

**Landscape Architecture for Hyper-Diverse Cities:
Renewal of Toronto's Tower Housing Stock in a Time of
Unprecedented Diversity**

by

Carleigh Pope

A Thesis

presented to

The University of Guelph

In partial fulfilment of requirements
for the degree of

Master

in

Landscape Architecture

Guelph, Ontario, Canada

© Carleigh Pope, May, 2019

ABSTRACT

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE FOR HYPER-DIVERSE CITIES:
RENEWAL OF TORONTO'S TOWER HOUSING STOCK IN A TIME OF
UNPRECEDENTED DIVERSITY

Carleigh Pope

University of Guelph, 2019

Advisor(s):

Karen Landman

The concept of Hyper-Diversity in the social sciences is used to describe the unprecedented level of diversity in cosmopolitan cities; however, its relationship to landscape architecture has not been explored. The goal of this thesis is to critically evaluate the Tower Renewal Partnership (TRP) program in Toronto, Ontario, through a Hyper-Diversity lens. A Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework was compiled through a systematic review of peer-reviewed literature. Evaluation of the TRP program was carried out by building a case study from the TRP grey literature to which the Framework was applied. The evaluation revealed that the TRP Impact Areas that affect the public and shared spaces of Tower Neighbourhoods met the most criteria of the Framework. Difference is experienced within the public sphere and as such landscape architects should consider Hyper-Diversity and its influence on design.

Keywords: Toronto; Tower Renewal; Public Space; Diversity; Migrants; Tower in the Park

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous support of my committee, family, and friends.

I wish to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Karen Landman, for the support, guidance, and enthusiasm during all stages of my research.

I wish to thank my committee member, Brendan Stewart, who inspired me to pursue the topic of Tower Renewal, and always made time to provide thoughtful insights.

I would also like to thank my partner, Thomas McManus, for encouraging me to pursue my Master of Landscape Architecture degree and being an invaluable support during late studio nights, tight deadlines, and steep learning curves.

I extend a heartfelt thanks to my classmates who have all shaped my experience in the MLA program for the better.

I also wish to thank the generous support of BGM Strategy group for providing a work space for me to write this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures (if any)	vii
1 Introduction	1
2 Literature Review	3
2.1 Diversity and Community Design	3
2.2 Super-Diversity & Hyper-Diversity	4
2.3 Hyper-Diversity in the Urban Context	7
2.4 Hyper-Diversity in the City of Toronto, Ontario	8
3 Methods	12
3.1 A Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework	12
3.2 The Case Study Method	15
4 Results and Analysis	17
4.1 Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework	17
4.1.1 Materiality and Place Attachment	21
4.1.2 Micro-Publics and Sustained Encounters	21
4.1.3 Visual Permeability of Spatial Design	22
4.1.4 Pre-Existing Diversity Facilitates Hyper-Diversity	23
4.1.5 Common Purpose Transcends Difference	24
4.1.6 Quotidian Diversity Breeds Familiarity	24
4.1.7 Ethnography to Inform the Design Process	25

4.1.8	Persisting Inequalities Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility.....	26
4.2	Case Study: The Tower Renewal Partnership	27
4.2.1	History of Tower Neighbourhoods	27
4.2.2	Design Intent of the Tower in the Park Model.....	29
4.2.3	Current demographic trends of the Tower Neighbourhoods.....	30
4.2.4	The Tower Renewal Partnership	31
4.3	Analysis.....	39
5	Discussion.....	45
5.1	Existing TRP Impact Areas are Capable of Including Hyper-Diversity Criteria.	45
5.2	Hyper-Diversity is Experienced in the Public Sphere	45
5.3	Hyper-Diversity is Experienced at a Local Scale.....	46
5.4	The TRP Supports Social and Economic Capital and Mobility	47
5.5	The RAC Zone Initiative is an Important Step in Tower Renewal of Hyper-Diverse Communities.....	48
5.6	Refining the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework.....	48
5.7	Creating a Case Study of Tower Renewal	49
6	Conclusions	51
	References.....	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3-1 Research Methods	12
Table 3-2 Search terms for Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework	14
Table 3-3 Systematic Literature Review Inclusionary Criteria	14
Table 4-1 Overview of Literature for Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework.....	18
Table 4-2 Key Themes from Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity Literature	20
Table 4-3 Initiatives of the Tower Renewal Partnership (Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d. ²).....	38
Table 4-4 Evaluation of Tower Renewal Partnership Impact Areas using Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework	40
Table 4-5 Evaluation of TRP RAC Zone Initiative using Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework	43

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3-1 Systematic Literature Review Overview.....	15
---	----

1 Introduction

The world's metropolitan centres are becoming increasingly cosmopolitan as technological advances in transnational travel, geopolitical conflicts, and global diasporas spur waves of immigration (Tilley & Cameron-Daum, 2017; Ahmadi, 2017). To describe the unprecedented degree of diversity within Britain, Vertovec (2007) used the term 'Super-Diversity' which is intended to account for other variables that contribute to identity. This was later expanded upon by Tasan-Kok et al. (2014) to 'Hyper-Diversity' to include a more holistic interpretation of identity and lived experience.

In the Canadian context, metropolitan centres like Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto can be considered to host Hyper-Diverse communities, as these cities act as the nation's *Arrival Cities* (Saunders, 2017). In the context of Canada's largest city, Toronto, Ontario, recent immigrants have predominantly settled within the City's Tower Neighbourhoods (Hulchanski, 2006; Saunders, 2016) - clusters of post-war high-rise apartment buildings set upon expansive greenspace and located throughout the inner-suburbs of Toronto. In a sense, these Tower Neighbourhoods are microcosms of Hyper-Diversity within the City.

Historically, downtown cores would be the landing spot for recent immigrants where mixed-use zoning and regular foot traffic allowed immigrants to operate a small commercial enterprise at street level while occupying an apartment on the second story (Saunders, 2017). Today, recent immigrants have, in large part, been priced out of the downtown cores of these urban centres and are settling further out towards the suburbs (Saunders, 2016).

Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods are an important affordable housing resource for the City (Saunders, 2016), but this is partly due to their deteriorating condition and isolation from community services and amenities (Poppe & Young, 2015). In response to these challenges, the Tower Renewal Partnership was formed in 2008 as a multi-disciplinary collaborative focused on renewal rather than replacement of these Towers

(Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d.¹). The interest of TRP and other organizations in tower renewal presents an opportunity to explore how the concept of Hyper-Diversity can contribute to more responsive design.

The goal of this thesis is to evaluate the TRP through the lens of Hyper-Diversity. To achieve this goal, four research objectives are created:

- (1) Build a Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework;
- (2) Build a case study of the Tower Renewal Partnership;
- (3) Apply the Framework to the case study; and,
- (4) Reflect on implications of Hyper-Diversity in tower renewal and the practice of landscape architecture.

Chapter 2 of this thesis provides a review of the literature on: the concepts of Super-Diversity and Hyper-Diversity; Hyper-Diversity within the urban context; and the Hyper-Diverse communities of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods. Chapter 3 details the methods used to achieve the research goal and objectives. Chapter 4 presents the results and analysis, which includes the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework, the Tower Renewal Partnership case study, and the evaluation of the case study using the Framework. Chapter 5 presents a reflection on the outcomes of the evaluation and highlights the aspects of the case study that are the most relevant to Hyper-Diversity. Finally, this thesis concludes in Chapter 6 with a summary of the findings, the limitations of this research, and advice to landscape architects.

2 Literature Review

This chapter provides a review of community design principles as they pertain to diverse communities. Much of this scholarly discourse is centered on interactions between and within groups of people and the positive and negative implications of negotiating difference in the public sphere. The next section presents an overview of the theories of Super-Diversity and Hyper-Diversity - an emerging description for the multicultural character of modern global cities; while not new concepts in the fields of sociology and public policy, these theories have yet to be applied to the field of landscape architecture. The final section introduces the concepts of Super/Hyper-Diversity as they exist in the Tower Neighbourhoods of Toronto, Ontario, which will serve as the case study for this thesis.

2.1 Diversity and Community Design

From a social perspective, community design literature has focused on how people, either individuals or groups, interact with one another (Amin, 2002; Peterson, 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017). Planners and designers have advocated for public space as a place to facilitate interactions (Neal et al., 2015; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017) as well as providing access to nature within urban environments (Anderson et al., 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017).

Perhaps one of the most important factors in community design is how to foster a sense of community, which has been associated with improved wellbeing, an increased feeling of safety, and positive place attachment (Francis et al., 2012). Physical spaces (i.e., community centres, public parks), special events and site programming (i.e., markets, festivals), and community-led design interventions have all been identified as important factors in generating a sense of community and place attachment (Phillips, Athwal, Robinson, & Harrison, 2014 in Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017).

Diversity within communities adds a layer of complexity when considering community design because of visible and perceived differences. Public spaces such as community centres, neighbourhood parks, and libraries offer opportunities for diverse groups to see and be seen by others in the community (Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017;). In addition, public spaces can provide the stage for fleeting interactions between diverse groups that preclude the need for a common language (Peterson, 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2017). This can be especially important for recent migrants within an unfamiliar social, economic, and linguistic context and may help to facilitate integration into their landed communities.

However, in contrast to the stated importance of fleeting encounters in diverse communities, it has been argued that these encounters do not necessarily break down barriers to intercultural understanding (Wessendorf, 2013 in Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2017). Peters' (2010) research highlighted limited intercultural interactions within public spaces and demonstrated that these spaces were primarily used for leisure and socializing within ethnic groups. The provision of public space has not been found to be a panacea for integrating diverse communities; indeed, it may exacerbate racial stereotypes and further isolate marginalised groups when they become territorialized by one group over another (Valentine, 2008).

2.2 Super-Diversity & Hyper-Diversity

Super-diversity is a term first coined by Vertovec (2007) to describe the unprecedented levels of ethnic and socio-cultural diversity observed in Britain. At its core, super-diversity is to be used as a summary term that encapsulates not only the conventional concept of diversity and multiculturalism, but also the interactions between variables of diversity (Vertovec, 2007). The additional variables of diversity included in Vertovec's (2007) definition include "... differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (pg.2). Vertovec (2007) argues that these

variables are rarely included in a side-by-side analysis, and it is their unprecedented interaction that has created the concept of super-diversity.

Since its emergence in the literature, others have built upon the super-diversity definition to further emphasize the heterogeneity of cosmopolitan communities: Hyper-Diversity is a concept that recognizes a greater degree of diversity since people who appear to be a part of the same group may have different lifestyles, priorities, economic opportunities, and legal statuses (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). While super-diversity emphasizes a greater degree of diversity of ethnicity between and within demographic groups, Hyper-Diversity further refines this concept to incorporate the complexity of lived experiences that transcends ethnic and cultural boundaries (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Hyper-Diversity acknowledges diversity within communities based on socio-economic statuses, social structures, and ethno-cultural identities while also including "...factors of lifestyles, attitudes and activities" (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014, pg.7).

With each refinement of super-diversity, a finer-scale of diversity is captured through recognition of complex differences within and between groups of people. In essence, super-diversity and Hyper-Diversity are concepts that recognize the diversity within diversity (Pitter, 2016; Ahmadi, 2017). Both of these concepts enable discourse about diverse populations to evolve beyond the entrenched forms of visible and socio-economic difference to more nuanced understandings of lived experience and identity (Pitter, 2016). For the purposes of this thesis, the concept of Hyper-Diversity will be used to capture the greatest degree of diversity and investigate its relationship to landscape.

Factors that contribute to Hyper-Diverse contemporary cities include technological advances in transportation and geopolitical conflicts that can spur diasporas of different groups of people (Tilley & Cameron-Daum, 2017; Ahmadi, 2017). Migrants fleeing their countries of origin for fear of persecution, economic instability, and/or desire for new opportunities has contributed to shaping cosmopolitan cities around the world. This unprecedented assemblage of groups of people with diverse ethnic, socio-cultural,

values, beliefs, and economic backgrounds presents the challenge of living with and valuing difference within and across cities for migrants and native-born citizens alike. Hyper-diverse cities, by definition, host a wide variety of languages, cultural practices, and traditions stemming from their cosmopolitan population (Peterson, 2017). Inevitably, conflicts can arise from feelings of alienation, displacement, and negative perceptions of the 'other'.

There is some disagreement in the literature about the value of redefining these terms with increasing specificity as this may reinforce separation of different groups of people (Ficher, Iveson, Leitner, & Prestone, 2014 in Peterson, 2017). Migrants will often land in cities with an established community of shared cultural values, languages, and traditions, which has led to richly diverse 'analogue communities' around the world (Saunders, 2016). These 'analogue communities' often maintain a familiar character, cultural norms, and social dynamics to those of migrants' countries of origin. While vital for the early establishment of migrants in a new country of residence, these analogues may perpetuate the separation of different groups of people and do not demand social mixing.

The role of landscape and built form in fostering a sense of community is a key component of hyper-diversity research, ranging from studies of place attachment and memory (Rishbeth & Powell, 2013) to the impact of spatial design and programming on interactions between different groups of people (Piekut & Valentine, 2016; Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2017; Peterson, 2017). While the experience of landscape is a universal one, it is unique to the individual and is therefore subject to contestation (Tilley & Cameron-Daum, 2017). Differences in priorities, cultural values, lived experiences, and aesthetic preferences can all play a role in how an individual perceives and values landscape (Tilley & Cameron-Daum, 2017). A challenge exists in hyper-diverse societies, then, to accommodate a diversity of priorities and reconcile those who are in competition with one another when landscape design is being considered.

Public space has often been cited as the driving force behind integrating diverse communities due to its role in facilitating social encounters (Neal et al., 2015; Rishbeth et al., 2017), although some literature places the emphasis on semi-public space for building a sense of community (Peterson, 2017). Public space provides the opportunity for people of different groups to see and be seen (Rishbeth & Powell, 2013) and plays a role in normalizing diversity within a community.

2.3 Hyper-Diversity in the Urban Context

Higher economic and employment opportunities within the urban context have allowed urban areas to become centres of super-diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Historical migrations of groups of cultures and ethnicities to cities have resulted in distinct ethnic enclaves in which newcomers can find culturally relevant services, customs, languages, and amenities (Saunders, 2017). These migrations have resulted in the Chinatowns, Little Italys, and Jewish neighbourhoods seen in many cosmopolitan cities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014; Saunders, 2017).

There is some discussion in the literature pertaining to the advantages and disadvantages of ethnic enclaves within urban cosmopolitan contexts. In one sense, ethnic enclaves can contribute to bonding social capital, an element of social cohesion between individuals of the same or similar group (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Ethnic enclaves can provide important access to services for newcomers through networks established by previous arrivals of migrants (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014; Saunders, 2017); new immigrants must navigate an unfamiliar social and economic context and overcome language barriers. Established ethnic enclaves help new migrants to identify with other members of their community and be seen within the greater matrix of the urban environment.

While important for fostering bonding social capital, cultural enclaves may not inherently create bridging social capital, a measure of social cohesion between different groups of people (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Bridging social capital facilitates social and

economic mobility for newcomers to thrive in their new environments and generate wealth for future generations (Saunders, 2017).

The strong social networks created through ethnic enclaves can negatively impact social cohesion for the broader urban context by creating a city of cities and reinforcing segregation (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). This notion, however, is based upon a flawed assumption that ethnic enclaves are ethno-culturally homogeneous based on administrative categories of ethnicity (Dean et al., 2018).

Aside from visible ethnic and cultural differences, migrant communities may become segregated for socio-economic factors. Indeed, recent immigrants often land in their new country with fewer economic resources than native-born citizens, which leaves them with limited housing options, for example (Saunders, 2017; Dean et al., 2018). At one point in time, immigrants were able to rent or own property within the downtown cores of metropolitan areas where they could rely on steady foot-traffic for their small business enterprises (Saunders, 2017). The historical pattern for immigrants in landed communities was to initially settle in these downtown core areas until they gained the economic mobility to move into suburban neighbourhoods amidst native-born and assimilated immigrants (Park et al., 1925 in Dean et al., 2018). With rising housing prices, newcomers are often relegated to more affordable housing options in inner-suburban neighbourhoods. This shift has redefined suburban areas from homogenous socio-economic and cultural neighbourhoods to ones of greater diversity (Dean et al., 2018) creating 'ethnoburbs' that offer similar benefits to ethnic enclaves within metropolitan areas (Li, 1998 in Dean et al., 2018).

2.4 Hyper-Diversity in the City of Toronto, Ontario

Much of the literature on Hyper-Diversity has investigated implications in Europe (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2017; Peterson, 2017) and the United Kingdom (Vertovec, 2007; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018) but limited research exists for Canada.

Multiculturalism as an official policy in Canada emerged in 1971; however, it had existed as a facet within the Canadian zeitgeist for decades prior to its enactment by Pierre

Trudeau's liberal government (Saunders, 2017). Since its emergence in popular discourse nearly fifty years ago, the concept of multiculturalism has come under scrutiny as lacking substance and merely nodding to the idea of pluralism (Thomas, 2001). In multiculturalism, individual identities are reduced to simplified categories of racial and cultural ethnicities, effectively ignoring intersectional dimensions of diversity.

In recent years, Hyper-Diversity research has begun to make an appearance in the Canadian context (Pitter & Lorinc, 2016; Dean et al., 2018). Although sometimes absent from the literature, the term Hyper-Diversity and its facets are investigated in Canadian metropolitan areas such as Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto. These three major cities have been termed Arrival Cities by Saunders (2017) as they follow the historical trend of migrants settling within established ethnic enclaves. Indeed, more than half the population of the City of Toronto is foreign-born (Ahmadi, 2018), a fact that is celebrated in the city's motto: "Diversity is our Strength".

The settlement pattern in Toronto has followed the general trend of other cosmopolitan cities where rising housing prices has relegated migrants to the inner suburbs of the city and peripheral bedroom communities (Saunders, 2016). As discussed previously, settlement outside the downtown urban core of cities fundamentally changes the trajectory for migrants becoming established in their landed communities (Saunders, 2017). Limited opportunities for entrepreneurial activities, access to reliable public transit, and low population densities create conditions that isolate migrants within their new communities (Saunders, 2016).

Perhaps one of the most characteristic features of Toronto's inner suburbs are the Towers in the Park (Poppe & Young, 2015) - a housing typology that features multiple high-rise apartment buildings clustered on an expansive green space (Stewart, 2007). These towers reflect a post-war housing boom during the 1950s to the early 1980s that resulted in nearly 2,000 high-rise apartment towers in the City of Toronto (Poppe & Young, 2015). Originally designed to be an alternative to living downtown for young urban professionals and empty-nesters, these tower neighbourhoods are now one of

the last vestiges of affordable housing within Toronto and, as such, are valuable landing spots for migrants in addition to low-income families (Poppe & Young, 2015). The affordability of the towers presents a paradox for the City since it partly stems from their deteriorating infrastructure and poor conditions (Poppe & Young, 2015) and their improvements may eventually price-out the populations dependent upon them.

Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods offer an opportunity to investigate landscape architecture and urban design through the lens of Hyper-Diversity. Residents within these neighbourhoods represent an intersectionality of diverse ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic statuses and lived experiences and can therefore be considered Hyper-Diverse. The unique Tower in the Park housing typology also presents the opportunity to investigate the role of landscape in these Hyper-Diverse communities.

There is growing interest in revitalizing Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods as seen in the multitude of organizations advocating for updating and improving this valuable housing stock. Tower Renewal as a concept in Toronto was motivated by the Mayor's Tower Renewal Opportunities Book (2006) during David Miller's tenure as Mayor of Toronto. Stemming from this document the Tower Renewal Partnership (TRP) was established in 2008 (McClelland, Stewart, & Ord, 2011) and was an early supporter of Tower Renewal. The TRP program is a cross-sector collaboration that advocates for zoning policy changes, community service provisions, housing quality improvement, and greenhouse gas reduction (TRP, n.d.²). The link between the landscape of the Towers in the Park model to these initiatives is underdeveloped and presents an opportunity to investigate its role in achieving the TRP program goals.

Based on the literature, it is clear that the world is entering a new era of unprecedented diversity that creates both challenges and opportunities for Hyper-Diverse communities. Urban, inner-suburban, and suburban areas continue to play an important role in receiving new immigrants in Canada and the spatial context in which they settle needs to be investigated to understand the dynamics and lived experience of Hyper-Diverse communities. Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods of the inner-suburbs are

some of the most diverse communities within the City creating an opportune nexus to investigate the role of landscape and shared space in Hyper-Diverse Communities. Building upon the effort and contributions of the TRP to understanding and renewing Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods, this thesis will evaluate the areas in which renewal is being pursued through the lens of Hyper-Diversity.

3 Methods

This chapter outlines the methods used for this research. The aim of this research is to evaluate the TRP through the lens of Hyper-Diversity. To achieve this, four research objectives guided the research:

- (1) To create a framework based on the Super/Hyper-Diversity literature for a critical analysis of the TRP;
- (2) To build a case study of the TRP;
- (3) To critique the TRP using the framework; and
- (4) To reflect on the theory of hyper-diversity as it applies to landscape architecture and urban design, and provide recommendations for the TRP.

Refer to Table 3.1 below for the methods associated with each research objective.

Table 3-1 Research Methods

Objective	Method
(1) Create a critical framework based on Hyper-Diversity literature	Systematic literature review
(2) Build a case study of the TRP	Grey literature review of TRP and associated agencies' documents Supplemental interviews with TRP key informants
(3) Critique the TRP through the lens of Hyper-Diversity	Analysis of case study through concepts as laid out in the Hyper-Diversity literature
(4) Reflect upon the theory of Hyper-Diversity as it applies to landscape architecture and urban design and provide recommendations for the TRP	Synthesis of findings into recommendations for TRP

3.1 A Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

Hyper-Diversity is an emerging theory in social sciences and public policy development; however, its relationship to landscape design is still nascent and relatively unexplored. Landscape architecture presents an opportunity to investigate this relationship because of its interdisciplinary approach to design. A critical framework built

from Hyper-Diversity literature can contribute to building better design principles for hyper-diverse communities.

A critical framework was established through a systematic literature review of Hyper-Diversity literature. A systematic literature review is often employed in medical and psychological research (Palermo, 2012); however, this method can also be applied to landscape architecture research. A systematic literature review method creates a clear and replicable research approach through the use of specific terms and parameters to collect and analyse relevant research (Palermo, 2012). The systematic literature review method is an iterative research approach in which key terms and parameters are adjusted to expand or refine selected resources (Higgins & Green, 2011). This method was selected as an appropriate approach to construct a critical framework for this thesis since the concept of Hyper-Diversity has not been widely applied to landscape architecture. Even within the social science disciplines, Hyper-Diversity is a nascent concept; a systematic literature review allows for the summary "...[of] the best available research on a specific question" (Palermo, 2012, pg.6). Common themes and pertinent findings to the practice of landscape architecture and urban design were synthesized from the literature to guide the development of Hyper-Diverse criteria.

Literature was systematically reviewed using the Web of Science Database accessed through the University of Guelph online library access. A complete list of search terms is provided in Table 2. All search queries were structured to have a Primary Search Term (i.e., Hyper-Diversity or Super-Diversity) and a Secondary Search Term (i.e., Landscape etc.) to select literature that is the most germane to landscape architecture.

The preliminary search results for Hyper-Diversity and Secondary Search Terms yielded limited literature. To capture as much Hyper-Diversity literature as possible, a search was conducted using only the Primary Search Term (i.e., Hyper-Diversity). In

addition, the systematic literature review was expanded to include Super-Diversity to supplement the limited yield of Hyper-Diversity literature.

Table 3-2 Search terms for Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

Primary Search Term	Secondary Search Term
Hyper-Diversity;	
Hyperdiversity;	Urban Design
Super-Diversity;	Space
Superdiversity	Landscape

Results from the above search combinations were required to meet the following inclusionary criteria:

Table 3-3 Systematic Literature Review Inclusionary Criteria

Stage One: Preliminary Review	Stage Two: Full Document Review
Published in 2007 or later	Subject matter relevant to landscape, urban design, planning, public space, and semi-public space
Published in English	
Search Terms appear in Title, Abstract, and/or Keywords	

Literature results were required to be published in 2007 or later, as 2007 is the year that Vertovec coined the term ‘Super-Diversity’. Articles were also required to be published in English for the ease of research. The remaining inclusionary criteria were intended to hone literature results to the most applicable publications for building the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework.

Searches were performed on February 20 and 21, 2019, and a total of 53 articles were collected. After full document review and removal of duplicate results and irrelevant literature, 24 articles remained to contribute to the creation of a Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework. The findings from the systematic literature review and the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework are presented in Chapter 4.

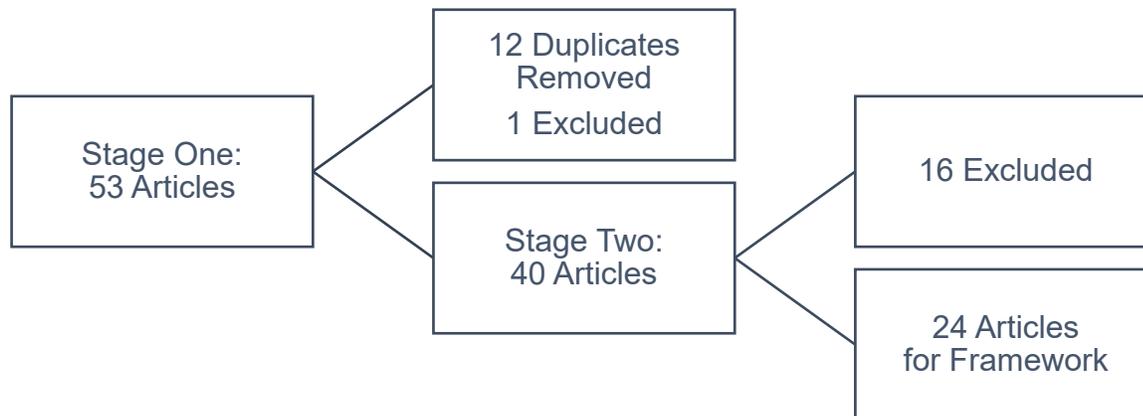


Figure 3-1 Systematic Literature Review Overview

3.2 The Case Study Method

Case studies are often employed as a research method in academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology (Yin, 2006); however, they are also highly applicable to landscape architecture research (Francis, 1999; Deming & Swaffield, 2011). A case study strategy allows for the study of the complex relationships between people and the environment – a primary focus of landscape architecture research and practice (Deming & Swaffield, 2011). Indeed, Francis (1999) credits the case study method to be one of landscape architects’ key tools for communicating their work to peers and the general public.

The case study research method allows for an in-depth investigation into a specific contemporary phenomenon (or a small group of phenomena) to gain insight (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2006). Stake (1995) describes case studies used in research to be either intrinsic or instrumental. The former is of use when the research goal is to know more about a specific case whereas the latter can be used to gain insight to a larger research

question (Stake, 1995). In essence, an instrumental case study is used to understand something other than the case itself (Stake, 1995).

This thesis will use the TRP as an instrumental case study of Hyper-Diversity in the City of Toronto. The Tower Neighbourhoods in Toronto have become important landing spots for newly-arrived immigrants to Toronto, and in the several decades since their construction many have become microcosms of the Hyper-Diversity to be found in the City. The TRP case study facilitates an investigation into ongoing City-wide initiatives that focus on Tower Renewal in these Hyper-Diverse communities and allows for reflection upon Hyper-Diversity theories as it applies to the larger Toronto context.

The case study of the TRP was built through the use of grey literature from the TRP website (www.towerrenewal.com) and partner agency publications. Further information about the TRP was gathered through key informant interviews with TRP members. The case study on the Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods and the TRP can be found in Chapter 4.

4 Results and Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the systematic literature review and the corresponding Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework for landscape architecture. This chapter then provides a brief history of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods to establish the context for the case study of the TRP. Finally, an evaluation of the TRP through the lens of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework is included at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

The systematic literature review of Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity literature as it applies to landscape resulted in 24 peer-reviewed articles that formed the basis of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework (see Table 4.1).

Themes from the literature were grouped into three general categories that pertain to the dimensions of landscape architecture in Hyper-Diverse communities: Spatial, Experiential, and Process. Each of these categories contain a number of recurrent themes from the Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity Literature (see Table

Table 4-1 Overview of Literature for Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

Author (Year)	Title	Journal
Aptekar (2019)	Super-diversity as a methodological lens: re-centring power and inequality	Ethnic and Racial Studies
Askins (2016)	Emotional Citizenry: everyday geographies of befriending, belonging, and intercultural encounter	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers
Biehl, K. S. (2015)	Spatializing diversities, diversifying spaces: housing experiences and home space perceptions in a migrant hub of Istanbul	Ethnic and Racial Studies
Dean et al. (2018)	Beyond the Cosmopolis: Sustaining Hyper-Diversity in the Suburbs of Peel Region, Ontario	Urban Planning
Dirksmeier, Helbrecht & Mackrodt (2014)	Situational Places: Rethinking Geographies of Intercultural Interaction in Super-Diverse Urban Space	Geografiska Annaler Series – B-Human Geography
Doucerein et al. (2013)	Travels in Hyper-Diversity: Multiculturalism and the contextual assessment of acculturation	International Journal of Intercultural Relations
Gidley (2013)	Landscapes of Belonging, Portraits of life, researching everyday multiculturalism in an inner-city estate	Identities – Global Studies in Culture and Power
Hall (2015)	Super-diverse street: a ‘trans-ethnography’ across migrant localities	Ethnic and Racial Studies
Hoekstra & Pinkster (2019)	‘We want to be there for everyone’: imagined spaces of encounter and the politics of place in a super-diverse neighbourhood.	Social & Cultural Geography
Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski (2017)	Diverse and Different Faces of Social Solidarity in Warsaw	Geographica Polonica
Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski (2018)	Neighbouring the different: Social Interaction in a Warsaw Subarea	Bulletin of Geography – Socio-Economic Series

Author (Year)	Title	Journal
Neal et al. (2015)	Multiculture and Public Parks: Researching Super-Diversity and Attachment in Public Green Space	Population Space and Place
Oliveira, N. & Padilla, B. (2016)	Integrating super-diversity in urban governance: the case of inner-city Lisbon	Policy & Politics
Padilla, B., Azevedo, J., Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2015)	Superdiversity and conviviality: exploring frameworks for doing ethnography in Southern European intercultural cities	Ethnic and Racial Studies
Pemberton, S., Phillimore, J.)	Migrant place-making in super-diverse neighbourhoods: moving beyond ethno-national approaches	Urban Studies
Phillimore, J. (2013)	Housing, Home and Neighbourhood Renewal in the Era of Superdiversity: Some Lessons from the West Midlands	Housing Studies
Pottie-Sherman & Hiebert (2015)	Authenticity with a bang: Exploring suburban culture and migration through the new phenomenon of the Richmond Night Market	Urban Studies
Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka (2018)	Ethnographic understandings of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods to inform urban design practice	Local Environment
Visser (2016)	“You shouldn’t blame religion...but the person” – the ethnic boundary work of young second generation migrants in Rotterdam	Children’s Geographies
Wekker, F. (2019)	“We have to teach them diversity”: on demographic transformations and lived reality in an Amsterdam working-class neighbourhood	Ethnic and Racial Studies
Wessendorf (2013)	Commonplace diversity and the ‘ethos of mixing’: perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood	Identities – Global Studies in Culture and Power
Wessendorf (2014)	‘Being open, but sometimes closed’: Conviviality in a super-diverse London Neighbourhood	European Journal of Cultural Studies
Wessendorf (2016)	Settling in a Super-Diverse Context: Recent Migrants’ Experiences of Conviviality	Journal of Intercultural Studies
Ye (2017)	Contours of urban diversity and coexistence	Geography Compass

Table 4-2 Key Themes from Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity Literature

	Spatial			Experiential			Process	
	Materiality	Micro-Publics	Visual Permeability	Pre-Existing Diversity	Common Purpose	Quotidian Diversity	Applied Ethnography	Persisting Inequalities
Aptekar (2019)		X					X	X
Askins (2016)		X			X	X		
Biehl (2015)				X				
Dean et al. (2018)				X		X		
Dirksmeier, Helbrecht & Mackrodt (2014)	X					X		
Doucerain et al. (2013)		X				X		
Gidley (2013)	X	X		X			X	X
Hall (2015)							X	X
Hoekstra & Pinkster (2019)	X	X			X			X
Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski (2017)	X	X			X			
Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski (2018)					X	X		
Neal et al. (2015)	X				X	X		
Oliveira & Padilla (2016)			X		X			
Padilla et al. (2015)					X		X	X
Pemberton (2018)			X	X		X		
Phillimore, J. (2013)	X		X	X			X	
Pottie-Sherman & Hiebert (2015)					X			
Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka (2018)			X			X	X	X
Visser (2016)								X
Wekker (2019)							X	X
Wessendorf (2013)						X		
Wessendorf (2014)		X				X		
Wessendorf (2016)		X		X		X		X
Ye (2017)								X

4.1.1 Materiality and Place Attachment

The physical environment of a place is a major influence on shaping local identity and culture (Dirksmeier, Helbrecht, & Mackrodt, 2014; Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski, 2018), eventually building a sense of place attachment (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019). Place attachment and a sense of belonging can arise from similarities between a recent migrant's home and landed countries (i.e., planting design, water features, trails etc.) (Phillimore, 2013; Neal et al., 2015). Indeed, materiality may become a central focus of nostalgic memories of places past (Gidley, 2013).

Place attachment may also present as territoriality, where an affinity for a particular environment is translated to a perceived sense of rightful ownership or belonging (Gidley, 2013). This may result in the exclusion of individuals or groups of people who are perceived to have less legitimacy in being in the contested environment than those included (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019).

The materiality of space can also influence how a space is used and by whom. An investment in the quality of public spaces and their maintenance can create desirable spaces for voluntary recreation (Neal et al., 2015). Bringing people into public spaces affords the opportunity to see and be seen by others and negotiate difference in the public sphere (Neal et al., 2015). In addition, quality public space that attracts people to use it can provide a space for marginalised groups to gather, be seen, and exercise a form of solidarity (Ye, 2017).

In contrast to quality public spaces, a lack of investment and upkeep in public spaces can create feelings of insecurity and danger, resulting in them being underused (Neal et al., 2015). A perceived lack of safety may discourage certain groups of people from using these neglected spaces for fear of violence or acts of racism (Ye, 2017).

4.1.2 Micro-Publics and Sustained Encounters

Micro-publics are spaces in which sustained encounters are facilitated if not encouraged (Neal et al., 2015). The importance of micro-publics in fostering intercultural

exchange is often attributed to Amin (2002), who highlights their potential for meaningful interactions but also warns of the risk of exclusion. Further, existing power structures and inequalities in the macro-context may be rebuilt within micro-publics (Aptekar, 2019; Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019) as underlying systems of oppression are not automatically addressed with the existence of these spaces.

Similar to the materiality of space, micro-publics can play a role in developing place attachment and a sense of belonging through repeated use and familiar, habitual users (Askins, 2016; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018; Aptekar, 2019). The inclusion of micro-publics in the design of public space can be as simple as benches, dog parks, and places of calm onlooking places of activity (Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski, 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018).

Wessendorf (2014) distinguishes the difference between micro-public and public spaces by noting the former facilitates the discussion of difference whereas interactions within the latter are typically fleeting. Through the discussion of difference and habitual encounters, micro-publics can allow for meaningful intercultural exchange (Neal et al., 2015; Askins, 2016; Aptekar, 2019; Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019), which challenges stereotypes and overcomes barriers (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019).

4.1.3 Visual Permeability of Spatial Design

An important spatial consideration for Hyper-Diverse communities is the visual permeability of shared space. A high degree of visual permeability ensures users will feel safe within shared spaces (Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). Cooper-Marcus (2003) defines shared spaces, or shared outdoor spaces, as "...consit[ing] of spaces owned by a group and usually accessible only to that group" (pg.32). These spaces can be community gardens, playgrounds, and landscaped areas that are commonly found in condominium developments, clustered housing (Cooper-Marcus, 2003), as well as the Tower in the Park housing model.

Spaces with vegetation that impedes sight-lines, blind corners, and poor lighting can make users feel unsafe and discourage use (Neal et al., 2015). In addition to considerations of safety, visual permeability allows individuals and groups to see each other and be seen as having a legitimate presence (Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). This can also contribute to building commonplace diversity (see section 1.1.6). Creating opportunities for people to be seen by others is an important first step in normalizing Hyper-Diversity and creating inclusive spaces for encounter.

4.1.4 Pre-Existing Diversity Facilitates Hyper-Diversity

Settling into a new context can be challenging for recent migrants, especially if there are significant language and cultural barriers. Existing Hyper-Diverse communities exhibit a diversity of visible and audible differences that may ease the arrival of newly landed immigrants since they are not outliers based on ethno-cultural appearances and language(s) spoken (Gidley, 2013; Wessendorf 2016). Newcomers are able to visually blend in to the existing community fabric and build connections through established migrant networks (Gidley, 2013; Phillimore, 2013; Biehl, 2015; Wessendorf, 2016). Newcomers may also feel more comfortable speaking in their primary language within these existing diverse communities because of everyday-ness of hearing multiple languages in public and shared spaces (Gidley, 2013; Phillimore, 2013; Wessendorf, 2016).

Pre-existing diversity within a community may also enable newcomers to preserve some of their own socio-cultural norms (Visser, 2016) rather than being forced to fit within the expectations of a less diverse community (Wessendorf, 2016). Further, when investigating Hyper-Diversity in Peel Region, Dean et al. (2018) found that recent immigrants cited existing diversity as a motivating factor for settling in a particular neighbourhood. Immigrants in the study in Peel Region indicated a desire to live the "...typical[] 'Canadian Experience' of living in multi-cultural communities" (Dean et al., 2018, pg. 44). Pre-existing diversity in a community can endow a sense of freedom to

express one's identity in the absence of a prescribed social mold to which newcomers must fit.

4.1.5 Common Purpose Transcends Difference

Sharing a common purpose or activity can overcome visible and cultural differences, facilitating intercultural exchange (Neal et al., 2015; Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski, 2018; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018; Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019,). The focus on activity alleviates the pressures of social interaction and can eschew language barriers (Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). Markets, cultural festivals, and neighbourhood events can provide legitimacy for being in public to marginalised groups, while facilitating activities independent of conversation, such as shopping, walking, and watching (Neal et al., 2015; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). However, the ephemerality of markets, festivals, and other events may prevent meaningful intercultural exchanges as most of the interactions are fleeting and place few obligations beyond civility on participants (Doucerain et al., 2014; Neal et al., 2015; Rishbeth, Ganji & Vodicka, 2018).

A common purpose and/or shared activity may itself transition to a form of micro-public when considering habitual activities like dog-walking and taking children to the playground (Askins, 2016; Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski, 2017; 2018). The familiarity of regular users for a common purpose can create a bridge between individuals and groups and facilitate sustained encounters (Askins, 2016; Korcelli-Olejniczak & Piotrowski, 2017; 2018).

4.1.6 Quotidian Diversity Breeds Familiarity

In addition to micro-publics for sustained interaction within and between groups, Hyper-Diverse communities need to have opportunities for fleeting encounters. These encounters are low-pressure social interactions where few obligations are placed upon those interacting (Dirksmeier, Helbrecht, & Mackrodt, 2014). Fleeting encounters typically exhibit civil and respectful behaviour towards others as difference is negotiated

through space (Gidley, 2013). Even in the absence of conversation and/or sustained conversation, quotidian diversity (the everyday encounter of difference) becomes normalized and commonplace in everyday life (Wessendorf 2013; 2016; Neal et al., 2015; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018).

Through regular exposure to diversity, stereotypes and prejudices may be challenged by simply seeing others and becoming familiar – albeit at a distance – with other groups of people. Conversely, limiting interactions to only fleeting encounters does not provide an opportunity for deepening understanding of others or meaningful intercultural exchange, which may exacerbate negative feelings towards others. Without enough information about others to challenge these negative feelings, individuals and groups often resort to stereotypes to develop a full assessment of a particular group of people (Visser, 2016). Yet, as Wessendorf (2013) notes, both fleeting and sustained encounters carry the risk of perpetuating negative stereotypes; however, a complete absence of interaction is more likely to reinforce negative sentiments.

4.1.7 Ethnography to Inform the Design Process

Ethnography is a commonly used method in social sciences and anthropology because it allows for an in-depth understanding of an individual or group(s) of people (Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). An ethnographic approach requires a commitment from the researcher, professional, and/or designer to the community being studied because it relies on relationships built over time as well as an appreciation for the everyday lived experience of members of that community (Gidley, 2013; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018). An ethnographic approach places a new lens on identity that goes beyond the standardized categories of race, ethnicity, gender, etc., and towards an appreciation of the hybrid and creolized nature of Hyper-Diverse communities (Gidley, 2013).

The in-depth focus of ethnography may obscure other outside or adjacent factors that may influence the daily life of individuals in Hyper-Diverse communities. Hall (2015) advocates for a *trans-ethnographic* method of researching Hyper-Diverse communities

across micro-, meso-, and macro-scales to provide insight on the complexities of these communities. Indeed, by their very nature, Hyper-Diverse communities are not limited by physical neighbourhood boundaries; rather, individuals often maintain trans-national ties across their trajectory of arrival adding to the palimpsest of identity (Hall, 2015). This multi-scalar approach can also assist researchers and practitioners to identify underlying inequitable distribution of power and resources (see section 1.1.8).

4.1.8 Persisting Inequalities Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility

Throughout the Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity literature, the issues of underlying systems of oppression, unequal distributions of power and resources, and intolerance were all cited as persistent problems (Gidley, 2013; Wessendorf, 2013; 2016; Visser, 2016; Ye, 2017; Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka, 2018; Aptekar, 2019; Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2019). Gidley (2013) notes that simply celebrating diversity does nothing to challenge the pre-existing imbalance of power and daily prejudices experienced by marginalised groups. Even with the inclusion of quality materials, micro-publics, high visual permeability, neighbourhood festivals, and opportunities for fleeting encounters, negative feelings towards others may persist in the private sphere (Gidley, 2013; Wessendorf, 2013). As highlighted in the above sections, these design considerations risk excluding those who are perceived to not belong, or do not comply with unwritten socio-cultural norms and values (Ye, 2017; Aptekar, 2019).

Rishbeth, Ganji, & Vodicka (2018) state that a lack of understanding of diverse patterns of socializing can permeate into the design and planning professions which ultimately recreates the marginalization of vulnerable communities. Recent immigrants are faced with the challenge of starting a new life in an often unfamiliar geographic, linguistic, and cultural context, all of which impact an individual's social and economic mobility.

It is important for researchers and practitioners to seek out solutions that challenge the existing imbalance of power and inequitable allocation of resources and space.

4.2 Case Study: The Tower Renewal Partnership

In order to build a case study of the TRP, it is important to first provide the temporal, policy, and geographical contexts of the Tower Neighbourhoods themselves. For the purpose of this thesis, the term Tower Neighbourhoods refers to clusters of post-war high-rise apartment buildings as well as single high-rise apartment towers from the same era. This section provides a brief history of the Tower Neighbourhoods and the key influencers on their site-scale design features as well as their location within the regional context of the Greater Toronto Area. The demographic trends and challenges within the Tower Neighbourhoods are discussed as a precursor to the creation of the TRP in 2008. Finally, the TRP is explored in greater detail in terms of its partner organizations, goals, and initiatives within Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods.

4.2.1 History of Tower Neighbourhoods

The City of Toronto is home to nearly 1,000 high-rise apartment towers built during the postwar housing boom from the 1950s to the early 1980s; the towers comprise nearly half of the City's rental housing stock (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012; Poppe & Young, 2015). This housing boom coincided with the establishment of the Metropolitan Government of Toronto in 1960, the second in North America, which attracted key figures such as Eugene G. Faludi, Hans Blumenfeld, and Gordon Stevenson (Stewart 2007). The amalgamation of the five boroughs surrounding the City of Toronto (Etobicoke, North York, York, East York, and Scarborough) to form Metropolitan Toronto was used as a strategy to stimulate development across the Metro area by coordinating private and public development efforts (Stewart, 2008). These influential architects and planners brought modernist and European ideals to the City of Toronto in a time of population growth, increased housing, and government supported development (Stewart, 2007, 2012).

Eugene G. Faludi in particular was an advocate for the Tower in the Park housing model (Stewart, 2007), a common type of Tower Neighbourhood in Toronto. After arriving in Canada during World War Two, Faludi became involved in the planning

and urban renewal projects in Toronto (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.). The City of Toronto Master Plan created by Faludi (1943) enabled the City to take on renewal efforts for housing and infrastructure (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.¹; White, 2007).

Hans Blumenfeld was born in Germany and emigrated to the United States in 1924 (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.²). Blumenfeld worked as an architect in New York, Baltimore, and Los Angeles before eventually joining the Russian State Planning Institute in 1930 (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.²). Blumenfeld's career continued to bring him back and forth across the Atlantic until the United States State Department declined to renew his passport during the McCarthy era (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.²). It was at this point that Blumenfeld came to Canada and took a job as the Assistant Director of the Metro Toronto Planning Board in 1955 (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.²). Much like Eugene G. Faludi, Blumenfeld played a key role in shaping the City of Toronto Official Plan in 1959 (Canadian Institute of Planners, n.d.²).

Gordon Stevenson had a similar impact on Toronto's shift towards modernist planning principles. Stevenson was heavily invested in the New Town developments in the United Kingdom, and while in Toronto, he worked as the director of the University of Toronto's emergent School of Planning (Stewart, 2007).

The significance of these planners to the shape and character of the City of Toronto cannot be overstated. Arriving to Canada as immigrants themselves, it seems only fitting that their new town designs and plans for urban renewal would eventually become home for subsequent generations of immigrants.

The construction of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods marked an achievement in construction innovation: the concrete flying form (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2016). This method of construction allowed developers to erect building stories quickly, resulting in an explosion of high-rise towers in a short period of time (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2016). The concrete skeleton of many of these Tower Neighbourhoods is a

motivating factor in their renewal, as they are for the most part in good condition and viable for revitalization (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2016).

4.2.2 Design Intent of the Tower in the Park Model

The Tower in the Park housing model emerged during post-war reconstruction efforts in Europe which incorporated modernist principles to provide not only affordable, high-density housing, but also an equitable and just democratic society (Stewart, 2012). The modern concrete towers were an answer to poor quality tenement housing and housing shortages in Europe (Stewart, 2012).

In Toronto, The Tower in the Park housing model provided an alternative to living in the downtown core, while still having ready access to its features and amenities (Stewart, 2007; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal 2012). The clusters of high-rise apartment towers became the most popular form of housing for Toronto's middle class for more than 20 years (Stewart, 2007; Poppe & Young, 2015). The Tower in the Park housing model has been celebrated as an innovative form of high-density housing in Toronto and has created the characteristic high-rise skyline. Moreover, the space surrounding the Towers allowed the City of Toronto to maintain open space in urban areas while still achieving housing density targets (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012).

The spatial arrangement of the Tower in the Park model was predicated on access to a personal vehicle in order to access surrounding businesses and community amenities, and to conduct errands. The intended residents for the Tower Neighbourhoods of Toronto were young couples, retirees, and empty-nesters who desired to live outside the commotion of the City centre (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012).

Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods were built in a time of support for the middle-class of Canada and were designed based on a different type of urbanism than is preferred today (Santopinto, 2019). The landscape of the Tower Neighbourhoods was

designed to be experienced by car as seen through the large distances from Towers to community services and amenities, as well as large expanses of surface parking in Tower Neighbourhoods (Santopinto, 2019). At the time of the first Tower Neighbourhoods – Thorncliffe and Flemingdon Park – the Don Valley Parkway had recently been finished, providing easy access to downtown Toronto via automobile travel (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). These Tower Neighbourhoods were master planned to be self-sufficient communities; however, at the local scale, single-use zoning restrictions prevented commercial operations to be integrated into the Towers themselves (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). Tower Neighbourhoods reflect the land-use planning ideals of the time as seen by large open space that physically separates the residential from commercial, institutional, and civic uses of space (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). In contrast to masterplanned communities like Thorncliffe and Flemingdon Park, most of the Tower housing stock in Toronto was developed in the absence of a rigorous planning approach and as a result community services, amenities, greenspace, and employment opportunities are poorly integrated (Sewell, 1993). Tower Neighbourhoods also often featured on-site amenities such as tennis courts, basketball courts, and swimming pools – many of which are currently underused and in disrepair (Felix, 2019). These features were part of the original vision for these communities and reinforced the aesthetic values of the Tower in the Park model (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012).

4.2.3 Current demographic trends of the Tower Neighbourhoods

The make-up of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods has changed from middle-class residents to a diversity of newly-arrived immigrants and low-income families (Hulchanski, 2006). This is partly due to the shifting federal immigration policies in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as a general trend of higher-income families moving to downtown Toronto (Hulchanski, 2006). The Tower Neighbourhoods are a vestige of affordable housing options in a City that has an increasingly high cost of living (Saunders, 2016). New Canadians and recent immigrants arriving with few economic

resources at their disposal are being funneled into Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods through a lack of alternative housing options (Saunders, 2016).

The needs and priorities of the Tower Neighbourhood households are not the same as those imagined by their designers. Residents in Tower Neighbourhoods have lower rates of car ownership; access to transit is important, although insufficient in many ways (Santopinto, 2019). Recent immigrants may require access to language services or skills training and development; these were not included in the Neighbourhoods original conception (Santopinto, 2019).

4.2.4 The Tower Renewal Partnership

In response to the aging infrastructure within Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods, ERA Architects initiated a multi-sectoral collaborative called the Tower Renewal Partnership (Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d¹.). The TRP is led by the Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal (CUG+R) and includes members from Maytree, United Way of Toronto & York Region, Evergreen, and DKGI Incorporated. In addition to these core partners, TRP has a diverse advisory group comprised of government, private sector, non-profit, and academic institutions.

With the abundance of post-war Tower Neighbourhoods in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and across Canada, TRP explores innovative solutions to create "...more complete communities, resilient housing stock and healthy places, fully integrated into their growing cities" (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2016).

The primary strategies of the TRP are: (1) to revitalize housing stock to improve energy efficiency and resident comfort; (2) to invest in community amenities that facilitate the development of economic and social capital; and (3) to integrate mixed-use growth through infill where appropriate (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2016). These strategies comprise what is called Comprehensive Tower Renewal (CUG+R, 2018).

4.2.4.1 Impact Areas

In addition to the TRP strategies, there are six impact areas that direct its initiatives. The impact areas focus on alleviating the challenges and barriers faced by residents of Tower Neighbourhoods and are supported by a multitude of studies conducted by the partners of TRP.

Greenhouse Gas Reduction

The apartment towers of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods are one of the most carbon-intensive housing types in Canada, a result of aging infrastructure and poor thermoregulation (Stewart, 2007; Tower Renewal Partnership, 2017). The poor energy performance of these Towers is a result of outdated building codes that do not require optimized building envelopes to prevent air leaks and drafts (Stewart, 2007; City of Toronto, 2008; Tower Renewal Partnership, 2017). As a result, the amount of energy required to create thermal comfort within apartment towers is 20 times greater per square metre than a conventional single-family home (City of Toronto, 2008), contributing to Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions in the City of Toronto (Tower Renewal Partnership, 2017). The sheer abundance of postwar Towers in the City means that this housing form represents a sizeable portion of Toronto's total residential GHG emissions (Kesik & Saleff, 2010). In his report on the possibilities of a sustainable future through Tower Renewal, Stewart (2007) highlights that a single apartment tower can contribute as much as 1,000 tonnes of GHGs annually. Further, the additional energy required to maintain thermal comfort makes postwar Towers very costly to operate (City of Toronto, 2008).

A deep retrofit of the aging Tower housing stock would enable the reduction of GHG emissions across Toronto as well as improve the thermal comfort of residents (Kesik & Saleff, 2010). In partnership with the Daniels School at the University of Toronto, the TRP has conducted several studies on how the retrofit of postwar Towers can reduce GHG emissions by as much as 50 percent (Stewart & Thorne, 2010).

Growth

Under-utilized open space and derelict amenities are often found surrounding clusters of Towers in Tower Neighbourhoods. The abundance of space within these neighbourhoods presents an opportunity to promote sustainable growth in line with Provincial goals of resiliency (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2018). However, strict bylaws that limit mixed-use development in some Tower Neighbourhoods present a challenge to meaningful growth (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012).

Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods have some of the highest population density in the City; however, a significant disconnect exists between residents and community services and amenities (Kesik & Saleff, 2010). A strategic approach to infilling under-utilized space within the Tower Neighbourhoods could provide residents with greater access to resources such as health care, childcare, public transit, and other community-based programming (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). Infill can also be used to better define space and create socially positive adjacencies within Tower Neighbourhoods by introducing clear transitions between public, shared, and fully private space (Stewart, 2009). An added benefit of infill is its potential to financially support other improvements within a Tower Neighbourhood by creating opportunities for additional residential and commercial property leases (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2018). Retrofits can be prohibitively expensive for building owners; therefore, providing a financial instrument for Tower Renewal can incentivize improvements (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2018).

Complete Communities

The concept of Complete Communities is a widely accepted notion; it suggests that a community should provide access to services, amenities, and other daily needs of people within that community (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). The Tower Neighbourhoods have become physically and socially isolated as a result of outdated zoning regulations, inadequate access to transit, and limited amenities located

close to Tower Neighbourhoods (Kesik & Saleff, 2010; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012; 2018). The inability to meet the daily needs of Tower Neighbourhood residents has created a concentration of poverty in these communities (City of Toronto, 2008; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012) that are recognized as important landing spots for recent immigrants (Stewart & Thorne, 2010; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012; Saunders, 2016). Residents of Tower Neighbourhoods typically rely on walking, cycling, and public transit to carry out their daily activities; however, the intended residents of the Towers in the Park were anticipated to travel mostly by car (City of Toronto, 2008). The lack of services and amenities within Tower Neighbourhoods requires current residents to travel far on foot or by other means due to a low rate of car ownership (Kesik & Saleff, 2008; Stewart & Thorne, 2010; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012)

Creating Complete Communities in Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods would enhance the quality of life for all their residents and provide opportunities to develop social and economic mobility. By providing easier access to services like health care, youth programs, and employment training, the daily needs of these increasingly diverse communities can be better met (City of Toronto, 2008; Stewart & Thorne, 2010).

Affordability

Tower Neighbourhoods are an important affordable housing resource in the City of Toronto (City of Toronto, 2008; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). As much as 43 percent of Tower households are low income families and half of Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods are home to 50 percent or more foreign-born residents (Stewart & Thorne, 2010; Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). The affordability of this housing type is a key factor in the concentration of poverty in these neighbourhoods, as well as the high proportion of new immigrants who arrive with fewer economic resources at their disposal (Poppe & Young, 2015).

Paradoxically, the deteriorating condition and lack of access to services and amenities is the primary factor that makes the postwar Towers affordable. Renewal efforts could jeopardize the affordability of Tower apartments. In addition to impacts on the economic resources of tenants, apartment Tower owners may also be adversely impacted by long vacancies during retrofits (Kesik & Saleff, 2008). Tower Renewal efforts need to maintain the affordability of apartment units while still improving the overall quality of life for residents by leveraging innovative funding mechanisms and construction methods (Kesik & Saleff, 2008; Tower Renewal Partnership & National Housing Collaborative, 2017).

Housing Quality

Tower Neighbourhoods have suffered from a lack of investment and market interest in Toronto resulting in deteriorating sealants, outdated mechanical systems, and overall disrepair (City of Toronto, 2008). As discussed above, this is also a contributing factor to the affordability of these units within Toronto. Unfortunately, many of the Towers have not been updated to meet current Ontario Building codes due to a lack of economic incentives for building owners (Tower Renewal Partnership & National Housing Collaborative, 2017). Many of the necessary building upgrades do not result in additional revenue for building owners, making the investment in a deep retrofit of postwar Towers unappealing and difficult to finance (Stewart & Thorne, 2010; Tower Renewal Partnership & National Housing Collaborative, 2017).

Similar to the considerations of maintaining affordability, upgrades to housing quality in Tower Neighbourhoods need to be carried out with minimal disruption to tenants and incentivized by innovative funding strategies (City of Toronto, 2008). Coordinated funding schema at all levels of government and reduced loan interest rates could ease the financial burden on building owners to carry out much needed upgrades (Stewart & Thorne, 2010; Tower Renewal Partnership & National Housing Collaborative, 2017).

Culture

As described in Section 4.2.2 *Design Intent of The Tower in the Park Model*, clusters of postwar high-rise apartments were intended to exist as satellite towns that separated residential from commercial uses. The exclusive zoning of many apartment towers as residential has detracted from their original plans to be diverse community hubs (Stewart & Thorne, 2010) and instead imbue a sense of placelessness (City of Toronto, 2008).

The prevalent Tower Neighbourhoods in Toronto is an iconic housing typology of the Region (Stewart, 2007). Part of the ethos of the TRP is to retrofit rather than demolish the multitude of Towers in the City, as they are a tremendous urban resource (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2018) and are a legacy of Toronto's planning history (Stewart, 2007). Through revitalization of the shared space of Tower Neighbourhoods, the postwar high-rise apartment model has the potential to instill a sense of place, built on strong, vibrant communities. Tower Renewal efforts that foster the development and celebration of local culture will need to activate the shared spaces of Tower Neighbourhoods through mixed-use infill (City of Toronto, 2008). Through a diversification of uses, residents of Tower Neighbourhoods would have greater opportunities to gather, learn, and engage with one another to achieve community goals (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2018).

4.2.4.2 Initiatives

The TRP has several initiatives to achieve positive results in its six impact areas. These initiatives are in varying stages of development and implementation. For the purposes of this thesis, the current TRP initiatives were grouped into three broad categories: Research; Planning; and Implementation. A brief summary of the TRP case studies and the Impact Areas they affect is provided in Table 4.3. While many of the TRP initiatives are focused on research and development of frameworks, the recently implemented Residential Apartment Commercial (RAC) Zone has the clearest link to landscape architecture and Hyper-Diversity as it pertains to shared spaces within Tower

Neighbourhoods. For the purposes of this thesis, the RAC Zone will be explored in further detail while the remaining TRP initiatives are briefly described in Table 4.3.

The Residential Apartment Commercial (RAC) Zone

As previously mentioned, one of the most significant challenges faced by Tower Neighbourhoods is the legacy of single-use zoning used to separate residential from commercial, institutional, and civic uses (Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal, 2012). The RAC Zone is an initiative implemented by the TRP in collaboration with multiple stakeholders to directly address the challenge of single use zoning (Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d.²). In October of 2016, 500 Tower Neighbourhoods were enabled to incorporate small businesses, community amenities, and shared non-residential land uses within the ground floor and outdoor space of their neighbourhoods (Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d.²). This alleviates some of the challenges faced in eligible Tower Neighbourhoods through improved access to community services, and opportunities for building social and economic capital.

Table 4-3 Initiatives of the Tower Renewal Partnership (Tower Renewal Partnership, n.d.²)

Category	Initiative	Description	TRP Impact Areas					
			GHG Reduction	Growth	Complete Communities	Affordability	Housing Quality	Culture
Research	Housing Quality Standards	Framework development for the rehabilitation of post-war apartment Towers, using Canada’s National Housing Strategy as an opportunity to revisit building codes and standards			X	X	X	
	International Research Program	Development of global best practices for Tower Renewal based on international case studies.	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Tower Infill and Neighbourhood Transformation	Development of best practices for context-sensitive infill of open space in Tower in the Park housing model based on local and international examples		X	X		X	X
Planning	Tower Renewal Action Forum	Multi-disciplinary stakeholder workshop focused on collaborative and strategic planning for Tower Renewal.	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Intermunicipal Tower Platform	Collaboration and information sharing between Toronto, Ottawa, Mississauga, and Hamilton throughout Tower Renewal efforts in each jurisdiction.	X	X	X	X	X	
Implementation	Residential Apartment Commercial (RAC) Zone	Zoning amendment made in October 2016 to allow for the development of small business and community amenities in Tower Neighbourhoods		X	X		X	X

4.3 Analysis

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the evaluation of the TRP Case Study through the lens of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework. The TRP Impact Areas and the RAC Zone Initiative are critically examined in terms of how they do or do not satisfy the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework criteria. The results of the evaluation are presented in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5. Each Impact area in Table 4.4 was evaluated using the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework and a remark was made if the Impact Area satisfied or could satisfy any of the eight criteria in the Framework. Criteria that were not met or demonstrably related to an Impact Area are shaded in Table 4.4. The evaluation of the RAC Zone (Table 4.5) followed the same process as with Table 4.4.

The application of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework to the TRP Case Study identifies gaps with respect to Hyper-Diversity Criteria in TRP Impact Areas, notably Greenhouse Gas Reduction, Housing Quality, and Affordability. In contrast, the evaluation identified the Complete Communities Impact Area and the RAC Zone Initiative to satisfy all criteria within the Framework. The only criterion that was universally addressed by TRP Impact Areas and the RAC Zone initiative was *Inequalities that Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility*.

Table 4-4 Evaluation of Tower Renewal Partnership Impact Areas using Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

		Tower Renewal Partnership Impact Areas					
		Greenhouse Gas Reduction	Growth	Complete Communities	Affordability	Housing Quality	Culture
Spatial	Materiality and Place Attachment	Modernizing Towers to meet current building standards could improve quality of infrastructure and foster place attachment	Infrastructure investment can enhance quality of shared space and revitalize neighbourhood economy	Investment in infrastructure and access to services can foster place attachment by making Tower Neighbourhoods a more desirable place in which to live		Physical improvements within apartments and the shared space of Tower Neighbourhoods can foster place attachment and make longer term tenancy more desirable	
	Micro-Publics and Sustained Encounters		Mixed-use infill that includes small businesses and community spaces creates opportunities for more micro-public spaces to encourage conversation and lingering	Providing local businesses, services, and amenities generates opportunities for small spaces of regular and sustained encounter		Upgrading facilities within Towers and on their grounds can create comfortable spaces for residents to linger and have meaningful intercultural exchange (such as apartment lobbies, laundry rooms, etc.)	Developing a local neighbourhood identity and sense of ownership can encourage regular sustained encounters between Tower residents
	Visual Permeability and Spatial Design			Removing physical barriers between clustered Towers of different owners helps increase visual permeability across the local Tower Neighbourhood			Conserving open space within Tower in the Park housing model for large gatherings and cultural events increases visibility of different groups in Tower Neighbourhoods

Tower Renewal Partnership Impact Areas							
	Greenhouse Gas Reduction	Growth	Complete Communities	Affordability	Housing Quality	Culture	
Experiential	Pre-Existing Diversity Facilitates Hyper-Diversity		Through the support of a diversity of uses, mixed-use infill can create an environment for a diversity of people	Diversity of uses to create a Complete Community encourages a diversity of land uses and users			Cultural events that represent and celebrate existing communities in Tower Neighbourhoods can be an indicator of acceptance to newcomers
	Common Purpose Transcends Difference		Everyday activities (such as shopping, walking, etc.) within mixed-use infill areas provides legitimacy for participation	The provision of space, services, and community activities focuses participants on the act of 'doing' with opportunities to communally celebrate Neighbourhood events			Community-based activities and events celebrate local culture within Tower Neighbourhoods and focus on the commonality of local identity
	Quotidian Diversity Breeds Familiarity		Through common purposes to be in the public realm, residents are afforded the opportunity to see others and be seen	Meeting the daily needs of residents through localised services and amenities precludes the need to leave the local area thus allowing regular fleeting encounters with familiar community members		Encouraging use of facilities inside Towers and on their grounds could increase fleeting encounters and familiarity between residents	Events and celebrations at the local scale can encourage residents to frequent shared spaces which may increase familiarity between Tower residents

		Tower Renewal Partnership Impact Areas					
		Greenhouse Gas Reduction	Growth	Complete Communities	Affordability	Housing Quality	Culture
Process	Ethnography to Inform Design		A context-sensitive mixed-use infill approach will respond to the needs and priorities of residents which can be elicited through relationship building and stakeholder participation	A bottom-up approach to building Complete Communities can be established through relationship building and stakeholder participation			The development of local culture necessitates involvement of the community and other stakeholders in order to be a true representation of local identity
	Persisting Inequalities Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility	Improving quality and efficiency of buildings can provide more comfortable and liveable housing for residents	Mixed-use infill presents the opportunity to fill key gaps in service and amenity provision for underserved communities	Creating Complete Communities within Tower Neighbourhoods facilitates a more equitable distribution of resources and access to important community services	Leveraging funding mechanisms to maintain affordability ensures that low-income and immigrant families will not be priced out of Tower Neighbourhoods	Improving Housing Quality in Tower neighbourhoods while maintaining affordability ensures that low-income, new immigrants, and other marginalised groups have access to safe and liveable housing	Through the creation and celebration of local culture, Tower Residents can leverage social capital within their neighbourhood as well as social mobility by attracting people from outside of Tower Neighbourhoods to take part.

Table 4-5 Evaluation of TRP RAC Zone Initiative using Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

		Tower Renewal Partnership RAC Zone Initiative
Spatial	Materiality and Place Attachment	Investment in community infrastructure and providing space for local commercial enterprises can create place attachment through familiarity of neighbourhood goods and services
	Micro-Publics and Sustained Encounters	Diversification of use within Tower Neighbourhoods can create opportunities for varying levels of encounter and encourage intercultural exchange within parochial space of small businesses, cafes, and community centres
	Visual Permeability and Spatial Design	RAC Zone regulations and size limits ensure some open space is preserved in Tower Neighbourhoods to maintain visual permeability while simultaneously encouraging being seen in public and shared space of small businesses, community centres, etc.
Experiential	Pre-Existing Diversity Facilitates Hyper-Diversity	Promoting a diversity of activities and sanctioned uses within RAC Zone regulations encourages a diversity of users while capitalizing on entrepreneurial potential of residents

	<p>Common Purpose Transcends Difference</p>	<p>Allowing everyday services and amenities like farmers markets, cafes, community centres provides legitimacy for participation and opportunities for interaction independent of conversation</p>
	<p>Quotidian Diversity Breeds Familiarity</p>	<p>Diversity of uses in RAC Zone Tower Neighbourhoods can increase local foot traffic and use of public and shared space which can normalise the experience and negotiation of difference</p>
<p>Process</p>	<p>Ethnography to Inform Design</p>	<p>RAC Zone Initiative was developed through years of research and collaborations with residents and stakeholders to ensure new zoning would meet the priorities and needs of Tower communities and residents are actively encouraged to take advantage of the new opportunities</p>
	<p>Persisting Inequalities Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility</p>	<p>The RAC Zone legitimizes small businesses and non-commercial operations, aiding in building social and economic capital in Tower Neighbourhoods, and fostering an environment for achieving social and economic mobility</p>

5 Discussion

This chapter summarizes the outcomes of the evaluation and reflects upon the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework and its utility to the profession of landscape architecture.

Although the terms Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity did not appear in the TRP grey literature, it appears that the diversity of Tower Neighbourhoods and the everyday lived experience is considered in its Impact Areas as they satisfy many of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework criteria (see Table 4.4).

5.1 Existing TRP Impact Areas are Capable of Including Hyper-Diversity Criteria

Through the evaluation of the TRP case study, it became evident that the defined Impact Areas can all be related to one or more criteria within the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework (Table 4.4). The TRP literature does not include the terms Hyper-Diversity or Super-Diversity.

Based on the findings summarized in Table 4.4, several criteria of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework can be met through investment in infrastructure and improved access to community services and amenities. This finding is consistent with the evaluation of the RAC Zone Initiative which satisfies all the criteria in the Framework (see Table 4.5).

5.2 Hyper-Diversity is Experienced in the Public Sphere

Design interventions specifically for Hyper-Diverse communities are, in a sense, limited to public and shared spaces as they become the place where people experience and negotiate difference. For this reason, Tower Renewal efforts that focus on public and shared space in Tower Neighbourhoods must consider the spatial and experiential requirements of Hyper-Diverse communities so that opportunities are provided for meaningful intercultural exchange.

Of the 6 TRP Impact Areas, the most suited to accommodate Hyper-Diversity criteria are *Growth*, *Complete Communities*, and *Culture*. The *Complete Communities* Impact Area was found to satisfy or potentially satisfy the full spectrum of criteria within the Framework, with *Growth* and *Culture* each addressing 7 of the 8 criteria.

These three Impact Areas are primarily concerned with the public and shared space of the Tower Neighbourhoods, therefore they will be the most impacted by Hyper-Diversity. For example, the relationship between *Complete Communities* and the Framework criteria is centered on the impacts to the shared space of Tower Neighbourhoods since difference is experienced and negotiated within the public sphere. Impact Areas that primarily affect private sphere improvements (*Affordability* and *Housing Quality*) met the least number of criteria in the Framework. Although important measures for addressing some *Persistent Inequalities that Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility*, these Impact Areas have the greatest effect on individual household experience (i.e., apartment units).

As described in section 4.1.6 *Quotidian Diversity Breeds Familiarity*, civility can characterise interactions within public and shared spaces; however, people may retain negative feelings towards others in the privacy of their own home (Gidley, 2013; Wessendorf, 2016). Therefore, a meaningful intervention to normalize the experience of difference can only occur in public and shared spaces.

5.3 Hyper-Diversity is Experienced at a Local Scale

The TRP Impact Areas that met the most criteria in the Framework were those that had a direct relationship to local interventions: *Complete Communities*, *Growth*, and *Culture*. Similar to its relationship with public and shared spaces, Hyper-Diversity is experienced at the local neighbourhood scale. These three Impact Areas have the potential to build bonding social capital within Tower communities by eschewing the need to leave Tower Neighbourhood boundaries for community services and amenities. The development of local identity and place attachment, or in other words *Culture*, in

Tower Neighbourhoods can foster community cohesion within these diverse neighbourhoods.

Although most of the TRP Impact Areas and the RAC Zone have some direct impact at the scale of a Tower Neighbourhood community, the *GHG Reduction* Impact Area was shown to be an outlier in this regard. This Impact Area may have some effect within discrete Tower Neighbourhoods; however, its largest benefit is realized within the larger Toronto context by reducing the City's Carbon footprint. In a sense, *GHG Reduction* is the only Impact Area that clearly extends beyond the borders of Tower Neighbourhoods, whereas the others are more readily realized at the neighbourhood scale and relate to the spatial and experiential categories of the Framework.

5.4 The TRP Supports Social and Economic Capital and Mobility

A notable finding of the evaluation is the consistency with which *Persistent Inequalities that Pose Barriers to Social and Economic Mobility* are addressed in some manner within TRP Impact Areas and the RAC Zone Initiative. This suggests that renewal efforts based on TRP Impact Areas could have long-term benefits to residents and the broader community by addressing a root cause of multi-generational poverty and marginalisation. It is less critical for Impact Areas like *Greenhouse Gas Reduction*, *Affordability*, and *Housing Quality* to consider the spatial and experiential elements of the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework; however, they play an important role in addressing underlying inequalities faced by Tower Residents.

As Aptekar (2019) noted, inequitable distribution of power and resources can be simply reproduced within communal space and activities if not recognized and addressed. All of the Impact Areas and the RAC Zone Initiative demonstrate possible opportunities to build social and economic capital through empowerment, improved accessibility, and increased quality of life. Healthy, affordable, and comfortable housing may alleviate some of the stress experienced by recent immigrants in adjusting to a new environment and cultural context, which may empower them to achieve social and economic mobility.

5.5 The RAC Zone Initiative is an Important Step in Tower Renewal of Hyper-Diverse Communities

The recent implementation of the RAC Zone initiative by the TRP and other collaborators is a significant achievement for the prospects of eligible Tower Neighbourhoods. The RAC Zone is centered on the public and shared space of Tower Neighbourhoods by amending the legacy of single-use zoning. The flexibility of use within RAC Zone eligible neighbourhoods creates opportunities for dynamic and responsive programming for Tower Neighbourhoods with positive ripple effects within these Hyper-Diverse communities. For example, including a community space within the ground floor of a Tower building or on the grounds provides the physical space for gathering, employment training, childcare, celebrations, and recreation among other uses. All these possibilities can address existing gaps in service provision within underserved communities and empower residents to achieve social and economic mobility. Permitting small businesses to operate within the eligible Tower Neighbourhoods can have similar positive impacts by providing entrepreneurial and employment opportunities while simultaneously improving access to goods and services within the neighbourhood boundaries. The RAC Zone Initiative diversifies the space within Tower Neighbourhoods and increases the overall utility of Tower ground floors and grounds. The diversity of uses stemming from this initiative provides legitimacy for participation and can increase the presence of residents and visitors in public and shared space. For example, spaces like markets, playgrounds, and leisure areas can provide a clear purpose for use (such as shopping, watching children, taking a walk, etc.) that give residents and newcomers alike a reason to be present. In effect, the RAC Zone creates opportunities for both fleeting and sustained encounters, enhancing the public stage upon which Tower residents experience and negotiate difference.

5.6 Refining the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework

The first objective of this thesis was to create a Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework using a Systematic Literature Review method. In building the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework, it became clear that the relationship between Hyper-Diversity and

landscape is relatively unexplored based on the number of relevant articles. In part, this is a result of the concept of Hyper-Diversity being in its infancy; however, the inclusion criteria for the Systematic Review method is likely to have also limited search results.

A possible avenue for refining the Framework would be to include literature published prior to 2007. As discussed in section 3.1, 2007 was deemed to be the debut of the term 'Super-Diversity' by Vertovec, which eventually led to 'Hyper-Diversity' in 2014 by Tasan-Kok et al. Based on the evaluation of the TRP through the lens of Hyper-Diversity, it is evident that even in the absence of terms like Super-Diversity and Hyper-Diversity, the needs of Hyper-Diverse communities can still be met. Including literature prior to 2007 might shed more light on designing with diversity in mind using different terminology.

Another refinement to the framework could be to include grey literature. The systematic literature review was limited to peer-reviewed articles which proved to be in limited quantity. Expanding the scope of suitable literature for the Framework to include grey literature may highlight applied cases of Hyper-Diverse communities and their relationship to landscape, as opposed to just academic research.

It is important to note that the evaluation of the TRP using the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework is at a high, planning level, rather than a detailed, granular, design scale. The Framework does not include commentary or critique on the specific tactics of tower renewal that are practiced *on-the-ground* but it provides a starting point from which tower renewal can be envisioned through the lens of Hyper-Diversity.

5.7 Creating a Case Study of Tower Renewal

The second objective of this thesis was to build a case study of the Tower Renewal Partnership using grey literature from TRP and associated agencies, and supplemental key informant interviews. The TRP has a wealth of research about strategies for tower renewal and has played a major role in initiating tower renewal in the City of Toronto.

During the supplemental key informant interviews, it was made clear that the TRP is only one collaborative amongst several Tower Renewal organizations. One of the main focus areas for TRP is the architecture of Tower Neighbourhoods whereas other organizations like the STEP Program focuses on capacity building and sustaining relationships with Tower Neighbourhood residents (Santopinto, 2019). For the purposes of this thesis, the case study was limited to the TRP, but a comparative case study method of tower renewal organizations could highlight general gaps and achievements of the tower renewal process as a whole in the City of Toronto. In addition, including more tower renewal organizations could identify those that are the most relevant to investigating the relationship between Hyper-Diverse communities and landscape.

6 Conclusions

The research goal of this thesis was to evaluate the Tower Renewal Partnership (TRP) through the lens of Hyper-Diversity. This goal was met by first building a Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework through a systematic literature review method of Hyper-Diversity and Super-Diversity literature. Themes that were relevant to landscape architecture, planning, public and shared space, and design in the context of Hyper-Diversity were identified and synthesized into a Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework. The Framework was then applied to a case study of the TRP that was synthesized from TRP and associated agencies' grey literature, as well as supplemental key informant interviews.

The evaluation of the TRP using the Framework highlighted which TRP Impact Areas met all or most of the Hyper-Diversity criteria. Impact Areas that were primarily affecting public and shared space (*Growth, Complete Communities, and Culture*) were found to be the most related to Hyper-Diversity considerations. Similarly, the recently implemented RAC Zone Initiative in which TRP took part was found to satisfy all criteria. In contrast, TRP Impact Areas that had the greatest impact on individual households (*Affordability and Housing Quality*) and the larger Toronto context (*Greenhouse Gas Reduction*) were found to have a less direct effect on Hyper-Diverse communities.

The evaluation also revealed components of TRP Impact Areas that could be addressed by landscape architecture: developing *Culture* through Materiality and Place Attachment; and, maintaining the Visual Permeability of Spatial Design in Tower Neighbourhoods pursuing *Growth* and mixed-use infill. Both *Culture* and *Growth* are TRP Impact Areas that have potential to shape the shared space within Tower Neighbourhoods and through design, landscape architects can influence the types of interactions and sense of place experienced by Tower residents.

It is important to make note of the limitations of this exploratory research. The findings of this thesis indicate that the Impact Areas of the TRP and the RAC Zone

Initiative meet several of the criteria within the Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework; however, both the case study and the Framework are limited in scope.

Due to constraints of time, only one supplemental interview was conducted with 2 members of ERA Architects which represents only one of the TRP partners and collaborators. In addition, the TRP approach to tower renewal could be substantially different to other tower renewal organizations thus extrapolation of the findings of the evaluation to the broader effort of tower renewal is difficult.

The Hyper-Diversity Critical Framework presents further limitations. The publication period for included literature was limited to 2007 or later based upon the emergence of 'Super-Diversity' in the discourse. This potentially excludes literature that may have relevant research on diverse communities and landscape that could be applied to Hyper-Diverse communities and landscape. Moreover, the lack of literature explicitly focused on the relationship between Hyper-Diversity and landscape necessitated interpretation of the literature to apply to landscape design.

This thesis is intended to build upon the limited body of knowledge of the relationship between Hyper-Diversity and landscape. The findings of this thesis underscore the role of public and shared space as a vector for interaction in Hyper-Diverse communities. Therefore, there is ample opportunity to further explore how landscape influences the lived experience of Hyper-Diverse communities.

This thesis is also intended to add to the limited body of knowledge of Hyper-Diversity within the Canadian context. In Canada, the lens of multiculturalism through which the discourse on diversity has been characterized provides only a coarse understanding of difference whereas Hyper-Diversity can enable a more nuanced appreciation of identity.

Landscape architects need to be cognizant of how their work can shape the lived experience of Hyper-Diverse communities. Applying a Hyper-Diversity lens to public and shared space can ensure that landscape design is context-sensitive and responsive to

the needs and priorities of an ever-changing community. Within the City of Toronto, the opportunity for landscape architects to play an important role in fostering social and economic mobility is within the Hyper-Diverse communities of post-war Towers. Lessons learned from renewal of this housing stock through the lens of Hyper-Diversity can inform tower renewal efforts across Canada.

REFERENCES

- Ahmadi, D. (2017). Is diversity our strength? An analysis of the facts and fancies of diversity in Toronto. *City, Culture, and Society*, 13(2018) pp. 64-72
- Ahmadi, D. (2018) Diversity and social cohesion: the case of Jane-Finch, a highly diverse lower-income Toronto neighbourhood. *Urban Research & Practice*, 11(2) pp. 138-158
- Amin, A. (2002) Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity. *Environment and Planning*, 34 pp. 959-980
- Anderson, J., Ruggeri, K., Steemers, K., & Huppert, F. (2017) Lively, Social Space, Well-Being Activity, and Urban Design: From a Low-Cost Community-Led Public Space Intervention. *Environment and Behavior*, 49(6) pp. 685-716
- Aptekar, S. (2019) Super-diversity as a methodological lens: re-centring power and inequality. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(1) pp. 53-70
- Askins, K. (2016) Emotional citizenry: everyday geographies of befriending, belonging and intercultural encounter. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. DOI:10.1111/tran.12135
- August, M. (2015) Revitalization gone wrong: Mixed-income public housing redevelopment in Toronto's Don Mount Court. *Urban Studies*, 53(16) pp. 3405-3422
- Biehl, K.S. (2015). Spatializing diversities, diversifying spaces: housing experiences and home space perceptions in a migrant hub of Istanbul. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(4). pp. 596-607
- Canadian Institute of Planners. (n.d.¹). Eugene G. Faludi FCIP(d). Retrieved February 08, 2019, from <https://www.cip-icu.ca/About/College-of-Fellows/Recipients/Eugene-G-Faludi-FCIP-d>
- Canadian Institute of Planners. (n.d.²). Hans Blemenfeld FCIP (d). Retrieved February 8 2019, from <https://www.cip-icu.ca/About/College-of-Fellows/Recipients/Hans-Blumenfeld-FCIP-d>
- Centre for Urban Growth and Renewal (CUG+R) (2018). Growth and Resiliency in the Tower in the Park Sites Across the GGH. Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/research-reports/growth-and-resilience-in-tower-in-the-park-sites-across-the-ggh/>
- City of Toronto (2008). Mayor's Tower Renewal: Opportunities Book. Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/research-reports/tower-renewal-opportunities-book/>

- Cooper-Marcus, C. (2003). Shared Outdoor Space and Community Life. *Places: Research & Debate*, 15(2). pp.32-41
- Dean, J., Regier, K. Patel, A., Wilson, K., & Ghassemi, E. (2018) Beyond the Cosmopolis: Sustaining Hyper-Diversity in the Suburbs of Peel Region, Ontario. *Urban Planning*, 3(4) pp.38-49
- Dirksmeier, P., Helbrecht, I., & Mackrodt, U. (2014). Situational Places: Rethinking Geographies of Intercultural Interaction in Super-Diverse Urban Space. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 96(4). Pp. 299-312
- Doucerain, M., Dere, J., & Ryder, A.G. (2013) Travels in hyper-diversity: Multiculturalism and the contextual assessment of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37(6), pp. 686-699
- Francis, J., Giles-Corti, B., Wood, L., & Knuiiman, M. (2012) Creating sense of community: The role of public space. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 32(2012) pp. 401-409
- Francis, M. (1999). A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture. *Landscape Journal* 20(1) pp.15-29
- Felix, R. (February 15, 2019) Personal Communication
- Gidley, B. (2013). Landscapes of belonging, portraits of life: researching everyday multiculturalism in an inner city estate. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 20(4). pp. 361-376
- Hall, S.M. (2015) Super-diverse street: a 'trans-ethnography' across migrant localities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(1) pp. 22-37
- Hoekstra, M. S., & Pinkster, F. M. (2017). 'We want to be there for everyone': imagined spaces of encounter and the politics of place in a super-diverse neighbourhood. *Social & Cultural Geography*, DOI:[10.1080/14649365.2017.1356362](https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2017.1356362)
- Kagan, S., Hauerwaas, A., Holz, V., & Wedler, P. (2018) Culture in sustainable urban development: Practices and policies for spaces of possibility and institutional innovations. *City, Culture, and Society* 13(2018) pp. 32-45
- Kesik, T. & Saleff, I.(2009) Tower Renewal Guidelines For the Comprehensive Retrofit of Multi-Unit Residential Buildings in Cold Climates. Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape, and Design. University of Toronto

Korcelli-Olejniczak, E. & Piotrowski, F. (2017) Diverse and different: on the faces of social solidarity in Warsaw. *Geographia Polonica*, 90(3), pp. 265-280

Korcelli-Olejniczak, E. & Piotrowski, F. (2018) Neighbouring the different: social interaction in a Warsaw subarea. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-Economic Series*, 39(39), pp. 53-63

Main, K. & Francisco Sandoval, G. (2015) Placemaking in a trans local receiving community: The relevance of place to identity and agency. *Urban Studies*, 52(1) pp. 71-86

McClelland, M. & Stewart, G. (2011) Reassessing the Recent Past: Tower Neighbourhood Renewal in Toronto. *The Journal of Preservation Technology* 42(2/3) pp. 9-14

Nassauer, J.I. (1995) Culture and changing landscape structure. *Landscape Ecology*, 10(4) pp. 229-237

Neal, S., Bennett, K., Jones, H., Cochrane, A., Mohan, G. (2015) Multiculture and Public Parks: Researching Super-Diversity and Attachment in Public Green Space. *Population, Space and Place*, 21 pp. 463-475

Oliveira, N., Padilla, B. (2016). Integrating superdiversity in urban governance: the case of inner-city Lisbon. *Policy & Politics*, 45(4). pp. 605-622

Padilla, B., Azevedo, J., & Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2015) Superdiversity and conviviality: exploring frameworks for doing ethnography in Southern European intercultural cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(4). pp. 621-635

Peters, K. (2010) Being Together in Urban Parks: Connecting Public Space, Leisure, and Diversity. *Leisure Sciences*, 32(5) pp. 418-433

Peterson, M. (2017). Living with difference in hyper-diverse areas: how important are encounters in semi-public spaces? *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18(8) pp. 1067-1085

Pemberton, S., Phillimore, J. (2018). Migrant place-making in super-diverse neighbourhoods: moving beyond ethno-national approaches. *Urban Studies*, 55(4). pp. 733-750

Phillimore, J. (2013). Housing, Home and Neighbourhood Renewal in the Era of Superdiversity: Some Lessons from the West Midlands. *Housing Studies*, 28(5). pp. 682-700

Piekut, A. & Valentine, G. (2016). Spaces of encounter and attitudes towards difference: A comparative study of two European cities. *Social Science Research*, 62(2017) pp.175-188

Pitter, J. & Lorinc, J. (Eds.). (2016) *Subdivided: City Building in an Age of Hyper-Diversity*. Toronto, ON: Coach House Books.

Pitter, J. (2016) Introduction. In Pitter, J. & Lorinc, J. (Eds.) (2016). *Subdivided: City Building in an Age of Hyper-Diversity*. Toronto, ON: Coach House Books.

Poppe, W. & Young, D. (2015) The Politics of Place: Place-making versus Densification in Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, DOI: 10.1111/1468-2427.12196

Pottie-Sherman, Y. & Hiebert, D. (2015) Authenticity with a bang: Exploring suburban culture and migration through the new phenomenon of the Richmond Night Market. *Urban Studies*, 52(3), pp. 538-554

Rishbeth, C. & Powell, M. (2013). Place Attachment and Memory: Landscapes of Belonging as Experienced Post-migration. *Landscape Research*, 38(2) pp. 160-178

Rishbeth, C., Ganji, F., & Vodicka, G. (2018). Ethnographic understandings of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods to inform urban design practice. *Local Environment*, 23(1) pp. 36-53

Roe, J., Aspinall, P.A., & Ward Thompson, C. (2016) Understanding Relationships between Health, Ethnicity, Place and the Role of Urban Green Space in Deprived Urban Communities. *Environmental Research and Public Health*, DOI: 10.3390/ijerph13070681

Sandercock, L. (2007) Towards a Planning Imagination for the 21st Century. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(2), pp. 133-141

Santopinto, Y. (February 15, 2019) Personal Communication

Saunders, D. (2016). Doing Immigrant Resettlement Right. In Pitter, J. & Lorinc, J. (Eds.) (2016). *Subdivided: City Building in an Age of Hyper-Diversity*. Toronto, ON: Coach House Books.

Saunders, D. (2017). *Maximum Canada: Why 35 Million Canadians are not Enough*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.

- Stewart, G. (2007) The Suburban Slab: Retrofitting our Concrete Legacy for a Sustainable Future. In Wilcox, Dovercourt, & Palassio (Eds.) (2007). GreenTOpia: Towards a Sustainable Toronto. Toronto, ON. Coach House Books
- Stewart, G. (2008). The Suburban Tower and Toronto's Legacy of Modern Housing. *Docomomo*, 39(1).
- Stewart, B. (2009). Inhabiting Tower on the Edge: Creating a Livable Landscape in Toronto's Tower Neighbourhoods. MLA Thesis, UC Berkley
- Stewart, G. (2012) Tower Renewal Project: Plasticity Revisited. In Petricon, P. (Ed.)(2012). *Concrete Ideas: Material to Shape a City*. Toronto, ON. Thames & Hudson
- Stewart, G. & Thorne, J. (2010) Tower Neighbourhood Renewal in the Greater Golden Horseshoe: An Analysis of High-Rise Apartment Tower Neighbourhoods Developed in the Post-War Boom (1945-1984). Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/research-reports/tnr-ggh/>
- Tasan-Kok, T., van Kempen, R., Raco, M., & Bolt, G. (2014). *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review*. Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences.
- Tilley, C., & Cameron-Daum, K. (2017). The anthropology of landscape: materiality, embodiment, contestation, and emotion. *Anthropology of Landscape* (pp.1-21). Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1mtz542.7>
- Tower Renewal Partnership (n.d.¹) About Us. Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/about-us/>
- Tower Renewal Partnership (n.d.²) Initiatives. Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/initiatives/>
- Tower Renewal Partnership & National Housing Collaborative (2017). *Tower Renewal Retrofit Finance Toward a Resilient Canadian Housing Stock*. Retrieved from <http://towerrenewal.com/research-reports/tower-renewal-retrofit-finance-toward-a-resilient-canadian-housing-stock-2/>
- Valentine, G. (2008) Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3) pp. 323-337
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 30(6) pp. 1024-1054

Visser, K. (2016) 'You shouldn't blame religion... but the person' – the ethnic boundary work of young second-generation migrants in Rotterdam. *Children's Geographies*, 14(6), pp. 670-684

Wekker, F. (2019). 'We have to teach them diversity': on demographic transformations and lived reality in an Amsterdam working-class neighbourhood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(1). pp. 89-104

Wessendorf, S. (2013). Commonplace diversity and the 'ethos of mixing': perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*. 20(4). pp. 407-422

Wessendorf, S. (2014). 'Being open, but sometimes closed'. Conviviality in a super-diverse London neighbourhood. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17(4). pp. 392-405

Wessendorf, S. (2016). Settling in a Super-Diverse Context: Recent Migrants' Experiences of Conviviality. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(5). pp. 449-463

Ye, J. (2017). Contours of urban diversity and coexistence. *Geography Compass*. 2017;11:e12327. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12327>

Yin, C. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications