spaces” (York University Living Well Together 2021). Under “a well-connected campus” the goal is to “connect the campus to the surrounding communities – spatially through an integrated realm, socially through engagement and partnership, and digitally through online platforms” (York University Living Well Together 2021).

The Vision and Strategy focuses on improving four existing neighborhoods in the Keele campus: South Mall, Creekside, Northwest Gate and Innovation Gate (York University Living Well Together 2021). The Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood is in Innovation Gate. Each neighborhood is envisioned with a mixed-use concept, as people will have access to several facilities in a pedestrian-oriented community.



Map 5: Identifying the four areas for the York University Keele Campus Vision and Strategy

(Taken from York University Living Well Together 2021, page 4)

The South Mall precinct will be the downtown, since there will be a medium-intensity residential neighborhood that will have street-level commercial services, with restaurants and cafes, childcare, community space, health-and-wellness services along with commercial space (York University Living Well Together 2021). The housing options consist of student housing, affordability options, including housing for faculty and staff, live-work options along with senior housing. There seems to be a plan for different types of housing. With past experiences, such as stories from Regent Park, in such plans the space ends up getting gentrified, and the focus tends to drift from affordable housing. For this Vision and Strategy, initial feedback is obtained from the industry and potential partners, who have an enthusiasm for a mixed-use neighborhood with a focus on housing (York University Living Well Together 2021).

Creekside is a lower-intensity neighborhood, which will also have housing options, as planned in the Vision and Strategy. Since it has a Maloca Community Garden, community

members can grow their own food, have outdoor events and there are opportunities to accommodate for a range of health and wellness services, such as activities, including yoga, educational workshops, and fitness classes (York University Living Well Together 2021). These are all elements that encourages community building, but with the current presence of these spaces, the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop can identify the current situation.

The Northwest Gate precinct has the Pioneer Village Subway Station, which provides the first developmental opportunities within the Vision and Strategy. As this space has close proximity to the subway station, it has the potential to attract several residents, which can enliven the space on weekends, evenings and summer months (York University Living Well Together 2021). According to the Vision and Strategy, there can be several housing options that can serve to a variety of incomes and lifestyles with rental buildings, townhomes, mid-rise apartment buildings and condominiums with a focus on mixed-use residential community (York University Living Well Together 2021). The Vision and Strategy has a plan to incorporate more spaces, such as indoor and outdoor recreation spaces, which will also have recreational spaces (York University Living Well Together 2021). The point is to make this space available to the larger community as well. As this is a Vision and Strategy, the current residents of this area can speak to the practical possibility of such an idea.

In the Northwest Gate neighborhood, the Vision and Strategy outlines the benefit of having York University relationships, since creative partnerships are possible, which can bring Canadian artists to the world (York University Living Well Together 2021). This collaboration can strengthen a community of researchers, academics, artists, and technologists who focus on creative exploration. Empowering local talent is a goal that York University can add in their Vision and Strategy, as this is one of the goals in the revitalization process of Regent Park.

The Innovation Gate is where Harry Sherman Crowe Coop is located, and it is envisioned as an ideal place for experiential learning. This space has convenient access to both the York University and Pioneer Village subway stations, other services, and amenities

in the university, which enhances market desirability (York University Living Well Together 2021). The residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop actively use these spaces daily and their valuable input is necessary in implementing the Vision and Strategy.

In the Vision and Strategy, there is an acknowledgment that the lands are there for academic infrastructure and can be sold or leased to increase revenue (York University Living Well Together 2021). Nonetheless, greater value can be achieved if the development creates complete, vibrant, safe, and functional communities that benefit students, faculty instructors and the wider population (York University Living Well Together 2021). There is a clear focus on integrating the people living near the university through a mixed-use model, as they can physically access the various spaces. The main point of inquiry is if the people also feel that they can socially access the space without having admission or a job in the university. York University can learn from the practical outcomes of the revitalization process and how and who it is benefitting. As the Vision and Strategy is a plan that will be implemented in two to three decades, there are several neighborhoods that can serve as examples. In many neighborhoods, especially in Regent Park the focus has now been on hearing the participants' stories and ideas through participatory planning, since the residents can present their say in the decision-making process.

4.2 Neighborhood Number 2: Regent Park

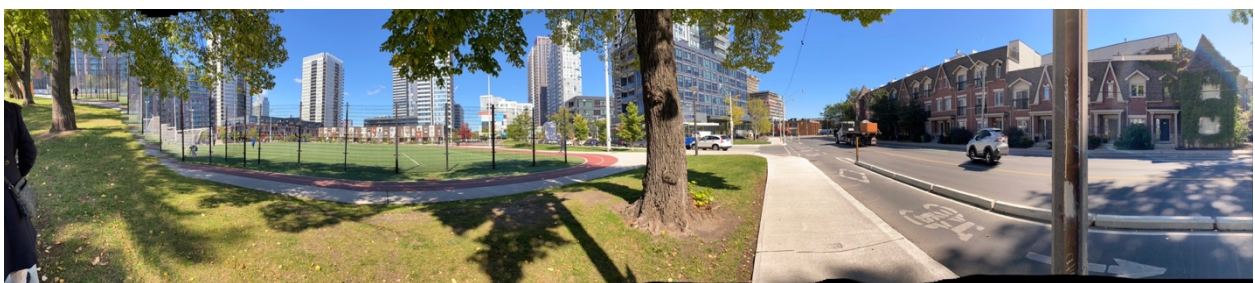
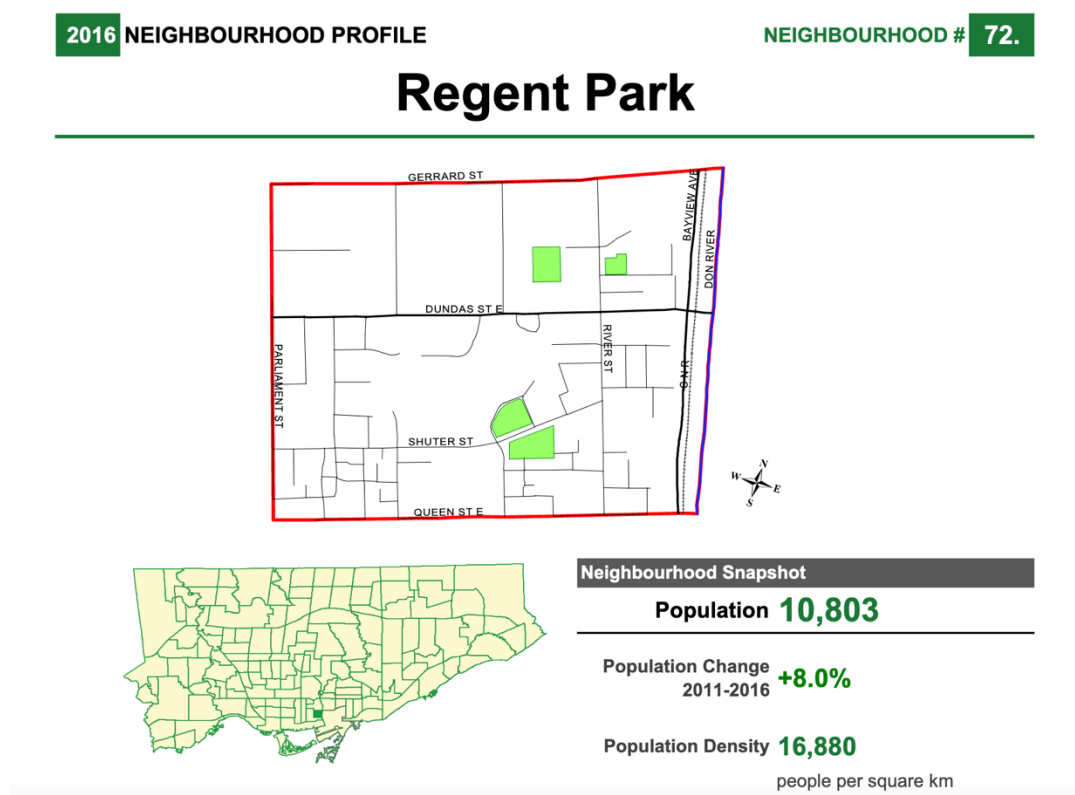


Image 3: Landscape view of Regent Park

Regent Park is in Old Toronto and is bordered by Parliament Street to the west, Gerrard Street to the north, Shuter Street to the south and River Street to the east (Loney, Background: Toronto's Regent Park, June 13, 2012). Earlier the area was known as

Cabbagetown due to the vegetables grown on front lawns in the area. However, now “Cabbagetown” refers to the wealthier area of north of Regent Park (Loney, Background: Toronto’s Regent Park, June 13, 2012). Regent Park is Canada’s oldest social housing project and the original Cabbagetown was established in the 1840s (Loney, Background: Toronto’s Regent Park, June 13, 2012). It was populated mainly by Irish immigrants and turned into one of Toronto’s most rundown neighbourhoods (Loney, Background: Toronto’s Regent Park, June 13, 2012). Following the First World War the neighbourhood continued to become impoverished and shortly after the Second World War city officials decided to clear the slums (Loney, Background: Toronto’s Regent Park, June 13, 2012).



Map 6: Regent Park Neighborhood Profile

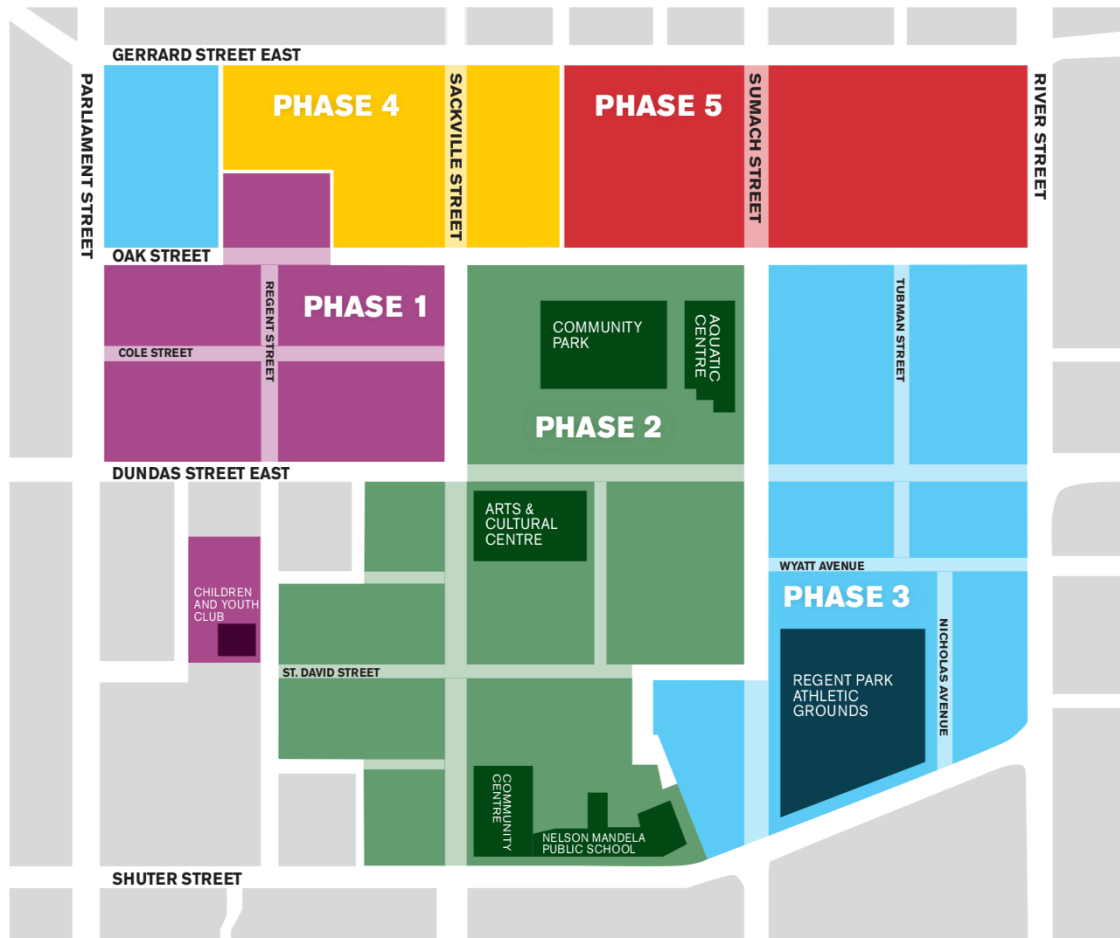
(Taken from City of Toronto, Social Policy, Analysis and Research, Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population)

A brief history of Regent Park begins in 1996 when Mike Harris’ provincial government stopped social housing developments in Toronto and transferred public housing administration to municipalities (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). During the same period, the U.S. government adopted the “HOPE VI” program under the Clinton

Administration in 1993. This program resulted in the demolition of the housing projects, which led to segregation especially for Black residents (Regent Park Progress Report 2021).

The Regent Park neighborhood, built originally in 1948 in Toronto is Canada's oldest and largest social housing development (Bucerius et al. 2017). In 2002, Toronto Community Housing (TCH), which is North America's largest public housing landlord, had the task to rebuild Regent Park (Meagher 2003). It was originally seen as "transitional housing" for newcomers to Canada, but now it has become home to many people (Purdy 2003). The revitalization was approved by council in 2005 and it was a "financial gamble," since TCH was able to find a development partner that can develop condos and townhomes (Regent Park Progress Report 2021).

There is a total of five phases for the revitalization of Regent Park. The built form is typical of downtown Toronto, where many market high-rises have retail stores on the first floor (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). Phase 1 and 2 is in the southern quadrant of Regent Park, which consists of two-and three-storey townhouses (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). In 2006, the actual construction of phase 1 began by The Daniels Corporation, which is a block bounded by Parliament, Dundas, Sackville and Oak Street (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). Phase 2 covers the area from Oak, Sackville and Sumach, along with Dundas south to Shuter (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). Both TCH and The Daniels Corporation focused on adding density that would allow the development of a community cultural hub and a new central park (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). Phase 3 is in the south-eastern quadrant where a joint venture was put to a halt (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). Phases 4 and 5 is underway and is in the northeast quadrant along Gerrard and River Street (Regent Park Progress Report 2021).



Map 7: Phases of Revitalization in Regent Park

(Taken from Regent Park Progress Report 2021)

Regent Park is undergoing revitalization through the social mix and mixed-use model, where not only land uses are mixed, but also people of varying incomes will be placed together in this neighborhood. That is for the original social housing residents who are displaced to other social housing areas in the city until their homes in Regent Park are demolished and rebuilt (Bucierius et al. 2017). However, social housing units will be cut from 100% to 44% (Bucierius et al. 2017). For the past few decades several policy interventions were made due to concerns about “high concentrations of poverty, social isolation, neighborhood safety and the physical deterioration of public housing stock” (Bucierius et al. 2017, 2). The policy interventions are planned to make the situation of the residents better, yet these policies lead to some drawbacks. For instance, in initial plans, the number of nonmarket to market housing units was envisioned to be a ratio of 40:60, and a change was

made during the second rezoning process which shifted the ratio to 30:70 (Brail et al. 2023, 6). Since there was not enough funding provided by higher levels of government, local governments need to rely on leveraging property development to rebuild the public housing units, which is known as financialization (Brail et al. 2023, 2). However, government has focused on the importance of providing residents with community benefits and social infrastructure, especially to those who lack power and resources, which is possible by planners and other municipal workers taking action (Brail et al. 2023, 5). The Social Development Plan (SDP) was also created during the revitalization process and TCH along with the City's Social Development, Finance and Administration Division helped in developing the SDP. The SDP is a document that outlines community-focused priorities for the residents, and it was made with the acknowledgment that the physical redevelopment is not sufficient on its own to provide the support needed for the public housing residents (Brail et al. 2023, 9).

Advocates of the social mix model argue that in neighborhoods like Regent Park, it can affect the "upward social mobility of poor residents" (Bucarius et al. 2017, 2). "The hope is that interactions with middle-income residents transfer social capital, mainstream norms and values, and opportunities for upward mobility" (Bucarius et al. 2017, 2). The original residents of Regent Park have misunderstandings due to a lack of communication that the new condominiums, which are for people buying them on market rent, are of better quality than the ones they have (Bucarius et al. 2017). This thought goes against the concept of the social mix strategy, because both the social housing units and market units should be constructed in the same way (Bucarius et al. 2017).

Social mix has negative reviews, since in some cases, higher income residents try to minimize their social ties between themselves (including their children) and lower-income residents (Tach 2009). In this way those residents may choose to not participate in the mixed income community events, which brings a drawback to the social mix model. It also goes against the concept of building community, as this difference may create group formation in the neighborhood. There are also chances of a "bipolar community," (Barmak January 19, 2008) since the built environment promotes such a concept. There are visible divisions in

Regent Park because social housing units are usually concentrated in a building or a block, rather than there being a mix between both market and social housing in one building complex or block (Bucerius et al. 2017). Such design elements can also impact trust relations between the different residents, which has a direct impact on community building.

Several scholars have examined the relationship between people's age and the use of space, where they believe that young people tend to frequently use local spaces more, such as parks, community centers, sports clubs, schools, etc. as compared to the older population who typically spend the day outside of the neighborhood boundaries, due to their work or leisure (Bucerius et al. 2017). This is an interesting point that spaces are used differently by various age groups for different purposes, and that also adds to the meanings that they attach to their relational space. There was a strong sense of community among young residents, before the revitalization as several young residents explained (Johnson and Schippling 2011). They were aware of the negative image that Regent Park had, the problems with physical infrastructure, crime, and vandalism, yet they still feel a strong sense of community (ibid). Their main emphasis was on a close-knit community since members knew each other. This point seems to be important that neighbors need to know each other to build community.

Revitalization has brought several new amenities in Regent Park, which include a grocery store, bistro, coffee shop. However, there are not many opportunities for interaction in these spaces, because they are mainly for middle-class residents or are seen as "middle-class establishments" (Bucerius et al. 2017, 13). Moreover, there is a new aquatic center, that city planners believed would be the center of "cross-class interaction", yet it is seen negatively by the original, young residents of Regent Park (ibid). The original residents pointed out that the "old Regent Park" was an outdoor pool and free of charge, while the aquatic center has limited timings and until recently charged an entrance fee (ibid). The entrance fee was removed because several residents protested about having the entrance fees (ibid). The original residents felt a change in the space, which affected their sense of community.

Some see Regent Park as lacking “third spaces” that could lead to interaction, which is why they do not seem to be happy with the social component of the revitalization (Bucerius et al. 2017). Usually, schools and day-care centers are seen as important spaces that promote social interaction, exchange of information and social capital (Small 2009). However, in Regent Park most of the residential options consist of one- and two-bedroom condominiums, and due to space constraints, the middle-class families with children will most likely need to move. This factor is also seen as a barrier in community building since people will not even get to know each other properly yet and end up moving.

Market units are sold in Regent Park and that provides the landlord, TCH, with the financial capital to replace social housing. With economic stability in the neighborhood, it is beneficial in both economic and social terms. This point indicates that a neighborhood’s economic stability leads to social stability, which is fundamental for future community building. It is beneficial to policy makers, because it reduces concentrated poverty, yet it reinforces paternalistic, classist and even racist concepts, due to the racial composition in many lower-income neighborhoods (Bucerius et al. 2017). However, in such a financialized neighborhood, such as in Regent Park community benefits and social infrastructure cannot come on its own, but rather they must be prioritized, funded, and measured (Brail et al 2023, 10).

In theory, the concept of social mix is supposed to lead to improved socio-economic conditions for low-income residents by sharing information and resources between people of different socio-economic status, along with a stronger sense of social control through greater accountability among the community members, positive behavior change due to role modelling and mentorship between people of different socio-economic status (Joseph et al. 2007). In this way it seems like a social mix option is the solution to all the stakeholders’ problems. In practice, social mixed housing policy does result in place-based improvements, such as new neighborhood amenities, however, there are not such strong social networks for low-income residents (Brail and Kumar 2017, 6). The reason is that there is not much mixing or interaction between community members of different socio-economic backgrounds (ibid). The new and old residents participate unevenly in activities, because

some residents are not interested in creating strong ties with one another due to their varying lifestyles and priorities (Brail and Kumar 2017). This point reinforces the concept of us versus them, which further strengthens boundaries rather than dissolving these boundaries in spaces.

Regent Park has a Social Development Plan (SDP), which was developed through community consultations to make sure that social inclusion and social cohesion of residents is kept throughout the Regent Park revitalization process (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). After ten years of revitalization the plan is being refreshed, which is initiated and managed by Toronto Community Housing (TCH) along with City of Toronto (ibid). From a physical perspective, rebuilding is now in Phase 3 while Phases 4 and 5 have to start (ibid). Previously, Regent Park only consisted of social housing, but now it is a mixed-income neighborhood with market buildings and Toronto Community Housing (TCH) buildings. The important point is that the Refreshed SDP is based on the feedback of Regent Park residents who were a part of the “10-Year Lessons Learned” process in December 2016 (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). Organizations, City divisions and social service agencies also had an input in the Refreshed SDP (ibid).

The original SDP consists of an outline that explains how to have a successful community, which means it provides a “blueprint” (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). The Revitalization of Regent Park has a “two-track approach” which includes a “Physical Development Plan” and a “Social Development Plan” (ibid). It is monitored through the Toronto City Council, which shows that with the help of authorities in this matter it is easier to execute such ideas of community building. The Physical Development Plan focuses on the streets, parks, facilities, and housing, while the Social Development Plan focuses on social improvements that are needed to achieve the goal of building community. To obtain genuine revitalization, “both physical and social changes are essential” (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). This identifies the clear link between the physical environment and the social wellbeing of a person. Space clearly has an impact on people and people also have an impact on space, as they decide how to create the space.

The Refreshed SDP has the same idea as the initial SDP, which is on the concept of “social inclusion” and “social cohesion” (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). Social inclusion focuses on the idea of everyone in the neighborhood being accepted and respected, while social cohesion focuses on neighborhoods being held together through networks of personal relationships which cross boundaries of “ethnicity, religion and income” (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). This definition suggests that community is formed when a person crosses these various societal boundaries. The Refreshed SDP reflects the residents’ lived experiences, as they are the main actors in the spaces. There is an emphasis on experiences, which is possible by being a part of those spaces, on a continuous basis. A pragmatic approach is important in defining issues that actors have in social processes.

As outlined in the previous chapter, participatory planning is needed to build neighborhoods for residents. Their voice needs to be included to have effective plans. Whereas the Vision and Strategy in York University, is in the early stages of planning, the SDP, in Regent Park, is implemented in the last ten years, and now there is a refreshed version of it as well. In Regent Park, residents are asked about their views for plans, which is possible through working groups. The context of each neighborhood is different and that is why some planning approaches may work in one area but may not work in another. The Regent Park neighborhood has made four working groups under the SDP which are: Employment, Community Building, Safety and Communication. The plan outlines how to create a thriving community, by focussing on the issues under these four working groups. In order to obtain genuine revitalization, both physical and social changes are necessary (Refreshed Regent Park Social Development Plan 2018). This point speaks directly to the theoretical framework of this study, that we make social spaces around us through our interactions in the spaces available to us.

There seems to be a connection between residents’ interaction and the existence of authorities. To combat this phenomenon, a key change is that in the redevelopment process of Regent Park, a Social Development Plan (SDP) is initiated, which focuses on community engagement. It is developed through consultation with residents, staff, board members, local

businesses, and local institutions, such as schools (Brail and Kumar 2017). There is also a special Community Engagement Team that worked with the residents. The impact of social changes taking place through the SDP is not as obvious as the physical changes. There is an emphasis on revitalizing the community, which required residents to be engaged in the redevelopment process. Participatory planning clearly has positive impacts for community building in the neighborhood.

In one research by Brail et al., interview responses show that there are three themes about the ways in which community engagement is embedded in the redevelopment process (2017). Firstly, pre-existing relationships with other residents, non-profit organizations and Toronto Community Housing (TCH) formed the ways in which individuals and groups interact with the redevelopment process (Brail and Kumar 2017). Efforts for community building in the neighborhood varies based on time and place (ibid). This point shows that community building is situational. Community building is also a changing process that involves learning (ibid). Secondly, institutions in Regent Park demonstrate a community strength (ibid). Thirdly, community initiatives are focused on the formal and informal development of leadership skills, which is an important component for perceived community engagement (ibid). Associations in Regent Park are trying to make the social mix model a positive aspect for all the residents by focussing on the matters that create the us versus them divide.

The story of Regent Park includes violence, revitalization, displacement, racism, gentrification, and class conflicts (Toronto Ward Museum 2020). Regent Park is Canada's first and largest public housing development (ibid). Media portrayed the image of Regent Park as a site of poverty along with violence and other negative social activities (ibid). This resulted in non-residents avoiding the area, which in turn made a more "insular community" (ibid). This is one of the unique aspects of the Regent Park neighbourhood. The Revitalization Plan, which began in 2005 and is still undergoing different phases has resulted in various stories from displacement to neighbourhood change.

4.3 Statistical Comparison between York University and Regent Park

The City of Toronto has an online platform where it is possible to compare the neighborhood profile data of two neighborhoods. It provides data on various factors, such as population according to gender and age, household type, housing, commuting, language, immigration, income, and education and labour (see Table 3). I used this tool to obtain information on York University Heights and Regent Park to have a general context of both areas.

The definitions of some terms based on the City of Toronto's database, used in Table 3, is provided here to be able to understand the data.

Male/female ratio: "the number of males per 100 females in the selected neighborhoods" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

Household size: "the average (mean) number of persons in private households in the area" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

1 person households: "the percentage of private households containing one person" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

Unsuitable Housing: "the percentage of private households in dwellings with insufficient bedrooms according to their size and composition. Suitability is defined by the National Occupancy Standard and is one component of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's (CMHC) Core Housing Need indicator" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

Unaffordable Housing: "the percentage of private households spending more than 30 per cent of their total household income on shelter costs. This is another component of CMHC's Core Housing Need" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

Inadequate Housing: "the percentage of private households in dwellings that are in need of major repairs. This is another component of CMHC's Core Housing Need" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

Median household income: "the median total income for private households in 2015" (Social Policy, Analysis and Research 2022).

The neighborhood profile data for both neighborhoods has been collected online from City of Toronto based on Statistics Canada data from 2016. For housing, York University Heights has 54.7% renter households, while Regent Park has 74.6% (see Table 3). There are more rental households in Regent Park, which may be due to the revitalization in the area. The rate of unaffordable housing is almost the same in both neighborhoods, with York University Heights at 40.2% and Regent Park at 39.5%. This comparison clearly indicates that the housing unaffordability situation seems to be similar throughout Toronto. The average number of people in private households in the York University Heights neighborhood is 2.7 and in Regent Park it is 2.2. In comparison, there are more people living in private households in the York University Heights neighborhood than the Regent Park neighborhood. These numbers explain other comparisons as well, such as there are 26.2% one-person households in York University Heights, while there are 43.1% one-person households. Based on these numbers, it seems that there are more people living on their own in the Regent Park neighborhood. There are significantly more seniors living alone in the Regent Park neighborhood as well since there are 42.0% in Regent Park and 20.3% in York University Heights. This finding may be because in the Regent Park neighborhood there are senior homes that were specially made during the revitalization process, yet in the York University Heights neighborhood there are not a significant number of senior homes. Furthermore, the York University Heights neighborhood has a university, which may also explain the number of seniors living in the area. The median household income for York University Heights is \$54K and for Regent Park it is \$42K. The difference in the incomes may be because Regent Park was a public housing development, and some original residents still live in the area. The housing situation is changing in both neighborhoods with new construction of different kinds of housing.

Another interesting comparison is that the percentage for bachelor's degree or higher is greater in Regent Park than York University Heights, although York University Heights is a university neighborhood. These numbers identify that not that many students at York University live in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop. Also, the numbers reflect the age groups living in the area. The unemployment rate is not significantly different, but it is higher in York University Heights at 10.7%, while in Regent Park it is at 9.6%. This scenario may be the case,

because with the revitalization in Regent Park, there may be more employment opportunities. Mixed-use spaces can create more employment opportunities for residents within their neighborhood, which can positively impact community building.

Snapshot	At a Glance	Families	Language	Income	Hhlds Stats	Immigration	Housing	Diversity	Work
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At a Glance (2/10)

The **At a Glance (2/10)** dashboard uses 0 visualizations and few text containers to provide information about population in the selected neighbourhoods. Use the **Select a Neighbourhood 1** control to choose a neighbourhood and the **Select a Neighbourhood 2** control to compare a second neighbourhood.

Census 2021 data is being released throughout the year 2022 by Statistics Canada and will be made available at a later date.

Select a Neighbourhood 1			Select a Neighbourhood 2		
York University Heights (27)			Regent Park (72)		
Population			Language		
	Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2		Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2
Population	27.6K	10.8K	Mother tongue not English	55.7%	53.8%
Male/female ratio	97.8	102.7	Home language not English	37.9%	38.0%
Dependency ratio	50.9	41.1	Multiple languages at home	12.0%	10.2%
Population change	-0.4%	8.0%	No knowledge of English	5.2%	6.3%
Male	49.4%	50.7%	Immigration		
Female	50.5%	49.4%		Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2
Children Age 0-14	14.7%	15.3%	Immigrants	56.5%	46.9%
Youth Age 15-24	17.4%	16.6%	Recent immigrants	10.4%	5.2%
Working Age 25-64	55.1%	61.4%	Non-permanent reside..	6.1%	2.9%
Seniors Age 65+	12.8%	6.7%	Visible minority popula..	69.4%	70.0%
Households			Second generation	27.9%	30.1%
	Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2	Aboriginal identity	0.1%	0.2%
Household size	2.7	2.2	Canadian citizens	78.1%	87.7%
Private households	10.2K	5.0K	Income		
Married (age 15+)	39.0%	31.1%		Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2
1 person households	26.2%	43.1%	Median household income	\$54K	\$42K
Seniors living alone	20.3%	42.0%	Median family income	\$63K	\$53K
Housing			Median FT (FY) work income	\$43K	\$50K
	Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2	Without income	5.5%	5.9%
Renter households	54.7%	74.6%	Income from govt transfers	17.1%	14.7%
Ground-related housing	45.5%	27.4%	LIM-AT (18 to 65 years)	24.0%	37.0%
5+ storey apartments	54.5%	72.6%	Low income (LIM-AT)	24.3%	42.3%
Unsuitable housing	21.2%	15.9%	Low income (LICO-AT)	23.1%	35.2%
Unaffordable housing	40.2%	39.5%	Education & Labour		
Inadequate housing	8.1%	9.7%		Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2
Commuting			Bachelor's degree or higher	23.6%	34.2%
	Neighbourhood 1	Neighbourhood 2	Unemployment rate	10.7%	9.6%
Public transit to work	42.3%	47.4%	Participation rate	63.0%	62.6%
> 1 hour commutes	24.2%	13.0%	Full-time/full-year workers	45.4%	45.4%

Table 3: Neighborhood Profile Data of York University Heights and Regent Park from City of Toronto 2016
(City of Toronto, Social Policy, Analysis and Research, Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population)

4.4 A Current Form of Mixed-use in Toronto: Creative Mixed-use at University of Toronto

With the current landscape of Toronto, a mixed-use solution is a creative mixed-use model which uses existing infrastructure. There are examples of mixed-use in America such as, affordable housing above libraries in Chicago and in YMCAs in Washington, mixing for stations with commercial office space in Chapel Hill or housing in Alexandria and having schools in residential towers in New York and Honolulu (Geva and Siemiatycki 2023). As Toronto shares spatial traits with many U.S. cities, mixed-use is increasing in Toronto as well (ibid). Examples in Toronto include condominiums above schools or homeless shelters, a court building above a public market (ibid). This development type is termed “creative mixed-use,” (ibid) because there is not a specific formula, but rather each building has its own unique formation. The focus is on the partnerships between different stakeholders that results in the mixed-use building. In this way, it is not that creative mixed-use buildings are better than the concept of mixed-use, but rather it is using existing infrastructure and making it possible through partnerships between public and private sectors. When making a neighborhood into a mixed-use space, it requires building new infrastructure and sometimes even revitalization like with the case of Regent Park. As a result, creative mixed-use is making use of infrastructure that is already available.

The idea of creative mixed-use addressing the issue of housing unaffordability is questioned (Moos et al. 2018). Mostly, the idea of gentrification and class difference is emphasized. With creative mixed-use, partnerships are encouraged, which is beneficial since partners can collaboratively achieve goals. However, there are issues that partners need to deal with, such as trust building, competing aims and power imbalances (Geva and Siemiatycki 2023).

The Infrastructure Institute in the School of Cities at University of Toronto is working on the idea of “creative mixed-use,” which is an innovative approach to space. The creative mixed-use approach brings public and private uses together in creative ways, which places unexpected partners in the same area (School of Cities 2022). There is a rise in urban

development, and since it is challenging to build mixed-use from scratch, the Infrastructure Institute is focusing on different areas in Toronto where there is potential to mix uses in a building, which will be beneficial.

Matti Siemiatycki, the leader of this project sees this concept as “good planning and a way to accelerate what’s really needed for cities” (School of Cities 2022). He believes that “integration of public benefit into development is really the core of the model (ibid). Now the goal is to do mixed-use “intentionally,” since in the past it has happened by coincidence or as a “last resort” (ibid).

There is also an emphasis on the social purpose being put at the center of the rebuilding effort (School of Cities 2022). The point is to provide social services in the spaces available. In a way it is an attempt to make the best use of the space available. Nevertheless, the more important speculation is that who is benefitting from this model? Who has access to this space? The goal is to have community benefits in planning terms, which is to have spaces, such as a community recreation centre, that has space available to encourage community building. In social terms, community building is different, because it is influenced by many political, economic, and social factors, which then impacts residents. As a result, the creative mixed-use model may be creating power imbalances, since the residents who live in the areas that are being implemented in a creative mixed-use model do not seem to have the chance to participate in the planning process. It is more of a partnership between the implementers where residents are affected by the decisions. The creative mixed-use model deals with creating public and private partnerships to make mixed-use possible, yet the focus is not on the residents’ community building in residential uses.

Chapter 5 Analysis and Discussion of Data

Interviews and surveys were conducted with residents, neighborhood association staff, board members and planning officials from both neighborhoods, along with team members from the Infrastructure Institute at University of Toronto. An outline of the current issue in cities which is a loss of community and trust is important to note in order to have possible solutions. The commodification of the housing market has an impact on this scenario as well. Examples of current practice of mixed-use in Regent Park provides the first-hand experiences of residents and how such an environment is working for them or not. These lessons can help neighborhoods that are planning to officially become mixed-use neighborhoods, such as the York University Keele campus. The residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop present suggestions for policy makers, planners, and developers. Moreover, the team members of the creative mixed-use at University of Toronto have ideas as well. All of these factors affect peoples' relational nature of trust and space, since these concepts continue to form with peoples' lived experiences.

In the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop building several residents who lived in the building for over two decades seem to be talking about a time where everyone was connected and had this sense of community. They focus on a present state where residents are not as connected. There seems to be a loss of community among the residents, as they are not interacting as much as they once did, and programs are also at a decline. The consequences of COVID-19 add to this dilemma. Spaces are available but are not being used to their full potential. This point clearly indicates that the meaning people attach to these spaces has changed, due to various dynamics in the neighborhood. There is a loss of a sense of community and trust among the residents.

Through the commodification of housing, people seem to be losing trust among others and especially with policymakers, planners, and developers. Where people have a fear of losing their homes, they develop distrust. For instance, several residents in Regent Park got displaced through the revitalization process due to global real estate market pressures. The institutions that took away their safe haven, which is supposed to be their homes, have

implanted distrust among the residents. Now the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop may face these challenges as well since the area is urbanizing with subway stations. The Vision and Strategy for the Keele campus at York University may affect these residents. An atmosphere of distrust is harmful because peoples' trust in just and safe neighborhoods and cities is undermined (Gerhard and Keller 2023). When people have a secure place to stay, they can have stability in other areas of their lives, such as becoming active members of their communities (Gerhard and Keller 2023). Neighborhood associations may provide the residents with the platform to voice their opinions and encourage them to become active members of society, since this is a level of authority that they can likely trust and become a part of.

5.1 Examples of Current Practice of Mixed-use in Regent Park

Regent Park residents have been experiencing mixed-use for a few years now. I received twenty-two complete online survey responses on Limesurvey from the residents of Regent Park. Most of the residents who completed the survey lived in the neighborhood for less than five years. The second highest responses came from residents who have lived in the neighborhood for ten to twenty years. About seventeen from twenty-two residents live with their family. An interesting point is that sixteen residents identify themselves with their neighborhood, and seventeen residents would miss the neighborhood if they had to move. Many residents seem to have a connection with the Regent Park neighborhood, where they either enjoy the company of other residents or the various spaces available.

In Regent Park there is another dimension to the story, since it is not only a mixed-use neighborhood, but also a mixed-income neighborhood. Both market-income and Toronto Community Housing (TCH) residents live in the same neighborhood with the same facilities at a walking distance. The issue is of access, because each resident may not feel that they can access the spaces, although it is physically nearby. Then why do people feel they cannot access the spaces? It is due to the way societies form. It is due to the ideologies that are enforced upon members of society. Policymakers and authoritative structures enforce these ideologies through their policies, which then influences the way people function in

spaces. For instance, Pooja, who is the Regent Park Neighborhood Association Community Coordinator, explains that there are four working groups under the Social Development Plan, which are: community safety, employment and economic development, community building and communication. The community building group focuses on making sure that all residents get access to the various spaces, such as recreational spaces, especially for the TCH residents.

Empowering residents is the way to make them feel that they belong in their neighborhood, which has an impact on improving their community building. The other working groups are communication, safety, and economic/employment. The communication group keeps information about events and programs apparent, for residents to have the required information to participate. This aspect helps in developing trust among residents, since the goal of this group is to not keep information hidden from residents. Then it is also important to take safety into consideration, so that the residents feel motivated to take part in community building. For instance, the safety working group has partnered with the Toronto Police, where they attend meetings and install security cameras. Moreover, there are programs for the residents, such as a mental health program and speaking with confidence, which is to help residents. These are all types of safety measures that the working group is trying to implement for the residents. The last working group is economic/employment, which focuses on prioritizing employment opportunities for residents in Regent Park. For instance, if there is a job opportunity, then the first preference is given to residents, instead of someone from outside the neighborhood. This model has four working groups, which helps the social and economic development of the community. The residents volunteer in these working groups and connect with other authorities to help residents. It is important to note, that residents need to feel that they belong, in order to focus on community building.

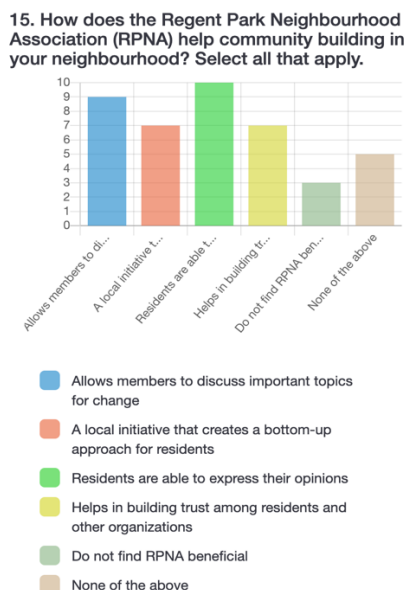
5.1.1 Residents' Trust in Regent Park Neighborhood Association and its Community Benefits

Another point to note is that all these endeavors are not possible without funding. Through the SDP, the neighborhood has grant funding for the four working groups which

were mentioned above, and they encourage residents to express their ideas, which also develops a sense of community. Being involved is important after feeling empowered to have a strong sense of community. The residents are working together towards common goals, and that enables them to connect with other residents. RPNA functions as an “anchor” as Pooja explains, where they are at the top and advocate for the SDP. This point indicates that authority is needed to guide people, and this association is made with the residents themselves.

The Regent Park Neighborhood Association (RPNA) advocates for community benefits since several developers are working on phases four and five of the revitalization. They make sure that something is being done for the community, because the developers are profiting from the revitalization. Old government buildings are being transformed into modern condos, that will have not only the residents from these old buildings, but also market-rent residents. For instance, the RPNA advocates that the developers allocate some budget for the community, as Pooja described. The RPNA is there to support residents, to prevent authoritative figures, such as the developers who are revitalizing their neighborhood, from dominating the spaces. Through the presence of the RPNA, residents have an authoritative figure that they can trust, who speaks for their wellbeing. From the perspective of residents, they believe that the RPNA helps them voice their opinion (see Graph 1 below). Most residents can express their opinions with the help of RPNA, which is needed for positive community building. Residents need to have that confidence where they can express their ideas and not be judged. Many residents said that they believe the RPNA allows them to discuss important topics for change. As a result, residents feel empowered in these spaces, which has a positive impact on their community building. A neighborhood association provides that authority where they can guide residents and let them feel welcomed to express their ideas, but also strive to make sure that the residents are treated fairly in the neighborhood. Based on the survey results, some residents feel that the RPNA helps in building trust among residents and other organizations. By having some form of instruction from the RPNA, residents can further increase trust among the association, the other residents and lead to community building, where residents feel that they all are working together. However, based on the survey results, a few residents do not find the

RPNA beneficial. There are still a significant number of positive responses about the RPNA from the residents, which shows that a neighborhood association seems to work as a mediator between authorities and residents in making positive change for the community possible.



Graph 1: Residents view on RPNA

There are various age groups in a neighborhood, and it is important to cater to their specific needs. In Regent Park there is a program called Youth Empowering Youth, where they have activities for youth. Events are arranged for seniors as well. From the survey I conducted with the residents of Regent Park, seven residents out of twenty-two believe that there are events for all age groups “sometimes.” Only three residents believe that there are programs “all the time.” However, in another question, six residents say that children and parents use the various spaces/facilities while six residents say that youth use the facilities. It is interesting to note the various views that residents have based on their observations and first-hand experiences and the ways that people use the spaces based on their age.

Trust plays a crucial role in making this model work in Regent Park, as Pooja outlined. She explained that the residents trust this model that has the four working groups. This trust encourages them to volunteer in these groups and in a way provides them with agency. As they work together, they are building community as well. Both aspects work simultaneously

in a neighborhood. Pooja clarified that once there is trust, then people come together, which leads to community building, and the residents seem to gain trust by watching positive change in action. When they get to see the projects coming in action, then they realize that their wants and needs are being met, which leads to trust. All the working groups work together to address the needs of the residents and works as a factor to increase the trust of residents amongst each other, authorities, and the spaces.

Several residents have faced displacement in the revitalization of phases 1, 2 and 3. Currently, the physical landscape visibly shows the divide between the spaces that have been revitalized and the spaces that still need to be (see Image 4). The residents were told that they will get housing until the new buildings are constructed. Sadly, that never happened, and many families were divided and broken, as Pooja explained. They were not able to come back to Regent Park, which created a loss of community, and many were angry as well. That is why the RPNA is focusing on this point and making sure residents do not suffer from such a situation again in phases 4 and 5. Community building in a mixed-use model is also in a developmental stage, as Pooja describes, since more interaction is needed between “both communities.” Here she is referring to the market-rent residents and TCH residents. She noted that the TCH involvement is higher compared to the market-rent residents based on the data that she has. The current goal is to make both groups interact more with each other to have a greater sense of community and to diminish the feeling of us versus them.

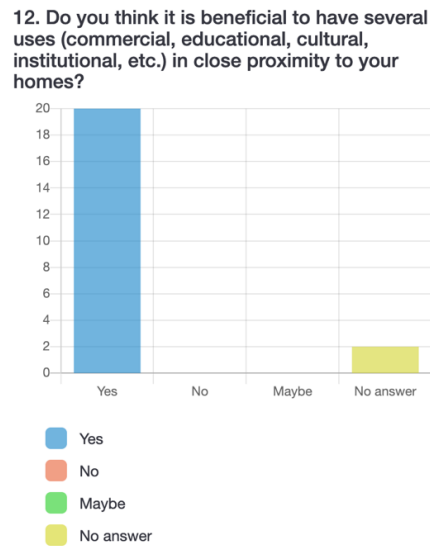


Image 4: Current Divide in Regent Park

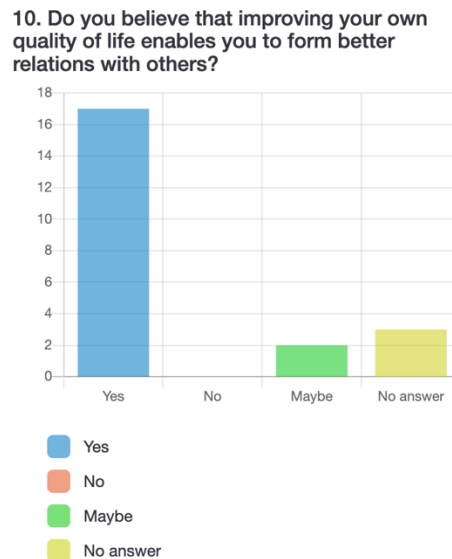
5.1.2 Regent Park Residents' View on Mixed-use

Residents find the mixed-use model beneficial in Regent Park, as can be seen from the residents that completed the survey (see Graph 2). Fifteen residents out of twenty-two

residents find it beneficial to have various land uses in close proximity to their homes. It enhances their quality of life in a way as they are saving time by not needing to commute, as some people need to in other neighborhoods. Several residents believe that improving their own quality of life leads them to forming better relations with others (see Graph 3). Therefore, a link can be drawn between mixed-use spaces and how it has the potential to encourage community building among residents.



Graph 2: Residents views on the advantages of mixed-use spaces



Graph 3: Improving quality of life leads to better relations

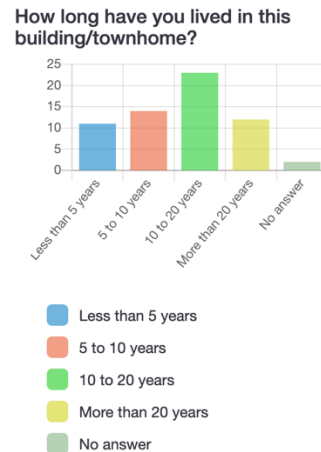
In conclusion, although the situation in Regent Park may be challenging for some residents, as the original residents need to adjust in the new setting of revitalization. After three phases, and currently working on the fourth and fifth phases, there are many issues that the residents deal with. To solve the residents' issues, TCH has made the RPNA which follows the SDP. The point of all these associations and plans is to help residents by including their voices. With new infrastructure, the TCH and RPNA focused on asking for community benefits, where residents have more built spaces that enhance their community building. During the first three phases, some residents felt that their needs were being neglected as more people moved in the neighborhood, which is why now there are many meetings and projects where residents are working to bring positive change in their neighborhood. By having these associations that voices their opinions, they can feel more connected to the spaces which increases their attachment with the spaces and the people in them. Also, it simultaneously influences their community building. Many residents find the mixed-use model beneficial, as they have various facilities at walking distance, which can enhance their living experience in the neighborhood. One of the community benefits is that residents will be offered jobs in the neighborhood, to financially empower the residents within their own neighborhood. This point is also one of the benefits of mixed-use, because people have their work and home close by, which seems to be becoming common after COVID-19. Many planners, developers, architects, and housing associations can learn from the examples of Regent Park for future mixed-use neighborhoods.

5.2 Perspectives of Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

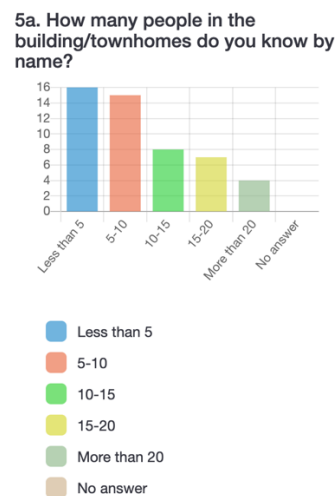
From the fifty residents that completed the survey, twenty-three residents have lived in the building for ten to twenty years (see Graph 4), yet sixteen residents know less than five residents and fifteen residents know five to ten residents (see Graph 5). This finding suggests that although people lived in the neighborhood for a while, they still do not know that many people by name. Ismail explains that this may be because of comfortability.

“Exposure to like personalities ... getting to know people, getting to know neighbors, getting to know somebody who, who's maybe not your direct neighbor. Um, but it's really just like personality traits. Right. Are you more reserved or are you outgoing?”

Ismail further commented that people are either introverts or extroverts, which results in the way they behave in their neighborhoods.



Graph 4: Amount of time residents have lived in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop



Graph 5: Number of residents known by name

Residents from Harry Sherman Crowe Coop touch upon several themes which vary from safety to physical spaces, to planning events with engaging activities to true

transparency. There are many residents that have seen transformations in the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and their responses present an interesting view between the past and current situation. Residents used to volunteer to take care of their neighborhood, yet do not as much, which identifies the decline in residents caring for their neighborhood. Based on the residents' responses and recommendations I present a formula for community building.

An important observation is which meanings residents associate with the physical structure of their neighborhood. Some residents mention that the communal spaces are uninviting, because there are only two wooden benches to sit on, which are unappealing and uncomfortable (see Image 5). Moreover, many residents sit there and smoke, as some residents mention. Due to these actions, not everyone wants to sit in this area when others are smoking. Many residents who have children also try to avoid the area as a result. The building and surrounding area does not have many communal areas. Apart from the courtyard at the south side of the building (see image 5), there is a small park on the side of the building (see Image 6) and a multipurpose room which has recently been renovated (see Image 7). Since these spaces, such as the multipurpose room did not use to be well maintained, people did not want to use them. Probably with the recent renovation there may be changes in the way the space is used. There are two points to note here. The space itself is physically unappealing, but it also adds on to peoples' understanding of their relational social space. When the space is uninviting, it affects peoples' trust relations, which impacts their relational space. People associate negative connotations with the space, which further exemplifies the emptiness of the space both physically and socially. The residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop can also physically access spaces at the Keele campus. Nevertheless, in these spaces the same questions arise if residents can access those spaces or are they predominantly for students. In an online conversation that I had with the Chief Development Officer at the York University Development Corporation, he clearly explained that York Lanes is made for the students and their needs, but since the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop can physically reach the space in a few minutes, they also utilize these spaces. In a space where there are several different types of uses from various localities, it is possible that a sense of community can be diluted.



Image 5: Courtyard in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop



Image 6: Playground in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop



Image 7: Multipurpose Room in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

5.2.1 Practicing Community and Trust in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

One of the main inquiries was asking the residents how they think community can be built in a neighborhood. I received several responses, and my goal is to outline them in the best order that logically works on a daily basis. The first step is having space available to be able to interact with others. This point refers to spaces that humans made, such as by policymakers, planners, architects, and developers. There is an empty space, where nothing is built, and these professionals get together to create that space. In this research I am observing the built spaces in a neighborhood available to residents. Residents speak about having clean, appealing, and healthy communal spaces. Physical space is of clear importance to the residents. Making sure that residents get the feeling that they belong in these spaces is equally as important. It is a connected cycle, where both aspects impact each other and the way that residents conduct their practice in these built spaces. This point refers to an individual having a theoretical community where residents have a concept of community in their minds, based on societal norms. Individuals also have an experimental community, which is the actual way they practice community, and it is visible to others as well. They are impacted by their own thoughts and by authoritative thoughts as well. By this point I am referring to the way policymakers, planners, architects, and developers shape a space, it implies who the space is for and how it should be used. Many residents, such as Emma explain that the community in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop is not as “tight-knit of a community as it used to be.” She further explains that “people just don’t, they just don’t associate, they don’t socialize like they used to ... when you don’t know who your neighbor is, you, you won’t trust them.” Clearly, some residents do not know their neighbors and because of the lack of trust, they do not focus on community building.

Residents such as Susan speak about the situationism of trust, which shows that residents have different levels of trust.

“It depends in what situation would I trust first. Do I trust people at first? It depends on the setting. It depends on the situation. It depends on how I meet that person or interact with that person. Now, if I enter to help someone in the elevator that I’ve never seen before, I don’t know who they are, then I don’t think that I would. I think I would have my guard up, which is not trust. So, I think it all depends. Now, if I know that you live across from me on my floor, I’m comfortable enough to trust boundaries”

Clearly, the amount of time that residents know each other has a connection to trust. The longer that residents live in a neighborhood and see each other, they develop a sense of getting to know the other person. In this way the residents categorize the other person as a fellow resident, which can be the initial stage in developing trust. It takes away the image of a stranger. But then again, as this quote underlines that it depends on the situation, and not only on the person. Incidents lead to trusting other people based on the situation, and the ways in which certain matters were dealt with. Many residents felt more of a sense of community in the past, because there was a certain procedure in which residents were able to move into the coop.

Rachael describes why former residents feel that they cannot trust as much as they used to.

“They say they could leave their doors open and people, no problem. You know? And now they say no because it's the people, certain people that back in the day let certain people in that shouldn't even been here. And that for those families have caused problem. So it took the trust away from the community and the board and whatever”

She clarifies that this feeling arises because the residents expect “good people” to live in the neighborhood who will not create problems, such as shootings or gang fights. Due to such negative scenarios, people can feel discouraged to interact and build any relations, which greatly impacts community building. This point leads to another important aspect of feeling safe in their neighborhood, which would encourage community building. Susan mentions that “safety is one of the essential things, not just in a community, but in society as a whole.” By feeling safe, residents will feel that they belong and gain trust, since they will have the security to engage with the spaces around them. This theme seems to be the dominant narrative in the coop as most narratives lead to this point in one way or another. In the past, residents were interviewed before moving in and were told that they had to volunteer, along with having an affiliation with the university, but now that an affiliation is not mandatory to move in the building, there seems to be this wave of unsafety in the neighborhood. Due to this sense of unsafety, there is a lack of trust which negatively impacts community building, as several residents explain. As my main approach in this research is to hear the residents' narratives, it is visible that residents want this narrative to be heard to have positive action.

They want the authoritative figure involved in this neighborhood, which is York University to support them in this matter.

5.2.2 Factors impacting Community Building

All residents need to come together to work on their community, by understanding that this neighborhood is their home, and they need to take care of it. In a coop it is every resident's responsibility to volunteer and maintain their neighborhood. A resident named Emeric explains,

"But now they don't enforce it. When I came here, one of the things that I was told that you have to volunteer at something. Okay. And there used to be 20 years ago garbage bins on, on every floor by the elevator. And I was in charge of the garbage. Because that's what I said that I would do when I first came here. And because. It's good to see that, uh, there's someone who cares about everybody else."

Now the coop is not telling residents that they have to volunteer, which former residents were told to, and the former residents are trying to keep that spirit alive. When residents come to work together, they will not only be building community, but they will also be solving a few of the issues that they have. It is a matter of trying to resolve the issues that residents can by themselves, since for some issues they need help from the city. In a Mission Statement of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop from May 1996 which is hung near the office on the main floor of the building, it says that

"The community offers all its members opportunities for empowerment and self-actualization through participation in the management and maintenance of their homes. Members are the direct beneficiaries of the positive changes that occur from their involvement and from their positive energy."

Even in this statement, residents are encouraged to contribute to their neighborhood, but over the years several residents have developed reservations. The former residents seem to feel that now all residents do not share the same values, which is why they are not participating as much, and not trusting to the same degree. Collaborating is the beginning step to try to solve these matters of concern. A resident named Cassey urges,

"In order for us to really accomplish any huge task or any task really, like in any, any job. Mm. Like anything, not just even our, our, living, but job wise, like everything takes a teamwork. And you can accomplish much more if we can all come together and collaborate and, you know, put, bring something forward."

Collaborating towards a common goal positively impacts community building, as residents will be trying to accomplish something that is important to them. They will even become a part of those spaces, as they will be working to improve the conditions of their neighborhood.

Several residents live with their families in this neighborhood, and they express their concerns about not finding the neighborhood safe enough for their children, which has an impact on their trust level as well. The playground is not maintained, which is why several families go to parks outside of the neighborhood. This is one point that residents can begin to address on their own, by cleaning the park as much as they can. Such an action actively demonstrates what residents need and what is desired. Residents, such as Sidra doesn't let their children use the park because safety is a concern. Sidra describes her situation,

“We need little bit more for the kids. More for kids. Cause small kids where they don't have place. Cause I have small kids. And I have to, every time I have to take them outside. Somewhere for a park.”

This point identifies why families with children are not coming to the park, since it is not meeting their needs. Parents end up taking their children outside of the neighborhood, which prevents positive community building in the neighborhood. Susan further explains the situation,

“So, um, the park, no, because I do not have children. And the park itself needs to be revamped. The coop is over 30, maybe 35 years, and so that puts the park at a 35-year-old park. That never been upgraded. So if I did have a child that would be a park age, I would be very cautious about having that child use the park”

The park has old infrastructure (see Image 6), which is unappealing, and parents always want to give the best to their children, which makes them go outside of the neighborhood. Families do not come out and use the park, although that is a great place for casual interaction to occur between the children's parents. This space does not require a planned event, since parents are there for their children, and may begin conversations. Space itself cannot create the conversations because it depends on people's personalities.

No matter the situation of the space, and the physical conditions of a space, people have their own unique personalities, which impacts their community building in a

neighborhood. Betty describes, "I see people and I'm usually a friendly person, so I would say hi. So it's up to you to decide if you wanna say hi to you or not, if you don't say hi to me, and then I don't say hi again." Some residents always try to say "hi" to other residents and based on the other resident's reaction, they decide on how to continue their communication with that person. Another resident, Asad explains this point,

"Everyone's different. Some people are more private, some people are more public. I'm more of a friendly personality... But then I know a lot of people are private or quiet that would, you know, that don't like to interact with people. And it's not like they don't like people, it's just they are their person and their personality."

Asad clarifies the difference between people, that some people just do not like to communicate, but that does not mean that they are not kind. That is their personality, and such people are usually the quieter ones in a neighborhood. This type of personality influences community building, since it is harder to build a relationship with someone who does not communicate a lot. Many residents know each other by face, but do not know the names of those residents.

People tend to communicate with other people from the same country. This claim is a common point among several interviews. For instance, a resident named Saeeda says that she knows forty people because, "Majority of them are Somalis ... I would say majority are like, uh, from the same country. And then secondary, the rest of them, I got to know them." Another resident Asmat recognized that in this building there are people from Somalia, while he is from Bangladesh. He goes to Victoria Park, because there is a Bangladeshi community over there. Some people prefer to be with people from the same country, and this desire for connecting to be with community, makes them travel distances. However, in a neighborhood, there is a community based on living in the same locality and in Toronto there is a multicultural environment. It is common to see people of different cultures and countries in Toronto's various neighborhoods, although there are also neighborhoods that have more residents from one country. When residents seem to lack a sense of belonging to their neighborhood, they go outside of their neighborhood. Where some residents do not have a sense of belonging, they also do not have a sense of ownership towards the spaces and tend to disassociate themselves.

In a coop, members of the building, meaning residents, can elect a board among themselves, which can help them in various matters. However, in the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, some residents feel that there is a power imbalance in the coop. Ismail explains,

“I love the co-op and I love that it's self-governed. But I think in it being self-governed, it often creates a power. And where people feel there is a power imbalance ... the insecurity builds... on one end and on the other end, maybe like an authoritative nature.”

Some residents make this a political battle, which implicitly affects community building, because people are cautious of what they say or do in the building. For instance, I got the chance to attend a board meeting, where some people were not letting others speak, and it was negatively impacting the environment. In this way, people were seeing those spaces in the building, such as the common meeting room in a negative light, because of the unpleasant memories that they were making in that room. A resident named Nada says that

“We should have a board from outside. The board should not be in the community. It should be from outside. Like people from outside. The reason why I'm saying that, for example, you're from Pakistan, right? If I become now a board president and I have my people here from Pakistan ... I will do everything for them. No, the community should be equal. So we, we need people that we don't know from outside. They don't know anybody from the building.”

This point refers to favoritism, where board members tend to favor residents from the same country as them. Such assumptions in residents' minds stand as a barrier in community building because members would not be able to trust the board members who were elected.

Some residents, such as Ibrahim believe that this power struggle occurs due to the fact that the coop is self-governed. On the other hand, Ismail elucidates “but then it might not allow for community events in the same way because all community events would have to be run like by the, by the city.” The city is seen as an outsider in this way, and residents fear that there might not be community events, which can be the case, because currently members feel that there are not that many events taking place. However, Ismail provides a plausible solution to this dilemma as well,

“So it, it creates a weird paradox, but if I had to fix it as it is now with it being self-governed, I'd say a good measure for building trust is open, restorative, uh, communication. Your goal isn't to find out who did what. When, where, who, what,

when, why, that kind of a thing. It's more so to just, it's solution oriented ... All these things happen. Everybody played a part somewhere. And so we shouldn't try to point fingers because that, that goes all the way back to the inception ... If we wanna point fingers, let's try to reach a solution"

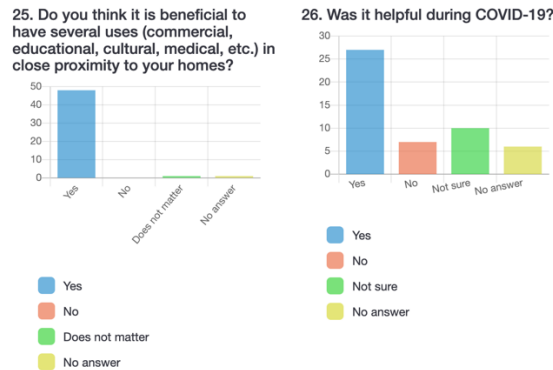
This idea speaks to the concept of community, where residents should be interested in taking care of others, rather than trying to find who made the mistake. The goal should be to reach towards a solution.

5.2.3 Benefits of an Informal Mixed-use Model with York University

Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop are making an "informal" mixed-use of York University Keele campus, as the facilities are at a walking distance. Many residents find it useful to have several uses near their homes. Out of fifty responses, forty-eight residents find it beneficial (see Graph 6). Twenty-seven residents find it useful to have these land uses in proximity (see Graph 6). However, some residents feel that they don't belong in these spaces, which further exemplifies the "informal" use. Betty describes,

"our building is not even, it's on York property, but we're not part of York. And so we get. I find that because we're not part of York, we are treated as not part of York. And so it becomes that, you know, and then, because a lot of the people in, although there's a lot of minorities, and it's supposed to be a diverse culture ... that's not the case."

Where such feelings exist among residents, it is difficult to have positive community building. This is the unique dynamic at the Keele campus in York University, that people do not feel they belong to the spaces available in the campus but use them for their needs. In such a scenario, residents will not be able to build community, but rather classify it as spaces of need. It seems like there is capacity for mixed-use, based on the current infrastructure and proximity. York University is planning to officially make it a mixed-use space through the Vision and Strategy. In a way, some residents feel that the needs of the current residents are not being fully acknowledged by York although they are on York property, and by adding more housing, they feel they may be further neglected. Susan also feels that different amenities are there at York, but the access and inclusion is not there. She feels that residents have to find everything on their own rather than York being inviting and open about the various amenities available.



Graph 6: Several Land Uses near Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and its use during COVID-19

There are mixed views on the Vision and Strategy that York University is planning for the Keele campus, which will be implemented in approximately twenty to thirty years. Ismail believes that “people can benefit from more people.” He further explains, “I think people can benefit from more neighbors. I think people can benefit from, from proximity.” Saeeda emphasizes that,

“That's something that we would definitely welcome...Cause it's highly needed, like, you know, uh, for our health, not only socially, but physically. You know, our mental health. We need those spaces ... We need it for the seniors, we need it for the youth. So I'll definitely welcome that idea. Sure. And we would contribute as a community... In terms of taking care of it. We would like to come to a place and then leave it the way it was and better.”

Saeeda feels that the Vision and Strategy will address the needs of various age groups, that are being neglected in the neighborhood. On the contrary, Larhonda believes that there may be problems.

“the bigger community, the less, you know, the less opportunity you have to get to know the people, because there are too many people to know. Right. The small community, uh, bigger chance here. You have to get to know people. So more communities, it's gonna bring more instability and ... risks.”

Larhonda indicates that currently in the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood not that many people know each other, and by having more housing in the area, you will know less people. Some residents feel that bringing more residents will bring a positive change for community building, while others feel that it negatively impacts community building. A

resident named Ashley believes that smaller communities are easier to maintain, since “it’s easier to get to know people, it’s easier to develop that trust.” She also feels that this coop is unique because it is geared to income community or a micro community, and with more housing in the area it would not be unique. The Harry Sherman Crowe Coop is seen separate from Jane and Finch because of York University, according to Ashley. Jane and Finch is a neighborhood located in northwestern Toronto and is near the Keele campus of York University (see Map 2). It is a five-minute drive according to Google Maps. Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop seem to have mixed views about the Vision and Strategy of York University in relation to community building. However, the residents need to be included in the planning process to not be neglected in the spaces they have been using for several years.

Chapter 6 Discussion of Results

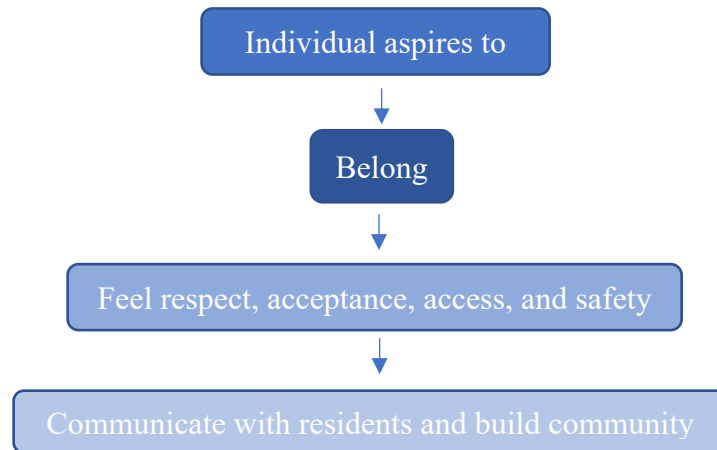
There are two aspects that need to be addressed, which is the individual and the spaces available in a neighborhood. The individual has agency through their actions in spaces, but the space also impacts individuals based on the ways it is formed. A person thinks and aspires for a community, where they feel that they belong. This sense of belonging comes through respect, acceptance, access, and safety. In the Regent Park neighborhood, some residents feel they are gaining these attributes through the neighborhood association, which helps them in working together with other residents for their community. Residents are in a mixed-income space as well, and since there can be divisions between these two groups, the RPNA makes interventions to foster community building (Regent Park Progress Report 2021). These thought processes can be labelled as “theoretical community,” and it affects a person’s relational space that they make in the constructed spaces around them. The way they see and understand situations, they form their relational space, which impacts the way they practice in space. In neighborhoods, residents practice community building with other residents since they share these spaces with other people. The concept of community building works with trust.

6.1 Comparative Discussion: Formula for Community Building

A person’s trust levels towards other people and spaces has a direct effect on their relational space. As a person has this constant phenomenon occurring between their thoughts and actions, their “theoretical community” affects their “experimental community.” This phenomenon happens based on either having or not having agency through belonging and living in constructed spaces by authoritative structures. The way authoritative structures physically build community, it directly impacts residents’ community building. In the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood many managements have changed over the years, which is why several procedures have changed as well. As some residents have seen the changing dynamics, their trust has also changed over time. Due to these circumstances, residents may have problems with building community. Therefore, residents either collaborate with others or end up isolated, as the case studies of this research identify. See

Figure 5 to understand an individual's journey from theoretical community to experimental community in an official mixed-use area, such as Regent Park and in a potential mixed-use area, such as Harry Sherman Crowe Coop.

Theoretical Community



Experimental Community

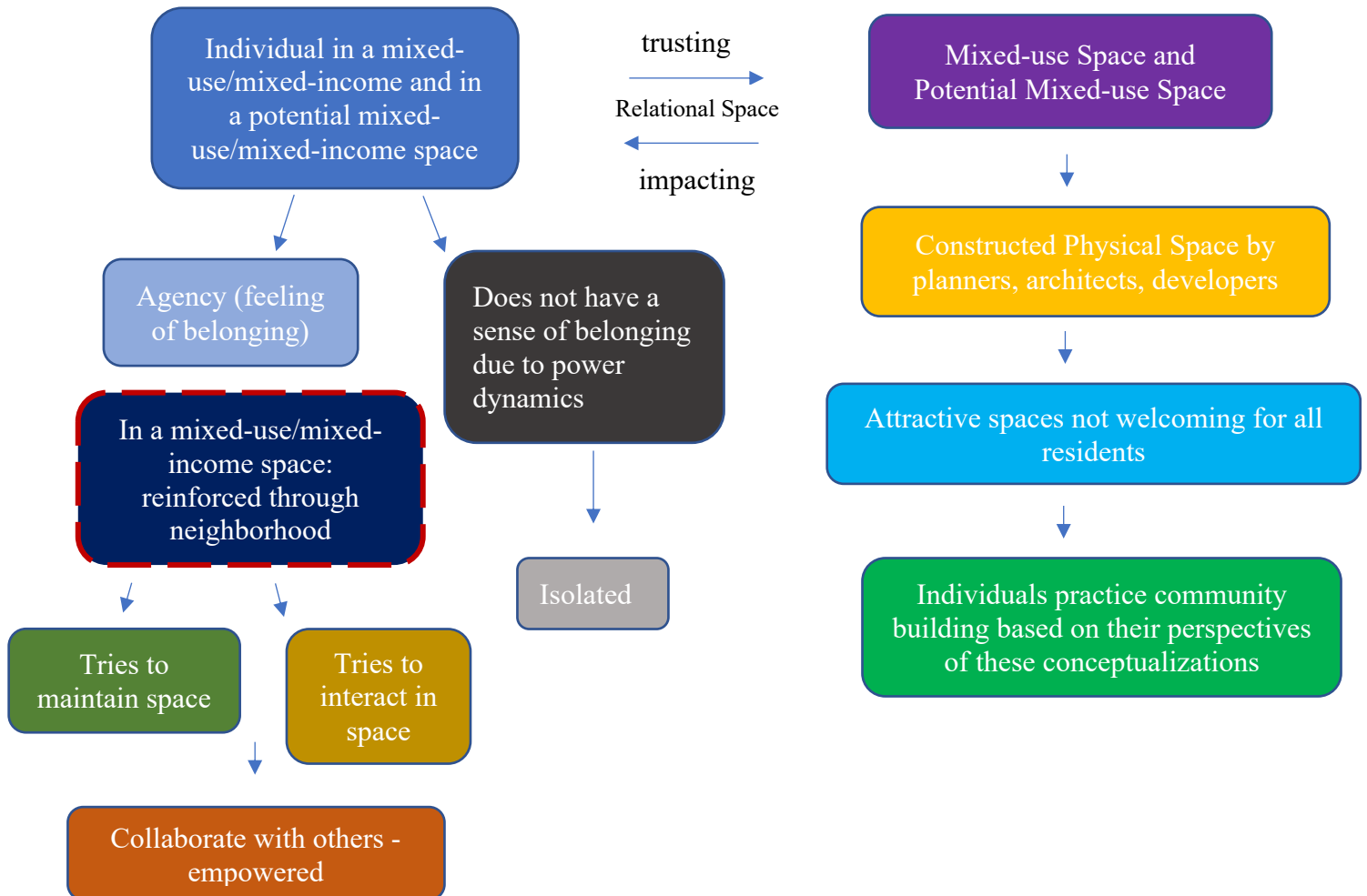


Figure 5: An Individual's Journey from Theoretical Community to Experimental Community in a Mixed-use/Mixed-income Space and in a Potential Mixed-use/Mixed-income Space

An individual undergoes all these processes, in their minds and through their actions when trying to build community, as residents have identified. A person tries to trust space, yet the space simultaneously impacts the person in the way they practice community. When a person believes that they have agency by having a feeling of belonging, they try to maintain space, and interact in it as well by collaborating. On the downside, some people may feel that they do not belong, and then they feel isolated, where they usually do not try to build community. For instance, in Regent Park, residents may feel a difference between being classified as either a TCH resident or a market-rent resident, which tends to impact the way they practice community. In the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood, the area is not officially a mixed-use space and some of these residents have been living in these spaces for several years yet feel that they are not given official access. Now with the plan of new developments through the Vision and Strategy, there will be new residents in the area and new developments, which may further complicate the situation for these residents.

The spaces are simultaneously impacting residents based on the way it is constructed, through power imbalances in authoritative structures. The Regent Park has neighborhood associations and has funding for projects that will positively impact the community, while in Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, residents seem to be benefitting from spaces near them that were not intentionally made for them. They do not have neighborhood associations like Regent Park, which may also be a reason why they do not have spaces made especially for them. Some of the residents rely on the university spaces that provide services, and their formal needs are being hidden between these higher authorities. As a result, this whole process of the residents' theoretical community and experimental community impacts the way they build community in neighborhoods. The visualization in Figure 5 is an extension of Figure 1 which explains the relationship between, trust, mixed-use, space and community building. It focuses on the interlinks between these concepts and how it affects people's community building in spaces.

In community building there are two aspects, as mentioned earlier, the person, in this case the resident, and the space, in this case, the neighborhood. Both aspects impact each other because it is not possible to have one without the other. Several situations, thoughts

and authoritative figures impact a person's trust in space, which simultaneously affects the way they practice community. The space in between residents and their neighborhood is relational space, which is subjective to each person, and it plays an important role in the way residents act in their neighborhood (see Figure 6). In both neighborhoods, the main point is of access, that do residents feel they have access to the spaces being made. In Regent Park some TCH residents feel unwelcomed by market-rent residents because they feel they cannot access the spaces, while some of the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop residents do not feel they have access to university spaces.

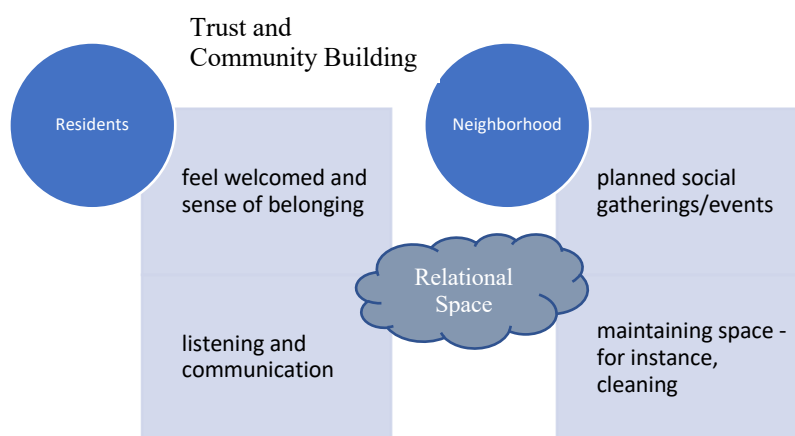


Figure 6: Community Building through Resident and Neighborhood Relationship

6.2 Creative Mixed-use projected as a Possible Solution

When weaving the story of mixed-use in Toronto, it is difficult to oversee the concept of creative mixed-use at the Infrastructure Institute at University of Toronto. Cities are growing with several structures being built, which is why there is not as much space available. The creative mixed-use approach has a holistic perspective, as it has environmental, economic, and social benefits, as outlined by a team member of the creative mixed-use team. A unique aspect are the relationships that arise from this model. The relationships are between various developers, companies, and policymakers. The residents are not gaining any direct benefit from the partnerships, as they are on the receiving end. These processes are possible through negotiation and collaboration, which members of the

Infrastructure Institute try to accomplish. There are usually two mixes contained in a building, which does not involve the typical image of a mixed-use neighborhood, where several uses are at a walking distance.

During my research trip to Toronto, I saw that there is an exhibition at the World Urban Pavilion in Regent Park about creative mixed-use. It is interesting that the exhibition was held in a mixed-use neighborhood itself and there was also a section about the Social Development Plan of Regent Park. I met the team members there in person and got to interview two as well. The focus is on partnerships, and it is classified as a solution to the housing unaffordability situation.

The benefits are usually for the partners involved, since the outcomes end up being better than what each partner could have achieved on their own. The focus seems to be more on the people involved in the creation of these spaces, rather than for the people who use these spaces. The challenges also seem to be around the matchmaking process, which the Infrastructure Institute focuses on. The residents are not involved from the beginning of the matchmaking process, as a member explained to me. In this way the idea of creative mixed-use is benefitting the various partners involved, but it is not focused on residents, who actually live in those spaces.

Planners are seen as rigid in their way of working, which may be a barrier in making planners play a bridging role in creative mixed-use projects and increasing social interaction. This idea is possible by incentives that can make people want to partner and develop multiple sites at a time. The building design is also important for an increase in social interaction, but some requirements make this possibility challenging. For instance, a member of the creative mixed-use project told me that there is an “angular plane,” where after a certain height in a mid-rise building, there are guidelines. Usually after the third story, there is a 45-degree angular plane, and whatever is built on top, it cannot cut into that plane, since it is supposed to maintain the neighborhood scale and character. However, the reality is that due to these design guidelines, a lot of space is wasted, which could have been used

for affordable housing, as the member mentioned. She further explains that there needs to be a focus on rethinking policies to have better benefits.

6.3 Mixing of Different Uses leads to Social Mix between People – What about Community Building?

The previous point is a suggestion moving forward in city building for policymakers, planners, architects, and developers. The current image of the city speaks to the capitalist ideals, where profit is usually being kept at the center of many policies and planning practices. Residents are usually not the focus, while they can be when trying to make sustainable cities, because these residents are going to live in the neighborhoods. By providing them with resources close to their homes and by giving access, sustainability is possible.

Community building is situational in spaces, because each person has their own unique experiences in the spaces around them. Residents either feel a part of the community, slightly feel a part of the community, or do not feel a part of the community at all. These feelings of belonging arise from the dynamics of the environment around them. The spaces convey meanings to residents based on authoritative structures that claim ownership of these spaces. There seems to be issues of equity and a lack of trust, where residents end up having other problems, and do not use the spaces in a way that can lead to community building.

Regent Park is going through revitalization for mixed-use spaces since 2006, which shows that this neighborhood has some years of experience now. They are still undergoing transformation and are facing the realities of mixed-use spaces in a mixed-income environment and the challenges with developing community building. Such neighborhoods can be seen as role models for neighborhoods that are planning to become mixed-use spaces officially, such as Harry Sherman Crowe Coop. There seems to be issues between the market-rent and TCH residents which creates differences and power imbalances. Due to these reasons, there is a Regent Park Neighborhood Association assigned to create opportunities

for both types of residents to interact and work on community building. The City of Toronto has even made a Social Development Plan (SDP) where funding is also provided for community building. After talking to neighborhood association representatives and looking at the survey results, the TCH residents seem to be involved in more activities than the market-rent residents. Due to these dynamics, in a revitalized neighborhood, the former residents seem to be facing gentrification where they feel the market-rent residents are taking over their spaces, since many have been displaced. A neighborhood association provides residents with the authority they need that they can trust, and they can voice their opinions. Moreover, it is clearly proven through these examples that the mixed-use of land leads to social mix between people based on their economic standing, but the point about community building is missing from the equation. That seems to come with residents' input in their neighborhood associations or through volunteering.

Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop are using the spaces they have in close distance, such as the resources of Keele campus, York University, informally in a mixed-use manner. Most residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop, who have lived for several years feel that there has been a decline in community building, due to the lack of maintenance of the neighborhood. Most residents are not taking care of the neighborhood by not volunteering, which makes the quality of the spaces decline, but also shows that residents do not feel they belong or that they have a sense of ownership. Many residents seem to be struggling with the power imbalances through the board and the residents. This situation makes residents want to stay away from problems and such toxic environments, where they tend to not interact as much and stay focused in their individual lives.

York University also does not seem to be taking a dominant role in associating themselves with the Harry Sherman Crowe Coop neighborhood. Now they have a Vision and Strategy where they are planning to develop the area further, but it is important to involve the current residents in this process along with giving them access officially to the spaces around them. In this way residents will feel a part of the spaces and their trust will increase, which will positively impact community building. By including them in the planning process, it will be a part of participatory planning, which is a more effective method to include

residents rather than having a top-down approach. Residents can become a part of the process, which will positively affect community building, because they will feel that they have a sense of belonging to the space where their opinions matter. They will even be encouraged to maintain those spaces and arrange events for various age groups where residents get to know each other and enjoy each other's company. Through these steps, residents will not need to try to find community outside of their local neighborhood. The goal should be to increase community building through teamwork from all stakeholders.

The creative mixed-use approach does not seem to be a resident-centric approach, as it is a way of continuing to fulfill the goals of policymakers, planners, and developers. However, as the team members of this endeavor noted that residents have not gotten the opportunity to become a part of the planning process. They feel that with participatory planning, projects can be more effective, because residents can gain community building from those mixed-use spaces.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In a world facing many societal challenges, it is important to focus on people's wellbeing. Starting to focus on the issues at a smaller scale can help to eventually address global issues. The local neighborhood where a person lives is ideally viewed as a space they identify with and feel they belong to. It is a space that encompasses their homes and a lot of their private time, yet many people do not seem to have a sense of community within their neighborhood. This issue is of great importance like global issues, since it may be seen at a microscale, but by addressing these issues at the microscale it is possible to properly solve larger problems. The reality is that these issues, such as community building in neighborhoods, which are seen at the microscale, are not simple issues, but rather they are engrained in complex societal structures. Political authorities, physical boundaries along with mental boundaries and the inevitable relational experiences to these issues affect an individual's practices in daily life. Trust is the social glue that enables an individual to build relationships and function in a society, and where there is distrust, individuals do not seem to have a sense of community in neighborhoods. Although neighborhood is all about sharing space, people seem to live in their own relational spaces rather than having strong relationships, which prevents them from building a community together.

There are three concepts in this dissertation that have complex meanings, and they are space, in this case mixed-use space, trust and community building. Regarding the concept of space, there are several complexities about how it comes into being, either by people building it or it being there on its own. These aspects have been widely debated over the years, and in this project the focus is on mixed-use spaces. These spaces are unique in that several land uses are in proximity, and they create opportunities for residents to have versatile experiences in nearby spaces. The main point to note is that space is socially constructed through peoples' interactions. However, interacting is not as simple as just starting a conversation. There are several factors that may prevent people from talking to each other. Even within a neighborhood, residents feel boundaries of various kinds, some may be physically apparent to the eyes, while others are in people's minds. These boundaries are reemphasized based on the design, policies, and authorities in the spaces. Such

conceptualizations directly impact residents' trust relations because they do not feel a sense of belonging to the spaces. These frameworks are in the residents' minds, and they may avoid any form of interaction which is a barrier in community building.

Belonging has gained attention in scholarship, especially after COVID-19 and the lockdown that people faced internationally. In the lockdown, some people got close to their neighborhood, while others noticed the inequalities present in the spaces. Not everyone has the same experience in the same spaces. It is based on a person's sense of belonging to that space.

"Belonging is fluid. It is specific to our everyday experiences and life choices, but also driven by the pressures we find ourselves under. It is also strongly influenced by what services and institutions do, how we are treated when we are in need of care or support, and whether our surroundings, our workplaces, even the shops and cafes we use, positively reflect who we are. We know that the design of our built environment, how it is managed and used, can boost or undermine belonging. We also know that the way social infrastructure operates – from formal welfare institutions like libraries and GP surgeries, to informal supports through cafes, WhatsApp groups and football clubs – also has a significant role" (Bacon 2023, 35).

Clearly, belonging is impacted by authorities, the design and maintenance of spaces. Nevertheless, it is also affected by another concept that is closely related to belonging – trust. It is a context-bound phenomenon where people behave as they do, based on their level of trust. Since there are many types of trust, in this dissertation I focus on the level of trust between residents in a neighborhood. Their trust levels are impacted by the spaces they live in, while the spaces also affect their way of trusting others. It is a cycle that never ends, but more so it is a cohesive force that holds society together. Without trust, it is hard to imagine social spaces, which are made of interactions. People will not have strong relationships with one another, since the bond may only stick to a basic greeting, instead of getting to know each other.

As the quote above mentions that design plays a role in belonging, and as the findings from this research project outline, also in community building. The communal spaces can be deemed as inviting or uninviting by residents based on the design of these spaces. As shown in the case studies, having clean, open, and safe spaces increases trust in spaces, which

encourages residents to engage in conversation with other residents in these spaces. When the design is enclosed, where people find the space to encourage crime, then people do not prefer to come to these spaces with their children. The idea of mixed-use space is to establish community through the design and organization of space, which is based on New Urbanist principles. However, the point to acknowledge is that the design itself cannot create community, since people may have the idea of “otherness” in their minds, where they feel they do not belong. In this way spaces seem to be controlled by design, where some people feel priority over others in accessing and enjoying spaces. In the case of Regent Park some former residents that are Toronto Community Housing (TCH) residents feel that they do not have access to the new beautiful built spaces, because they feel it belongs to the market-rent residents. In such instances, it is complicated to build community, as residents feel they cannot access the spaces.

In order to combat these issues, Regent Park has the Regent Park Neighborhood Association that tries to make both the TCH and market-rent residents communicate with each other. They try to arrange events for everyone so that the barrier between the two is broken. The goal is to break the hidden boundaries in people’s minds, which prevents them from interacting. Gaining residents’ trust is the initial step to successfully accomplish community building in neighborhoods. This idea is possible by providing all residents with equal access to the spaces in their neighborhood.

Community building revolves around people and spaces. It is the process through which residents build a sense of belonging and ownership in the spaces they live in. Several frameworks affect a person’s community building, such as the authoritative structures that influence the way spaces are formed. Individuals think and desire about having a community, and it is seen as “ideal” in their local neighborhoods, since this space consists of their homes, which is one of the most important spaces for a person. The home is a place where people should feel safest, they can truly be themselves and enjoy their privacy. These homes are surrounded by neighborhoods, and it is beneficial for people to feel connected to their neighborhood. This feeling empowers residents to work for their neighborhood to maintain it. Based on these thought processes about community, people practice community, and that

is what is physically apparent. The journey between the thought process of community and the actual action of it is the focus of this dissertation.

With regards to the research questions mentioned in chapter 1, this research makes it clear that to some extent residents need space, while to some extent individuals need to make an initiative to come together, which all begins with trust. The way spaces are physically designed does seem to impact the way residents choose to communicate and practice in space. The residents' feeling of accessibility to spaces can change based on authoritative figures and class differences. As hypothesized, mixed-use spaces provide more opportunities for social mixes, but the space itself cannot result in community building. Residents from Harry Sherman Crowe Coop and Regent Park express the importance of having planned social events where residents get to engage in activities of interest and get to know each other. Such planned events will encourage residents to perform in these common spaces by engaging with other residents. The emphasis is on having regular events to continue to build the initial bond, which can result in fruitful community building.

A suggestion for planners is to enable all kinds of users in close proximity to be able to utilize spaces. In planning, spaces are usually intended for a particular group of people. However, as the findings from this dissertation demonstrate in the case of York University Keele campus, that several residents live close by to the campus but are not able to openly enjoy and use those spaces, due to issues of access. Despite the physical access to some buildings of York University, most residents expressed that they do not have a feeling of belonging to York University in some informal or formal way. Based on these findings, planners will not need to plan new spaces, but rather they can make existing spaces accessible to users in proximity, which is a sustainable solution as well.

It is challenging to provide government funding to all neighborhoods. However, at the same time based on equality, neighborhoods should get a fair distribution of funding, since there are times when some neighborhoods are neglected for a longer period. Where it becomes difficult to instantly receive government funding, policymakers, planners, and neighborhood associations can come together to note where the gaps exist, in order to have

successful action at the local level. The goal would be to find funding through other means to not rely completely on government funding. For instance, the creative mixed-use approach at University of Toronto brings various partners together to have creative mixed-uses in a building. Similarly, this approach can be utilized at the local level to find various partners that can provide funding to improve communal spaces or other needs with the goal to build community.

Based on this research, more research is needed in current mixed-use spaces of Toronto to see how this model is working for residents' community building. A study that can follow this research is to ask the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop about their experiences of community building after the Vision and Strategy has been implemented. This is a twenty to thirty years project, nevertheless, a follow-up study can be beneficial to understand what residents believed about the Vision and Strategy and what they feel after it has become a built reality. Further research is also needed to understand what residents feel about the implementation of the Social Development Plan in Regent Park. Is it fulfilling the goals of community building or is it not as effective as proposed? This finding is necessary to help other neighborhoods as well since the City of Toronto is providing funding for the project.

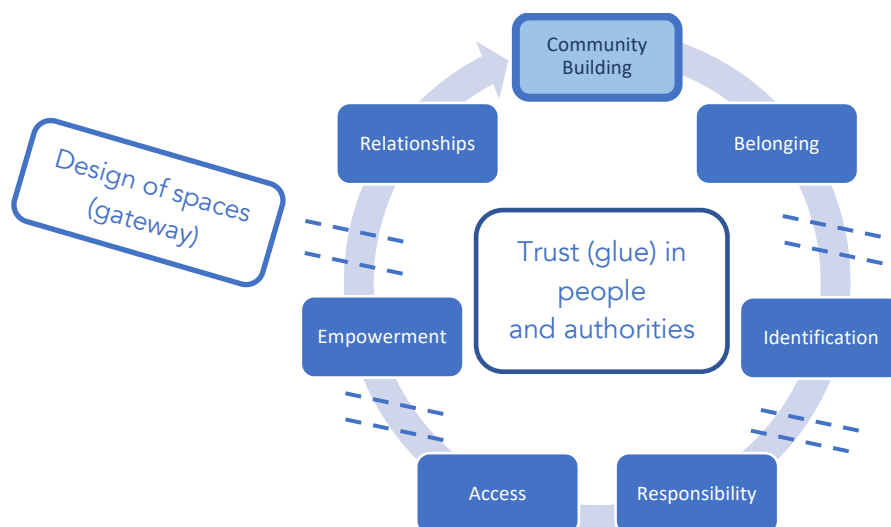


Figure 7: Process of Community Building

In conclusion, Toronto is facing a crisis, where many people cannot find affordable housing. Among this reality, mixed-use spaces are being built, where it is catering to a specific group of people. It is usually benefiting people that already have access to several spaces in the city. The goal of this concept is that the design and placing of mixed-use spaces encourages community building among residents. Nevertheless, the concept of mixed-use does not seem to be solving the dire needs of people in the city. The spaces in a mixed-use setting do not create community building on its own. Community building is a complex process that involves residents and neighborhood spaces (see Figure 7). The residents' theoretical community, which is their thought process about community based on trust, is then seen through their actions with other residents in the neighborhood spaces, which is their experimental community. People need to have a feeling of belonging to the spaces they live in to be able to identify with their neighborhoods. In turn, people will feel empowered and would want to work hard towards maintaining the spaces. For everyone to have fair access to the spaces available, residents need to behave responsibly and respectfully. These feelings and attributes are not possible without trust. Residents need to have trust in the spaces and people living in the same spaces as them to be able to develop the abovementioned feelings and attributes (see Figure 7). With an input from all stakeholders, it is possible to improve trust and community building in neighborhoods. As this issue may not be seen as an important issue at the global scale yet addressing issues at the local level will begin to solve problems at the city level, which will eventually create sustainable global solutions.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Interviews with Residents at Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

	Pseudonym	Date of Interview
1.	Emily	July 26, 2022
2.	Samar	July 28, 2022
3.	Betty	July 28, 2022
4.	Ismail	July 28, 2022
5.	Gretchen	July 29, 2022
6.	Jane	August 2, 2022
7.	Ashley	August 9, 2022
8.	Saeeda	August 13, 2022
9.	Abrar	August 17, 2022
10.	Hazel	August 19, 2022
11.	Susan	August 20, 2022
12.	Naima	August 20, 2022
13.	Beitna	August 23, 2022
14.	Luna	August 23, 2022
15.	Emeric	August 24, 2022
16.	Shahida	August 29, 2022
17.	Asad	August 29, 2022
18.	Archana	August 30, 2022
19.	Rebecca	August 30, 2022
20.	Amy	August 30, 2022
21.	Amanda	September 1, 2022
22.	Asmat	September 1, 2022
23.	Rachael	September 2, 2022
24.	Darlyn	September 2, 2022
25.	Catherine	September 3, 2022
26.	Jessica	September 4, 2022
27.	Cassey	September 6, 2022
28.	Nada	September 6, 2022
29.	Larhonda	September 6, 2022
30.	Sultan	September 8, 2022
31.	Sidra	September 9, 2022
32.	Paul	September 14, 2022
33.	Alfred	September 21, 2022
34.	Halimo	September 22, 2022
35.	Grace	October 18, 2022
36.	David	October 18, 2022
37.	Ella	April 2, 2023

Appendix 2: Expert Interviews

York University

Brian September 20, 2022

Regent Park

Pooja August 26, 2022

University of Toronto

Sandra August 19, 2022

Alicia August 26, 2022

Appendix 3: Survey for Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop – Online on LimeSurvey

Community Building and Trust in Mixed-use Neighbourhoods of Toronto

Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

Demographics

Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Trans
- ☐ Nonbinary
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Age

- ☐ Less than 20 years old
- ☐ 20 – 30 years old
- ☐ 30 – 40 years old
- ☐ 40 – 50 years old
- ☐ 50 – 60 years old
- ☐ 60 – 70 years old
- ☐ Over 70 years old

How long have you lived in this building/townhome?

- ☐ Less than 5 years
- ☐ 5 to 10 years
- ☐ 10 to 20 years
- ☐ More than 20 years

Single/Family

- ☐ Live with family
- ☐ Roommates
- ☐ On your own

Occupation

- ☐ Student
- ☐ Employed

1. Why did you apply for your apartment/townhome in this neighborhood?

- ☐ Good location due to facilities
- ☐ Coop model affordable
- ☐ Close to the University
- ☐ Had no choice

2. How often do you go to the common areas (park, courtyard) around our building?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

3. Do people from the building use the park of the building?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

4. If no, what would you say best describes the reason?

- ☐ People do not find it safe
- ☐ People do not have time
- ☐ Unattractive design of park
- ☐ People do not seem to trust one another
- ☐ Not sure

5. How would you classify your level of trust in other people in this building/townhome?

- ☐ Very high
- ☐ High
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Low
- ☐ Very low

5a. How many people in the building/townhomes do you know by name?

- ☐ Less than 5
- ☐ 5-10
- ☐ 10-15
- ☐ 15-20
- ☐ More than 20

6. Do you talk to your neighbors in the lobby, elevator or other communal areas?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

7. Do you share news or building updates with other people in the building?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

8. If you do not communicate with others, what would you say best describes your reason?

- ☐ Do not have time
- ☐ Are afraid
- ☐ Find it Awkward
- ☐ Do not like the common spaces in the building

9. Where are most of your friends?

- ☐ In the building/townhouse
- ☐ Outside

10. Would you say you identify yourself with this neighborhood?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

11. Would you miss the neighborhood if you had to move?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

12. How would you describe your link to the university?

- ☐ Very close
- ☐ Close
- ☐ Not so close
- ☐ Barely Close
- ☐ Not close

13. Do you visit the campus facilities (such as the medical center, drug store, grocery store, food places, coffee places, gym)?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

14. Do these spaces improve your sense of belonging to this area?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ No opinion

15. Do you rely on these spaces as your source for groceries or other needs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. Do you walk around the campus?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

17. Do you consider the York University Campus area a part of your neighborhood?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

18. Do you enjoy the open spaces (seating area near the subway and pond or other areas) at York University?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

19. Do you go to see various games/sport events at York University (which are free)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know about them
- ☐ No answer

20. How often do you use these facilities?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

21. Do you enjoy these places with other people from the building?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

22. Do you use the library at York University?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

23. If not, what would you say best describes the reason?

- ☐ Due to inaccessibility
- ☐ Feel unwelcomed
- ☐ Not interested in the library

24. Do you visit the spaces at York University more often after COVID-19?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

25. Do you think it is beneficial to have several uses (commercial, educational, cultural, medical) in close proximity to your homes?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

26. Was it helpful during COVID-19?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

27. Do you use the new subway station at York University?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not use transit

27a. How often do you use the York University subway station?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

28. Has this new form of transit near your home improved your quality of life?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ There is no link between these two points

29. Do you believe that improving your own quality of life enables you to form better relations with others?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ No opinion

30. Would you prefer to use the spaces at the university for different events or clubs of interest?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

31. What types of events or clubs would you prefer? Select all that apply

- ☐ Arts & crafts club
- ☐ Dance & drama
- ☐ Photography
- ☐ Gardening
- ☐ Book club
- ☐ Science club
- ☐ Other _____

32. What are three things (regarding interactions or spaces) that you think would improve your neighbourhood?

Appendix 4: Survey for Residents of Regent Park - Online on LimeSurvey

Community Building and Trust in Mixed-use Neighbourhoods of Toronto Residents of Regent Park

Demographics

Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Trans
- ☐ Nonbinary
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Age

- ☐ Less than 20 years old
- ☐ 20 – 30 years old
- ☐ 30 – 40 years old
- ☐ 40 – 50 years old
- ☐ 50 – 60 years old
- ☐ 60 – 70 years old
- ☐ Over 70 years old

How long have you lived in this building/townhome?

- ☐ Less than 5 years
- ☐ 5 to 10 years
- ☐ 10 to 20 years
- ☐ More than 20 years

Single/Family

- ☐ Live with family
- ☐ Roommates
- ☐ On your own

Occupation

- ☐ Student
- ☐ Employed
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Retired

1. How would you classify your level of trust in other people in this neighbourhood?

- ☐ Very high
- ☐ High
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Low
- ☐ Very low

2. How often do you go to the common areas (park, courtyard) around your neighbourhood?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

3. How many people in the neighbourhood do you know by name?

- ☐ Less than 5
- ☐ 5-10
- ☐ 10-15
- ☐ 15-20
- ☐ More than 20

4. Do you talk to your neighbors in the lobby, elevator or other communal areas?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

5. Do you share news/updates about your neighbourhood with other people in the neighbourhood?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

6. If you do not communicate with others, what would you say best describes your reason?

- ☐ Do not have time
- ☐ Are afraid
- ☐ Find it Awkward
- ☐ Do not like the common spaces in the building

7. Where are most of your friends?

- ☐ In the neighbourhood
- ☐ Outside of the neighbourhood

8. Would you say you identify yourself with this neighborhood?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

9. Would you miss the neighborhood if you had to move?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

10. Do you believe that improving your own quality of life enables you to form better relations with others?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ No opinion

11. Has the revitalization of the Regent Park neighbourhood benefitted your sense of community?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ Made you feel excluded

12. Do you think it is beneficial to have several uses (commercial, educational, cultural, medical) in close proximity to your homes?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

13. Was it helpful during COVID-19?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

14. Do you find the Regent Park Neighbourhood Association (RPNA) beneficial?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

15. How does the Regent Park Neighbourhood Association (RPNA) help community building in your neighbourhood? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Allows members to discuss important topics for change
- ☐ A local initiative that creates a bottom-up approach for residents
- ☐ Residents are able to express their opinions
- ☐ Helps in building trust among residents and other organizations
- ☐ None of the above
- ☐ Do not find RPNA beneficial

16. Does the Regent Park Neighbourhood Association (RPNA) increase trust among residents?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ No connection

17. How does the mixed-use model help in community building?

- ☐ Provides more spaces for interaction
- ☐ Several uses nearby enhances overall experience and encourages interaction
- ☐ Better design and spaces built for different activities/sports
- ☐ Does not help in community building

18. Do the new community amenities (such as the Community Centre, Athletic Grounds, Child Care Centre, Dixon Hall Youth Centre and Employment Hub, etc.) help in increasing interaction and a sense of community for you?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

19. Are there events/programs/activities for all age groups (children, youth, adult, seniors)?

- ☐ All the time
- ☐ Most of the time
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Not that much
- ☐ Not at all

20. Which age group uses the various facilities/spaces available very often for events/programs/activities?

- ☐ Children & Parents
- ☐ Children
- ☐ Youth
- ☐ Adults
- ☐ Seniors
- ☐ A good amount for all age groups

21. Do you believe the history of the residents of Regent Park resulted in a greater sense of community building?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

22. Do you find the Regent Park Neighbourhood App “Hello Neighbour” useful?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ Don't use the App

23. Is it a good way to keep the neighbours informed about events?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ Don't use the App

24. How do you trust others? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Frequent events/activities that you attend
- ☐ Spaces encourage interaction
- ☐ Several programs of interest available
- ☐ Having transparent communication
- ☐ Through the neighbourhood association
- ☐ Having several land uses in close proximity
- ☐ Don't trust others

25. Have you heard about “creative mixed-use” and the World Urban Pavilion at Regent Park?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No answer

26. The Creative Mixed-Use Building Initiative is a project led by University of Toronto, School of Cities, where creative mixed-use buildings bring public and private uses in creative ways together. Unexpected partners in the same facility are brought together. Do you think such a model is beneficial for improving community building among residents?

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

27. Would you encourage a mixed-use model with neighbourhood associations in other areas to increase community building in the city?

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree

28. What are three things (regarding interactions or spaces) that you think would improve your neighbourhood?

Appendix 5: Interview Questions for Residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop

How long have you lived in this building/townhome?

- Less than 5 years
- 5 to 10 years
- 10 to 20 years
- More than 20 years

Single/Family

- Live with family
- Roommates
- On your own

1. How would you describe your neighbourhood?
2. Would you say neighbours trust each other? Why/why not?
3. How many residents do you know by name?
(What may have contributed to this situation that you do not know the names of the residents in this building?)
4. What would you say about yourself? How do you interact with others? Do you trust them?
5. Do you use the common areas on the building property? If not, why?
6. Do you communicate with other neighbours in the building/townhomes?
7. How do you think you can build community in a neighborhood?
8. Would you say there is a link between trust and community?
9. What are your suggestions for improvement?
10. Do you feel connected to York University?
11. Which resources are of most importance to you at York University?
12. Do you know what mixed-use is?
13. If yes, do you feel there is a mixed-use model in this neighborhood linked to York University?
14. York University has a Vision and Strategy to develop the Keele campus into a mixed-use community that will create community. What are your thoughts about this? Do you think this will be beneficial to the residents of Harry Sherman Crowe Coop?
15. Are you actively involved in HSC activities in any capacity (formal/informal)?
16. How do you think the Coop can benefit from this mixed-use model?
17. From your past experiences, does such a model encourage residents to interact more?
18. Is there possibility for more trust and community building among residents?

Appendix 6: Interview Questions for Regent Park Neighborhood Association

1. How would you define community building?
2. How long has it been since you are actively working on community building projects?
3. What was the intention behind this initiative?
4. How are you implementing community building in Regent Park?
5. How are residents involved in activities at Regent Park?
6. Has the RPNA helped in community building? If yes, how?
7. How are you catering the needs of different age groups in terms of community building?
8. What different types of activities/clubs are available for residents?
9. What would you say is needed to build community?
10. What suggestions do you have for other neighbourhoods?
11. Is there a link between trust and community?
12. How are residents at Regent Park? Would you say they generally trust each other? Why or why not?
13. Would you say the planning of the neighbourhood has an impact on trust and community building?
14. Has the history of Regent Park resulted in a greater sense of community?
15. The story of Regent Park includes stories of displacement and community building? Would you say about this in regard to community building?
16. Is there funding for community building projects or is it on a voluntary basis?
17. Based on your experience in Regent Park, would you say there is a relation between space and interactions? Does the design of space encourage interactions?
18. What types of spaces are best for interactions based on the case of Regent Park?
19. How have technological advancements helped in community building? (example: App, neighbourhood website, association, etc.)

Appendix 7: Interview Questions for Infrastructure Institute

1. What are the benefits of mixed-use?
2. Is it a good option in a capitalist society?
3. How would you define “creative mixed-use”?
4. What are the common characteristics needed for a given area to work as “creative mixed-use”?
5. How would you identify a potential area for “creative mixed-use”?
6. What are the goals of the project “creative mixed-use”?
7. What role does trust play in “creative mixed-use”?
8. Does it seem like a viable option in the long run?
9. Based on the projects so far, are the various stakeholders, such as planners and developers agreeing to work on such projects?
10. How is it working in Toronto? What type of area in Toronto are supporting this model?
11. Has a certain history led to this?
12. Do you think in areas where university campuses (with various facilities) are in close proximity to residential areas can also function as a creative mixed-use model?
13. Can you see this idea working in other cities as well?
14. What is the official process to categorize an area as “mixed-use” through the creative mixed-use model?
15. Do you think in the matchmaking process of “creative mixed-use” there can be a stage where residents are also approached about their views/input?
16. Do you believe trust and community building are related?
17. Is there a relationship between space and interactions? If so, how?
18. Do you believe a mixed-use model encourages community building and trust?
19. How can planners play a bridging role between increasing social interactions in existing places?
20. What kind of future projects are lined up for creative mixed-use and what would be your advice for cities based on your experiences in this project?