EXPLORING PEDESTRIANISM IN CONTEMPORARY STREETSCAPE PLANNING: A SCRUTINY OF THE YONGETOMORROW INITIATIVE IN DOWNTOWN TORONTO

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Abstract

In a study of Toronto's YongeTOmorrow plan, my thesis explains the significance of pedestrianism and the role that it plays in the planning and regulation of the urban streetscape. However, the plan under scrutiny proposes an overhaul to the streetscape that creates a reinvented pedestrianism. This is a danger to publicness, as its benefits will be limited to businesses and their middle-class consumers, whose presence and interests are prioritized. Meanwhile, street-present non-consumers will be urged to move along under the regulatory absolutism of *The Safe Streets Act, 1999.* In this context, efficient flow is being reshaped to privilege consumption while continuing to restrain the liberty it alleges to cultivate.

Key Words: *Pedestrianism, Neoliberalism, Democracy, Public Space, Planning*

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full Description
BIA	Business Improvement Area
DYBIA	Downtown Yonge Business Improvement Area
PECR	Public Engagement Consultation Report
RDC	Recommended Design Concept
SAG	Stakeholder Advisory Committee
TAC	Technical Advisory Committee
YSBRA	Yonge Street Business and Residents Association

Chapter 1: Exploring Pedestrianism – The Order of the Streetscape

>> 1.1 The Power of Pedestrianism

This thesis addresses the encroachment of neoliberalism on the planning of sidewalks and public spaces. The logic of pedestrianism consists of regulatory principles directing the public use of the sidewalk and other public environments, permeates its research. I allege a shift in pedestrianism that has allowed neoliberalism to conquer in urban public spaces.

The historical ideas behind pedestrianism (i.e., liberal democratic notions of order, discipline, safety) have been integral to how sidewalks have been designed and regulated from the time of their creation in the Victorian era (see Milder 1987; Sorkin 1992: xiii; Sennett 2002:14; Low & Smith 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Mackintosh 2017; Levy 2020:908; Mitrašinović & Mehta 2021: 211-271). Nicholas Blomley's *Rights of Passage* (2010) identifies pedestrianism as a mode of rationality that upholds civic conventions on sidewalks. In other words, pedestrianism refers to the normalized use of sidewalks and public places in strict legal accordance with the latter's functional qualities as a thoroughfare for easy and efficient movement (2010:31-32). In this context, sidewalks and public spaces are bounded by legal forces that undermine alternative social and political claims (Teir

1998; Blomley 2007; 2010; Levy 2020). In this context, the law determines pedestrianism to be a technocratic legal construct that mandates discipline for the betterment of flow.[1]

However, public safety is just as important as flow. Milder (1987), Sorkin (1992), Levy (2020), and Mitchell (2020) show how the enforcement of sidewalk by-laws can mitigate potential crime or mischief. The objective, then, is to generate an environment that middle-class consumers will continue to frequent.

With the advent of urban neoliberalism, corporations, developers, and business networks (BIAs) became as influential as civil engineers and law enforcement in the planning and regulation of pedestrian spaces. As I show with YongeTOmorrow, this development challenges the traditional conventions of pedestrianism and puts further conditions on its use.

I contend that pedestrianism has become a two-tiered system wherein activities alternative to walking are accepted so long that they contribute to consumption or self-discipline. Other activities, especially those that distract from these values (notably those under the Safe Streets Act) are policed.[2] By creating this

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[1] This is how pedestrianism has been exercised traditionally to assert an urban regime of "efficient walking". This is a term that Mackintosh (2017:168,190-202) uses to describe a technocratic, liberal democratic mechanism that uses preconceived by-laws and morals to endorse and enforce an orderly and unabated flow on sidewalks. This contrasts with "sidewalk subsistence", a term that Mackintosh (ibid:168,177-190) uses to describe and promote everyday street life on sidewalks. Both terms are core in describing pedestrianism's shift as my thesis shall affirm.

[2] Anything that promotes soliciting is subject to punishment per the mandates of the Safe Streets Act (Flaherty 1999). The Act targets soliciting, but its boundaries extend to any activity that businesses or enforcers believe to be informal, immoral, or disorderly relative to the standards of liberal democracy.

distinction, it is easier for planners and businesses to facilitate endeavours promoting a privatized, securitized, and commodified public realm. Pedestrianism, in turn, is revamped to be flexible (to consumers) and inflexible (to non-consumers). This change is anti-democratic; it denies non-consumers and their presupposed liberties a presence in the city.

>> 1.2 Context Prelude

As a response to aging infrastructure, a lack of open spaces, and rapidly rising density levels, the City of Toronto launched a 25-year planning framework entitled 'TOCore'.[3] The purpose of this plan is to improve the livability and economic competitiveness of the downtown core (see City of Toronto 2017). I specifically consider the 'Downtown Parks and Public Realm Plan', which addresses the existing shortage of parkland, open, and public spaces in the core. Its purpose is to launch a series of initiatives that "improve the quality and connectivity of public spaces, and identify parkland improvement and [the] acquisition [of] properties within an intensifying downtown" (City of Toronto 2017: 4).

Such activities range from loitering and squeegeeing, gambling and drinking, to shouting and panhandling (Orzeck 2002:77; Sommers 2013:376; Cervantes 2016:27; Mackintosh 2017:193).
[3] To clarify, TOCore is a proposed long-term plan for the downtown that actively engages with BIAs, among other stakeholders, at the regional, district, and local scales to help accommodate the rapid intensification of the downtown core (see City of Toronto 2017; Lamond 2020). the plan features five infrastructure strategies, among them the enhancement of the city's parks and public realm. This involves the acquisition and expansion of parkland, as well as infrastructure improvements for pedestrian spaces that would help to bolster the diversity, accessibility, flexibility, safety, and vitality of spaces constitutive to the public realm (City of Toronto 2017:13).

Among these initiatives is my case study, YongeTOmorrow. It serves as both a study of, and a planning initiative for, the Downtown Yonge district. As part of this plan, its authors suggest an expansion to the sidewalks and pedestrian-priority zones. Planners claim that this adjustment will cater more to the needs of the local public (see Image 1). They also believe that this is

Image 1: An example of a pedestrian-priority zone as planned from Edward Street to Gerrard Street (City of Toronto 2021:29).

necessary for a district which experiences daily crowds of over half a million people, between 50-75% of whom utilize the city's most narrow sidewalks (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021: 60, 86). Moreover, the Downtown Yonge BIA is the largest in all of Ontario, with over 600 retail stores and 175,000 residents (City of Toronto 2015:11). Economically, these contexts provide the ideal conditions to implement an expanded and interconnected pedestrian network in Toronto's city centre. Though ostensibly intended for all pedestrians and local community life, the benefits of this initiative are geared toward an affluent public drawn by consumption opportunities (see Mahmood 2017; Nguyen 2018; Zhang 2020).

>> 1.3 Pedestrianism Privatized

At its core, pedestrianism is a flow-centric logic respecting the interests of planners, business owners, engineers, and law enforcers. In recent decades, the encroachment of neoliberalism (see Mitchell 2003; 2020; Joseph 2014; Mahmood 2017; Mitrašinović & Mehta 2021) has emboldened businesses, BIAs, and Chambers of Commerce to assert their agendas through pedestrianism's principles (i.e., order, safety, efficiency, discipline) to justify privatization (Zukin 2010:144; Mandanipour 2019:41-42; Hathaway 2020:332; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021:2).

Historically, regulatory sidewalk and streetscape design emphasized efficiency and orderly flow. This is how pedestrianism has been exercised traditionally to assert an urban regime of "efficient walking". This is a term that Mackintosh (2017:168,190-202) uses to describe a technocratic, liberal democratic mechanism that uses preconceived by-laws and morals to endorse and enforce an orderly and unabated flow on sidewalks. This contrasts with "sidewalk subsistence", a term that Mackintosh (ibid:168,177-190) uses to describe and promote everyday street life on sidewalks. Both terms are core in describing pedestrianism's shift as my thesis shall affirm.

The logic of this system casts pedestrians as not just active users of the sidewalks but also as incidental to the sidewalk's main function as a determinant of flow (Blomley 2010). Regulation therefore curbed passive and passive users moved along by law (Ransom 1997; Joyce 2003:86,111; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Blomley 2010). The result is an anti-democratic environment wherein the status

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quo inhibits social, cultural, and political expressions (and particularly those contrary to the status quo) to achieve efficient diurnal pedestrian circulation.

I argue that Toronto's YongeTOmorrow reinvents the above form of pedestrianism. As I will show in my analysis, it specifically delimits publicness to a culture of consumption and self-discipline. It achieves this by conditionalizing the absolutist dimensions of pedestrianism. In other words, the plan loosens restrictions for consuming affluent publics, while others will be urged to move along with the help of *The Safe Streets Act, 1999*.[4] Evoking this shift will merely facilitate a more private, predictable, and profitable public realm; this is seemingly a priority of the YongeTOmorrow initiative.

>> 1.4 Why Neoliberalism?

Before I go further, it is necessary to define neoliberalism and justify its use in my thesis. As a bricolage of ideas and practices (Ferguson 2009:183, as cited in Hathaway 2020:319), neoliberalism has had a diversity of meanings and applications spanning times and places in its history (Peck & Tickell 2002; Harvey 2005; Hathaway 2020:317-318; Hou & Knierbein 2017:57-60; Vallier 2021). This fact alone makes it all the more important to distinguish neoliberalism as well as its relationship to

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[4] The intention is that these people may crowd the streets, loiter in front of windows and A-Frames, take selfies, and the myriad activities shoppers, diners, and drinkers engage in.

capitalism and serial reproduction. In the context of this study, I adopt David Harvey's definition of neoliberalism:

> "A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade." (Harvey 2005:2)

I appreciate this description as it spotlights the ideal conditions for its growth and its general priorities. It also alludes to a continuous process of privatization, in large part through the active suppression of state-owned enterprises and public services endorsing social welfare (Peck & Tickell 2002:383).[5] This is a process that focuses on designing and securing institutions intended to promote self-discipline and self-sufficiency to safeguard corporate hegemony (Peck & Tickell 2002:389; Slobodian 2018:2).

In an urban geographic context, capitalism and neoliberalism are discursively complimentary. Capitalism is an economic philosophy and system that is centered on the hegemony of private ownership, market competition, corporate profit, and property rights in a free market (Vallier 2021; The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 2023). Neoliberalism adds to this as a form of cultural politics that emphasizes the cultural transformation of society. Walzer (1992) suggests that neoliberalism is about

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[5] As Hathaway avers, neoliberalism pushes market provision at the cost of state provision and is predicated on principles of freedom and liberty. It advances the idea that "the freer the market, the freer the society." (Hathaway 2020:317).

self-disciplined individualism aligned with middle-class hyper-consumption to produce docile and depoliticized urban subjects – individuals working out individual and not collective interests. This idea is conducive to capitalism in the sense that it promotes a social environment where politics organizes around producing economic prosperity and market relations, rather than the collective social good.

In this context, we must also be attentive to serial reproduction, which satisfies the interests of both neoliberalism and capitalism. It is a process that is initiated by private-sector stakeholders or private-public partnerships, with the purpose of replicating commodities and geographies to intensify buzz, capital, and consumption in commercial or commercializing districts in cities. In principle, it relies on an aggressive managerialism to realize certain outcomes that attain profitability – a trend that was especially predominant in the 1980s and 1990s (Raco et al.2016:235). This helps to regularize the city and make it commercially and profitably predictable, specifically by enhancing consumption and augmenting urban entrepreneurialism and inter-urban competition (Harvey 1989; McCann 2004).

Neoliberalism is my focus because I needed a theoretical approach whose boundaries go beyond capital and begin to confront spatial and societal norms in Western cities. I also needed a theory that endorses contemporary trends from securitization, privatization, and commodification, trends that embolden a two-tiered humanity as my thesis will justify as a form of pedestrianism.

Thus, before moving forward, I must acknowledge there are many ways to undertake analysis of the YongeTOmorrow plan. However, I specifically chose to examine it with a focus on neoliberalism and planning considering their direct relevance to my argument and research question. I recognize that my thesis also covers issues of social justice, especially in my discussions on democracy and its existence on sidewalks and public spaces. However, to simplify the scope of my research, I have opted not to focus on the issues, including that of marginalized peoples and how they are, or would be, affected by the plan. I acknowledge that the marginalized – including, but not limited to, the unhoused, the disabled, the mentally challenged, the drug addicted, and racialized workers are important in this realm of discourse, and I recognize that they are negatively affected and bound to suffer greatly from the plan – but to give just attention to these groups and their realities would require a different thesis.

>> 1.5 The Contemporary Corporate Agenda

My research investigates the reinvention of pedestrianism in the YongeTOmorrow plan, and how it is facilitating the neoliberal conquest of the street. I allege that a part of its agenda is to cultivate a two-tiered humanity that, through pedestrianism, confounds the liminality of public space. Within this context, and despite the leadership of the local government, the private sector has a heavy influence on localism and development planning, even for initiatives like

YongeTOmorrow (on localism, development planning, and their subjugation to private-sector stakeholders, see Raco et al. 2016:218-220).[6]

Dating to the advent of the sidewalk, it has been commonplace for major Western, cities to plan their downtown around the efficiency of flow. However, with the surge of neoliberalism and its concomitant serial reproduction, planning has in large part been simplified to entrepreneurial schemes that promote the inner city as a brand (see McCann 2004; Rankin & Delaney 2011:1366; Raco et al. 2016; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022). As Matthew Carmona (2022) explains, there has been a surging trend where emphasis on physical flow is being replaced by a desire to create "urban buzz" (also see Storper & Venables 2004: 364-368; Arribas-Bel et al. 2016:189-190). In other words, reshaping and privatizing downtown public space is intended to promote public activity in these spaces by encouraging alternative forms, flows, and functions (see Franck & Stevens 2007; Mehta 2013; Mehta & Bosson 2021; Elmouelhi et al. 2021).[7] The glaring "silence", however, is that these alternative extensions are not really alternative. Rather, they benefit the corporate desire for active residents, employees, and consumers and a fabricated notion of civility and

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[6] Raco et al. (2016:220) are describing a localism that reduces development planning into "a delivery-focused system that mimics the structures and functions of private-sector organizations" to realize the voices and interests of private corporations. The authors draw to developments in London's South Bank to exemplify this process, specifically one whose purpose is to cultivate "managed space" that can intensify "inward investment and spin-off development" (2016:218). These are crucial to serial reproduction, which continues to be practiced all around the world (on serial reproduction and how it works, refer to Harvey 1989; Richards & Wilson 2006; Rankin & Delaney 2011:1366; Gelders & Van Zuilen 2013; Raco et al. 2016; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022).
[7] A classic example is in the case of the revitalized King's Cross Coal Drops Yard in London, which features privatized concourses, plazas, and greenswards which largely replace the sidewalks. The Drops Yard project has been deemed successful in its ability to draw crowds of people to a revitalized brownfield and to promote a culture of consumption.

security (*The Guardian* 2017). This only augments the encroachment of social, economic, and political biases in the design and the regulation of sidewalks and public spaces. By extension, it implies a two-tiered regulatory system promoting socioeconomic divisions, where discipline prevails among those who are not of an affluent, consuming public.

Fundamentally, pedestrianism is a logic that is predicated on control over forms and functions along the streetscape. Because of this, pedestrianism exists on a continuum where its execution is contingent on metrics of inclusion and exclusion. To clarify, the twentieth-century form of pedestrianism meant formalized and efficient movement to facilitate flow and to limit loitering. This reality still exists (see Blomley's (2007) provocatively titled, "How to Turn a Beggar into a Bus Stop: Law, Traffic and the 'Function of the Place'"), yet initiatives like YongeTOmorrow signal a shift with how pedestrianism is expressed, granting the affluent pedestrian autonomy to loiter and wander in the name of consumption; regulatory legislation, however, will continue to govern among those who differ. The YongeTOmorrow initiative makes for the ideal case study as much of it is an extension of past endeavors (many of which were authored by the Downtown Yonge BIA (DYBIA)) to enhance the public realm (refer to Chapter 4). Moreover, it resembles other major projects like the refashioning of the Eaton Centre and the creation of Yonge-Dundas Square, both which promote a

long-term, consumer-centric vision for the streetscape.[8]

>> 1.6 Research Question

My thesis explores the shifting shape of pedestrianism amidst what I find to be a revalorizing of downtown public space. My objective, in turn, is informed by the following question: How does YongeTOmorrow attempt to reinvent pedestrianism? Using content analysis, my answer to this question interrogates the power that is wielded by governments and private stakeholders to determine how people think about, and behave within, public spaces.

>> 1.7 Mapping the Research

Through my examination of YongeTOmorrow, I consider the overarching impact that neoliberal urbanism can have on public spaces and the pedestrian life therein. This is significant in large part due to its history, which I explore in my literature review, which defines public space in the context of pedestrianism and neoliberalism. From there I consider its effects and how they have continued to sidewalks. My approach here will be to examine neoliberalism and how its influence

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[8] The vitality of the streetscape as proposed will ultimately depend on its profitability as Weber (2002) promotes in her paper on spatialized capital accumulation.

informs regulation in public spaces. I use this knowledge to assert the fundamental value of pedestrianism in our understanding of public space, in both its past and present contexts.

After the literature review, I move on to my methodology which describes my ontological and epistemological stances as well as my research methods. Furthermore, it describes, explains, and justifies the selection and execution of my research methods. Chapter Four is a descriptive historical geography of Downtown Yonge that situates the YongeTOmorrow initiative. I follow this with an analytical chapter that examines both visual and textual examples to show how and why pedestrianism is being reinvented in YongeTOmorrow. My samples are drawn from the *Design Review Panel and* the *Public Engagement and Consultation Report*. The visuals from these samples make the core of my content analysis, which uses a coding frame to identify overarching themes and trends being promoted in the plan. I end my research with a concluding discussion which justifies the relevance of the research and touches on its gaps and limitations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review – The Legacy of Pedestrianism

>> 2.1 Introduction

To begin to situate pedestrianism and its greater impact, my literature review considers public space. With the ascent of neoliberalism, public spaces have become seen as centres of consumption (refer to Appendix A, Diagram 1). Here, business and property owners are asserting themselves on the level of planners and law enforcers in the planning and regulating of public spaces.

I consider the technocratic rigidity of pedestrianism and how that is applied in the planning of public spaces. More specifically, I pay attention to the case of the sidewalk through the twentieth century. I examine how modernity has affected public space and the pedestrian life within it. The literature I draw upon addresses the means through which public spaces have traditionally been planned and perceived. This takes me to the final part of my literature review, where I explain the current trends that characterize public space and their ties to a neoliberal regime. These trends include the privatization, securitization, and commodification of public space; all of which, like previous iterations of pedestrianism, have curtailed pedestrians' autonomy in the public domain.

>> 2.2 Planning & Visuality

With my thesis leaning heavily towards the visual character of urban planning, it is important I establish a baseline to properly frame my discussion of public space.

First, urban planning is typically most concerned with geometry and beautification, at least in the Western context. Its attachments to the visual make it for the most part ignorant to the lived experience of the city and its organicism (Sowgat & Roy 2022).[9] This is because it centers around the organization of objects in space, including its citizens (Soderstrom 1996; Ben-Joseph & Gordon 2000).

This is where visuality becomes important as its purpose is to construct and manipulate peoples' visions: whether it be "how [they] see, how [they] are able, allowed, or made to see, and how [they] see this seeing and the unseeing therein" (Foster 1988:ix, as cited in Rose 2016:3). This development accelerates the contemporary encroachment of the visual in urban culture (Rose 2016:2), to make planning a "powerful governing tool" (Yiftachel 2009:96). Specifically, it has the power to reshape people's lives, subjectivities, sense of place, and perception of humanity in public (ibid). This is in part what neoliberalism intends to accomplish on the societal level. However, I suggest that doing so requires an infiltration of public space, related to the way that people use and perceive it. The following sub-sections unpack public space, from its properties, progression, to its contemporary privatization.

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[9] Sowgat & Roy (2022) go as far to affiliate planning with placemaking, a process that accentuates order, exclusivity, and rigidity at the greater expense of diversity, fluidity, and openness.

>> 2.3 The Properties of Public Space

In principle, public space is a cluster concept – one with a plethora of meanings and applications that typically overlap or contradict one another (Kohn 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Benton-Short 2016; Moeckli 2016; Zhang & He 2020; Mehta & Palazzo 2020; Mitrašinović & Mehta 2021). Fundamentally, this is because public space is a terrain of contention.[10] For this reason, scholars have frequently referred to public space as a space of liminality, and hence, a space of struggle (Mitchell 2017:515).

Liminality, albeit a complex concept, essentially refers to a condition of "in-betweenness" where multiple domains or binaries intersect (see Van Gennep 2019; Turner 1969; Thomassen 2009:15; Rogelja 2015:185, as cited in Wagoner & Zittoun 2021: ix-x; Weaver 2022: 338-339). In this sense, it speaks to a perpetual state of becoming without a fixed direction. This idea is core to the ambiguity of public space. It is also vital to understanding the essence of public space, more notably in the modern city as Peter Goheen explains:

> Public space in the modern city is charged with meaning and with controversy. The space in question is that which the public collectively values – space to which it attributes symbolic significance and asserts claims. The values attaching to public space are those with which the generality of the citizenry endows it. Citizens create meaningful public space by expressing their attitudes, asserting their claims and using it for their own purposes. It thereby becomes a meaningful public resource. The process is a dynamic one, for meanings and uses are liable to change. Renegotiation of understandings is

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[10] For more information on this concept, refer to Ryan 1997; Goheen 1998; Mitchell 2003; Kohn 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Blomley 2010; Mitchell 2017; Mehta & Palazzo 2020; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021.

ongoing; contention accompanies the process (Goheen 1998:479).

To Goheen, public space is a construct whose publicness is created by a diversity of groups to serve a diversity of needs. This is because, as spaces of democracy, their expressions are plural and ever-changing (Goheen 1998; Mitchell 2003; Kohn 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Blomley 2010; Springer 2010, cited in Knierbein & Viderman 2018:13; Mitchell 2017; Mehta & Palazzo 2020; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021). However, this also makes them susceptible to political agendas. As history suggests, ideas and expressions of publicness have typically been determined by more affluent groups (political or economic) who assume themselves to be "the public generating the public sphere" (see Habermas 1991; Benton-Short 2016:6).

>> 2.4 The Progression of Public Space

> 2.4.1 The Centrality of Democracy

At the heart of debates surrounding public space is the matter of democracy, specifically in its practical expressions. This statement is affirmed in the writings of Mitchell (2003; 2020), Henaff and Strong (2001), Joyce (2003), Low & Smith (2006), Geenens and Tinnevelt (2009), Parkinson (2012), Benton-Short (2016); Mandanipour (2019), and Luger and Lees (2020), who consider public space to be the geography of democracy. In other words, it is where community discourse and politics are cultivated through social interaction (Harvey 1989:3; Parkinson 2012:23; Benton-Short 2016:8; Kim & Kwon 2018:3).

As a notion, democracy is a contradiction, as it supports dialectical positions between liberal and social democracies (Saul 1995; Mitchell 1995; 2003; Joyce 2003; Parkinson 2012:23; Hou & Knierbein 2017; Mackintosh 2017:13; Luger & Lees 2020). The liberal democratic ethos calls for the regulation and securitization of public space to suppress alternative forms and expressions of liberty that distract from civil order (Harvey 2009; Springer 2010; Zukin 2010; Hoskyns 2014; Madureira & Baeten 2016; Mackintosh 2017; Mitrašinovic & Mehta 2021). On the other hand, the social democratic ethos calls for a looseness in public space, where the risk of disorder, politicization, and public citizen rights are tolerated to nurture political expression and social heterogeneity (Mitchell 1995:115; 2003; Amin & Thrift 2002; Watson 2006,

as cited in Nguyen 2018:4; Blomley 2010; Hou 2010; Iveson 2013; Mackintosh 2017;

Kim & Kwon 2018).

Table 1: Contending Democracies on the Sidewalk (see Lefebvre 1991; Mitchell 1995; 2003)

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY	LIBERAL DEMOCRACY
Representational Space	A Representation of Space
Promotes civil liberty	Promotes safety and efficiency
Tolerant to risks of disorder	Intolerant to risks of disorder
Flexible in its forms and growth	Traditionally keeps to a fixed and homogenous design
Open to citizens' rights	Brackets citizens' rights
Encourages social and political expressions	Discourages social and political expressions

Unpackaging these democracies, Table 1 notes their social and ethical

attributes in tracking their differences. These differences are especially apparent on

the lines of civility, publicness, and pedestrian autonomy. In the context of public

space, the product of these differences is a legacy of pedestrian contest and

negotiation in the public domain; what Mitchell (2003:36) calls "the dialectic between

the 'end of public space' and its beginning" (see also Norton 2007; 2008; 2021;

Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Moeckli 2016; Mackintosh 2017; Mehta &

Palazzo 2020). Because of this, public space can be "exclusionary as much as it is a

space for [social] democracy; and as a produced space, is governed by certain

uneven power flows and imbalances" (Luger & Lees 2020:80).

> 2.4.2 Public Spaces in the Modern City

The purpose of this discussion is to explain the processes and ideologies that transformed public space into a "lost geography" – where social democratic politics are supplanted by unfettered consumption (Low & Smith 2006:7; Mackintosh 2021:105). I refer here to the lineage of the urban sidewalk, an early modern development that Jane Jacobs identifies as one of the "main public places" of the modern city (1961:29). Because public space is broad in both the practical and theoretical sense, I contextualize my discussion to the sidewalk. Here I consider the social, economic, political, and physical impacts that modernity has had on this public domain. As a standardized connector between public and private spaces, the sidewalk is arguably the most important and prevalent public space; it literally shapes public life (see Jacobs 1961; Ryan 1997; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Sevstuk 2020; Pooley et al. 2021).

Historically, sidewalks are complicated. Although they have existed as public spaces and public property, their presence and condition were initially determined by property owners (Ryan 1997; Joyce 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Mackintosh 2017; Norton 2021). Property owners were tasked with paying for sidewalks, and typically treated them as an extension of their own property (see Blomley 2004a:621; Mackintosh 2018:109-110; Norton 2021:278). This was especially common in the interwar period when some property owners only paid for

sidewalks if either the area saw more automobile traffic or was otherwise predominantly White (Norton 2021:268-269).

However, it had not been long until cities began enforcing a regime of "efficient walking," which involved the alignment of physical infrastructures with legal ones to promote a liberal democratic hegemony (Mackintosh 2017:167-168, 190-191). This involved the standardization of permanent concrete pavements and new by-laws to cultivate safer streetscapes. These streetscapes were planned to delimit users and uses deemed by local government as impediments to a morally substantiated flow (Mackintosh 2017:191). This had hindered the autonomy of certain groups, specifically those considered rowdy, loitering, or vagrant. Their very presence was a threat to the promenading lifestyles of the bourgeoisie (ibid; cf. Scobey 1992:216-217,220).

Efficient walking was also a response to the persisting protests of local inhabitants enraged about the frequency of automobile-related injuries and deaths (Mackintosh 2017:219; Norton 2007; 2021). To ensure a sense of safety for pedestrians, the streetscape was redesigned in a way that standardized spatial segregation between pedestrians and motorists (see Rooney 2018). Amidst these developments, sidewalks were regarded as little more than thoroughfares for optimal human, material, and economic flows.

Fast forward to the postwar era: wherein cities made extensive efforts to pedestrianize the downtown while enduring unprecedented economic degeneration,

as masses of urban dwellers flocked to the growing suburbs (Ross 2018: 92; Balsas 2019: 3; Staley 2020: 4).[11] This development was especially detrimental to the livability and economic vitality of the city centre (Ravenscroft 2000, as cited in Balsas 2019:3).

To combat this decline, planners resorted to strategies that could reproduce suburban life, among them being the pedestrian mall (Robertson 1997; Birch 2011: 20; Balsas 2019: 4; Amos 2020).[12] In the pedestrian mall, urban sidewalks were extended to cover the entire street, façade to façade. This meant that vehicles were banned to make room for the expansion of both pedestrian traffic and pedestrian amenities. Planners believed this was critical to bolstering the social and economic potential of a pro-pedestrian urbanism. More importantly, it was a showcase of a public realm that was more tolerant of social democratic expressions. Unfortunately, its perceived lack of spatial order produced a perceived lack of social order, leading to its inevitable demise in the mid-to-late 1970s (Orzeck 2002; Valenzona 2013; Ross 2018). In turn, despite its short-term success, the pedestrian mall is remembered to have tarnished the economic competitiveness of the inner city and its allure as a place to live (Ross 2018; Balsas 2019). In the eyes of planners and businesses, the performance of the pedestrian mall had justified the need to advance a regime that

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[11] This was an especially important draw provided that suburban locales were commonly lacking in pedestrian infrastructure or had otherwise compromised it.

[12] Featured in this model is the expansion of outdoor amenities to provide a more wholesome shopping experience to compete with suburban indoor shopping malls (see The City People 1974; Gillette Jr. 1985:455-456; Morcol et al. 2008; Ross 2018). Albeit short-lived, it embodied a greater desire to reproduce the cultural and economic fabrics of suburbia (see Herzog 2006; Ross 2018; 2022; Balsas 2019; Amos 2020; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022).

could re-assert order and safety in downtown neighbourhoods (Morcol et al. 2008; Ross 2018; 2022). At the heart of this new regime were Business Improvement Areas or Districts (BIAs, BIDs), the harbingers of the neoliberal "entrepreneurial" city (Zukin 1995:1-38; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Lewis 2010; Prifti & Jaupi 2020:5,23-25).

> 2.4.3 Public Spaces in the Entrepreneurial City

As pedestrian malls continued to decline, there grew a mutual understanding amongst planners and businesses to revitalize the urban economy through new and creative methods. As Jokela asserts, these methods were heavily reliant on "transformative city branding" that involved marketing as both a form of planning and an urban policy (2020:2031). Together, they worked to promote the city as an entrepreneurial platform (ibid; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022:17). This branding was borne out of urban action that typically promoted inter-urban competition, public-private partnerships, and market rationality (Harvey 1989:7, as cited in Jokela 2020:2033). Collectively, these components are supposed to optimize the "vibrancy" originally associated with the pedestrian mall (Orzeck 2002: 52; Balsas 2019:4,6-7; Amos 2020:11). It was commonplace for local governments to partner with private stakeholders to bolster the allure of urban enclaves and their public infrastructures. Emerging from this partnership was the Business Improvement Area, whose origins trace back to 1970 with the emergence of the Bloor West Village BIA (see Hernandez & Jones 2005: 795). This had occurred as part of the advent of neoliberalism, which

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embedded corporate values in revitalization schemes for downtown cores (Lewis 2010; cf. Zukin 1995).

Emerging in the entrepreneurial city, the BIA incorporates "a proactive and outward-oriented" approach to bolster economic development (Madureira & Baeten 2016: 363). To ensure this, BIAs prioritize the security of private businesses and their target markets. BIAs also hire their own security and maintenance teams and advocate for new public policies promoting civil regularities of order, safety, and cleanliness in public spaces. They believe this to be necessary to make the inner city more attractive as a place to live, shop, visit, and invest (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Sorkin 2009; Moeckli 2016; Mahmood 2017; Jamal 2018; Prifti & Jaupi 2020; Kudla 2022).[13] Promoting this notion are a set of designs, policies, and technologies that modify public space to imply who or what is allowed or otherwise encouraged in them (see Sennett 2002; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Nemeth & Schmidt 2007; Joseph 2014; Moeckli 2016). The result is the displacement or incarceration of non-consuming populations, which authorities believe will help to bolster the appeal of the BIA for private investment.[14]

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[13] These ideas echo David Harvey's "embedded liberalism:" a central political economy in the mid-twentieth century conveying "how market processes and entrepreneurial and corporate activities were surrounded by a web of social and political constraints and a regulatory environment" (2005:11).
[14] Incarceration is a philosophy, language, and regulatory tactic that uses law to justify violence and discrimination against certain demographics. It infamously "perpetuate[s] a fictional and deeply political confinement of particular peoples to particular cultural, intellectual, and spatial locations" (Cameron 2012:105).

As Western cities transitioned from places of production to places of consumption, Fordist-Keynesian conventions were being abandoned (refer to Appendix A, Diagram 1). These were replaced with knowledge and service sectors which BIAs empower (Harvey 1989; Smith 2002; Florida 2012; Lysgard 2012: 1281; Peck 2014: 299, as cited in Jokela 2020: 2032; Madureira & Baeten 2016; Greenberg & Lewis 2017; Balsas 2019; O'Connor et al. 2020). Such shifts are indicative to what Richard Florida (2012: 6, 15) labels the rise of a "Creative Class", a phenomenon that relies primarily on "creative" human knowledge to inform "new technologies, new industries, [and] new wealth" that which optimizes the economic potential of the downtown, while also redefining the ways in which we live and work in the city. However, in the context of public space, methods and strategies are reduced to supporting a neoliberal agenda. The purpose of this agenda is to reimagine public assets as entrepreneurial ventures (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Prifti & Jaupi 2020; Kudla 2022). Backing this agenda is the desire to capitalize on human knowledge and so-called "creative industries", which Florida avers as a crucial component of economic prosperity (Florida 2012; Madureira & Baeten 2016; May & Perry 2017:14).[15]

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[15] Although the legitimacy of his theories are derided by critics (see Peck 2005; Kraatke 2010; Bergan et al. 2021, what Florida suggests is a modern way of thinking and doing that substantiated the advent of neoliberal urbanism (see Leslie & Hunt 2013:1171). His thesis legitimates the notion that people choose to live in cities for narrow culture-driven reasons that, presumably, support their living as "complete people" (Florida 2002, as cited in Glover et al. 2014).

Returning to David Harvey's definition, we can contextualize neoliberalism as a

means of de-democratizing the social dimension of public space (see Page 16;

Harvey 2005:2) . This is done to optimize geographies of consumption. Moreover,

they champion a city of contradiction, wherein "freedom" is attained through

"intensive regulation, exclusion, and governmentality" (Mackintosh 2017:9). It is here

where we find what Oscar Newman (1972) calls "defensible space".[16] By using design

to dictate pedestrian behaviours, it becomes increasingly difficult for social difference

and political expressions to emerge (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Zukin

2010).

This development was vital to a growing body of literature calling for greater

social justice in public spaces. Among them were Henri Lefebvre (1991) promoting

pedestrians' "right to the city", and Don Mitchell (1995; 2003), who underscores the

value of public space as representational space for social and political difference.

These dialogues inspired a diversity of movements promoting citizen rights and

advocating for alternative uses and users in public arenas (see Hatuka 2018: 19; Ryan

1997; Hou 2010; Iveson 2013; Hou & Knierbein 2017). Though inferior in power to

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[16] What makes a "defensible space" is its supposed ability to undermine social ambiguities—while
sponsoring an institutionalist regime. Privately-Owned Publicly Accessible Spaces have become
increasingly popular as a form of defensible space (protecting private interests). They have been
widely successful in attracting retail and tourism while also boosting property values and the "image"
of the surrounding locale (Blomley 2004a; Wood 2018:49).

that of emerging neoliberalism, their presence in both discourse and practice is what fuels the debate regarding who and what should be labeled as public.[17]

In the next section, I explain how pedestrianism has intensified the expansion of neoliberalism as a contemporary urban hegemony in the twenty-first century. This can be seen through three processes – privatization, securitization, and commodification. Collectively, they illustrate the contemporary trajectory of public space.

>> 2.5 The Privatization of Public Space

Fundamentally, the privatization of public space is the remaking of a public democratic resource into space that advances neoliberal principles and agendas (Peck et al. 2009; Madden 2010; Zukin 2010; Mahmood 2017).[18] However, this remaking has become increasingly reliant on modes of urban economic development that are "cautious, conservative, and conventional" (Peck 2014:398). I use this section, therefore, to explore this remaking as it unfolds in a trio of

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[17] Many geographers believe that public space is inherently an arena of democracy, yet its history favours a more complicated view that supports, as I have shown above, Mitchell's idea that public space is a series of beginnings and endings and, ultimately, struggle (1995; 2003). Adding to this complexity is the liberalist contention from Matthew Arnold that "only with order can culture flourish, can cities be centers of civilization." (Mitchell 2003:14). He goes on to assert that order and liberty are inter-dependent in the making of public space (ibid:17).
[18] But beyond a process, privatization is a product of local state efforts to augment revenues in urban locales (Huey et al. 2001:83).

intertwined procedures: the privatization, the securitization, and the commodification of public space. Together, these procedures mark the ascendancy of neoliberalism.

> 2.5.1 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a political economic rationality that "[extends] a specific formulation of economic values, practices, and metrics to every dimension of human life" (Brown 2015: 30, as cited in Kiely 2018: 119). It is labeled by Foucault as an agent of "legal interventionism" against economic nationalism and social democracy, most notably during the interwar period (see Slobodian 2018:92-93). Neoliberalism was intended to curtail the social and political autonomy of states and cities, rendering all things social and political as economic processes (Kiely 2018:10; Slobodian 2018:92-93). Its predominance is in large part to do with the freedom it gives to personal choice, however, this comes at the cost of citizens' civil political engagement (Walzer 1992, as cited in Mackintosh 2022:105).[19] Fundamentally, then, neoliberalism promotes a culture of intensified consumerism where autonomy is derived from liberated personal choice over civil political engagement (Walzer 1992, as cited in Mackintosh 2022:105). With the undermining of politics, neoliberalism can have a more transcendent impact on the state of environments and behavioural status quos.

In the context of the inner city, neoliberal policies lead to the promotion of spectacles (see Debord 1995; Morgan & Purje 2016; Russell 2019). Spectacles can

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[19] Embedded in this condition is the idea that "the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions […] to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (Harvey 2005:3).

unfold in a variety of ways: the increasing sale of public assets; the advent of public-private partnerships; and the colonization of neighbourhoods by state-sponsored redevelopment and other stakeholders such as Business Improvement Areas. Each of these play a notable role promoting the attractiveness of urban enclaves (Kohn 2004; Peck et al. 2009; Moeckli 2016; Mahmood 2017; Wood 2018; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021). Though unique in their execution, these processes share a mutual vision: one that hegemonizes entrepreneurialism and consumption (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Peck et al. 2009; Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris 2011; Mahmood 2017).

In committing to neoliberalization and supply-side thinking, the state has compromised democratic planning and regulatory processes (Lewis 2010; Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris 2011; Joseph 2014; Mahmood 2017). This concession is most prominent in public-private partnerships or PPPs (Espinosa & Hernandez 2015; Low 2015: 154; Mitrašinović & Mehta 2021). PPPs increased in popularity from the 1970s onward and are now deemed essential to economic growth and public realm enhancements. However, they are intrinsically unequal in that private and corporate stakeholders hold more power over the shaping of the public domain than do citizens through their elected representatives. Consequently, the lines between public and private domains are now blurred. This inevitably confounds the meanings embedded in publicness and democracy in an urban geographic context (Mitchell 2003; Kohn 2004; Zukin 2010; Nemeth & Schmidt 2011; Moeckli 2016; Mandanipour 2019; Mehta & Palazzo 2020). We find this pronounced in the 21st century with individual autonomy and individual choice being the hallmarks of freedom over

democratic government and its social welfare impulse (Walzer 1992, as cited in Mackintosh 2021:105).

Public space and its sidewalks then, are being reoriented to achieve new ends that center around private property, social surveillance, consumption, commerce, and individual responsibility (Madden 2010; Leslie & Hunt 2013; Mackintosh 2017; Mitchell 2017; 2020; Kiely 2018; Zhang & He 2020). For example, BIAs, as an urban economic force in the twenty-first century, promote and improve local business in neighbourhoods throughout the city (see Kohn 2004; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Lewis 2010; Jamal 2018; Wood 2018), with the imprimatur of civic government. This means BIAs have the governance, authority, and some autonomy to manage city neighbourhoods and districts. Their power extends to public realm improvements, which are just as concerned with boosting property values or cultivating economic spillover (Zukin 1995:1-48). Quality of life for non-consumers remains a sticking point amidst these improvements as they are deliberately geared to sponsor a more marketable and profitable environment for consumers, businesses and developers (see Milder 1987:18; Lefebvre 1991; McCann 2004: 1921; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Davis 2006; Rankin & Delaney 2011; Prifti & Jaupi 2020; Kudla 2022). As planner David Milder put it 35 years ago, public space could "be designed and developed to make visitors feel that it – or a significant portion of it – is attractive and the type of

place that "respectable people" like themselves tend to frequent (1987:18)."[20] In the

case of sidewalks, authorities will use local ordinances, development incentives, land

regulations, and design practices to attract and intensify business, both for property

owners and their target patrons (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:246).[21]

Historically, public space, then, has been a conflicted geography, subservient

to the views or agendas of private stakeholders of all sorts (Kingwell 2011). Such

privatization must include processes of securitization and commodification, both of

which are committed to promoting and sustaining the marketability of public space.

> 2.5.2 Securitization

Securitization refers to the process of policing a space to cultivate safety and

order within it. In the context of public space, securitization is essential to what

Foucault defines as a "political economy of detail", grounded in panoptic (one seeing

the many), oligoptic (the few seeing the few), or omnioptic scrutiny (the many seeing

the many) (Foucault 1995; Joyce 2003:109). When considering the more formal

means of security (e.g., adding CCTV, ID checks, or private security), panoptic

scrutiny has seemingly become the default method of regulating public space

(Atkinson 2003:1833-1834; Varna & Tiesdell 2010:581). The other two have become

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[20] This dynamic is at the core of Sharon Zukin's (2010) argument in her analysis of Manhattan's Union Square, where she contends privatized environments are generally more desired and frequented by pedestrians as a result of their conspicuous, privatized security.

[21] Though the capitalist pursuit is innately reward-for-risk, democracy is viewed as an overwhelming risk to economic vitality, and is thereby discouraged or otherwise planned against. This is chiefly due to the nature of neoliberalism, which is entrenched in capitalist risk abatement/aversion discourse (Harvey 2005).

more visible as less formalized tactics. Jacobs (1961), for example, explains the almost democratic dynamic of omnioptic scrutiny through what she refers to as having "eyes on the street" (1961:35, 77-78).[22]

Albeit contingent on population density and community trust, "eyes on the street" expresses a dynamic of informal, normalized, autonomous surveillance wherein most passersby are passively engaged in street-based social interactions (Jacobs 1961; Urban Task Force 1999: 28; Nemeth & Schmidt 2011:8). This is an almost subconscious promotion of a neighbourhood baseline of safety, morality, and order in the public domain through intentional and unintentional people-watching (ibid). This reality demands that people be self-disciplined, which is core to the plan's ambition by opening up the sidewalk.

Fundamentally, securitization is expressed through policing measures, design guidelines, and social interventions. Each of these are expressions of active or passive control over the planning of public assets (Wood 2018: 57). A prime example is with Ontario's Safe Streets Act, 1999 (aka Bill 8), which prohibits any kind of soliciting, which authorities believe to risk the safety and security of local businesses and their consuming publics (refer to Chapter 4.6) (Flaherty 1999). The Act was clear in asserting a safe and orderly public realm whose activities are non-disruptive and

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[22] Albeit valuable to the safety of streets and sidewalks, "eyes on the street" refers chiefly to an existing, albeit common fact of life in the mid-century city where most recreation took place on the streetscape.

befitting to consumption. Activities include walking, admissible loitering, window shopping, reading menus, and promenading.

There is a growing body of literature considering how policies have been used to support disciplined consumerism while diminishing democratic values (e.g., inclusion and equality) in public (Kohn 2004; Nemeth & Schmidt 2011; Hou & Knierbein 2017; Mitchell 2020).[23] The result is a regime of panopticism that encourages, ideally, a self-disciplined, docile public (Božovič 1995; Foucault 1995:136; Ransom 1997; Atkinson 2003:1832-1834; Joyce 2003:109; Senellart & Foucault 2010:255-256; Varna & Tiesdell 2010; Moeckli 2016; Hou & Knierbein 2017).

With the rise of neoliberalism in the 1970s, concerns over safety curtailed civil rights and freedoms among pedestrians. This process has only intensified in the twenty-first century since the events of September 11, 2001 (Mitchell 2003; Low & Smith 2006; Benton-Short 2016:10). This was when public and private authorities began to overemphasize security measures (e.g., the militarization of police, enhanced ID checks, the frequent use of video surveillance, the predominance of private security systems and agencies) in the planning and regulation of public spaces in response to the threat of terrorism (Mitchell 2003; Nemeth & Schmidt 2007; 2011; Benton-Short 2016; Wood 2018; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021; Mitrašinović &

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[23] This trend can be contextualized to what Davis calls "the militaristic turn": featuring carceral street designs that predominated cities like Los Angeles, where social and economic difference were actively planned against (2006:221-264).

Mehta 2021). Anti-democratic responses to the attack signaled the eventual

emergence of what Daniel Moeckli (2016:62-65) calls the "security society," which

imposes a defensive and preventive street design paradigm to mitigate perceived

civil risks in the public domain (Milder 1987; Orzeck 2002; Mitchell 2003; Blomley

2004a; Zukin 2010; Goldstein 2016; Kudla 2021). The prevalence of such a paradigm

was substantiated by a long-lasting rhetoric of fear endorsing repressive practices

(e.g., creation of new security policies and the intensification of security forces) to

exclude who and what was deemed "undesirable" (Flaherty 1999; Mitchell 2003;

2020; Blomley 2004a; 2004b; Herzog 2006; Goldstein 2016:78; Hee 2017; Hou &

Knierbein 2017; Rooney 2018; Ross 2018). This activity hearkens back to the

revanchism of the 1990s, the term Neil Smith used to describe the gentrification-

driven war against homelessness. Here, local government worked aggressively to

displace "undesirables" from the consumers' view in public spaces (see Fyfe 1998;

Atkinson 2003; Davis 2006; Low et al. 2005; Smith 2008, as cited in Low 2015:154;

Benton-Short- 2016:10; Moeckli 2016; Mitchell 2020).[24]

The objective here, was to establish zero-friction atmospheres, or what can be

called "symbolic public space" (Karimnia & Haas 2020:38). The idea behind these

spaces is to make them more predictable with a status quo of SUV citizenship, or

citizenship that hinges on the isolation symbolized by public life lived in cars (see

Mitchell 2005). Its success is realized through highly enforced, anti-democratic

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[24] "Undesirables" include anyone whose presence or activity is labeled by enforcers or property
owners as a threat to the safety of their desired public.

environments that are hostile to social, political, or economic difference (2020:38).

Fundamentally, this can be tracked to the argument that investing in security is a

requirement for a public space to achieve its economic potential, (Teir 1998; Nemeth

& Schmidt 2011; Sevstuk 2020).

Alleged threats to public security – meaning threats to privatized public space –

justify whatever degree of control that urban "authorities" feel compelled to extend

over the public realm. The purpose of such is to find and maintain public order, which

security fulfills by incarcerating or otherwise displacing street peoples (e.g.,

prostitutes, drug traffickers, panhandlers) from the public view (Loukaitou-Sideris

2009:235; Mackintosh 2017:191).

> 2.5.3 Commodification

Commodification refers to the capitalist transformation of goods, services,

ideas, nature, information, among others, into commodities for sale. This matters

because it resonates with social and economic relationships that constitute everyday

life. Guy Debord takes this further in the *Society of the Spectacle*, which describes

how capitalist ideas and narratives are embedded through physical representations

(what he calls "spectacles"), to alter social reality and thereby promote the "autocratic

reign of the market economy" (Morgan & Purje 2016:1).[25] He notes the spectacle

begins "the moment when the commodity has attained the total occupation of social

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[25] Spectacles refer to any device that can be manipulated by private stakeholders to distract or
otherwise pacify the masses from social democratic ideas or expressions (Morgan & Purje 2016:1).
These include (but not limited to) social media, architecture, journalism, advertising, television, and
film.

life" (Debord 1995:§42, as cited in Russell 2019:66).[26] Furthermore, it works to produce narratives about human relationships and interactions that do little more then to serve the interests of capitalism (Debord 1995:§121; Morgan & Purje 2016:1; Russell 2019:83).[27] As the literature asserts, commodification was, and continues to be, a fundamental process to achieving this end.

Historically, commodification reflects the overlapping interests of cities, businesses, and developers. The formation of Business Improvement Associations in the 1970s was an iteration of this fact. Its purpose was simple: to combat economic decentralization through transforming downtown enclaves into marketable urban commodities (see Goss 1993; Zukin 1995; Kohn 2004; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Wood 2018). To cultivate a geography of consumption, the supposed status quo was to separate market from politics in public spaces (Mitchell 1995:119; Zukin 2010:142-144). Urban managers believed that such changes were crucial to selling urban locales as desirable environments in which to live, work, play, visit, and especially consume (Kohn 2004; Carmona et al. 2008; Zukin 2010). BIAs worked with both public and private stakeholders to facilitate various practices of place management to brand urban districts (Zukin 2010:128; Kunzmann 2011:392; Jokela 2020:2032;

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[26] I specifically link the spectacle to its diffuse variant, which Debord associates with modern capitalist democracies and their commodity abundance (Debord 1995:65). This contrasts with the "concentrated spectacle" which is embedded in bureaucratic capitalism. I clarify this distinction to reject the idea of an "integrated spectacle" whose parameters in application are unspecified (Hearse 2021).

[27] Debord (1995) implies that pedestrians play a two-pronged role as both producers and consumers of the spectacle. Therefore, he avers that the cages of consumerism are self-inflicted and self-sustained. This is a narrative that Zukin (2010) backs in her own research on pedestrians preferring privatized, pro-consumer spaces.

Edensor et al. 2020:339; Kudla 2022:9). This was done through practices like gentrification, which governments and other stakeholders used to revitalize a district's social and economic fabric so as to make space for middle class citizens (see Smith 2002; Atkinson & Bridge 2005; Mandanipour 2019). To safeguard their allure, BIAs also resort to strategies such as "image-oriented policing" or exclusionary policing tactics that "enhance consumption activity by dispelling fears associated with urban disorder and homelessness" (Huey 2001:81; Benton-Short 2016:10; Kudla 2022:9).[28] This activity is justified in the context of commodification to transform the geography of the public into a consumer-centric spectacle conducive to private investment (Carmona et al. 2008; Zukin 2010:218; Mahmood 2017; Mandanipour 2019; Edensor et al. 2020).

Commodification, then, modifies public spaces to spaces of ever-expanding and ever-circulating commercial and financial value (Mitchell 2020:164). This has led to the development of "commodifiable neighbourhoods," which are key in the making of entrepreneurial city centres (Madureira & Baeten 2016:373, as cited in Levy 2020:912). In this context, sidewalks are planned and managed to augment clustering and inter-store spillover Jacobs 1961:36; Sevstuk 2020:157, 163-164).[29]

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[28] What traditionally directed the publicness of public space was the continuous opposition of views between those who seek order and control, and those who tolerate disorder (Mitchell 1995:115). By changing the law to deter opposition, public space turns into private space with a predefined set of conditions. This affects the visibility of non-consuming publics, especially homeless peoples who rely on public space for their livelihood.

[29] A common goal is to have pedestrians drawn to certain areas where they would be compelled to spend money and make multiple trips between and across stores. Blumenberg & Ehrenfeucht (2008:310) explain how planners and developers can arrange the street so to lead the pedestrian directly to key destinations; in their case, casinos in Las Vegas.

These traits create the ideal conditions for pedestrians and shoppers to create the

"buzz" needed to make a district more desirable for private reinvestment (see Lloyd

2006: 168, 176-177).[30] "Buzz" is the by-product of congregated producers (e.g.,

restaurants, theatres, entertainment centres, recreation parks) and consumers (e.g.,

visitors, recreationers, residents). Together, they spur an "interface" of intensive and

lively social engagements that endorse a range of "creative" initiatives and activities in

local districts (Storper & Venables 2004: 364-366; Lloyd 2006: 168, 176-177; Arribas-

Bel et al. 2016: 190). Through the power of spectacle (see Debord 1995), "buzz" is

vital to the fostering of economic activity (Storper & Venables 2004; Lloyd 2006).

A revised pedestrianism is favourable to all of this as it cultivates a new

walkability. This means moving pedestrians seamlessly from one consumer node to

the next while simultaneously encouraging them to meander or loiter in safety. Doing

so exposes an increasing population of pedestrians to a myriad of consumption

opportunities (Sevstuk 2020).[31]

>> 2.6 Summary

At the heart of public space is an antimony of ideologies concerning its proper

uses. However, as Mitchell implies, its legacy is one of subserviency to capitalist

pursuits (Mitchell 2020:2-3). These pursuits exacerbate a neoliberal order that

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[30] These lead to depersonalized (albeit successful) urban "catalysts" (e.g., malls, theatres, sporting complexes, convention centres) that promote the economic value of leisure and recreation in everyday life. The purpose is to foster formalized and pro-consumerist social engagements (Sternberg 2002; Glover et al. 2014:28).

[31] In this way, the spectacle works to reduce the human being to a ritual of capital; a body of docility that is "subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (Russell 2019:83; Foucault 1995:136).

hegemonizes property (among the likes of liberty and equality) as the only

meaningful freedom in public planning (McKay 2000:627). What we find are spaces

that undermine expressions of social democracy, as politics are replaced with

consumption. These conditions demand a pedestrianism that exclusively reinforces

the supremacy of law and order among non-consuming publics. This is what allows

for the sidewalk (and the street by extension) to intensify processes of

neoliberalization, securitization, and commodification.

Chapter 3: Methodology

>> 3.1 Introduction

Methodology explains the theory of, rationale for, and execution of the research. Its role is to describe, explain, and justify the methods that one chooses to acquire and analyze the data (Kaplan 1964; Blaikie 2000; Carter & Little 2007). I am employing a case study approach (see Stake 1995; Francis 2001, as cited in Valenzona 2013:24).[32] In my case, I use document analysis to scrutinize pedestrianism in its existing and envisioned forms to decipher the narratives and agendas in the YongeTOmorrow plan.

Firstly, methodology defines the ontology of the researcher and its role in subsequent stages of the research. [33] My ontology is rooted in a *social constructionist* metatheory; this involves constructing knowledge about reality (see Patton 2002:96; Gergen 2020:2-15; Willms 2021:42-43). This metatheory is paired with a "subtle idealist stance", which assumes that shared meanings do exist but specifically in the context of a greater social reality (Ritchie & Lewis 2003:16). I use this stance to substantiate the existence of a reinvented pedestrianism. Per Bryman's contention,

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[32] Methodologies can employ differing approaches to distinguish a "reconstructed logic" of how one analyzes, evaluates, and idealizes the process of qualitative research (Carter & Little 2007:1318).
[33] The ontology informs the researcher's epistemological and methodological positions (Grix 2002:177). It is useful in revealing personalized claims and assumptions about what one believes to be true about social reality and its constitutive components (Blaikie 2000; Grix 2002).

my ontology avers that reality is continuously produced by a set of social actors in asymmetrical power relations (2001:16-18).

Second is epistemology; the discovery and justification of the production of knowledge (Ritchie & Lewis 2003:13-14; Carter & Little 2007:1316-1317). For this research, my epistemology takes an *interpretive approach*. This approach adopts a social constructionist stance supporting the centrality of human factors in knowledge generation (Grix 2002:183-184). Here, the [generic] researcher defies foundationalist thinking, and embraces themselves as a part of the research (Grix 2002; Allen & Buzzanell 2017; Willms 2021:43). Together, the ontology and epistemology inform the research from its cognitive parameters to its research methods.

>> 3.2 Content Analysis

Research Methods explain a) the process of acquiring or scrutinizing knowledge in order to answer a research question (Grix 2002; Carter & Little 2007; Linneberg & Korsgaard 2019). In my case, it is to understand how YongeTOmorrow attempts to reinvent pedestrianism (refer to Page 21). To achieve this, my research relies solely on qualitative content analysis.[34] The beauty of this method is in its ability to be as simple or as complex as the researcher determines it (Neuendorf 2002, as cited in Elo & Kyngas 2007:108; Neuendorf 2019:7). Fundamentally it is about

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[34] On the process of content analysis and what it achieves, see Babbie 1992; Neuendorf 2017; Schreier 2019:6-13; Kleinheksel et al. 2020; Hay & Cope 2021; Luo 2022; Columbia University n.d.).

describing the contents in a dataset, but it can also discover relationships, formulate

hypotheses, and evaluate out theories (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2023:31). These work to

fulfill one purpose: to reveal the latent meanings that the dataset has embedded

(Schreier 2019:5; Dunn 2021:73). Per Krippendorff (2022:24), the analysis uses this

meaning to generate "replicable and valid inferences from the [data] to the contexts

of their use". Analysis is limited to the contents of the research question, and hence,

any material that is relevant to said question would count as a code when generating

categories and subcategories (see Schreier 2019:7-8).[35]

Content Analysis can be quantitative or qualitative, depending on the research.

This paper is focused solely on its qualitative use, which scholars contend to be more

adaptable and analytical (Schreier 2019:4; Kuckartz & Rädiker 2023:22).[36] It can also

be applied to myriad mediums, including that of documents and visuals (see ibid:23-

24; Neuendorf 2019:7,41). Therefore, I used this method to examine both the plan-

as-constituted and the plan-as-proposed. This demands two parts, and thus, two

types of analysis. The first part studies the plan in the written consultation process,

and the second part studies the plan in its visual renders. My aim was to look at the

plan at two different stages through two different mediums to show the plan's

commitment to a different type of pedestrianism. I found the two parts to work well to

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[35] Categories represent subjects of interest in the data that are core to answering the research question (Schreier 2019:8). Subcategories reflect different facets of the category or what is being revealed about it (ibid).

[36] Qualitative content analysis is to do with describing the meaning in (or of) a dataset of which "is at least partly latent and requires some degree of interpretation" (Schreier 2019:4-5).

show the narratives and the visible cues averring the existence or a need for a reinvented pedestrianism.

Achieving these aims, I dedicate each analysis to its own type of medium and sample: the first studies text from the *Public Engagement Consultation Report (PECR)*, and the second analyzes renders from the *Design Review Panel (DRP)* report. I conducted a qualitative manifest content analysis for the former, and a qualitative latent content analysis for the latter. Together, they explain how the data is used to convey pedestrianism in the plan's envisioned streetscape. My insights show how the samples are used to underscore dominating patterns, ideas, or themes that justify a reinvented pedestrianism.

I began my content analysis reviewing the present-day version of Downtown Yonge and how it is projected in the consultation process. Using this as a reference point, I advanced my analysis to examine the plan directly, specifically as it is projected in visual renders. Taking this approach allowed me to recognize and expand on the solutions proposed in light of the issues concerning the streetscape.

My analyses work together to describe and comprehend the case study at length between the plan itself and its localized context. This can only work successfully if the sampling strategy is non-probability and relies on homogenous data (see Ritchie & Lewis 2003:79; McGuirk & O'Neill 2021:258). In this scheme, I depend on typical case sampling to get a better sense of the underlying narratives and trends regarding the local streetscape, from existing to envisioned.

>> 3.3 Qualitative Manifest Content Analysis

For the textual data, I utilized a qualitative manifest content analysis, which assesses the visible components of a dataset (words and phrases) (Kleinheksel et al. 2020:128; Hay & Cope 2021:425). As such, my priority was describing the case study (as opposed to the plan) and contextualizing it to terms that are relevant to pedestrianism (see Mayring 2014:10; Schreier 2019:4). I conducted this method with an inductive approach: a three-step procedure which begins in empirical observation, to find patterns which are then used to develop theories or hypotheses (Ritchie & Lewis 2003:23; Linneberg 2019:263; Hay & Cope 2023:117). Embedded in this approach is an iterative one, which requires a continuous revisiting of the data for themes and patterns to make better sense of the case study, and what is being conveyed through it (see Kekeya 2016). My analysis was focused on showing typical cases of what was being promoted about the pedestrian experience from existing to envisioned.

For my sample, I chose the *Public Engagement Consultation Report* (PECR), which I found online through the City of Toronto website on their YongeTOmorrow webpage. The report was helpful in providing context for the YongeTOmorrow plan. It also included a summary of the consultation process and the topics of interest in earlier stages. I also needed a dataset that spoke at length on existing conditions, but preferably from the perspective of YongeTOmorrow. This allowed me to focus on the existence and ambition of the YongeTOmorrow plan in its formative stages.

To organize and evaluate the data, I first constructed a Pilot Coding Frame, all of which was done by hand and the search tool on Adobe Acrobat Reader (refer to Table 2). My coding frames were constructed using the five-step procedure of familiarization, selection, structuring and generating, defining, and lastly, revising and expanding (see Schreier 2019:8-12).

I began this process with familiarizing myself with the various facets of public life in the case study, specifically those to do with pedestrianism (on familiarization, see ibid:9). I performed open coding to get an overarching sense of what these facets entail (also known as structuring).[37] This led me to four key categories: a) Pedestrian Context; b) Pedestrian Experience; c) Pedestrian Safety; and d) Neoliberal Agents. My intent with these categories was to use them as axes to determine a set of subcategories (also known as generating) that collectively comprise the human geography between pedestrians and the streetscape. To make the frame valid and reliable, I defined each category, which consists of a label, a description, examples, and decision rules (on what each of these do, see Schreier 2019:12). Supporting this process are tags that categorize and dissect the information in a way that keeps it relevant to the research, the research question, and constitutive themes (Cope 2010; Linneberg & Korsgaard 2019). As Linneberg & Korsgaard state, coding is crucial to

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[37] Open coding starts with an extensive review of the subject matter to note down headings that collectively cover all components of the subject matter (Elo & Kyngas 2007:109-111). These headings are then grouped and converted into categories and sub-categories in order to abstract the data (ibid). This is all a part of decomposing the data from empirical observation, pattern-seeking, to theory-building (or testing) (Strauss & Corbin 1990:63, as cited in Blaikie 2000:339; Ritchie & Lewis 2003:23; Linneberg 2019:263; Hay & Cope 2023:117).

providing comprehensive insights about the data (2019:261-262). It is there where

the data is made more accessible, retrievable, and transparent.

Table 2: Pilot Coding Frame

TOPIC	COUNT	MOST RELEVANT PASSAGE(S)	DEFINITION	DECISION RULES
[A1] SIDEWALK	9	"Sidewalks are too narrow for the volume of pedestrians, which has made walking the street feel uncomfortable, difficult, or unsafe for some people due to the close proximity to vehicle traffic." (20)	A publicly-owned and publicly-accessible footpath whose function is to facilitate the continuous circulation of people and goods.	Used in this document to describe the only accessible space to pedestrians.
[A2] SPACE	32	"The YongeTOmorrow study worked to develop and evaluate design options to increase pedestrian space and improve the way people move through and experience Yonge Street between Queen Street and College/Carlton Street." (1)	Any open physical area that is given substance and meaning by or through a certain use or user.	This passage was selected to exemplify how space was commonly being referred to with the pedestrian or the pedestrian experience in mind.
[A3] STREETS	8	"Concerns about how neighbouring and parallel streets will be affected by the various Options." (22)	A publicly-owned and publicly-accessible thoroughfare that is shared between a diversity of users to facilitate the transportation of people and goods.	This term was being used exclusively to refer to the surrounding physical environment that would or otherwise could be affected by YongeTOmorrow.
[A4] STREETSCAPE	6	"The streetscape and public realm will create a sense of continuity and also encourage low speeds and considerate use by vehicle drivers." (31)	The collection of forms and features that constitute the character of a street.	Used conjointly with 'public realm' (B2) to specify what is being transformed by the YongeTOmorrow initiative. Furthermore, it is being used in this document to encompass both the physical and social elements of the urban environment.
[A5] VIBRANT	2	"Participants noted that it would be important to ensure that the zones remain vibrant through the programming of the street." (28) "Concern was expressed about how the street will remain vibrant over the winter months." (29)	A descriptor that suggests a lively urban environment abundant with social, cultural, and/or economic activity.	Presented as a condition that the initiative is striving to maintain in their proposed design. Used to describe the sustenance of economic, social, and/or cultural activity.
[A6] EFFICIENT	1	"In order to facilitate the efficient use of Walton Street (without the need for U-turns), the Developer has requested a change to the operational strategy on Yonge Street between Gerrard Street and	Used to describe an arrangement or system that is the most practical or optimal for a particular task or need.	This term was only used to describe the optimal conditions for car movement along a particular street.

		Walton Street to allow two-way vehicular access at all times." (34)		
[A7] FLEXIBLE	11	"Recommended Design Concept 4C, for which EA approval was recommended, along with a flexible operations approach that was not tied to the physical design." (37)	Used to describe the ability of someone or something to adjust or adapt to a diversity of conditions, needs, or agendas.	Characterizes the strategy that was being adopted to make parts of the design temporary or otherwise partial as to still facilitate the movement of vehicles.
[A8] ACCESSIBLE	5	"The street needs to remain accessible for other users during events, and participants supported the flexibility of the street to accommodate a range of uses." (29)	Used to describe spaces that can be reached and used by a diversity of individuals.	Although referred to sparsely throughout the document, it is a term that is viewed and classified as being a definitive and permanent attribute of the street.
[A9] CULTURAL	3	"Local stakeholder initiatives also identify the need to revitalize Yonge Street as a destination and for the public realm to support its role in the city as an economic and cultural hub." (6)	Used to characterize the ability of a space or place to openly accommodate and/or reflect a set of values, beliefs, customs, and institutions that constitute a particular way of life that is shared amongst individuals and groups.	Used in the document to convey and substantiate the significance of Yonge Street, most notably on a municipal level.
[B1] PEDESTRIAN	41	"Participants shared that COVID-19 has either further emphasized the need for wider sidewalks and greater spatial allocations for pedestrians or raised questions about what pedestrian volumes will be post-pandemic. There were questions about how accessibility would be maintained in the pedestrian priority zones." (28)	Used to refer to any individual who uses the sidewalk for foot travel.	The document refers to the pedestrian primarily as a user or a unit within the context of movement and flow.
[B2] PUBLIC REALM	12	"Extensive provision is made for street trees in all of the Alternative Design Concepts, and it is the intention that lighting, and furnishings will be of a high quality in support of the enhanced public realm that is being proposed." (32) "Future priorities for Yonge Street included more greenery, creating an adaptable space that can be used for a variety of activities, and public realm improvements to support local retail and dining experiences." (4)	The constitution of spaces and assets that are publicly-owned and publicly-accessible. Often considered the spatial backdrop for public life.	Considered a primary influencer in determining both the form and function of the street as proposed.
[B3] WALKING	2	"Alternative Design Concept 4C was selected as the Recommended Design Concept as it best supported the four objectives of mobility, livability, sustainability, and prosperity. It offered ways to access and experience Yonge Street by walking or cycling, by using transit or driving a vehicle." (26)	The activity of traveling by foot.	Used to describe a way of using and/or experiencing the sidewalk.

[B4] PEDESTRIAN-IZATION	4	"Predicted future pedestrian flows are high for this section, making it suitable for pedestrianization." (31) "There is concern that an over-pedestrianization of Yonge Street could sterilize the character of the street." (32)	A process involving the expansion of pedestrian-accessible space, oftentimes done in response to a growing pedestrian population.	Used in the document to refer to a process that could effectively deal with the rising volume of pedestrians.
[B5] GROWTH	4	"Dramatic growth is changing the character of the built form along the street and the needs of its users, placing increased demands on aging infrastructure." (7)	The process of developing into something greater or more complex.	Being used in the document to characterize the nature and the trend of pedestrian activity, while promoting the narrative of growth as an instigator.
[C1] SAFETY	8	"Concern was also expressed regarding pedestrian safety as it relates to interactions with cyclists and vehicles." (28)	The state of being or feeling protected against predefined threats or dangers.	Although similar to security, this term was being used in a greater diversity of contexts (see C4 description).
[C2] MOVEMENT	10	"Pedestrians already make up the majority of road users on Yonge Street in this area. Furthermore, a particularly high level of growth in pedestrian movements is expected in the block between Walton Street and Elm Street due to a large concentration of high-density developments, and the pedestrian priority zone on this block is proposed to cater for this growth." (35)	The physical circulation of people and goods.	This term is being used to clarify the circulation taking place.
[C3] FLOW	4	"Predicted future pedestrian flows are high for this section, making it suitable for pedestrianization." (31)	Used to measure the circulation of pedestrians in the urban streetscape.	Flow is being used as a metric to address and assess circulation, whereas movement is being used to simply define the circulation taking place.
[C4] SECURITY	1	"Public safety is also a top priority, encompassing both improving road safety and design consideration' to improve everyone's personal security." (4)	Measures or conditions that facilitate or otherwise preserve safety from certain threats or dangers.	For the one time this term was used, it was specific and direct to the condition of the people.
[D1] BUSINESS	33	"Feedback on the needs of businesses and adjacent properties dictates the requirement for some limited, local access movements at various points along the corridor." (33)	Any group or activity that promotes economic circulation.	As evidenced in the document, businesses were a major recuring informant in the planning of the YongeTOmorrow initiative. However, they were primarily mentioned in correspondence to the economic compromises that came with this initiative.
[D2] ECONOMIC	12	"There was an insufficient level of consensus among stakeholders on the operational plan and business stakeholders continued to express concern for the economic impacts of removing daytime vehicular access on sections of Yonge Street." (37)	Used to describe the ability of a space or place to facilitate and promote the circulation of goods and/or the providing of services for monetary gain.	Primarily used in the context of accessibility (i.e., the accessibility of vehicles to provide services or to deliver goods that promote business in the area). Was raised as a point of concern with the proposed pedestrianization of certain segments along Yonge Street.
[D3] POLICY	4	"City policy and public feedback all indicate that pedestrians should	A regulatory mandate typically	Refers to municipal legislation that is being

		come first on Yonge Street, and this is a key project objective. The Recommended Alternative Design Concept presented addresses this." (32)	devised to solve or combat a particular issue or problem.	treated in this document as a principal reference and guideline for the YongeTOmorrow initiative.

My final step was revision and expansion, which was accomplished using a Modified Coding Frame (refer to Table 3). For this frame, I removed the column on decision rules and modified my definitions to make the problems more explicit. They were also changed to read more as descriptions, which helps to note their context. I resorted to this approach as it allowed me to simplify and clarify the narratives embedded in the document about Downtown Yonge and the public realm at large. Notes italicized in the frame are my own descriptions that expand on the definitions, of which are non-italicized in the Description column.

Table 3: Modified Coding Frame

SUBCATEGORY	COUNT	MOST RELEVANT PASSAGE(S)	DESCRIPTION
[A1] SIDEWALK	9	"Sidewalks are too narrow for the volume of pedestrians, which has made walking the street feel uncomfortable, difficult, or unsafe for some people due to the close proximity to vehicle traffic." (20)	Publicly accessible footpaths designed to invite and maintain the circulation of pedestrians. *Primarily used to describe the only space on the streetscape that embraces the pedestrian or pedestrian activities.*
[A2] SPACE	31	"The YongeTOmorrow study worked to develop and evaluate design options to increase pedestrian space and improve the way people move through and experience Yonge Street between Queen Street and College/Carlton Street." (1)	Refers to any open physical area that is given substance and meaning by a certain use or user. *Most frequently mentioned in conjunction with the pedestrian – referring either to pedestrian space, or space for pedestrian use.*
[A3] STREETS	8	"Concerns about how neighbouring and parallel streets will be affected by the various Options." (22)	Publicly-owned and publicly-accessible thoroughfares that are shared between a diversity of users to ease the transportation of people and goods. *Reference to this term was made exclusively when considering the surrounding streetscapes that would or might be affected by the YongeTOmorrow initiative. These other streets were implied as representing the traditional order of the street which prioritizes car travel.*
[A4] STREETSCAPE	6	"The streetscape and public realm will create a sense of continuity and also encourage low speeds and considerate use by vehicle drivers." (31)	The collection of forms and features that constitute the character of a street. *This term was used conjointly with that of B1 to address both the physical and social components of the urban environment. The majority of codes referred back to the intent of limiting vehicular autonomy in the area for the sake of a more coherent and continuous pedestrian environment.*
[B1] PUBLIC REALM	12	"Extensive provision is made for street trees in all of the Alternative Design Concepts, and it is the intention that lighting, and furnishings will be of a high quality in support of the enhanced public realm that is being proposed." (32) "Future priorities for Yonge Street included more greenery, creating an adaptable space that can be used for a variety of activities, and public realm improvements to support local retail and dining experiences." (4)	The constitution of spaces and assets that are publicly-owned and publicly-accessible. Often considered the spatial backdrop for public life. *The document identifies the public realm as an independent variable in the future shaping of the streetscape, both in its form and function.*
[B2] FLEXIBLE	11	"Recommended Design Concept 4C, for which EA approval was recommended, along with a flexible operations approach that was not tied to the physical design." (37)	Used to describe the ability of someone or something to adjust or adapt to a diversity of conditions, needs, or agendas. *The document applies this term to describe the strategy that was taken to make this initiative open to adjustments following backlash regarding vehicular constraints proposed for the street.*
[B3] VIBRANT	2	"Participants noted that it would be important to ensure that the zones remain vibrant	*The document addresses this term as a desirable status quo for the public realm. Precisely, this term is a descriptor that encapsulates the sustenance of*

		through the programming of the street." (28) "Concern was expressed about how the street will remain vibrant over the winter months." (29)	*economic, social, and/or cultural activity which facilitates a lively urban environment.*
[B4] ACCESSIBLE	3	"The street needs to remain accessible for other users during events, and participants supported the flexibility of the street to accommodate a range of uses." (29)	*Used to describe spaces that can be reached and used by a diversity of individuals to facilitate universal and physically coherent pedestrian space.*
[B5] GROWTH	4	"Dramatic growth is changing the character of the built form along the street and the needs of its users, placing increased demands on aging infrastructure." (7)	The process of developing into something greater or more complex. *Growth is alluded to as the heart of the problem with the existing streetscape, with the narrative being pushed that the infrastructure can no longer meet the rate of resident and pedestrian growth in the area.*
[C1] SAFETY	8	"Concern was also expressed regarding pedestrian safety as it relates to interactions with cyclists and vehicles." (28)	The state of being or feeling protected against predefined threats or dangers. *As the document advances, the safety of pedestrians was still at the forefront in directing the proposed changes.*
[C2] SECURITY	1	"Public safety is also a top priority, encompassing both improving road safety and design consideration' to improve everyone's personal security." (4)	Measures or conditions that facilitate or otherwise preserve safety from certain threats or dangers. *Security is acknowledged in the document as a perennial end, yet one that is sought be improved primarily through design.*
[C3] EFFICIENT	1	"In order to facilitate the efficient use of Walton Street (without the need for U-turns), the Developer has requested a change to the operational strategy on Yonge Street between Gerrard Street and Walton Street to allow two-way vehicular access at all times." (34)	Used to describe an arrangement or system that is the most practical or optimal for a particular task or need. *Although it is strictly referring to vehicles, the matter of efficiency is still being measured and defined along the axis of obstruction. The request for two-way vehicular access is believed to support existing business in the area.*
[D1] BUSINESS	33	"Feedback on the needs of businesses and adjacent properties dictates the requirement for some limited, local access movements at various points along the corridor." (33)	Any group or activity that promotes economic circulation. *Aside from identification, "businesses" and "business" were exclusively mentioned in correspondence to the economic compromises that were projected with this initiative. Furthermore, the document suggests how businesses are strong advocates for necessary vehicular access that would threaten and/or limit pedestrian access. Additionally, they are claimed to vouch for traditional flows that suppress liminality.*

The most significant change was the addition of a category, specifically 'Category B: Public Realm'. This category is comprised of certain qualities the authors accentuate in their own design. The other notable change was the removal of my subcategories in Category D. There are two reasons for this: a) because D2:

Economic, was frequently referring to the same issues as businesses, and b) because

D3: Policy, did little to engage pedestrianism. Table 4 highlights the other changes

made for the modified coding frame to concentrate my analysis. The frame consists of

passages concerning these subjects where narratives were inferred or otherwise

alleged. I then composed my inferences regarding the narratives and what I found

they were reporting or contending about the existing conditions (refer to Page 105-

106).

Table 4: Table of Modifications from the Pilot Frame to the Modified Frame

Modification	Rationale
The removal of B3 (Walking) and C4 (Flow)	I found that these terms had overlapped extensively with that of C3 (Movement), which had more to do with the circulation of pedestrians. I settled on movement as the subcategory because it featured more counts, and it had a greater versatility of references in the document.
Moving A6 (Efficient) to Category C (Public Safety)	I found efficiency tied well to the matter of safety, precisely in that they work conjointly to facilitate an orderly environment for the sidewalk. Further, they both support the hegemony of pedestrianism, which prioritizes values of safety and efficiency, and orients the streetscape accordingly to subscribe to those values.
The removal of Category C (Pedestrian Activity)	I found this category more resourceful as contextual grounding as opposed to a device that would show me the differences between present and proposed renditions of Yonge Street. Additionally, the references that are made to its subcategories consider movement and flow in very linear ways that fail to perceive the greater possibilities that other categories both imply and embrace.

>> 3.4 Qualitative Latent Content Analysis

The second part of my content analysis is focused on latent content. This requires a more intimate look at the data to identify overarching themes and theories (Hay & Cope 2021:173). I specifically employed latent pattern content analysis, which discerns trends and characteristics that the data is reflecting, conveying, or otherwise promoting (Kleinheksel 2020:129). At this stage of the research, my analysis examined imagery from the *Design Review Panel* report, whose acquisition was alike to the previous report. This report granted me a diversity of renders (and thereby a diversity of perspectives) that portray the plan in its presently proposed state. Collectively, these renders elucidate the achievement of a particular social reality the plan assumes necessary – a reality I decipher in relationship to pedestrianism. Akin to the manifest content analysis, my research maintained an explorative research design (see Mayring 2014:12). Moreover, it followed an inductive approach which openly assesses the data for themes, patterns, and relationships that collectively allude to a greater vision or desire for Downtown Yonge. All observations were conducted organically.

Having utilized open coding in the manifest content analysis, I must proceed now with axial coding.[38] With this coding method, I re-assemble the data to reveal

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[38] This is the second stage of grounded theory analysis (preceded by open coding) whose purpose is to draw and track relationships between the categories and sub-categories from the open coding (Blaikie 2000:239; Simmons 2018:80-81).

new or overlooked dimensions of the subject matter (Charmaz 2006:60). The goal is to bring coherence to the analysis so the research can be thoroughly comprehended.

Keeping these priorities in mind, I began my analysis with open observation, all of which was done organically. I took hand-typed notes on what I saw displayed in each render, from people, activities, land uses, among all else that composed the social reality. I was mindful to contextualize these notes to my existing categories and sub-categories – each of which represent a facet of the pedestrianism the plan is looking to realize. I then compared my notes between sample renders and jotted the similarities and differences (refer to Appendix B). Similarities were noted in a separate segment as connection points, and differences were noted in the point notes themselves, which collectively identify components or consequences of the reinvented pedestrianism. The differences are elaborated in my dialogue in Chapter 5 from Sections 5.7-5.8 where I speak on their significance.

My objective with this exercise was to show how my codes correspond to realize pedestrianism in a different light. Doing so had allowed me to recognize and explain how certain ideas and narratives were translated from the *Public Engagement & Consultation Report.* From there, I could make inferences about the renders as being subservient to a neoliberal agenda.

>> 3.5 A Note on Visual Analysis

Employing visual analysis allowed me to focus on the hoped-for everyday context and the relationships that reside in them (Oldrup & Carstensen 2012; Barbour 2014, as cited in Glaw et al. 2017:2; Rose 2016). With its striking attention to detail, visual analysis is also effective in unpackaging the contextual and analytical richness of the data, especially that of photographs (Glaw et al. 2017:1; Erfani 2021:89). I specifically employed what Denton et al. (2018) call a visual content analysis, one that specializes in clarifying the message(s) concerning a particular issue or topic. It assumes the visual as a tool through which the plan's assumed visions and ideals are revealed or otherwise endorsed. Using this method, I was also attentive to the matter of visibility in the making and projection of images – authors having the power to determine what is emphasized and what is absent (Rose 2016:188). This allows the author to construct and justify certain narratives about a topic, which can dictate or otherwise promote certain ways of seeing and knowing (Trace 2002:143-144; Prior 2019).[39] In the case of YongeTOmorrow, it is promoted on the surface as a "long-term design solution" that is made more practical and inviting for the influx of pedestrians (City of Toronto n.d.). On the other hand, the plan says little about businesses and

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[39] This helps to clarify what the plan is refuting or otherwise concealing to promote a certain idea as hegemonic (see Foucault 1980:109-133; Dittmer 2010; Rose 2016:190; Khan & MacEachen 2021:4; Waitt 2021:334, 341-343; on silences or absences, see Waitt 2021:349-351).

developers and how they will benefit despite them having more influence in the

shaping of the plan.

>> 3.6 The Benefits and Limitations of Content Analysis

Like any method, content analysis has its share of limitations; however, they are

generally contingent on how the method was applied in the study (Blaikie 2000). In

my application of the method, the variables in my research are specific to the case

study, which complicates its greater applicability. It is also exclusively homed in on

the 'what' and the 'how' of pedestrianism at the greater cost of the 'why'. As an

exploratory approach, this method is not designed to consider or highlight

theoretical perspectives or other subjectivities that may have influenced the dataset

(Kolbe & Burnett 1991:244). Lastly, I acknowledge that the method may have been

shaped from my own biases as a researcher as data was collected, coded, analyzed,

and interpreted (ibid).[40]

Yet although these limits exist, I still found this method to be the most suitable

and optimal for my research. As stated before, qualitative content analysis is

adaptable to a wide range of mediums, including those I chose to sample

(documents and visuals) (see Kuckartz & Rädiker 2023:23-24; Neuendorf 2019:7,41).

Moreover, it can take its generated descriptions to discover relationships, formulate

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[40] To learn more about other limitations of qualitative content analysis, refer to Schreier 2019:18.

hypotheses, and evaluate out theories (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2023:31). It is also effective

as an enquiry tool into "the complexity of everyday life, the nuances of meaning-

making in an ever-changing world and the multitude of influences that shape human-

lived experiences" (DeLyser et al. 2010:6, as cited in Hay & Cope 2021:244). I needed

a method that could go to that level of analytical depth while still providing an

extensive synopsis into the plan and its respective context to justify its significance.

Though contextually limited to the case study, this method had allowed me to work

towards a theory about pedestrianism that can apply itself to present or future

revitalization projects.

>> 3.7 Summary of Procedures

My research endorses a social constructionist ontology and an interpretive

epistemology. This befits an inductive research strategy exploring the nuance of the

plan with its capture of the streetscape. I support this with a Manifest Content Analysis

and a Latent Content Analysis. I use both to study how presupposed issues are raised

and addressed by the plan.[41] I also use these methods show how pedestrianism

endorses a two-tiered system, whose enhancements cater strictly to an affluent,

consuming, self-disciplined public. But before I go in depth with my analysis, I

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[41] In great part informed by Michel Foucault, the poststructuralist lens takes a look at the role of discourse (specifically its subjectivities) in fabricating "regimes of truth" about reality as opposed to reflecting said reality (Foucault 1980:133; Dittmer 2010: 277; Mansvelt & Berg 2021:376, 382-383, 390).

provide a foundation for my scrutiny by disclosing the context of the study, and why it is relevant.

Chapter 4: A Historical Geography of Planned Pedestrianism on Yonge Street

>> 4.1 Overview

"Public space has always operated under some form of restrictions, either formal or informal – for example, even the most open of public spaces prohibit nudity, vagrancy, or other behaviour considered unsuitable. Hence no public space can claim to be completely inclusive." (Benton-Short 2016:6)

Benton-Short's passage puts public space in perspective as a place that has always needed restrictions to make and maintain its publicness. Restrictions themselves are informed by a combination of social, cultural, and political actors who favour the ideals of the public-in-power or the public represented. In this sense, public space is the material expression of an "episteme". I illuminate this episteme in the context of Downtown Yonge and how it has prevailed over decades regardless of the district's history of redevelopments.

Albeit grounded in the history of Toronto, my timeline considers how downtown revitalization efforts directed a trend of serial reproduction (of culture) between Western cities to compete for private investment (Sorkin 1992; Zukin 1995;

2004; Kavaratzis 2004; McCann 2004; Gelders & van Zuilen 2013:110-111; Raco et al. 2016: 217-218; Mansell 2022:11-12).[42] Encompassing this trend is "urban renewal", a process spanning multiple decades and multiple strategies to accelerate downtown economic growth. I affirm how YongeTOmorrow is a product of this lineage.

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[42] The serial reproduction of culture in cities is encompassed in the desire to have "uniqueness" and "cultural distinction" (Richards & Wilson 2006). Entrenched here is a widespread proliferation of aesthetics, catalysts, and even policies to bolster buzz and tourism (for aesthetics and amenities, see Robertson 1997; for catalysts, see Sternberg 2002; for policy tourism, see Gonzalez 2010; Richards 2014). The desire to be distinct, Zukin argues, is akin to the trend of "industrial globalization with its geographically widespread production but concentrated consumption" (2004:8). Collectively, these scholars express the ways by which urban culture has become technocratic. Culture is valuable to my study as "the source of urban attraction" and "a basic resource [deriving] the themes and narratives essential to 'placemaking'" (Gottdiener 1997; Fainstein et al. 2003, as cited in Richards & Wilson 2006:1209).

>> 4.2 Downtown Yonge Background

Image 2: Photograph taken looking north on Yonge Street from near Queen Street on January 12, 1929 (Toronto Archives S0071, Item 6569, as cited in LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:57).

From its genesis in the early nineteenth century, Yonge Street holds a legacy as one of Toronto's most important and iconic thoroughfares (see DYBIA 2016; Nguyen 2018; LURA Consulting & Steer 2021; Ross 2022). Through its earliest decades, it served as a critical route of passage for the British military, eventually becoming the founding street for Toronto's bus, streetcar, and subway networks (Valenzona 2013; LURA Consulting & Steer 2021). Its downtown segment (mostly covered by the Downtown Yonge district) is recognized as a fundamental part of Yonge Street's history, geography, and identity as a central gathering place for citizens and visitors alike (Joseph 2014; Mahmood 2017; DYBIA 2015; 2017; Ross 2022). Moreover, it is one of the city's busiest locales as a "retail marketplace and its showiest mass

entertainment destination" with venues, theatres, specialty shops, and major department stores in Eaton's and Simpson's (Ross 2022:3). Moreover, it was consistently at the forefront of urban change over decades (ibid:4).

The centrality of Yonge Street was especially evident during the interwar and postwar periods, when it saw an influx in tenants, an unprecedented construction boom, and significant public investments in transportation infrastructure (Ross 2022). There is similar intensification in the present-day, more notably in the Downtown Yonge district (spanning from Queen Street to College Street along the Yonge Street Corridor) which anticipates over 8,500 condominium units, and a projected 43% population increase to its existing population of approximately 175,000 (DYBIA 2015:11; City of Toronto 2019: 7; City of Toronto 2020). This has much to do with the wave of private developments in the area, from the construction of Yonge-Dundas Square to the Toronto Metropolitan University expansion. Between 1996 and 2016, the district saw a 43% increase in employment and a 73% increase in population (City of Toronto 2020). In addition, its sidewalks see daily pedestrian volumes of over 100,000 individuals, among the highest on all of Yonge Street (DYBIA 2016:8). These numbers can be attributed to the fact that the district is home to over 600 retail stores, 150 bars and restaurants, 8 hotels, 4 theatres, a movie theatre, Little Canada, the Eaton Centre, Yonge-Dundas Square, and Ryerson (now known as TMU) University (DYBIA 2015:11). These facilities are valued by the city as "catalysts" for future urban development with the hope of advancing vitality of the neoliberal vision (see Attoe & Longa 1989; Sternberg 2002; Sevstuk 2020). The Downtown Yonge

district (and its BIA) spans from Grosvenor Street to the north, and Richmond Street to the south, along Yonge Street (see Image 3). The following provides a contextual backdrop from which YongeTOmorrow (and preceding initiatives) had emerged.

Image 3: A map of Downtown Yonge, outlining the parameters for the YongeTOmorrow campaign (City of Toronto 2019).

Study Area
Area for which data collection and analysis is being completed

YongeTOmorrow EA Focus Area (Phase 1)
Area for which alternative solutions are currently being developed and evaluated

Future Focus Area (Phase 2)
An EA to develop and evaluate design solutions for Yonge from College to Davenport will commence upon completion of YongeTOmorrow Phase 1

Wider Neighbourhood Impacts

YongeTOmorrow will consider the existing conditions and impacts of the alternatives on the north-south and east-west streets within the study area before making a final recommendation for the focus area.
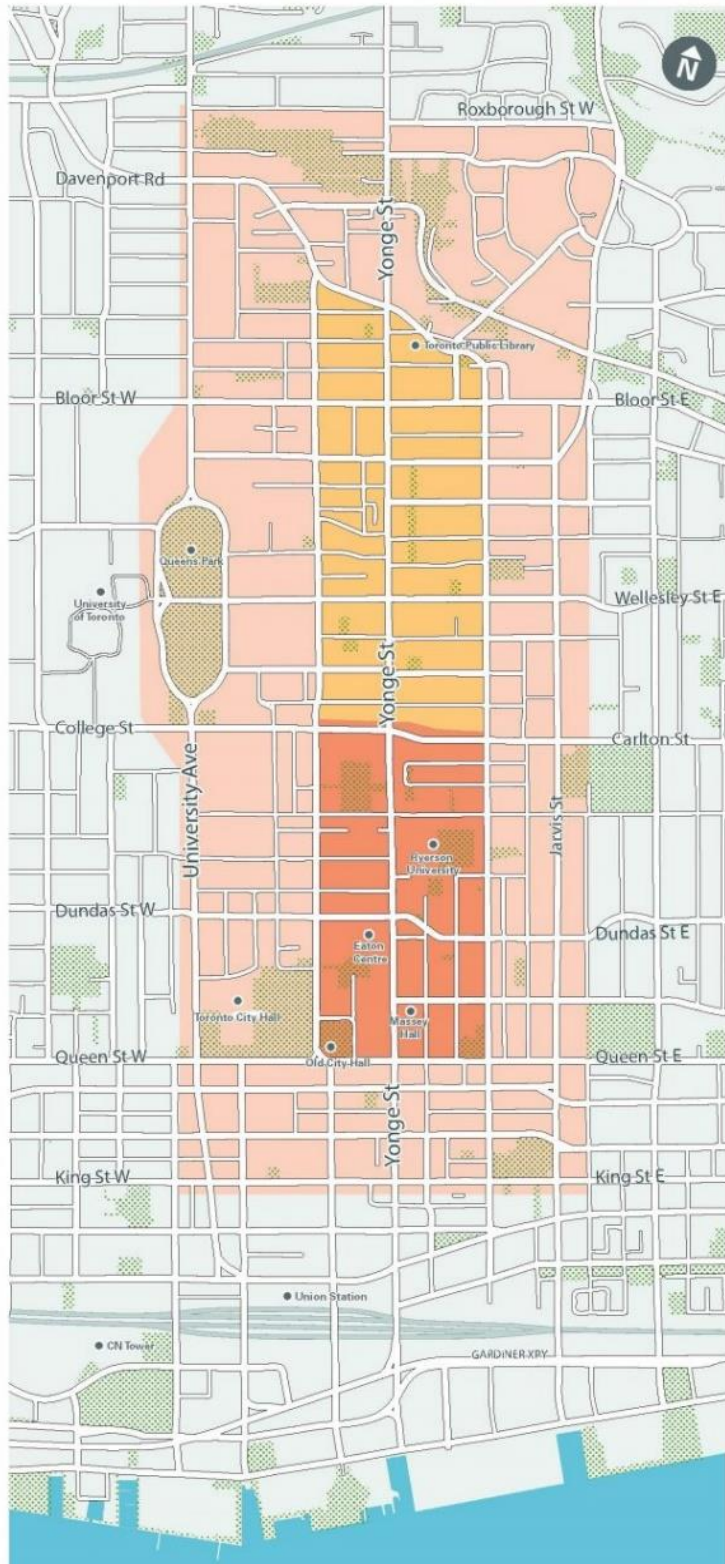
>> 4.3 About Downtown Yonge BIA

The Downtown Yonge BIA (DYBIA) was established in 2001 in response to a district that was infamous for its crime and economic decline. Though it came three decades following the first BIA (Bloor Village West), the DYBIA was a significant addition to the municipal BIA network as it was the first place to be recognized as an official municipal tourist area (Morcol et al. 2008:150). With social, cultural, and economic revitalizations, the district became a prime destination for shopping, business, and entertainment. It also hoped to draw an influx of consumers and businesses to optimize economic growth, activity, and competitiveness (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Morcol et al. 2008; Milroy 2010; Mahmood 2017). Currently, the DYBIA represents the largest BIA in all of Ontario, consisting of over 1800 businesses and 200 property owners (DYBIA 2016:8).

Albeit created through legislation, BIAs lack funding from local government, so they tax their own members to fund security and maintenance crews (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Lewis 2010; Prifti & Jaupi 2020; Kudla 2022). Their goal is to build and maintain a certain image that is more advantageous for economic growth (ibid). It consults with both the public and private sectors to manage, promote, and expedite the district's market appeal. Historical precedents include the Yonge Street Regeneration Program (1996), the Safe Streets Act, 1999, and the most recent Safe & Inclusive Streets Strategy in 2017 (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Joseph 2014; DYBIA 2016; Mahmood 2017) (refer to Table 5, Page 74). With the advent of

YongeTOmorrow, I anticipate the standard will become sidewalks that value

profitability over safety and functionality.[43] I am not suggesting that safety and

functionality are being abandoned, rather, they are coming second to profitability.

>> 4.4 Past & Present Interventions

Downtown Yonge has long experienced a diversity of interventions meant to

bolster its economic vitality. In this section, I examine those that are significant with

how they engage with the public realm and neoliberalism. The purpose is to show

how each intervention informed YongeTOmorrow. I also touch on their role in

cementing the district as a mixed-use neighbourhood, and a destination for

commerce, entertainment, and tourism. Though I am strictly covering Downtown

Yonge's history, the dialogue covers the serial reproduction that emerged from urban

renewal over the decades. My discussion begins in the postwar period. Tracking this

history will be important to identifying the underlying trends and issues that informed

certain developments.

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[43] Literature avers this remaking already exists in the case of Yonge-Dundas Square, which endorses a more consumer-centric environment (Hernandez & Jones 2005; Joseph 2014; Mahmood 2017).

> 4.4.1 Where It All Began

Explaining why BIAs were formed is to first explain the conditions that

provoked them. By the 1950s, urban managers were looking at ways to combat the

predominance of the automobile, which was at odds with both public safety and the

economic vitality of the inner city (see Ryan & Greene 1956; Marx 1956; Norton

2021). The impending decline of the inner city had in large part to do with the

success of suburbanization, underscored by subsidized housing loans, a surge in

private automobile ownership, and the commensurate expansion of automobile

infrastructure (Balsas 2019:3). The allure and accessibility of suburban life had

dramatic effects on housing, commerce, industry, transportation, services, and leisure

in the inner city.[44]

However, it was not until the 1970s when government and property owners

understood the magnitude of these effects on the urban economy (Ross 2018; 2022;

Balsas 2019). In response, they began to work together through public-private

partnerships to facilitate innovative solutions that could draw people back to the

downtown core. As Aydoghmish & Rafeian (2022:2) explain, these solutions were

carefully devised to bridge urban planning with entrepreneurial business tactics to

cultivate "entrepreneurial governance" (Kavaratzis 2004: 59, as cited in Aydoghmish

& Rafeian 2022: 2).

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[44] This was also at a time when department stores were raising rents and adopting more aggressive business tactics – which resulted in the abandonment and degradation of downtown establishments (Balsas 2019:3).

> 4.4.2 Yonge Street's Pedestrian Mall (1971)

As discussed above, the pedestrian mall lay at the heart of urban renewal efforts from the late 1950s to the mid 1970s (see Goldfield 2007:1; Birch 2011:20; Ross 2018; Balsas 2019:4; Amos 2020:11). For Downtown Yonge, it was intended to restructure the downtown economy for small local businesses (Ross 2022). Albeit intended as a temporary arrangement for the summer months, its popularity had allowed for its return for the two years following. Its success was attributed to the extra business it provided merchants, combined with the inclusivity and flexibility of the space to invite a diversity of public life (Valenzona 2013). However, as time went on, pedestrian malls as a concept were derided for their growing reputation of drawing non-consumers and loiterers. This was a widespread issue across many Western cities, especially the larger ones where malls were ravaged with so-called "civil dangers." These included (but not limited to) muscle cars, peep shows, strip clubs, massage parlours, rowdy youth, folk and rock music clubs, drug-taking and selling, all expressions of an anti-bourgeois culture considered "intolerable" in the eye of public and private stakeholders (Mackintosh 2017; Ross 2018).

Commentators cite these concerns, and especially the presence of nonconforming uses and users in the space, to have expedited the closure of Yonge

Street's Pedestrian Mall in 1974.[45] The growing consensus between public and private stakeholders was that the pedestrian mall was a gateway for non-sanctioned activities that compromised the safety, profitability, and morality of the urban locale (Ross 2018; 2022).[46] At the time, the prevailing narrative was that it was necessary to assert a moralized flow (corresponding to bourgeois sensibilities) in keeping a cultural vitality beneficial to economic growth (on such moral geography, see Mackintosh 2017:191-196; Ross 2018:98-99). However, the mall was still significant in conveying the street's potential as a public space and how it (temporarily) bolstered the local economy. This potential was in large part, what motivated corporations to band together to devise the Yonge Street Regeneration Program in 1996.

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[45] Beyond social discord, there were many other reasons for pedestrian malls' widespread collapse. In the case of Eugene, Oregon, Shrestha (2023:7) notes seven reasons for its failure: 1) The radical transformation of the built fabric; 2) Unforeseeable external causes (e.g., changing socioeconomic dynamics and shopping centres); 3) Mall's design qualities; 4) Negligence in responding to constructive criticisms; 5) A planned project with very little flexibility; 6) Disregard for downtown housing; 7) The inability of the parking garages to entice the visitors. In addition, other scholars suggest that the mall was narrow-minded in its attempted replication of the suburban shopping mall (see Robertson 1997; Baker 2010; Amos 2020).

[46] Stakeholders were aggressive with identifying vices, or "immoral geograph[ies]" as a way of justifying "moral geograph[ies]" that comforted their consuming publics (Cresswell 1996:149; Joyce 2003:145; Mackintosh 2017:191). They believed that establishing a delineated civility rooted in liberalist ideology was essential to protecting their stake of business in the downtown core as to prevent the "economic deregulation" that defined the postwar era. As the economic engines of the district, stakeholders required frequent attention in the plan to facilitate gentrifying processes to keep the district profitable and appealing to their desired publics (i.e., middle-class consumers), especially in this case as the function of the streetscape changes.

> 4.4.3 Yonge Street Regeneration Program (1996)

The Yonge Street Regeneration Program marked a new era for the Downtown

Yonge district as a neighbourhood and a prime destination for retail, tourism, and

entertainment. It also signaled the emergence of the DYBIA's predecessor, the Yonge

Street Business and Residents Association in 1995 (YSBRA), a group of major

businesses who transformed the social and economic conventions of the district

(Morcol et al. 2008; Milroy 2010).

The Association believed that to market the district successfully, it needed to

focus on nurturing safety and security for businesses and pedestrians alike. It

believed this was crucial to generating "buzz" and investment in the district (Kenniff

2005; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Gonzalez 2010; Milroy 2010; Joseph 2014; Arribas-

Bel et al. 2016). Such goals were actualized with the development of the Yonge-

Dundas Square: an outdoor event venue in the heart of Downtown Yonge that

featured infrastructural changes to make the area more of a spectacle for middle class

consumption (Orzeck 2002:2; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Milroy 2010; Joseph 2014;

Mahmood 2017). However, with how the space is regulated, its status as a public

space has long been questioned by scholars (see Joseph 2014; Delamont 2017;

Mahmood 2017; Jokela 2020). Scholars consider its design as conducive to a civic

culture of discipline and surveillance (ibid). The literature goes on to explain how the

Square is a legacy of the YSBRA's agendas to privatize and securitize the urban locale.

> 4.4.4 Celebrate Yonge (2012-13)

Celebrate Yonge was a month-long street festival that turned Yonge Street into a destination as part of a city-branding campaign (see City of Toronto 2013). Kavaratzis (2004; 2007), Gelders & van Zuilen (2013) and Jokela (2020) assert that the purpose of initiatives like this, are inherently to achieve competitive advantage for tourism and private investment. In the case of Yonge Street, the initiative played heavily on curb appeal for to augment spectacle and placemaking (see Mansell 2022:14-15). With the sidewalk's expansion, Celebrate Yonge featured a slew of pedestrian amenities from patios, lounges, art installations, to new street furniture. Their addition was paired with the partitioning of the district into concentrated zones that made the district akin to a theme park destination (see Sorkin 1992; DYBIA 2012; City of Toronto 2013). This was allegedly done to promote the diversity and vibrancy of Yonge Street, more notably through applying the recommendations in the Yonge Street Planning Framework in 2011 (see City of Toronto 2012). According to the report, public feedback was favourable to the point that the DYBIA sought to translate its design into something more permanent for Yonge Street (City of Toronto 2013:5). In this sense, Celebrate Yonge informed the blueprint for the streetscape as a city-branding mechanism to promote spectacle and consumption. Moreover, it was one of the first initiatives in Toronto to apply a Main Street Approach, most notably using façade enhancements and historic preservation to lure pedestrians (see Image 4) (Mansell 2022:14; Balsas 2019:6). This same approach is used in the case of YongeTOmorrow; its overhaul of the streetscape allows for more pedestrians while

bolstering aesthetics and spectacle to resemble a City Beautiful dynamic, especially in its greenery.

> 4.4.5 Yonge Love (2014)

Yonge Love was a seven-month study in 2014 whose purpose was to gather local community feedback regarding the future of Downtown Yonge. I attribute its significance to its open consultation approach (DYBIA 2015:21, 71-79). This approach involved a greater diversity of consultants, most notably those who were of the public or public sector. It also involved a diversity of consultation methods, including "original and user-generated content creation, social media seeding, and street-level

Image 4: Celebrate Yonge - Cafe seating at the Elgin Winter Garden Theatre, image by Craig White (White 2012).

engagement […] from passing exclamations, [interactive surveys], to thoughtful think pieces" (DYBIA 2015:15). Together, they allowed for more meaningful relationship-building between the BIA and the neighborhood (DYBIA 2015:9). This was only bolstered with the promotion of stories and perspectives unique to Yonge Street (ibid:67).

This campaign is significant with its consultation methods inspiring YongeTOmorrow's. It was one of the first initiatives to openly promote engagement with the local public using a diversity of physical and virtual methods. It also informed the themes embodied in YongeTOmorrow, both being bound to cultivating "walkable, flexible, and complete streets that are vibrant and active" (DYBIA 2016:5). In this regard, the Yonge Love report identifies the themes and consultation methods that YongeTOmorrow builds upon.

However, the report makes no mention of private stakeholders and their role in directing these methods. Going back to YongeTOmorrow, my analysis show how it retains Yonge Love's main flaw: the failure to explicitly consult those who have historically been marginalized and underrepresented. These most notably include homeless peoples, Indigenous peoples, and disabled peoples, all who lack involvement (and with the latter two: recognition) in the Yonge Love report. This is problematic as the study fails to sufficiently account for underrepresented populations who are just as significant to the social and cultural reality that prevails in the district. This was – by design – a means of defining a more homogenous group of consultants to reflect the district's alleged public sphere.

> 4.4.6 YongeTOmorrow – A Corporate Campaign

The following table elucidates how certain interventions have championed the interests of property owners, and what is carried forward in the YongeTOmorrow plan (refer to Table 5). I explain their applications in the paragraph below, but the table provides a reference point on the neoliberal biases being endorsed.

Recap of Biases

The first bias infers that public spatial expansions prioritize private occupations. This is most notable with the render for Yonge & Dundas, where the square is extended to the street, which becomes a marketplace for vendors (refer to Image 5, Page 76; City of Toronto 2021:35). The second bias is intensified surveillance, which can also be found in the same render with pedestrians' self-discipline, homogeneity in activities, and passages blocked to automobiles (ibid:35-36; LURA Consulting & Steer: 33, Row 2, Column 3). The third bias is the beautification of the sidewalk, which is highlighted in page 32, Row 2, Column 3 of the *Public Engagement and Consultation Report.* Here, the report is describing elements to make the street more appealing for consumption between greenery, sidewalk expansion, and street furniture. The fourth and final bias is in Yonge Love whose consultation process was vague about the demographics who participated and silent on those who were not. YongeTOmorrow suggests a model similar to its predecessors as it fails to identify or quantify demographics of the publics they consulted. They also failed to involve groups of disabled or impoverished populations. This is especially significant

knowing that most consultants belong to the private sector (LURA Consulting & Steer

2021:13).

Table 5: Featured Interventions and their neoliberal biases

INTERVENTION	FEATURED CONSULTANTS	NEOLIBERAL BIAS
Pedestrian Mall	Municipal government; small local businesses	One of the first modern attempts to convert the pedestrian into a consumer, and the street into a stage for mass consumption.
YSBRA	Municipal government; large local businesses	Informed a set of regulatory schemes protecting the rights of property owners, represented in/by YDS.
Celebrate Yonge	Municipal government; DYBIA	A marketing ploy that used the sidewalk to expand opportunities for consumption. Explicitly part of a city-branding campaign.
Yonge Love	Municipal government; DYBIA; peoples of the "general local public"	Not transparent with who was not involved; fails to consult disabled or homeless peoples. Could have also been clear on demographics comprising the public consulted.
YongeTOmorrow	Municipal government; DYBIA; private stakeholders; public stakeholders	All the above.

Unlike previous initiatives, YongeTOmorrow is overseen by The City of

Toronto.[47] It is presented as having more practical and long-term objectives in mind

for Downtown Yonge as it faces aging infrastructure and rising density levels (see City

of Toronto n.d.). Its purpose is to creatively revitalize the physical infrastructure of

Yonge Street to accommodate, protect, and prioritize pedestrians as the inner city

densifies.[48] Featured changes include lane reductions (from four to two), widened

sidewalks, and pedestrian-priority zones (see Image 5). Yet despite the presupposed

uniqueness of YongeTOmorrow, I attest that its methods resemble previous attempts

by the DYBIA to expand, privatize, securitize, and commodify the public realm.

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[47] However, its finalized form was in large part a collaborative project between the City, the DYBIA, private consultation firms, and a series of local stakeholders from both public and private sectors.
[48] Pedestrians make up 50-75% of Yonge Street's users (proportionate to bikes and cars), whose volume exceeds a daily count of 100,000 individuals (City of Toronto et al. 2019:13; LURA Consulting & Steer 2020:25; 2021:56; DYBIA & Springboard 2021).

With the opening of the roadway into public pedestrian space, the hope among planners is a space that is more diverse and inclusive. However, this hope is limited with spaces already programmed for formalized consumption (that to appease a consuming middle class) (see Image 5, encircled). Though most of the space will still be for pedestrians, the space is still heavily securitized with the presence of security cameras, especially around Yonge-Dundas Square. Supposedly, anyone who does not conform to walking or formalized consumption, and who are found to be soliciting per the *Ontario Safe Streets Act* (see Chapter 4.6) will be targeted by police or private security officers. In this sense, the benefits of this space will continue to celebrate and cater to those who conform to the hegemony of property owners.

These measures are being taken in large part because of the pressures induced by interurban competition. Cities are looking for new ways to innovate so they can gain additional reinvestment. This is a major reason the City of Toronto has been collaborating so closely with private stakeholders. YongeTOmorrow shows how this vision can still be realized, despite it being framed within a "language of inclusion, local engagement, and empowerment" (Raco et al. 2016:229). It certainly is a testament to neoliberal urbanism and its widespread encroachment in contemporary planning.

>> 4.6 About The Safe Streets Act, 1999

Ontario's Safe Streets Act is a social and political response to the social discord that only intensified in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the case of Downtown Yonge (see Parnaby 2003; O'Grady et al.2013; Ross 2018; 2021; LeBlanc 2021). It is part of a continent-wide campaign that has made it tedious or illegal for the visible poor to engage in panhandling or other income-generating activities that states considered aggressive (Tait 2008:1; O'Grady et al. 2013:542-543).[49] The purpose of the Safe Streets Act is to "promote safety […] by prohibiting aggressive solicitation, solicitation of persons in certain places and disposal of dangerous things in certain places, and to amend the Highway Traffic Act to regulate certain activities on roadways" (Flaherty 1999). In other words, it identifies and targets behaviours (whether directly or indirectly) that impede the physical flow of persons and

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[49] In an age of globalization, this continent-wide development (of anti-homeless policies) was crucial in facilitating the rise of "evidence-based policy-making movement", which justified widespread policy transfer and policy tourism (Campbell 2002, as cited in Gonzalez 2010:1399).

motorists, or otherwise threaten the health and safety of pedestrians.[50] As simple as

this might be, the Act has in fact, normalized the criminalization of poverty and

solicitation (Orzeck 2002:77; Cervantes 2016:27). Beyond that, it has encouraged a

culture of discipline among enforcers to mitigate or expel any kind of person or

activity they suspect to signify or otherwise risk informality, immorality, or disorder

(Sommers 2013:376; Cervantes 2016:27). Subject to discipline are a broad range of

activities, from loitering, squeegeeing, panhandling, to drinking (ibid). This gives

enforcers, but also property owners, more of a legal ground to rightfully exercise

power over publics with the hope of reducing the visibility of social and physical

"disorder" (e.g., litter graffiti, homelessness, squeegeeing) (Parnaby 2003:289;

O'Grady et al. 2013; Sommers 2013:372; Cervantes 2016). The idea is to protect

residents and consumers, but just as much the integrity of the conditions that BIAs

desire and pride themselves on (Loukaitou-Sideris 2009:128, 146; Kudla 2021; 2022).

However, the Act has normalized increasingly relentless, endemic discrimination

against those who differ from pro-consumer, middle-class customs (O'Grady et al.

2013; Johnstone 2017; LeBlanc 2021).[51]

Worthy of note is the fact that the *Safe Streets Act* is never mentioned or

referred to in the YongeTOmorrow plan. Regardless, its mandates are assumed in the

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[50] Scholars aver that the Safe Streets Act is an attack against homelessness, given that soliciting is at the heart of their activity to make themselves a living (O'Grady et al. 2013). By displacing their activity, the Act is seemingly displacing their right to exist in public.
[51] Similar measures are being taken in other cities internationally. A prime example is in Rome, Italy, where recent municipal ordinances have targeted less affluent immigrants and street vendors who allegedly "disrupt" the tourist-friendly image of Rome (Piazzoni & Jamme 2021).

plan, and seem to have had a substantial if unspoken influence on how the plan was rendered with what was included and made absent.

The consequence is a space that condemns and punishes anyone who uses the streetscape other for walking, consumption, or formalized leisure. As part of its campaign for a safer street, the Act has pronounced a social divide between "active citizens" and "target populations" in public domains (Dean 1999:167, as cited in Sommers 2013:372).[52]

>> 4.7 Summary

This chapter describes the social, geographic, and historic dimensions of my study area and their relevance to YongeTOmorrow. From design to objectives, YongeTOmorrow is a consequence of preceding initiatives that have for decades, revitalized the district to further entrench neoliberalism; emerging in the process a culture of self-discipline among publics to conform to the rights, freedoms, and desires of private property owners.

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[52] In the context of redevelopment projects, The Safe Streets Act makes it easier for planners to determine and justify who and what they want to include (and exclude) as part of their public realm (see Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:5).

Chapter 5: YongeTOmorrow or Neoliberal Planning Today?

>> 5.1 Foundational Ideas

> "The public space of the city is, as Peter Goheen (1998) avers, always contested and negotiated, largely because precise definition of public space eludes us. Its very liminality (Zukin 1991, 28-29), signified through the perpetual challenge to neutrality posed by the confusing proximity of public sidewalks and infrastructure to private businesses, entranceways, store windows and walls, can polarize citizens' opinions about the public. Some align themselves with the overt commercial symbolism of the built space of the public and believe it functions best when planned, regulated and secured according to the needs of orderly consumption and daily business (Mitchell 1995, 115). Others assert their right of free access to and use of the public spaces of the city heedless (or in spite) of consumerism, businesses and their increasing colonization of municipalities and their governments at the turn of the twenty-first century. [..] Here is an urban antinomy ripe for ideological battles over "proper" uses of public space." (Mackintosh 2013:318).

Enveloped in this passage is the matter of liminality, which has historically been essential to the publicness of public space. However, I find this notion challenged by the plan. As I will explain in my analysis, the plan ultimately visualizes the streetscape as a limited expression of publicness. It intensifies the strictness of pedestrianism to only allow for certain contexts in the space, all of which are favourable to a neoliberal agenda. I also found it limited in its coverage of human relationships and implications, preferring instead to take a technocratic approach to the streetscape.

Though appearing to be opened, the lack of liminality inevitably allows for private occupation. As my research will assert, this occupation is dangerous because it limits

public space to certain contexts that cater almost exclusively to designated publics. I

argue then, that the rejection of liminality is a rejection of publicness.

I begin this chapter with a manifest content analysis, which utilizes the *Public

Engagement and Consultation Report* to identify narratives about the present-day

streetscape.[53] Defining these narratives are essential in explaining the attempted

reinvention of pedestrianism in the YongeTOmorrow plan. I follow this with a visual

content analysis where I scrutinize renders from the *Design Review Panel.* Here I am

looking at the solutions being proposed from a critical perspective as I investigate the

meaning of the plan and what it facilitates.

>> 5.2 Note on Consultants

As both a study and a plan, YongeTOmorrow involved a diversity of public and

private stakeholders in its two-year consultation process (LURA Consulting & Steer

2021:3-4).[54] This was in large part accomplished through a series of stakeholder

meetings, but I found there was more extensive discussion with the DYBIA and the CF

Eaton Centre. Meetings with these two groups comprised 30% of all meetings (LURA

Consulting & Steer 2021:17-18). In response, I am mindful that certain perspectives –

and how the planners convey them – are being spotlighted.

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[53] Although this initiative is pending execution, it had successfully reached its final designs in the consultation process as of November 2021. In turn, any statements that I make on the initiative are solely based on the Recommended Design Concept (RDC).
[54] Consultation Methods are just as diverse, between a Project Launch Event, Indigenous Engagement, Stakeholder Advisory Group (SAG) Meetings, Public Events, Online Questionnaires, Business Stakeholder Drop-In Events, Individual Stakeholder Meetings, Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) Meetings, and Design Review Panel (DRP) Presentations (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:1-3).

Also worthy of note are the participants between public and private sectors. The document relies heavily on participant feedback and props up their autonomy in the consultation process. However, I find this autonomy limited to dialogues of access, pedestrian space, and public safety. Meanwhile, little, if anything, is said about security, social diversity, or citizen empowerment. This may have been so to simplify the dialogue, but I find these issues to be just as important in considering the human implications of the YongeTOmorrow plan. Avoiding or deemphasizing these topics allows for neoliberalism to maintain and expand its influence over the shaping of the streetscape and the public realm at large.

>> 5.3 Exploring the Existing

As with every initiative before it, YongeTOmorrow is responding to a perceived set of problems or concerns. I use this analysis to identify where these lie and how they are represented in the *Public Engagement and Consultation Report* (PECR). My analysis is predicated on four major points, each to do with a specific dimension of pedestrian life. These include a) physical pedestrian context, b) public realm, c) public safety, and d) business. These are platforms that I use to cover a greater range of issues that the document touches on. To clarify, it is not the conditions of the present-day street that my analysis is concerned with, but rather, the plan's critique of those conditions. The categories and parameters of the content analysis are drawn from the modified coding frame in Chapter 3, whose counts are recorded in Table 6.

Table 6: Categories & Counts (As in the Modified Coding Frame)

CATEGORIES	COUNTS
PEDESTRIAN CONTEXT	54 (43.2%)
PUBLIC REALM	28 (22.4%)
PUBLIC SAFETY	10 (8.0%)
BUSINESS	33 (26.4%)

> *5.3.1 Category A: Pedestrian Context (54 counts)*

My first theme is Pedestrian Context, which accounted for 43% of my coding. Codes include *sidewalk, street, streetscape,* and *space.* Together they highlight the physical urban conditions of the pedestrian, that which dominate criticisms expressed in this document.

SPACE (31 COUNTS)

Space made up for 42% of the counts, making it the most frequently appearing theme of my content analysis. It was also the most dispersed as it can refer to pedestrian space (2), retail space (4), event space (3), green space (2), adaptable space (3), relaxing space (2), limited space (3), connected space (1), protected space (1), the need to provide space (7), and physical space in the general sense (4). The majority of references refer to what space could or should be as opposed to what it actually is. Regardless, I was able to notice two greater problems when reading these discussions as a collective: 1) that there is currently a lack of pedestrian-friendly

space, and 2) the space as-is is insufficient relative to pedestrians' needs.[55] The plan

makes clear all solutions result in additional pedestrian space. It also avers the

priorities of the plan: to address population growth, physical infrastructure, and

vehicular traffic (refer to Appendix B, Example 2). In turn, the dialogue was seldom

focused on public diversity or human relationships.

I observed in the document that the state of pedestrian space was affiliated

with every priority that participants were asked to choose from. The reason behind

this was to learn what participants valued more out of physical space and how they

would distribute space between pedestrians, enjoyment, cycling, and driving (LURA

Consulting & Steer 2021:20). The design options on the same page acknowledge the

diversity of perspectives and suggest an openness in YongeTOmorrow's approach.

However, it is equally implying that the city move away from the current arrangement

of space.

SIDEWALK (9 COUNTS)

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[55] Such needs are outlined in Varna & Tiesdell's discussion on animation in public space, most notably that for "comfort, relaxation, passive engagement, active engagement, and discovery" (2010:585; cf. Carr et al. 1992).

Sidewalk comprised 17% of codes, making it the second-highest code in the category. It primarily featured in descriptions of the street design in both its existing and desired states. Statements about the sidewalk were almost always connected back to participants' feedback or perspective, which is especially interesting because the authors consistently generalized the participants' comments in the document. This type of generalization confuses the reader as to whose opinions are being favoured and those that were not. It is reasonable that this decision was due to page length restrictions, but it is just as valid to think it was to do with advancing certain perspectives, for example, the perspective that vehicular access is bad for Yonge Street and needs to be suppressed if the district is to succeed going forward.

The predominating narrative with the *sidewalk* is that it needs to be changed because, as it claims, walking is "uncomfortable, difficult, or unsafe" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:20). The reason has to do with the general lack of safety because of their proximity to traffic and, to a lesser extent, increasing pedestrian density and deteriorating physical infrastructure. This sense of discomfort and disempowerment has historically been commonplace, especially in Western cities where cars have predominated the streetscape (Mackintosh 2017: 166-201; Rooney 2018; Norton 2021).

The alleged hope from participants is that the sidewalk will be widened so that the local surroundings will be made even more vibrant and accessible (Khafif 2020:404; LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:28). As part of the consultation process, the document avers a consensus among participants that the sidewalk's current condition

is a problem. However, the sidewalk is also used as a backdrop to describe a bigger

issue to do with pedestrian density and vehicular traffic. The document perceives

these issues as inherent civil dangers and hindrances to a pleasant, safe, and

convenient walking experience.

STREETS (8 COUNTS)

Streets encompassed 15% of the codes, making it the second-lowest code

category. If counted in its singular form (street), the counts jump to 221. However, to

concentrate my analysis, I decided to stick exclusively with *street* in its plural form –

and quickly I found a recurring emphasis on neighbouring streets, and with it, the

matter of vehicular access. Nearly every referral to this code had to do with adjacent

streets and a commonly shared concern about additional vehicular traffic as part of a

reconfigured Yonge Street. This concern directs attention on the relationship

between traffic function and place function, not just for Yonge Street, but for the

surrounding local area (see McLeod & Curtis 2019:223). This is especially important

with the area becoming increasingly residential.

The focal point of discussions on *streets* is the threat to vehicular access on

Yonge Street.[56] It is just as important that this is a concern that is coming from

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[56] This concern is questionable as motorists comprise only 17% of users in the area (DYBIA & Springboard 2021).

businesses who see automobile access as essential to their vitality (Garvin 2019:146).

This perception is one I revisit below in my discussion of "business".

STREETSCAPE (6 COUNTS)

Streetscape counted for 11% of the codes, making it the lowest count in the

category. This term implies the physical arrangement of space, and was consistently

conjoined with *public realm* as something to be enhanced. Both these codes were

heavily concentrated, which to me, advances the narrative of supposedly synergizing

these terms to realize a more coherent and continuous walking environment (see

LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:31-32). It was also expressed that a redefined

streetscape would result in more cautious and considerate driving behaviour, which

would seemingly cultivate a more peaceful and pleasant pedestrian experience (ibid).

The message conveyed with this code is that the public realm and the streetscape

have ought to be enhanced as one if vehicular access is going to be challenged in a

meaningful way. This demands that the streetscape be morphed into public space, as

evidenced by participants' desire to expand and beautify pedestrian space for a

rapidly growing pedestrian base. Examples include the New York City Broadway

Project, San Francisco's "Pavement to Park" initiative, and Toronto's King Street Pilot

Project (Khafif 2020:404).

I now move forward to *Public Realm*, which accounted for 22% of my coding. The reason I make it a category is to capture its greater connotation as a projection of public life, that which is linked to growth, vibrancy, accessibility, and flexibility. These are qualities I designate as codes to articulate the various dimensions of the public realm, and how they are discussed in the consultation process.

PUBLIC REALM (12 COUNTS)

Much like the streetscape, there were several referrals to the *public realm* as something to be improved or enhanced; in its own case, on the lines of vibrancy, flexibility, and accessibility (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:29). To bolster these qualities, the document insists on certain features in every rendition of the plan, from street trees, additional pedestrian lighting, and high-quality street furniture (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:32). These attributes are beautification tropes considered essential to a safe, healthy, and "enhanced public realm" (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:4; Garvin 2019:154). However, in the context of neoliberalism, this is an irony, as enhancements have historically delimited publicity and led to over-policing, surveillance, and aestheticized consumption (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeuct 2009; Zukin 2010; Guano 2020). This dynamic exists so property owners stay in control as they bring about a "happy, quiet, [and] docile population" (McDonald and Wearing 2013:4).

Describing what the public realm can be or otherwise should be, suggests that the current one is insufficient. This is acknowledged more explicitly in the introduction, where the problem is in fact twofold: one that the public realm is lacking in allure, and two, it is simply not sufficient in supporting Yonge Street as an economic and cultural hub (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:6).

FLEXIBILITY (11 COUNTS)

Flexibility had a more unique application in the document as a key descriptor of the plan's approach, as well as a key descriptor of the street design that participants desired. Starting with the former, the document insists on the use of what they call a "Flexible Operations Approach". This approach alludes to a pre-intended looseness to the physical design, and thereby a willingness to adapt the street to various needs and density levels (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:37). [57] The latter application considers flexibility with the streetscape and local amenities (e.g., furniture) to support a greater range of uses and events all year round (see ibid:24, 29). Achieving this implies a departure from efficient walking, which is inflexible and insensitive to alternative sidewalk usage (Blomley 2010:3,41; Mackintosh 2017:201).

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[57] Having this flexibility is especially valuable should concerns about vehicular traffic on neighbouring streets (among others) become a problem in reality (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:24).

GROWTH (4 COUNTS)

Mention of *growth* was limited, vague, and dispersed. However, its usage was significant in the problem it revealed. The problem is twofold: one of growth in pedestrian movements, and growth in local population (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:35; Lamond 2020:24,52). However, the participants in consultations take this one step further by addressing growth for "residents, visitors, and workers within the larger study area" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:21). In other words, it encourages a broader look at growth among many populations and is used as a reference point to justify expanded pedestrian space. Growth is routinely alluded to as problematic, especially in the introduction where growth is implied as dramatic and heavily demanding on local infrastructure (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:7). Expressing the nuance of this problem was deliberate in averring the insufficiency of existing infrastructures (i.e., cycling lanes and facilities, present-day sidewalks) and the need for reform (Lamond 2020:52).

ACCESSIBLE (3 COUNTS)

Accessible had three counts, but two of those were used to highlight the accessibility of engagement events and information to do with the YongeTOmorrow plan. This was one of seven Guiding Principles in the consultation process that assures for stakeholders that consultation would be inclusive, flexible, transparent, and adherent to AODA requirements (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:9). The

narrative implied is that consultation was thorough, diverse and overarching, so YongeTOmorrow built a database of appendices on their webpage for further information. This information I found easy to access, but still rather limited pertaining to community feedback and human experiences.

Returning to *accessible,* the third count was found in the segment on event spaces, and was used to question the flexibility of the street for other pedestrians (e.g., those wheelchaired or those rushing to their next destination) when used for festivals and events (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:29). Its alternative form, *accessibility*, was also worthy of note, but specifically to express a concern about what it may look like in pedestrian-priority zones (see ibid:28). What makes this term important is its supposed meaning as a facilitator for a physically coherent pedestrian space – and a symbol of the supposed diversity being promoted in the plan. It was seemingly raised by participants as a primary element of a safe pedestrian experience.

Backing the significance of this term, I look to *access. Access* was cited 54 times in the document, but its use was mostly overlapped in describing local access in this overhauled streetscape – whether for pedestrians, motorists, or cyclists. It was dialogued extensively to clarify how these parties will co-exist in Downtown Yonge, and how the plan can better accommodate access for all (Lamond 2020:53). It was also a focal point when settling on priorities and functional street designs (see ibid; LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:23). Finally, "access" is where the discursive silence

and assumptions of the Safe Streets Act are most striking. Access seemingly only applies to the neoliberal subjects YongeTOmorrow wants on Yonge Street.

VIBRANT (2 COUNTS)

Vibrant had the least number of counts, but was nevertheless crucial to the document's discussion. It is seemingly essential to the street's vitality and thereby non-negotiable, especially in the context of retail and restaurants where vitality was featured (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021: 29). It is here where we see a preference from participants to make and keep the street as a destination that can be vibrant all year round. This requires a lively and distinguished street culture, that which is in large part crafted from private uses like street vending (Piazzoni & Jamme 2021:159-160).

This notion is partially acknowledged in the document. Ultimately, it contends that an area's vibrancy is contingent on how its street is programmed (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:28). The narrative alluded to is that vibrancy is harder to attain and maintain if the street lacks programming, formal or informal.

With public safety being a top priority of the plan, it was definitely a shock to see it comprise so few of my codes (8%) (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:4). Just as surprising is the fact that security had only one mention in the entire document. Making matters worse, the documents' use of these terms was limited in scope and was heavily focused on pedestrian safety from motorists and cyclists. The result is a technocratic capture of safety, with the pedestrian being used as a codeword to describe a docile, well-managed, albeit vulnerable individual. Ultimately, it is the demand for a safe and secure public space that dominates discussions in the document, consequentially undermining communicative, political, or social issues (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:270).

SAFETY (8 COUNTS)

There was a concentrated emphasis on pedestrian safety, specifically as it relates to bicycle and automobile traffic. Safety is held dear to the participants who expressed their fear of a complex design and what that may do to confound or detract from pedestrians' sense of autonomy (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:4, 24).[58] The narrative being advanced about safety is that it only truly matters for pedestrians, and that it can only be improved if the design is explicitly prioritizing them. Furthermore, it conveys the point of there being a notable lack of safety among

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[58] This was even a concern in pedestrian-priority zones where there was fear about bicycles, e-bikes, and scooters occupying space (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:32).

pedestrians. This perception traditionally informs or inspires action on the part of local government, and Downtown Yonge is no different (Loukaitou-Sideris 2009:270).

Other mentions of safety included road safety (1) and public safety (1), both which advocate for a perpetual sense of safety among pedestrians from the automobile, the seemingly perennial and predominating threat to a safer walking environment (see Norton 2008:80-96; Stoker et al.2015; Mackintosh 2017:203-240; LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:4). One thing I appreciate in the dialogue is the accountability it places on the automobile as a critical threat to the safety of pedestrians, not only in Downtown Yonge, but in all of Toronto (see Mackintosh 2017:203-240; on the dangers of automobiles elsewhere, see Rooney 2018; Norton 2008; 2021). But to solve this very problem, is it necessary to embed neoliberal gentrification? Albeit complex and far-reaching, it is a question we need to keep asking amidst the encroachment of neoliberal urbanism.

SECURITY (1 COUNT)

Security is implied as merely a product of public safety. In its only count on Page 4, the document claims that personal security is contingent on public safety, which simply involves improvements to road safety and design considerations. Its argument is that the existing design of the street is currently failing to provide a safe and secure walking experience, an issue that is reiterated at the beginning of the analysis on sidewalks. Just as striking is the fact that safety and security are merely

acknowledged in the physical sense and not in the social sense, the latter which is just as much of an issue in the present-day context (e.g., feeling safe from rowdy youths or mentally ill persons at night). Likewise, nothing was mentioned or implied about surveillance, protection, police or security presence, public gaze, or, indeed, of the efficacy of the *Safe Streets Act*. These are all latent aspects of security that the document overlooks. This was especially surprising granted the inclusion of Toronto Police Service as a stakeholder.

Perhaps the reason for this absence is a preconceived sense of security already, or perhaps it is not a priority of the initiative. Either way, it was a not a focal point of the document nor was it explicitly raised in the feedback. Hence, this is something I will investigate further in the visual content analysis.

EFFICIENT (1 COUNT)

Much like safety and security, efficiency supports the hegemony of pedestrianism, which mandates perpetual movement on sidewalks and roadways always in the name of safety, order, and ease of flow (Blomley 2010; Levy 2020). In the case of the document, the only count of efficiency is on Page 34 as part of a request from a local developer, who is requesting a more efficient model of usage for motorists on Yonge Street between Gerrard and Walton Streets, which would eliminate the need for U-Turns. The developer believes that this part of the street would benefit more from two-way traffic, and doing so would result in more efficient

vehicular flow. Garvin (2019:146) explains that having good efficiency means accelerated movement of people, goods, and services, which gives property owners (i.e., businesses, developers, institutions) more simple and cost-efficient ways to operate in supplying and enlarging market demand.

This is likely the reason the planners approved this request and made the respective adjustments – knowing well the importance of vehicular efficiency as a means of appealing to developers. From public-private partnerships, the sale of public assets, to state-sponsored redevelopment projects, action to serve developers is nothing but commonplace for the city to be profitable (Kohn 2004; Peck et al. 2009; Moeckli 2016; Mahmood 2017; Wood 2018; Murphy & O'Driscoll 2021). It truly goes to show the type of influence that developers and businesses have in physically altering environments to better themselves in the name of efficiency, physical or economic.

> *5.3.4 Category D: Business (33 counts)*

My discussion, and my thesis by extension, views business as both a product and an ongoing process of commodification (see Goss 1993; Zukin 1995; Kohn 2004; Hernandez & Jones 2005; Wood 2018). In my case, business is concerned with anything or anyone that corporations see as a benefit to the economic vitality of Downtown Yonge.

As expected, business was a focal point in the document with 33 counts, making it the second-most frequent topic in the document. However, its employment was exclusively limited to concerns from property owners about potential economic compromises, more notably in regard to the anticipated lack of daytime vehicular access and vehicular services (e.g., ride hails, food deliveries, curbside pickup, shipping, and loading) (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:24, 28). Like many of the codes here, business does not allege an overarching problem with the current conditions. Instead, it expresses concerns about the initiative itself, carrying doubts about corporate vitality amid a pedestrian-centric streetscape. This is a reasonable concern knowing that property owners and BIAs prefer a simplified public realm with minimal range of activity on its sidewalks (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:253). But in this document, the alleged concern is exclusively to do with the matter of vehicular access, something that the document routinely antagonizes. This concern is substantiated in historical accounts between neighbourhoods in New York and Philadelphia where pedestrians asserted supremacy over motorists (Norton 2021:280-285). Regardless, the predominance of this concern cannot be ignored, and an issue I investigate further in the renders.

>> 5.4 Contending for Change

The PECR contends that current pedestrian flows, and pedestrian infrastructure, are incapable of fostering a vibrant, flexible, accessible, spacious, safe, and marketable urban locale which planners aver is necessary for Downtown Yonge (see LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:6-7). Impeding this change are automobiles, whose traffic and infrastructure suppress the potential of the urban environment to enhance the pedestrian experience. They use these statements to promote the idea that the streetscape is becoming a civil danger that requires a change in structure and a change in priorities.

The reason I scrutinize this document is to highlight underlying narratives (each with references) as the planners (refer to Table 7) raise them. I value these narratives for the role they play in promoting and substantiating what they portray as a pressing and widespread call to redefine the streetscape under a pedestrian-first regime.

Table 7: Underlying Narratives in the Public Engagement & Consultation Report

TOPIC	NARRATIVE	REFERENCE PASSAGE
SIDEWALK	Sidewalks have a generally unfavourable reception as being "uncomfortable, difficult, [and] unsafe" for pedestrian mobility (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:20). The document attributes this problem to vehicular traffic, and to a lesser extent, pedestrian density levels (see Lamond 2020).	Noted in Narrative Column.
SPACE	There is currently a lack of pedestrian-friendly space, which planners intend to supplement between the widening of the sidewalk and the installment of pedestrian-priority zones (City of Toronto 2017; Lamond 2020). The space as-is is insufficient relative to pedestrians' needs (see ibid; Varna & Tiesdell 2010).	"The YongeTOmorrow study worked to develop and evaluate design options to increase pedestrian space and improve the way people move through and experience Yonge Street…" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:1). "There was general support for improving patio and street retail spaces and there was support for greater separation between patios and other street users. […] There was support for space for festivals and events along the street, including for occasional road closures to accommodate these

		events" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:29).
STREETS	Businesses are expressing their concern about additional traffic that would appear along neighbouring streets. They are just as concerned about their economic vitality with likely restrictions to vehicular access (see Garvin 2019:143, 146).	"There were mixed views about the level of vehicle access that should be included in the design. Specifically, there was concern that the design may increase traffic volumes on adjacent streets. Some participants suggested dedicated delivery zones on side streets and limiting ride hailing on one-way streets while many businesses have requested dedicated curbside delivery zones on Yonge Street. There were also mixed views on how businesses will be impacted by reduced car access" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021: 28).
STREETSCAPE	Streetscape enhancement is intertwined with public realm enhancement (Khafif 2020:404; Piazzoni & Jamme 2021:159-164). Vehicular access is presented as the chief antagonist to such enhancements.	"The streetscape and public realm will create a sense of continuity and also encourage low speeds and considerate use by vehicle drivers. These aspects will therefore have the look and feel of a connected space, rather than a disconnected one" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021: 31).

PUBLIC REALM	Whatever plan decided on is required to have an "enhanced public realm" featuring high-quality street furnishings, additional street trees, and additional pedestrian lighting (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:32; see Garvin 2019:154).	Noted in Narrative Column.
FLEXIBILITY	Any plan approved must be flexible to change should existing concerns be problematic in practice. As a starting point, the design of the streetscape should vary depending on corporate needs and pedestrian density levels. In other words, the street should be flexible in what it allows for traffic function and place function (see McLeod & Curtis 2019:223).	"Maximize the flexibility of design to enable a wide variety of events in all seasons" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:24). "The street needs to remain accessible for other users during events, and participants supported the flexibility of the street to accommodate a range of uses. Public washrooms, seating, and rest areas were considered important to the enjoyment of festivals and events" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:29).
VIBRANT	The vibrancy of a street is a product of its programming, which participants want the street to have all year round. Such vibrancy is in large part enabled by private uses like street vending (and arguably sidewalk cafés) which cultivate "encounters among strangers", the supposed heart of a vibrant street culture (Piazzoni & Jamme 2021:159-160).	"Participants noted that it would be important to ensure that the zones remain vibrant through the programming of the street" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:28).
ACCESSIBLE	Coherent and prioritized pedestrian access is required at all times if a	"There were questions about how

	streetscape is to truly be safe for walking (Norton 2008; Koch & Latham 2021:376).	accessibility would be maintained in the pedestrian priority zones" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:28). "The street needs to remain accessible for other users during events, and participants supported the flexibility of the street to accommodate a range of uses" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:29).
GROWTH	Streetscape reform is necessary amidst recent (and anticipated) growth in pedestrian movements and local population (Lamond 2020; Khafif 2020:404).	"Pedestrians already make up the majority of road users on Yonge Street in this area. Furthermore, a particularly high level of growth in pedestrian movements is expected in the block between Walton Street and Elm Street due to a large concentration of high-density developments, and the pedestrian priority zone on this block is proposed to cater for this growth" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:35).
SAFETY	Pedestrian empowerment is key to realizing a safer streetscape (Norton 2008; 2021; Mackintosh 2017).	"Public safety is also a top priority, encompassing both improving road safety and design considerations to improve everyone's personal security" (LURA

		Consulting & Steer 2021:4). From the Online Questionnaire: "Concern was expressed regarding the safety of pedestrians, particularly in the pedestrian priority zones, and whether they would be separated from other road users (i.e., people who cycle, use scooters or e-bikes, etc.)" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:32).
SECURITY	The existing design of the street is currently failing to provide a safe and secure environment for pedestrians (Stoker et al. 2015).	"Public safety is also a top priority, encompassing both improving road safety and design considerations to improve everyone's personal security" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:4).
EFFICIENCY	Developers' requests are recognized and favoured pertaining to their ability to have efficient business, which efficient traffic contributes to (Garvin 2019:146).	"In order to facilitate the efficient use of Walton Street (without the need for U-turns), the Developer has requested a change to the operational strategy on Yonge Street between Gerrard Street and Walton Street to allow two-way vehicular access at all times (instead of one-way northbound access only)" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:34-35). A change was

		made as a result of this developer request.
BUSINESS	Businesses are concerned for their economic vitality amid a pedestrian-centric streetscape (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:253; Garvin 2019).	"Suggestion for a pedestrian priority zone south of Dundas Square: Feedback on the needs of businesses and adjacent properties dictates the requirement for some limited, local access along this section of the corridor, and in particular pick up and drop of for the theatre and access to the parking garage at Dundas Square. Surveys have shown that this is the busiest section of the study corridor for ride hail activity which is considered to be important to support local businesses" (LURA Consulting & Steer 2021:34).

I use this information as a reference for my latent content analysis – which assesses how the plan-as-proposed carries forward these categories (and their respective narratives) to define and promote a reinvented pedestrianism.

>> 5.5 Ideology in the Plan

> "Ideology is often thought of as synonymous with a rigid, doctrinaire set
> of ideas – a dogma – separate from the experience of the world. This is
> the way the word ideology is often used in conversation by lay-people;
> they mean abstract and narrow-minded. In critical theory, however, ideology
> has been just the opposite. Ideologies are "action-oriented" beliefs—
> ideas that promote some actions while discouraging others." (Cresswell 1996:
> 155).

Central to my latent content analysis is the matter of ideology. Cresswell advances the

notion that ideology is inseparable from social reality. Moreover lies the notion that

ideology has the power to inform the constitutive components of a social reality,

where certain actions are promoted at the greater cost of others. But in order to have

impact, ideology requires a material form. This is in part why I look at visuals: so I can

see the many different elements of the streetscape and how they converge to

promote an ideology. It is only then I can find the greater meaning behind envisioned

changes to the Yonge Street corridor.
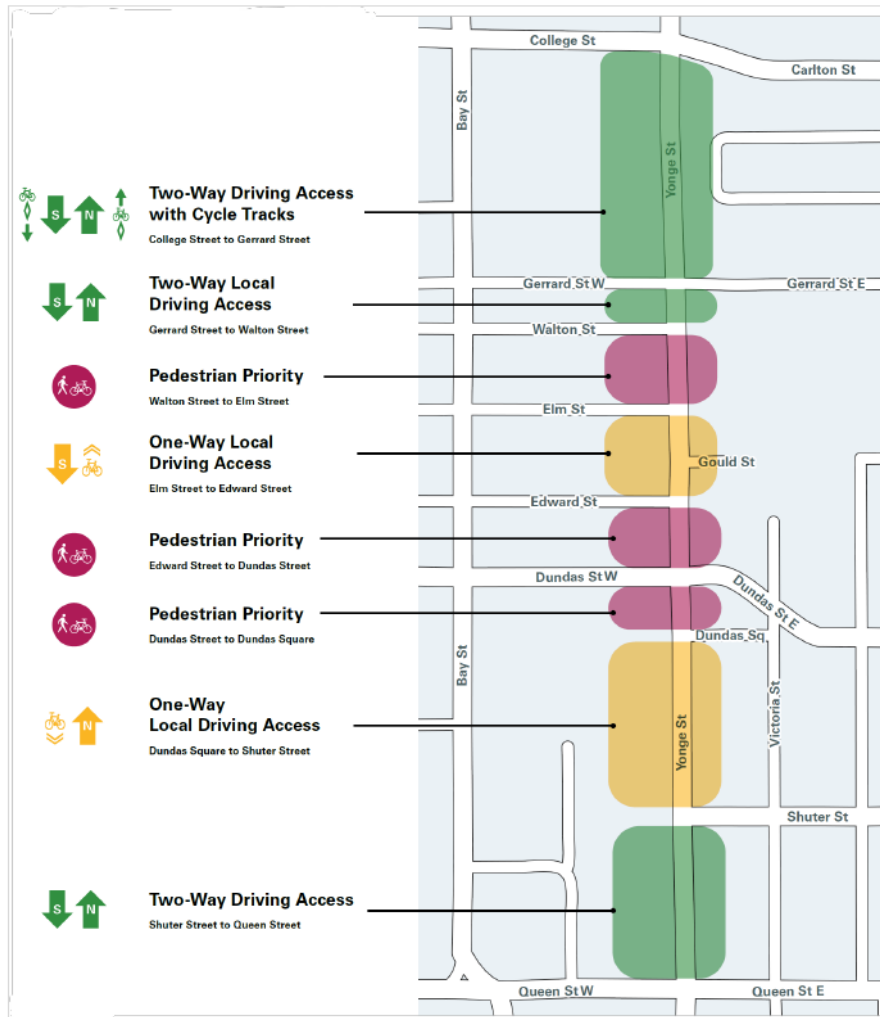
>> 5.6 Tracking the Narratives

In the plan as proposed, YongeTOmorrow combines several streetscape layouts to address certain needs and density levels in Downtown Yonge (see Image 6; Lamond 2020:52-53; Steer & LURA Consulting 2021:4-5,29-30; City of Toronto 2021:61). For this study, I examine the plan from each of its major groupings, from zones with two-way driving access, zones with one-way local driving access, and pedestrian-priority zones. What makes this complicated is that each zone has a

separate set of priorities and emphases, which makes it difficult to directly evaluate the relevance of each narrative in the manifest analysis. In condensing and simplifying my approach, I only refer to them where they are most relevant as a means of substantiating the findings and claims I present about the plan and its brand of pedestrianism.

>> 5.7 Reinventing Pedestrianism

I rely on the latent depth of the images to identify predominating themes, patterns, and absences. I explain how these constitute or otherwise endorse a reinvented pedestrianism. This pedestrianism, I find, is made more exclusive and conducive to a neoliberal agenda involving the privatization, securitization, and commodification of the streetscape.

> 5.7.1 A Confounded Pedestrianism

Image 7: A render of Walton Street to Elm Street – Pedestrian Priority (City of Toronto 2021:72).

Featured in Image 7 is a pedestrian-priority zone: a part of the street where

pedestrians can freely and safely traverse without overcrowding or the fear of

vehicular traffic (refer to Table 7 on Space; see Karimnia & Haas 2020; Sevstuk 2020).

This zone specifically has the most reform to its streetscape to accommodate the

surplus of pedestrians, many of which will be coming to and from a trio of local

condominium developments (refer to Table 7 on Growth; UrbanToronto n.d.). Such

encroachment will inevitably demand lower tolerance of social and physical disorder

in public (e.g., litter, graffiti, or panhandling) (Sommers 2013:372). When a space is

kept and managed to minimize these risks, locals and tourists feel increasingly

compelled to frequent and enjoy it. In areas like this one, BIAs are responsible for the

upkeep of "public assets" to preserve the allure synonymous with the identity of the local area.[59]

The public realm itself is defined quite notably by its street trees, pedestrian lighting, and higher-quality street furnishings (i.e., lounge chairs and benches) – staying true to an "enhanced public realm" as described in the PECR (refer to Table 7 on Public Realm). The idea is to cultivate spaces where businesses and citizens want to dwell.

However, in any discussion, we must still be mindful of the tight-knit relationship between sidewalks and property owners – where sidewalks are seen and treated as an extension of private property. This was just as relevant from the genesis of the sidewalk (when owners were fiscally responsible for them) to its present-day state (with owners using the sidewalk to hold their patio or highlight their inventory) (Ryan 1997; Joyce 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:6; Mackintosh 2017; Norton 2021). As such, I expect some type of corporate involvement that privatizes part of the area.

To reinvent pedestrianism, the idea of thinned out, continuous "flow" is significantly reduced to encourage a more open and flexible flow among pedestrians. To planners, facilitating this type of flow helps to generate a more comfortable, safe, and low-stress experience for pedestrians (refer to Table 7 on

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[59] According to Hernandez & Jones (2005:795-796), BIAs are typically mandated to do two things: 1) to improve, beautify, and maintain public lands and buildings within the BIA", and 2) to "promote the area as a business and shopping area".

Sidewalk). There is also a lack of density, which provokes the thought that the space is still big enough to allow for more crowds, more consumption (e.g., vending stand), and more amenities (e.g., lounge chairs, benches, bike posts). These elements converge to realize vibrancy in the space with its higher attendance and selection of activities from baby-strolling, dog-walking, walking with a bike, lounging, reading, shopping, texting, and socializing. Supporting this vibrancy is retail and dining which dominate the storefronts. That last part is especially intriguing – as in reality, the right (east) side of the street is going to be host to a major condominium development, which has been under construction since 2019 (see Image 8). This mis-portrayal of the streetscape, I suspect, has largely to do with proving to businesses that the surplus of pedestrians will compensate for the absence of automobiles (refer to Table 7 on Business and Streets). Supporting this claim are the nearby pedestrian amenities the plan incorporates (e.g., bike posts, benches, lounge chairs) that pedestrians can use if not on the move.

Image 8: A photograph of the Yonge Street corridor from Gerrard Street looking south. Featured in the photo is Concord Sky in its early construction (Benito 2019).
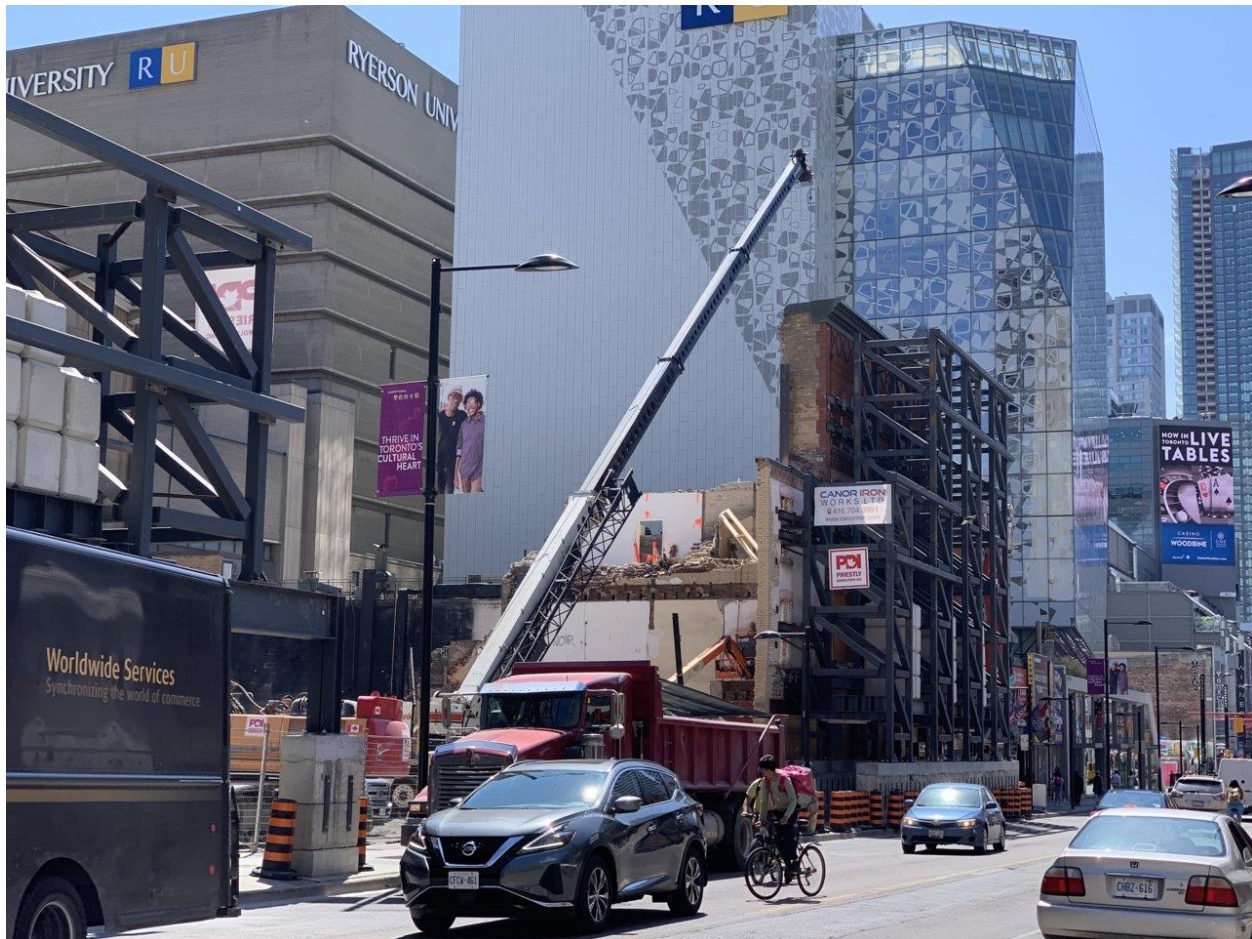
It seems that the plan's pedestrianism caters more to a localized public and a leisurely lifestyle. From reading, lounging, strolling, curbside vending, to window shopping, the render presents how publics may engage with the space and how it contributes to a widespread sense of security among pedestrians to put their bags down or to be on their phone. Pedestrians feel empowered to conduct these different activities, which the plan considers crucial to affirming a safer environment (refer to Table 7 on Safety). Moreover, the activities featured are largely self-engaging

with nothing being done to engage the public at large. This shows a vibrancy with limits of which demands self-discipline among its users.

Just as important to pedestrian empowerment and pedestrian safety is the matter of physical access (refer to Table 7 on Access). The sidewalk and the street are leveled off as one, and no part of the street is restricted to the pedestrian with the absence of motorists and cyclists. Endorsing this autonomy has pedestrians thinking less about their safety and more about their leisure, with the streetscape being viewed and utilized as both a destination for leisure and a thoroughfare for walking. Having this spatial flexibility was non-negotiable in the consultation process, and the planners adhere to that in the plan-as-proposed (refer to Table 7 on Flexibility).

However, this also brings into question whether space is private or public. The street is publicly owned, but it is also privately managed. Having this ambiguity is problematic because pedestrians can become uncertain about what they can and cannot do in this space. This in itself risks disorder (including loitering), but it may well have been intentional to show the local populace that action is being taken on a regular basis to display and maintain an illusion of public order – much like what is currently seen in Yonge-Dundas Square (Cervantes 2016; on Yonge-Dundas Square, see Joseph 2014).

Observing the people themselves, I immediately noticed a lack of diversity, with most pedestrians belonging to a fit, young, White population. We can see two non-White bodies in a crowd of what looks to be about 40 (visible) people— but we

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also know that "visible minorities" account for 1,537,285 Torontonians or approximately 55 percent of the population of Toronto (Statistics Canada 2021). Furthermore, there is a notable absence of delivery people, working people, overweight people, wheelchaired people, transients, or seniors – and a limited presence of students and, again, racial minorities. These are individuals that the plan makes invisible in order to spotlight and legitimize a particular public – and the circumstance should remind us immediately of Gillian Rose's (2016:188) observation that "authors hav[e] the power to determine what is emphasized and what is absent" in visual representations. This public includes the aforementioned demographic (young, fit Whites), but also couples, pets, and young families who are placed at or near the forefront for the viewer to catch first. Together they represent a more domestic, family-centred, leisure-minded public which the image makes real in their prevalence and use of the space. They also represent the domesticating influence of condominiums in the downtown. The zones I marked in purple on Image 9 are plotted for future condominium developments – so the streetscape would look even more urban domestic, with assuredly greater density of people than what we see in the render (see Image 9) (Urban Toronto n.d.). There are three developments that are placed within or at the border of this zone, suggesting a greater privatization of the area with the influx of residents and ground-floor businesses.
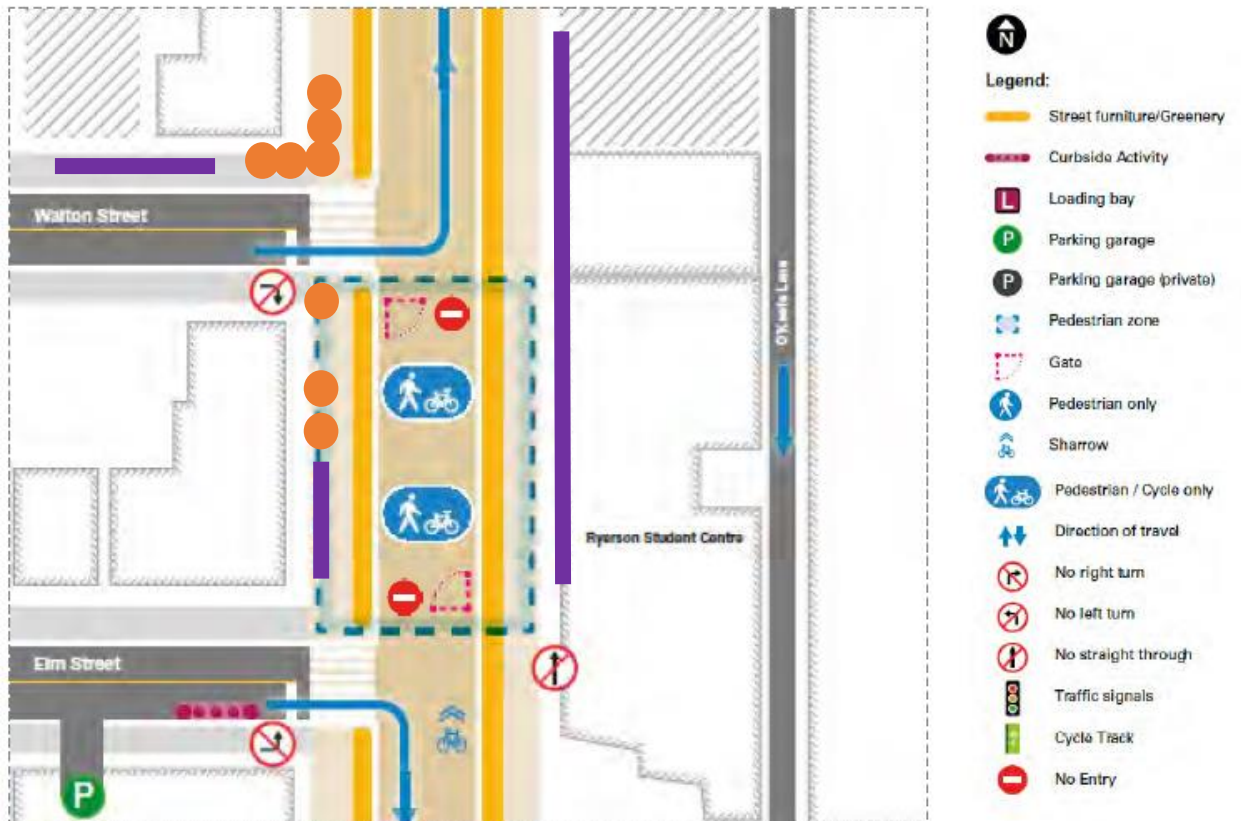
Lastly, the pedestrian-priority zone begins where the storefronts are mostly restaurants (marked in orange) – and ends at Elm Street closer to the Toronto Metropolitan University's Student Centre. Its placement signifies that the planners desire a safe and open environment for walking and consumption, more notably among students and families as they make their way to local restaurants and retailers.

One thing I was quick to notice is a lack of sidewalk cafés in what appears to be the summertime (City of Toronto et al. 2019:19). This was a striking observation considering previous initiatives like Celebrate Yonge and CaféTO, where sidewalk cafés were a staple. Is this absence about limiting the density of pedestrians and

promoting autonomy to walk anywhere on the street? How will businesses adapt? It is hard to truly know at this stage, but with pedestrians being the only frequenters on the street, it only seems logical that businesses would offer outdoor venues for pedestrian enjoyment (e.g., sidewalk cafés, markets, sampling booths)

From what can be observed in the render, it seems that the plan anticipates additional private uses as a result of a fully expanded sidewalk. These uses are actually encouraged, which was taboo in traditional pedestrianism. Take for example, the street vendor, the two individuals on lounge chairs, or the couple who are standing while talking. Having these forms of engagement, but especially those between strangers, are critical to bolstering publicness and vibrancy in the streetscape (Piazzoni & Jamme 2021).

Latent in the render is a pedestrianism that is confounded—in a word, liminal. The plan makes it so with the full-fledged expansion of pedestrian space so efficient walking is no longer mandatory. The result is a streetscape where pedestrians have, in principle, free roam, and can utilize the space much like they would a public space, where citizens can go to socialize or enjoy the local amenities (e.g., local seating, greenery, nearby landmark).

> 5.7.2 A Securitized Pedestrianism

Image 10: A render of Dundas Square to Shuter Street – One-Way Driving Access Northbound (City of Toronto 2021:78).

Provided its arrangement of the streetscape, the area in Image 10 requires a different approach to pedestrianism, one that can tolerate a limited presence of cyclists and motorists to facilitate local flow while still assuring safety for pedestrians. The area in question is the strip at the halfway point between Dundas Street and Shuter Street looking north to Dundas. The preference for a northward scene is likely because this view shows the more populated and "attractive" part of the strip with its local catalysts between the Eaton Centre, Yonge-Dundas Square, Little Canada, and the Ed Mirvish Theatre.

This is the only render to capture Yonge Street at night where vibrancy persists (refer to Table 7 on Vibrancy), in large part due to the various safety measures. Safety is inferred with the decrease in vehicular traffic and the presence of crowds from various demographics. The fact we see vulnerable groups like children and seniors at this hour suggests a broad public use that is a testament to its vibrancy – a vibrancy realized when security and surveillance is paired with festivals and shopping (Zukin 2010:157).

In the case of this render, security works discretely within reality through the presence of crowds, storefront CCTV (along the former Nordstrom), gated sidewalk cafés, and additional sidewalk lighting (Foucault 2009:47). Albeit absent of security guards or police officers, the aforementioned qualities reflect the many other ways that security can seep into design to realize a "secured public space", specifically for affluent and self-disciplined publics (Van Melik 2007:37; Varna & Tiesdell 2010:587) – and certainly about promoting certain ways of seeing and knowing (Trace 2002:143-144). The way this area is represented, is in many ways, a contrast to its real-life counterpart where there are no sidewalk cafés, there is less pedestrian lighting, loitering and solicitation are commonplace, children are seldom seen, and transients roam the street.

The area is also shown to be flexible and accessible with a range of transportation methods, from taxis, bikes, scooters, strollers, and public transit as indicated by the bus stop to the far left. With the area neighbouring high-density tourist destinations, it is important that access is maintained with the area being

adaptable to a number of transportation methods. This is only made easier with drastically lowered and controlled vehicular traffic.

With the added pedestrian space, it will now be easier for pedestrians to window shop or for businesses to open sidewalk cafés. What we find is a pedestrianism that is just as vibrant after hours, and designates crowds to storefronts where there are additional amenities and features such as CCTV, greenery, lighting, sidewalk cafés, and window shopping (Nemeth & Schmidt 2007:291). Together, they apparently promote a more spacious, beautified, and orderly environment where people feel safe and secure. This is a direct effect of the provincial Safe Streets Act to encourage "symbolic public space", one that relies on over-management to minimize the potential of undesired consequences (e.g., vandalism and crime), and encourage constant use (Karimnia & Haas 2020:38). In the case of Yonge Street, walking, consumption, and the occasional formalized leisure (e.g., lying on lounge chairs) are the only trusted forms of publicness that can keep the streetscape symbolic of an idealized quality of life where people feel safe at all times. This arrangement of public is true to the rhetoric among BIAs who want a limited public realm with activities that minimize disruptions to their business (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009:253).

Prevailing in the space and the image by extension is a mutual commitment to self-discipline with pedestrians keeping to themselves and following certain paths.[60] This is a Victorian-liberal idea that internalizes law abidance, reservation, and social uniformity to enact a bourgeois public culture (Blomley 2010; Mackintosh 2017). Notice for instance, how there is no sight of jay-walking nor activities (nor users) that divert from walking or consumption—even a woman hailing a Beck Taxi in the centre of the image. There is also the cleanliness of the space which helps to affirm a sense of communal ownership – and within that, accountability to keep the space civil, secure, and well-maintained (Varna & Tiesdell 2010:586).

Much like the other renders, the space brings with it additional greenery and lighting to enhance the safety and desirability of the local public realm (refer to Table 7 on Public Realm; Whitzman 2011).[61] Adding these features can deter the threat of disorder in the area and foster a more attractive space, where people want to frequent (on the paradox of public space and the comfort of security in a privatized public, see Milder 1987:16-19; Blomley 2004a:614-641; Nemeth & Schmidt 2007; Zukin 2010:125-128). This is especially important to major Western cities like Toronto

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[60] This reality is what Nemeth & Schmidt (2007:291) abut in large part to small-scale design, which uses markings, gates, or more explicit deterrents to constrict pedestrian circulation and imply appropriate use of the space. They refer to these as extensions of "soft control" over public space (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee 1998:183-185, as cited in ibid:285). Conversely, "hard control" means more active forms of security like surveillance cameras, private security, and anti-vagrant legal measures (ibid).
[61] Scholars would label these strategies as "Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design" that supposedly bolster the value and vitality of the space (see Newman 1972; Milder 1987; Blomley 2004a; Whitzman 2011; Kudla 2021).

whose districts compete for both domestic and international business (McCann 2004; Rankin & Delaney 2011:1366; Raco et al. 2016; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022).

Regarding pedestrianism, the render does little to differentiate it from traditional pedestrianism. Despite the lack of cyclists or automobiles, pedestrians stay relegated to sidewalks, with no sight of jaywalking or other forms of disorder in favour of a moral code. This means a greater volume of pedestrians along frontages, which is especially interesting, as most storefronts in Downtown Yonge have CCTV that is in most cases hidden. The fact that every pedestrian is walking this close to surveillance cameras and in crowds, signifies a dynamic of panopticism where people are under the watch of security and each other, encouraging a desire to conform to an orderly moral rhetoric that is synonymous with the traditional pedestrianism. This is paired with a traditional streetscape layout minus the vehicular traffic. The result: a pedestrianism that uses panoptic methods of "hard control" to augment safety and vibrancy in the area.

> 5.7.3 A Dualized Pedestrianism

Image 11: A render of College Street to Gerrard Street – Two-Way Driving Access with Cycle Tracks (City of Toronto 2021:68).

Image 11 shows the plan in its two-lane form. Unlike other renditions, at the

center of our attention are the motorists and cyclists who were largely lacking along

the Yonge Street corridor. This is to do with the area itself which was found to have

lower pedestrian volumes (City of Toronto 2021:30). Here, it has retained vehicular

access to major parking garages, ride hails, and deliveries. The street is even made

accessible for delivery trucks so businesses can import or export inventory (refer to

Table 7 on Efficiency). The cars being shown in the render resemble a Tesla Model X,

a Ford F-150, and a Volkswagen Golf. Showing these new vehicles can signal to

property owners that their desire for a wealthier, car-centric public is still being

addressed. It is also worth noting the absence of buses or taxis in the render – making

it clear the type of public the plan is looking to attract. The appeal is only heightened

with the lack of traffic and the dotting of greenery, implying a pleasant, convenient, suburban-like drive. I look at these as spectacles of the social life that capitalists want to market as the image of Downtown Yonge (see Morgan & Purje 2016:1; Russell 2019:66).

Looking at its top-down view in Image 12, we also find designated zones for curbside activity so traffic can still keep moving (refer to Table 7 on Efficiency). This is in part, an answer to the efficiency that developers requested during consultation. Local businesses can use these zones to benefit from vehicular services (i.e., ride hails, food deliveries, and curbside pickups), addressing their main concern in the PECR (zones marked in pink) (refer to Table 7 on Business). Factor in the neighbouring bike lanes and turn restrictions, and now we find a streetscape that is more about localized access and mobility. Indeed, accessibility remains a priority here, from the leveling of the streetscape, the diversity of transit options (walking, bike, car), to the wheelchair-accessible storefronts (Starbucks to the right). With the widened sidewalks now, the space can bring more seating which many of its pedestrians are taking advantage of.

Concerning the pedestrians themselves, most are pushed to the background, so it is harder to see who they really are. From what I can make out, from left to right, I see a couple of students walking, a heterosexual couple in front of them (who are also walking), a woman with two children walking, a person of colour sitting down on his phone, an elderly man walking, and a wheelchaired person entering a café. Together they signify a slightly more diverse group, but nevertheless a public who keep to the

same activities (between walking and consumption) and are all reserved to themselves, their companion, and their place on the street. With the limited walking space and the absence of sitting space on the left side on the street, it is easy to find a pedestrianism that is built on efficiency and little more. Regardless, I contend there is more being done here to conform pedestrianism to a process of spatial commodification. I attribute this largely to aesthetic improvements, which have consistently boosted employment, tourism, rental income, property values, and customer traffic (Ryan et al. 2014; Florida 2019, as cited in Mansell 2022:14).

Image 12: College Street to Gerrard Street: Top-Down View (City of Toronto 2021:69)
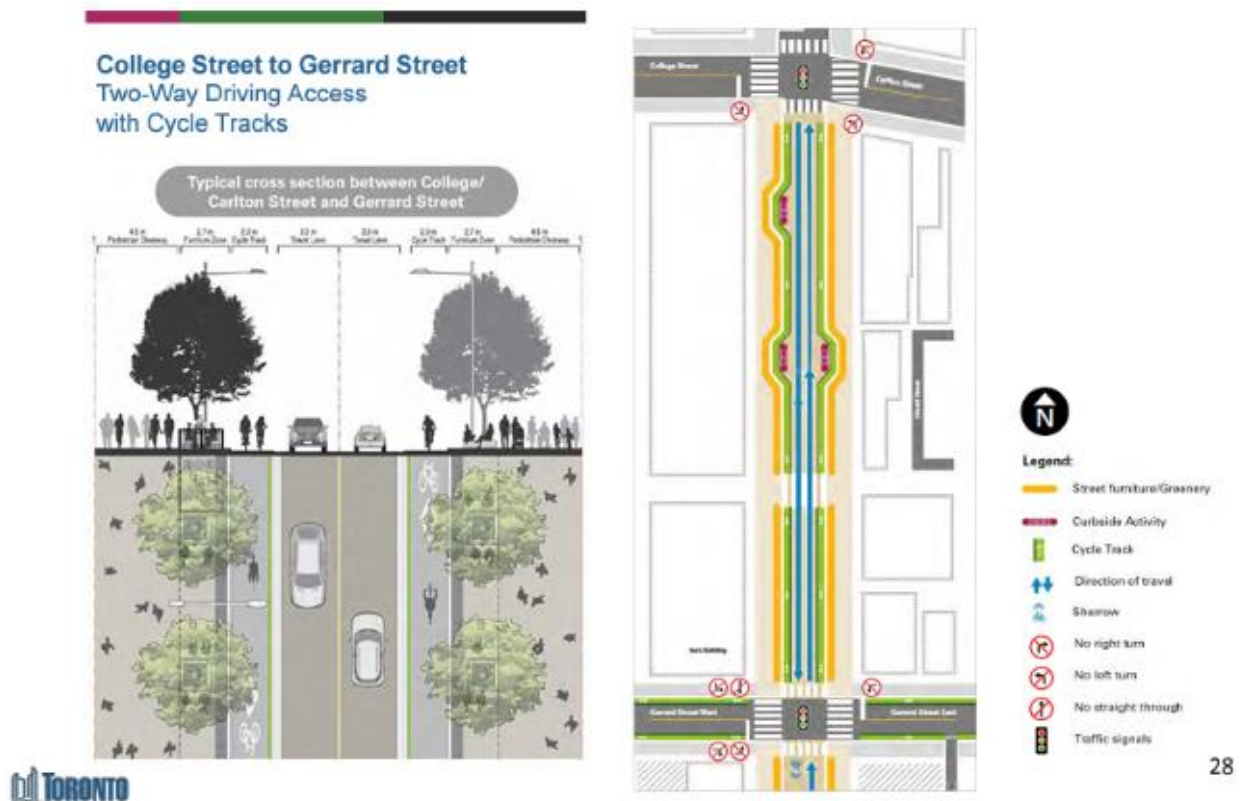
One of the first things to notice is the addition of street trees and curb-side street furniture, resembling that in previous renders to augment the appeal of the

street and the nearby land value (refer to Table 7 on Public Realm) (see Madureira & Baeten 2016:373, as cited in Levy 2020:912). From Image 11, we find curbside seating areas, trees, pedestrian streetlights, and sidewalk cafés. Each of these amenities contribute one way or another to the walkability of the streetscape – especially in the case of greenery which reportedly reduces stress and lowers local walking speeds (Franek & Režný 2021).

Similar to the previous render, the plan carries forward the physical uniformity of the present-day pedestrianism regardless of sidewalk expansion, with pedestrians still constrained to certain parts of the street. This arrangement is reasserted in the top-down plan where each zone has a certain designation that is enforced between traffic restrictions and CCTV at Yonge/College and Yonge/Gerrard intersections. These arrangements boost efficiency for motorists and demand conformity from its pedestrians, that which property owners prefer for the street to keep it safe and accessible.

Bolstering marketability is the beautification of the streetscape, headlined by building preservation and an influx of greenery (Mackintosh 2005:712; Azzarone 2022:51-52). These were foundations of the City Beautiful movement circa 1900, which held that urban beautification was vital to a greater quality of life among residents and their moral, civic virtue (ibid).[62] Much of this philosophy has been

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[62] This planning trope was especially prevalent in the late 19th century, where cities like Boston and Chicago had planned their inner city assuming that beautified cities were considered more attractive for business (Copeland 1872:25-27; Burnham & Bennett 1909:82-83; Mackintosh 2017:23; Lindner & Sandoval 2021:187). With the rise of neoliberalism, this belief has re-embedded itself in an "aesthetics

adopted by the Main Street Program in recent decades, whose purpose is to "create a pleasant and attractive space" from commercial and urban revitalizations (Balsas 2019:6). The idea is to "stimulate economic development in a context of historical preservation" (ibid). In this plan however, it chiefly subscribes to revitalization, with preservation being fabricated. For example, the Starbucks to the right is no longer present, and its neighbouring corner lot is plotted for a condominium development (Urban Toronto n.d.).

Another symbol of commodification is the local sidewalk café. Its conspicuous placement and features (e.g., seating, safety gates, umbrellas for shade) make it just as valid a beautifier and a landmark of the streetscape. Its presence is supposedly an appeal to local or tentative businesses to take advantage of the additional walking space, especially in this area where there are cars to support them. The case is only bolstered with the geographic context of the render, featuring nearby condominiums and tourist spots (e.g., College Park, Aura's Shopping Complex, College Subway Station) that can draw and re-distribute local crowds. Together, they illustrate desirable conditions for businesses who can capitalize on the influx of pedestrians and the influx of walking space (see Sevstuk 2020).

Lastly, the café is an expression of public realm "enhancement" where amenities are generally restricted to paying publics. For example, pedestrian seating is either at or adjacent to the sidewalk café. What is interesting about this is that for

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of gentrification" that is used to cultivate seductive spaces and exclusive communities for more affluent publics (see Lindner & Sandoval 2021).

one to find seating or shading, they would either need to consume at the sidewalk

café, or be placed directly near it. Similarly, for a pedestrian to use a washroom, they

would need to go to a private building, where they would likely need to buy

something in order to get access to a washroom. Even the gates are incentive for

pedestrians to stay and feel safe. Curtailing these amenities gives pedestrians one

more reason to partake in consumption, and street peoples one less reason to attend

(see Nemeth & Schmidt 2007:285; Sommers 2013).

To realize this model for Yonge Street, YongeTOmorrow envisions a

pedestrianism that allows and encourages sidewalk subsistence, where people can

stay and enjoy local seating areas, nearby landmarks, curbside greenery, and

sidewalk cafés. The plan also conveys how this can still co-exist with traditional

pedestrianism where motorists, cyclists, and pedestrians are given their own zones to

freely move within. This is what I mean by two-tiered pedestrianism, where

consuming pedestrians can stay and enjoy the amenities, while everyone else is

expected to keep moving. And they must be moving, because they are nowhere to

be seen in the renders, a visual choice made by the authors.

>> 5.8 What then of pedestrianism?

The YTO plan desires a streetscape that uses uniformity and beautification to cultivate a pedestrianism that can accelerate neoliberal agendas. This pedestrianism is tolerant to additional private uses on sidewalks as the street becomes more of a destination. Throughout all the renders, pedestrianism is reliant on streetscape cleanliness, pedestrian crowds, privatized amenities, and surveillance cameras to encourage greater self-discipline in public. It also adopts a diversity of forms (i.e., pedestrian-priority zone; one-way roadway; two-way roadway) to cater to different contexts throughout the district. At the same time, however, there is still familiarity in layout to keep a sense of order and efficiency in the space. This is also realized through the omission of "disorderly" conduct. This includes loitering, substance abuse, panhandling, jaywalking, gambling, and rowdiness. The same thing can be said about omitting the presence of drinkers, smokers, transients, sex workers, or drug dealers. This is all a part of creating the image that businesses want to advertise to the populace as a place to live, work, shop, and play while always feeling safe and secure. This image is made vivid in the following image.

Image 13: A render of the scene between Gerrard Street to Walton Street - boasting a visible sense of satisfaction among users (City of Toronto 2021:70).

Much like other renders, Image 13 conveys a notable sense of joy among pedestrians, supposedly as a product of the reinvented pedestrianism – curiously, the production of "moral, temperate, happy, orderly people" (Mackintosh 2005:712) was the aim of early city planning thinkers in the early twentieth century. The hope here is that protection and accommodation will translate to greater crowds of pedestrians who can expand and augment revenue streams. With the changes proposed by YTO, business will have far more autonomy incorporating sidewalk cafés, booths, boutiques, and vending stands to further colonize the public realm and construct a street culture of their own liking (see Mehaffy & Elmlund 2020:459; Piazonni & Jaime 2021).

The addition of open space may imply a more public space – but with renders and present-day developments, we see how condominium developments, bike lanes, street furniture, and sidewalk cafés tend to occupy these spaces – each with their own set of rules, uses, and expectations for the local public (Mehaffy & Eldmund 2020:459). Private uses are an inevitable fact of public space, and thus, require surveillance to preserve order and accountability among users (ibid). Users are continually watched under the panoptic scope of businesses, developers, and law enforcers, who implicitly demand conformity to more transactional customs between walking and consumption. With the decrease (or absence) of vehicular traffic, the expectation is that safety and order be kept between pedestrians, who are shown to be keeping to themselves (or to their companions) in their social and physical engagements.

It should also be noted there are previous interventions that fostered the grounds for this proposal; more notably the Privately-Owned Publicly Accessible Spaces (POPS) initiative in 2014. POPS involves private property owners partitioning a portion of their property for public use, which remains a private space despite being publicly accessible. The practice has been crucial to connecting sidewalks, squares, courtyards, concourses, and parks throughout the downtown core that collectively sponsor a bracketed pedestrian autonomy (see City of Toronto 2017; Wood 2018). There is also the CurbTO, ActiveTO, and CaféTO interventions, each of which reimagine the layout of the street to better plan for alternative uses amidst COVID-19 restrictions (see Image14). Their significance can be attributed to the opportunities

they granted to invest in alternative amenities such as sidewalk cafés and curbside

takeout (the former of which is adopted in the YongeTOmorrow plan). I note these

interventions because of how they too, reinvent pedestrianism in a way that loosens

its moderation.

Image 14: Photographs of each public realm initiative in practice during the COVID-19 pandemic (City of Toronto 2020:4).

Interestingly, YongeTOmorrow also draws some parallels to Allan Jacobs'

Great Streets, whose qualities resemble those we see in renders - for example,

emphases on accessibility, density, diversity, and greenery (among others), all of

which are stated and promoted in YongeTOmorrow's samples (see Jacobs 1993:293-

307).[63] The purpose of such a street is manifold, but fundamentally, it is to bolster the

desirability of the area and the city at large among tourists and local consumers

(Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht 2009; Garvin 2019).

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[63] Great Streets are "markedly superior in character or quality" where people want to be (Jacobs 1993:3,11). They are renown and valued for their walkability, physical comfort, eye-engaging qualities, transparency, complementarity, good maintenance, and quality of construction (ibid: 271-291). Together, these qualities cultivate a street that is safe, diverse, desirable, vibrant, memorable, and inviting (see Ryerson City Building Institute 2018). However, I find it is just as, if not more conducive for business who can market the street as a spectacle for consumption among locals and tourists.

>> 5.9 Summary

The purpose of my analyses was to define and explain the constitution of a reinvented, two-tiered pedestrianism in the YongeTOmorrow plan. I note its inclinations to neoliberal interests, that which predominate how pedestrianism works and to whom it applies.

With textual content analysis, I identified points of contention with the current streetscape to rationalize the plan and its emphases. With visual content analysis, I was able to track where and how aforementioned narratives were articulated. With the way that space is ordered, businesses have just as much, if not more, to gain than pedestrians do with the privatization, commodification, and securitization of the streetscape. Though YongeTOmorrow has not yet been built, the text and the renders are indicative of where its priorities lie – those of which I reiterate in the following table (Table 8).

To my research question, then, YongeTOmorrow attempts to reinvent pedestrianism by expanding the sidewalk. By doing so, businesses and consumers have the space they need to better themselves without disrupting traditional flows among pedestrians, motorists, and cyclists. In other words, flow is made a tool that serve property owners and a more affluent, self-disciplined public. In summary, we find a pedestrianism that is made adaptable and conditional to accommodate private uses, that which can make the area more vibrant attractive to businesses, developers,

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and middle-class consumers – who can see and use the street as a destination as opposed to a thoroughfare.

Beyond the claims to update and upgrade physical infrastructure, my study infers an economic upheaval to capitalize on the influx of residents and travellers. What the plan attempts to conceal, however, is how pedestrian liberation coincides with corporate liberation, with the former as a façade to boost public backing.

Table 8: Traditional Pedestrianism vs. Reinvented Pedestrianism

PRIORITY	TRADITIONAL PEDESTRIANISM	REINVENTED PEDESTRIANISM
GENERAL PRIORITIES	Prioritizes pedestrian flow.	Prioritizes walking and leisure for pedestrians who conform to the interests of local property owners.
THE INCLUSION AND DESIGN OF PEDESTRIAN AMENITIES	Pedestrian amenities provided irrespective to comfort.	Pedestrian amenities are made ample and specifically designed to optimize the experience of consumption
WALKING	Restricts pedestrians to a certain path where they can only walk to preserve their safety. Any pedestrian can contribute, or be a barrier, to flow.	Allows for autonomous walking among pedestrians, replacing walking with leisure.
PEDESTRIANS AND THEIR USE OF PEDESTRIAN SPACE	There is no space to be enjoyed. All pedestrians being viewed as the same.	Allows certain publics to dwell and enjoy the space.
APPROACH TO THE STREET	Approaches the street as simply a thoroughfare.	Approaches the street as both a destination and a thoroughfare.

COMMITMENT TO VIBRANCY AND SAFETY	Public safety prioritized until dark.	Vibrancy and safety are priorities at all times of day.
ACCESSIBILITY	Accessibility to the street disproportionately favours vehicular mobility.	Accessibility to the street is more balanced, but more in favour of pedestrians.
STREET DESIGN	Street design is coherent with other streets.	Street design is contingent on the needs and density levels of each street and block.
CURBSIDE ACTIVITY	Restricts pedestrianism and reserves curbs and gutters to segregating street activities and infrastructure functions.	Allows for additional opportunities to hold curbside services for businesses, whether it be curbside hot dog vendors, curbside parking for cars, or sidewalk cafés.
UNDESIRABLES	Somewhat tolerant of "undesirables", presumably depending on what they are doing.	Attempts to legislate "undesirables" from the street.
BEAUTIFICATION	Prefers economy and functionality over beautification.	Encourages the beautification of the streetscape to make it more valuable and desirable.
WHAT IT ADHERES TO	Adheres to the laws and policy pertaining to sidewalk use.	Follows the law but also the preferences of property owners and focus groups.

Chapter 6: Discussion & Conclusion

>> 6.1 Where from here?

My research began by exploring the relationship between pedestrians and public space in the context of community development, specifically in inner-city enclaves. However, the literature left me wondering about the extent to which privatization encroaches this relationship and prevailing notions of publicness. My research, in turn, considers how everyday conventions and designs of public settings can still be manipulated by property owners despite a physical overhaul to a downtown streetscape.

The solution I propose would start with a better social safety net for those in need. I believe this will offset the likelihood and frequency of civil disturbances, and thereby the need for more security in public. I would also consider designated zones for non-consuming activities that focus on culture and leisure (e.g., a spot for performances or a giant chess board). However, exploring and examining a solution requires a separate study that accounts for its planning and nuance. It also requires a more extensive look at the problem at hand (of privatized public space), more notably in its social and cultural dimensions on the premise of social justice.

Because YongeTOmorrow has not been completed yet, it is better for future research to first consider the lived effects of YongeTOmorrow, preferably on non-consuming publics, their livelihoods, and their sense of place – especially in light of

greater strides to privatize, securitize, and commodify public space. This study would be valuable as a way to validate the claims I make about YTO in this paper.

>> 6.2 Why does it matter?

Throughout this thesis I have insisted on a reinvented pedestrianism that sets the stage for greater neoliberal encroachment.[64] Its role in practice remains the same, but its expressions and priorities are altered to target and deter street-present non-consumers. This is being done to protect and intensify consumption among the middle-class sidewalk users the plan intends to attract (Dovey 2016; Mitchell 2020; Kudla 2022). My research plausibly demonstrates, then, how pedestrianism is being reinvented to further promote an entrepreneurial city. What we can anticipate is a pervasive encroachment of neoliberal urbanism that is bound to erode or otherwise dilute existing ideas and expressions of publicness, diversity, liberty, and equality.

Though my research is localized in scope to a single municipal district, it reflects the conventions encompassed in the Great Street model that Toronto, and many Western cities, are aspiring to realize (City of Toronto 2017:24-29; Nguyen 2018). The Great Street model (not to be confused with Allan Jacobs (1993)) represents a privatized public standard for street reinvention: a streetscape where consumption predominates and delimits the public realm (Dovey 2016:158).

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[64] The rise of neoliberalism meant governments repealing their responsibilities for maintaining social safety nets and the social welfare state (Harvey 2005).

A study done by Abou-Senna et al. (2022) confirms general municipal concern for both the expansion of sidewalks and the common-sense reduction of vehicular traffic to abet greater pedestrian safety (see Abou-Senna et al. 2022); yet a chief motivation is to draw more "pedestrians" for more economic activity (ibid; Madureira & Baeten 2016; Mahmood 2017). Consequently, the street is being remodeled with the purpose of empowering business, who I find to be the focus of YongeTOmorrow's placemaking. My fear is that, in the process, the downtown will have a confounded depiction of democracy and diversity as non-consumers are planned out of this new view of what constitutes democracy in public space.

YongeTOmorrow speaks to a greater agenda among planners and businesses to blur the lines between public and private space. Moeckli avers that this has already been taking place, with the legal tools of private space being replicated to manage public space (Moeckli 2016:73). Pedestrianism plays into this development by reinventing itself to have different meanings to different users. On the one hand, pedestrianism valorizes consuming publics and grants them additional freedom to better their quality of life. On the other, it continues to subject non-business-oriented, non-consuming publics – the marginal, the unhoused, the "street people" – to the regulatory absolutism of the sidewalk and the street, the one articulated so forcefully in the *Safe Streets Act.*

By expanding the sidewalk now, it is easier for businesses to manipulate the moderating power of pedestrianism to nurture the spaces they desire – ones that are seductive and exclusive in catering to a localized, consuming middle-class (Lindner &

Sandoval 2021). I show in my thesis how business and municipal government can intertwine pedestrianism and neoliberalism to privatize street life. Their relationship is a unique one, encompassing a dynamic of co-dependence to make pedestrianism both a legal hegemony, and a catalyst for economic growth. Seemingly, planners perceive this to be the truth and the ends to which inner city enclaves should aspire. The outcome, I fear, is an anti-democratic public arena whose designs establish pedestrianism as an exclusionary, panoptic technology. Driving this forward is the entrepreneurial approach, which, through local policymaking, attempts to privatize, securitize, and commodify public pedestrian infrastructure for local economic development (Madureira & Baeten 2016:363; Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022; Kudla 2022).

Cases like YongeTOmorrow are especially concerning as they signal the hegemony of private interests, underscored by the growing alignment between city officials and corporate stakeholders in their visions for public infrastructure (Aydoghmish & Rafeian 2022). The expansion of the sidewalk affirms this with its resurrected "sidewalk subsistence" being curtailed to the neoliberal notions and conventions being accepted as truth. What remains is an expression of exclusion that endangers the presence of alternative uses and users.

>> 6.3 Final Remarks

Albeit bound to a municipal case study, my research promotes that reinventing pedestrianism is a ploy to further embed neoliberalism in public space. With YongeTOmorrow, I illustrate how reinventing pedestrianism challenges publicness, as the space is confounded of its liminality. What I find is a sectioning of space to certain uses and users, all who share in common the interests of business and security. For decades of "revitalization", cities and BIAs have enhanced their public realms to place profit ahead of people. My case study demonstrates this trend and considers how the remaking of the streetscape assumes a remaking of pedestrianism. This is specifically done to mandate and intensify consumption over that of movement as the unequivocal pulse of the public realm. It is, as Mackintosh (2021:107) states, changes to the seemingly mundane, "micro-level" dimensions of everyday city life, which invoke the broader urban shifts.

So, then, how will this thesis help to create a better Yonge Street? It will help raise awareness of the need to revisit and reconsider ideas and expressions of social and cultural diversity, as well as their greater importance to vibrancy and public identity. It will encourage additional dialogues on what can be done to expand opportunities for recurring public activity in the space (e.g., street performances, yoga sessions, game-playing, cultural celebrations). It also advocates for space that is less transactional, with the street having a broad group of amenities spread more evenly throughout the space.

My thesis challenges planners and stakeholders to think more about contemporary values of inclusion, diversity, and equity, and how they are being expressed or encouraged to bolster publicness in their vision for Yonge Street. I am pleased that the plan has a Flexible Operations Approach with the design of the plan, so my hope is that planners and stakeholders will continue to observe and consult with the users of Downtown Yonge once the project is done to get a better idea on what can be done to make the street more embracing and engaging; not only through its design, but its means of regulation.

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Appendix A

Diagram 1: Modern Timeline of Pedestrianism Relative to Political Economy. Adapted from *timeline.pdf*. by Michael Ripmeester. Retrieved January 5, 2023. Vector for cars from Kolonko, n.d.

Phase and Expression

- "A particular form of pedestrianism that requires thinned out spaces and rules efficient shopping"

c. 1950s

- "Pedestrianism holds its shape, but CBD collapses
- Capital needs ways to revalorize downtown properties
- Finds ways to bring people back (long process that starts in the 1980s)"

c. 1980s

- "Pedestrianism shifts. Movement is no longer sufficient. Capital needs ways to revalorize downtown properties
- Finds ways to bring people back (long process that starts in the 1980s and continues through Creative Economy, Experience Economy, etc. and is tied to buzz… the vibrancy created by people.
- But this is unfriendly to street-present non-consumers. Requires upscaled security from things that might be used as broken windows (CCTV, ID checks, private security, etc.)"

c. 2010s

- "Fordist Production largely focused near Central Business District (CBD)
- Downtown Retail
- Keynesian Political Economy
- Prior to suburban growth"

c. 1950s

- "Stagflation
- Oil Crises
- Recessions
- Decline of American and Canadian Manufacturing
- Rise of suburbs, automobile culture, suburban shopping
- Demise of Keynesian political economies and rise of Neoliberal political economies"

c. 1980s

- "New Model for CBD development
- Based on buzz, vibrancy, experiences, etc.
- Catalyst developments connected by networks of movement
- Connections require space for movement *and* for stopping and contributing to buzz (window shopping, menu checking, etc.)"
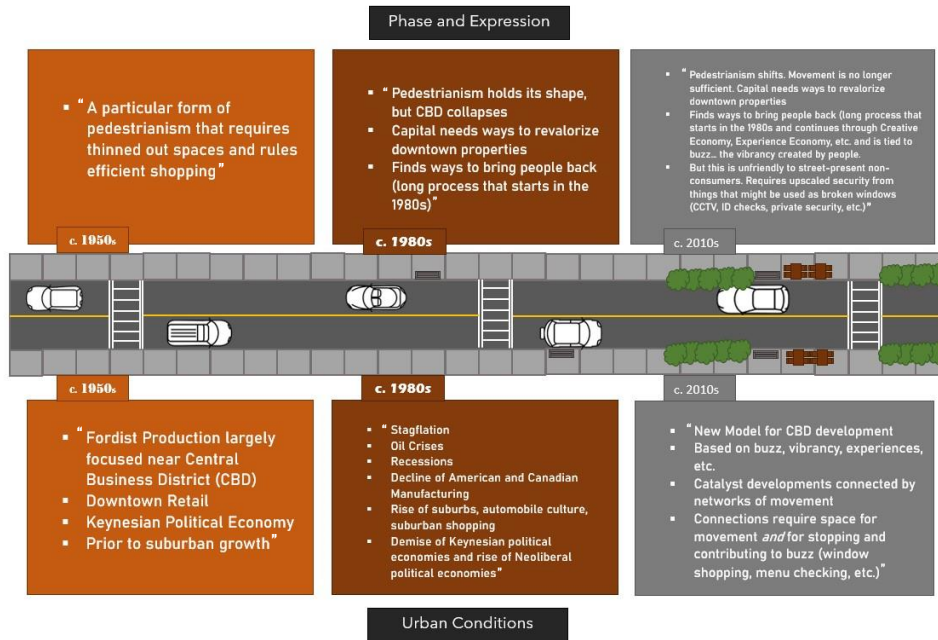
c. 2010s

Urban Conditions

Diagram 1 tracks the evolution of pedestrianism in three key phases in relationship to the prevailing urban conditions. What these phases have in common is that pedestrianism still determines the users and activities deemed appropriate or inappropriate in public domains. However, their difference lies in expression, which is chiefly attributed to the prevailing political economy. It is to say then, that political economy had a direct and fundamental impact on how pedestrianism was expressed and enforced in public. In this timeline, I explain how pedestrianism is altered in its priorities with the rise of neoliberalism. It is neoliberalism that has ultimately directed pedestrianism to enforce more exclusive, marketable, and securitized public spaces.

Pedestrianism is taken in this direction in an effort to protect and encourage private

investment in the downtown core.

Appendix B

I opened my latent content analysis with some observations for each render. This was to familiarize myself with the data and to help me understand the type of public realm that the plan wants to have for Downtown Yonge. Taking these notes had challenged me to think of the public realm, public infrastructure, public safety, and business all in the same context. I also made sure to identify differences and similarities between renders as part of detecting the prevailing themes and patterns. Supporting this aim I also had my notes identify who and what was present (and also absent) in the plan.

Image 1 : A render of Walton Street to Elm Street – Pedestrian Priority (City of Toronto 2021:72).

- Having chairs and bike stops encourage passersby to stay in a space that's infused in consumption (e.g., nearby storefronts, hot dog vendor)
- More people are looking young and fit here.
- I'm only seeing one person of colour.
- I'm also noticing someone with a stroller and another with a pet, so there is a diversity in lifestyle being presented here (even though there could be more of it).
- There is considerably more greenery here.
- Oddly, I noticed a lack of patios, shopping bags, or window shopping. However, there are still shops nearby that are made conspicuous to the audience like the McDonald's, the Swiss Chalet, and the hot dog vendor.
- Envisions a public that's self-disciplined and socially monotonous (between sitting and walking).

Image 2: Edward Street to Dundas Square – Pedestrian Priority (City of Toronto 2021:35-36)
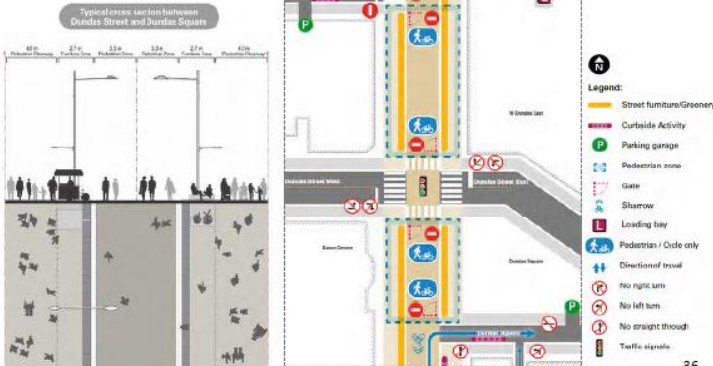
- Activities featured: Walking (with one-offs of dog-walking and scootering) and Shopping (with food vendors)
  - I didn't notice anyone sitting in this render.
  - Though cycling is allegedly permitted in the pedestrian zone, there's no sight of cyclists in that zone. Those who are cyclists, have parked their bikes or otherwise walk with them.
- The map implies street furniture, but it's far and few between in the renders. In this one there is no street furniture.
- Between the map and the render, the only street furniture are the streetlight benches (and chairs in the other render).

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- Likewise, there's the presence of people with wheelchairs on the top-down, but none in the render.
- The area blocked off is occupied with pop-up vendors.
- Only three people of colour are present in the render. Still no sight of homeless or disabled peoples, or even security guards. Walking and biking are the only activities I am finding, which makes me question the social diversity of the street.

Image 3: A render of Dundas Square to Shuter Street – One-Way Driving Access Northbound (City of Toronto 2021:78).

- The only seating I see is by the sidewalk café (a draw to consumption). People who look for comfort are expected to consume if they are to get a seat.
- The sidewalk café is gated to protect consumers from passing traffic or thieves.
- Like other renders, it is merely walking and consumption that are featured. This may well be because they are the only trusted activities in the plan that can make and keep the streetscape a safe and welcoming place for all.
- The render presents a group of that people that are more diverse, from persons of colour, to students, to elderly peoples, to families, to dogwalkers, to businesspeople. The plan wants to show that all these people are welcome to the area, day or night.
- Seeing children out with their parents at night is a signifier that the district is safe enough for them to frequent.
- Much like the present, local businesses are open for longer in the evening to take advantage of local crowds. In this case, it's the Paramount Fine Foods and its sidewalk café.
- The render deliberately faces north to Yonge-Dundas Square, the spectacle of the district. I find this an implicit nod to consumption.

- Security cameras are present, most notably to the left along the former Nordstrom.
- No sight of jay-walking or activities that divert from formalized modes of walking or consumption. This signals to me a regime of self-discipline among pedestrians.
- Similarly, the design retains elements of the traditional order (e.g., the crosswalk, clearly-marked curbsides, a bus stop to the left) with pedestrians relegated to sidewalks, even with the lower automobile traffic.

Image 4: A render of College Street to Gerrard Street – Two-Way Driving Access with Cycle Tracks (City of Toronto 2021:68).

- This render shows that the plan is still mindful of vehicular traffic. This section north of Gerrard is where consumers and businesses can still benefit from ride hails, parking garages, and delivery zones.
- There are designated zones for curbside activity so traffic can still keep moving.
- The render shows what widened sidewalks can look like and how they can be used by pedestrians and businesses. Pedestrians can sit under trees on well-lit benches facing the road or the storefronts – and businesses can install sidewalk cafés while still allowing for ample walking space.
- The presence of roadways, bike lanes, and widened sidewalks aver a commitment to have safe and localized mobility for all.
- The render is more concerned about showing mobility, from automobiles, bicycles, pedestrians, to wheelchaired pedestrians. This is the only render to feature a wheelchaired person.
- The influx of greenery and lighting, along with the preserved buildings and well-kept streets shows me there is a clear commitment to beautifying the streetscape. These components are vital to the marketability of the area, which is only amplified with the conspicuous presence of a Starbucks with its storefront branding and green umbrellas.
- Most space is programmed to accommodate efficient mobility for any one group. In this sense, traditional pedestrianism stays intact. Excess space is committed to either consumption (sidewalk café) or seating.

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Image 5: A render of the scene between Gerrard Street to Walton Street - boasting a visible sense of satisfaction among users (City of Toronto 2021:70).

- As this is pedestrian-priority, people will be required to walk with their bikes (see man near bottom right corner). This means that hard-lined sidewalk enforcement remains predominant on Yonge Street.
- There is a considerable lack of amenities for pedestrians.
- People are only walking. No other activities are taking place.
  - Definitely suggests conformity, especially when factoring in the walking cyclist.
  - The only other activity is sitting/lounging, but that's only present in the second image.
- I spot an elderly person, a Black person, and children. Most people are white, middle-aged, and fit.
- The render is absent of security guards, homeless peoples, or disabled peoples.
- Everyone is smiling.
- There is an absence of security cameras or police, but I know that in the existing design, there are cameras present by intersections.
- The area still enclosed in corporate spectacle (e.g., billboards, streetlight banners, storefronts)

Similarities between the renders

- All of them envision a public that is self-disciplined and socially monotonous (between sitting and walking). There is no sight of dancing, playing, or any other interactive activity that constitutes the vibrancy of public life.
- The renders are absent of homeless peoples or other non-consuming street peoples.
- Families, couples, and dog walkers were consistently featured, reflecting the demographic that the plan is anticipating.
- Crowds are consistent as an agent of local panoptic security.
- Consumption is a mainstay.
- Pedestrians are simply that – they keep to themselves, their companion, and their place on the street. Spatial order is still assumed.
- Safety and beautification are perennial, from lane markings, well-kept amenities, pedestrian lighting, and curbside greenery.
- All renders were absent of security guards and homeless peoples. All but one featured a person on a wheelchair.
- Each render shows at least one major business to promote consumption in the area (e.g., Starbucks, McDonald's, Swiss Chalet, Paramount Fine Foods, Foot Locker, CF Eaton Centre, Coco, among others)
- There is a consistent absence of street life that is found today (e.g., panhandling, dancing, informal consumption, or yelling).