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LESSONS FOR TORONTO FROM MELBOURNE'S CITY CENTRE REVITALIZATION

by

Brent Gilliard, BSc, Brock University, 2010

A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Planning
in
Urban Development

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2012

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ABSTRACT

Public space is important to a city's economic and social quality. Downtown Toronto is not known for its public spaces but Melbourne is widely recognized for recently revitalizing its city centre with improved public spaces. A case study of Melbourne investigates its comparability to Toronto as well as the details of its "renaissance." It is concluded that Melbourne is, in fact, highly comparable to Toronto. Interventions in Melbourne were characterized by the principles: long-term vision, emphasizing local strengths, investment in quality, making space for people on foot, and using effective arguments and evidence. To emulate Melbourne's city-centre revitalization, Toronto first should facilitate a civic conversation about the long-term vision for its downtown; second, it should initiate a public life survey of the downtown; third, it should invest is the physical quality of downtown public spaces; and fourth, it should begin an incremental program to reclaim roadway space from cars in locations of high pedestrian use.

Key words:

Public space; Melbourne; urban design

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Although this project is, in a sense, the cumulative product of my two years at Ryerson University and countless interesting lectures and discussions with my instructors and colleagues, I would like to thank two people in particular for their substantial assistance with it.

My supervisor, Dr. Zhixi C. Zhuang, MCIP, RPP, has been a very patient guide over the last five months, particularly through the process of shaping an area of interest into a suitable major research project. In addition, she stuck with me and reviewed the final draft during her maternity leave.

My second reader, Glenn Miller, FCIP, RPP, gave very thoughtful, frank feedback on an early version of this paper, which was a very welcome push to reposition the project in a more interesting and useful way. I almost have the 30-second Metro Morning pitch perfected.

Some of the more felicitous spaces, furthermore, are leftovers, niches, odds and ends of space that by happy accident work very well for people. At 57th Street and Madison Avenue in New York there is a bank with two window ledges. They're low enough for sitting and are recessed enough to provide wind protection. There is sun all day, a parade of passersby, and at the corner a vendor squeezing fresh orange juice. It is a splendid urban place. There are other such places, most provided by inadvertence.

Think what might be provided if someone planned it.

William H. Whyte – The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces (1980)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Author's Declaration ii

ABSTRACT iii

Acknowledgements iv

List of Figures vii

1. Introduction 1

    1a. Justification / Importance 1

    1b. Research Intent 4

    1c. Research Questions 5

2. Method 6

    2a. Literature Review 6

    2b. Case Study 6

    2c. Analysis 8

3. Problem Investigation 9

    3a. Literature Review of Key Concepts 9

    3b. Case Study: Melbourne 20

    3c. Toronto's Context 31

4. Findings 36

    4a. Comparability 36

    4b. "Renaissance" 38

5. Recommendations 41

Appendix A: Key Statistics Comparing Melbourne and Toronto 43

Bibliography 44

List of Figures

Figure 1: Sidewalk tailor in Toronto circa 1920.....10

Figure 2: "Muddy York". 11

Figure 3: Characteristic attributes of 'less public' spaces using the Star Model.....13

Figure 4: The Strøget, Copenhagen, in June 2005.....18

Figure 5: Average amount of stationary activites on a summer weekday.....19

Figure 6: Council structure in Victoria 22

Figure 7: Swanston Street, Melbourne, May 2009 29

Figure 8: Melbourne's city centre overlaid on downtown Toronto.....37

Figure 9: Toronto's “inner downtown” and Melbourne’s inner city 37

1. Introduction

1a. Justification / Importance

Public Space Matters

At its most fundamental level, public space is the physical expression of our collective society and the figurative 'glue' holding our cities together (Smith & Low, 2006). While the precise quality of each public space's openness and accessibility — its essential "publicness" — varies, we recognize the aspirational ideal that public spaces could always be more open and more accessible. This ideal of public space is crucial for democracy and the health of the wider public realm because we need spaces outside our homes and places of work to encounter strangers, recognize differences, and respectfully participate in our own governance (Young, 1990). In cities like Toronto, populated largely by migrants from around the world, public spaces and the interactions they foster are doubly important for their role in the formation of an organic, bottom-up social identity not based on traditional divisive metrics like place of birth, language, or ethnocultural heritage (Wood & Gilbert, 2005).

The density of cities, the bundling and jumbling together of great numbers of people and jobs and activities, drives economic innovation and growth (Avent, 2011). Public spaces are key to making urban life not just tolerable, but desirable, because public spaces can transform claustrophobic density into liveliness, excitement, opportunity, and pleasure. One of the most important benefits of urban life is that it can sustain dozens, even hundreds of relationships that aren't quite impersonal or intimate, but instead fall somewhere in between (Jacobs, 1961). Recognizing the same people at the bus stop every morning, commenting on the weather to the grocer, or learning about a local issue from a neighbour when you put out the recycling — all of these interactions depend on a robust public space, without exception. The quality of public space influences the habit of walking and lingering in public, which in turn increases the probability of making any of the many fortuitous connections and pleasant exchanges that we stumble into on any given day (Gehl, 1986).

People are innately social; it is said that there is no greater human pleasure than being in the presence of more people (Gehl, 1986). Our everyday activities confirm this observation. We tend to walk home on the busiest streets, and gravitate toward makeshift seats where we can see lots of people (Whyte, 1980). It is very important to our quality of life that we have opportunities to see and be seen, to make change or make small talk, and to otherwise

participate in the great “sidewalk ballet” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 51) of urban life. Good public spaces are the stage for that ballet.

Public Space is Challenged

A long-term trend toward impoverished public spaces can be traced back at least as far as the widespread adoption of automobiles and the appropriation of most street space for their movement (Macdonald, 2011). In addition, the advent of indoor suburban shopping malls has drained many public spaces of activity and selectively reproduced a limited number of public functions indoors. More recently, it has been recognized that many public spaces are being made deliberately less open and accessible by controlling the people who use them and the activities they host (Davis, 1992). This can take many forms, among the most extreme being outright privatization of large public spaces or their management. These spaces have abandoned even the aspiration to publicness, and their conflation with actual public spaces is disingenuous.

The most widespread challenge to public space, however, is more mundane: it is simply starved for space and investment. In a predominantly suburban society where more people lead automobile-dependent lives than not, appreciation for quality public spaces is more rare and so it is difficult to justify investment in “nice to haves” like sidewalks and parks. This is compounded by the tendency, since the 1980s, to emphasize private interests and spaces at the expense of collective assets. Toronto, for example, proudly finances its street furniture program through a partnership with Astral Media, exchanging 25,000 pieces of furniture over two decades for the right to advertise in public spaces—primarily sidewalks—over the same period. City staff argue that the portion of advertising revenues retained by the City “are invested in a variety of programs and initiatives, *that would otherwise not have been possible*, to tangibly enhance and upgrade the quality of the public realm” (City of Toronto, 2012c, para 2, emphasis added). This is not a sign that public spaces in Toronto are valued highly.

Toronto’s Unfulfilled Potential

Compared to most other large North American cities, Toronto has some enviable advantages and opportunities regarding downtown public spaces. Downtown Toronto has a considerable concentration of jobs and people, and a large proportion of the City’s growth continues to be focused there; one-third of recent residential growth has been in the downtown, as well as one-quarter of non-residential growth (City of Toronto, 2011a) Where other cities struggle to attract a handful of residents to their downtowns, Toronto’s grows by thousands, and

on most sides of the financial core[1], the residential density exceeds 100 people per hectare (Young & Cain, 2012). Forty percent of downtown residents walk to work or school each day, and a further 35% are cyclists or transit riders (City of Toronto, 2012a), the latter of which are almost always pedestrians at the beginning and end of each journey. That's a lot of people and activity on the street!

And yet, in some ways, Toronto's downtown public spaces are a bit of a disappointment. For all its potential and all its *need*, Toronto is not known for its great public spaces. Here, we have to rely primarily on anecdotal evidence, because no comprehensive inventory and analysis of downtown Toronto's public life and public spaces has been undertaken. What information we do have is collected sporadically and in fragments.[2] There are glimmers of hope and outright jewels, particularly on the waterfront, but positive change happens slowly and seems out of proportion to the city's otherwise rapid and perpetual remaking of itself. The ongoing long boom of prosperity and growth is not being shared evenly, and has only sharpened the contrast between the gleaming towers and the narrow, crumbling, unfriendly sidewalks (and streets, and parks, and squares) of downtown Toronto.

Despite its assets, too much of downtown Toronto's activity is squeezed out of its meagre public spaces and into the private realm. Seeking urbanity—to be a with friends and strangers in the city, to feel a part of the comings and goings of city life—Torontonians often have to settle for the antiseptic, exclusive facsimile purchased in malls and underground passageways, behind closed doors and tinted glass, under the gaze of security guards or closed-circuit cameras. This indoor, gated 'margarine urbanism' is engineered to replicate a select few qualities and benefits of public spaces, but generally no more than necessary for commerce. They are no substitute for lively, attractive streets and open spaces.

The Melbourne Model?

Melbourne has a reputation as a city whose downtown has experienced a dramatic renaissance in the past few decades (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.b). In the late 1970s, the local newspaper called it an "empty, useless downtown" but today the downtown is full of life and activity, and its urban experience is an important part of the city's identity and (very successful)

[1] Only the census tract to the immediate west, stretching as far as Bathurst Street between Queen and Front (including the King-Spadina "Reinvestment District") has yet to exceed 100 residents per hectare. It did, however, nearly double in population between 2006 and 2011. See Young and Cain, 2012.

[2] This thesis, for example, catalogues and graphically presents the public spaces of Yonge Street along with business types and operating hours: http://issuu.com/elfiekalfakis/docs/kalfakis_thesis_2010

tourism marketing strategy. There is empirical data to back up this reputation, specifically for the period between 1994 and 2004 thanks to two public life studies conducted by the city (City of Melbourne, 2005); these measured street-level activity, downtown population, the type and number of downtown businesses, the location and quality of street furniture, and so on.

Melbourne is also superficially similar to Toronto. Melbourne is a little smaller and it experienced a late-19th century gold rush that Toronto did not, but they have the same Victorian urban 'bones', they both have a recent history of civic insecurity regarding their place in the global hierarchy of cities, and they were both shaken by neoliberal reforms imposed by their respective state and provincial governments in the 1990s. Compared to just about any other city in the world that has renewed its downtown public spaces in recent years, Melbourne may be the best example of a city like Toronto (in demographics, governance, history, and economy).

1b. Research Intent

There is a long history in planning of pragmatism and the search for 'what works' (Healey, 2009), exemplified by the proliferation of case studies and best practices. After identifying a desirable outcome, the researcher explores "who the practitioners were who did it, what actions they took to make it happen, and what sorts of institutional conditions helped or hindered their efforts" (Hoch, 1996, p. 42).

Choosing a case of 'what works' can be tricky. Planning stands apart from disciplines like geography for being oriented as much toward action as learning, or understanding the city to change the city (Pinson, 2004). It is arguable that research without a thought toward action is not planning at all and, in turn, planners would want (not just need) to maximize the usefulness of their research to guide action in other contexts. For this particular research project, that 'other context' is downtown Toronto, so the research design needs to produce information that can be used to improve the public spaces in downtown Toronto.

A second issue with choosing a case of 'what works' is the decades-long tension between 'process' and 'product' in urban planning (Fainstein, 2000). In simplified terms, the 'process' planners object to physical models of the ideal city, preferring to achieve whatever is possible through inclusive, equitable, and democratic processes. Conversely, the 'product' planners believe that some or many physical aspects of the ideal city must be non-negotiable and protected from the manipulation and misinformation of powerful, self-interested groups. Producing research that is useful to both of these often-antagonistic camps is difficult but not always impossible.

A case study at the scale of an entire city addresses both these issues at once. As one of the critical networks of infrastructure that supports democracy and social inclusion, public space may come as close as any topic to bridging the process/product divide in planning. At the scale of a city, the relevant criteria for investigation and comparison are relevant to both process and product. The question for choosing a case of 'what works' then becomes: "What is the best available model for Toronto of a city that has dramatically improved its public spaces in recent years?"

The answer to that question may be the city(-region) of Melbourne, Australia. Due to the relatively similar histories and contexts of Toronto and Melbourne, the city of Melbourne is a prime candidate to stand in as a model for Toronto's public spaces to aspire to become. It should go without saying that Melbourne is certainly not a true public space utopia, but at a minimum, Melbourne's public spaces are incontrovertibly greater in quantity and more heavily used than they were three decades ago, and they are arguably much improved in quality as well.

1c. Research Questions

1c-1. To what extent is Melbourne comparable to Toronto? This matters because the more unlike Toronto a city is, the more difficult it is to import lessons for practice without significant limitations or modifications.

1c-2. What has Melbourne's "renaissance" consisted of, with particular focus on actions that planners and other urbanists[3] in Toronto could learn from? What did they study and what did they conclude? What have they invested in? And, to the degree that it is possible to determine, what impact did these investments and interventions have?

The answers to these two questions will determine and justify the recommendations for Toronto (and possibly Ontario, in instances where the state of Victoria has played an important role in Melbourne) to undertake if it wants to emulate the Melbourne Model of a more active, livable, and attractive downtown.

[3] For lack of a better term for all the people who 'do' planning but don't call themselves "planners."

2. Method

This project has a three-part method: first, a literature review of key concepts; second, a case study of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia; and third, analysis.

2a. Literature Review

A survey of primarily (but not exclusively) academic literature identified contemporary issues relating to urban public spaces. The literature review was the conceptual foundation of this project, locating it in relation to previous work and orienting it toward the creation of new knowledge. It informed the development of the research questions and the structure of the subsequent steps in the research method.

The literature review began with a search of multi-disciplinary electronic indexes for relevant keywords, e.g. “public space.” Based on the initial findings, additional keywords were tested to uncover additional key concepts and increase the comprehensiveness of the literature review. In certain instances, electronic indexes of popular periodicals (e.g. newspapers) were consulted to complement the academic literature, along with library catalogues in Toronto.

2b. Case Study

With the caveat that the precise research design depends on the nature of the research question(s), Yin (2009) offers a two-part technical definition of the case study:

1. A case study is an empirical inquiry that
    - Investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when
    - The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident
2. The case study inquiry
    - Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result
    - Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result
    - Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 18)

Propositions & Operational Definitions

The first proposition is that Melbourne and Toronto are, in fact, comparable cities. This leads to the exploratory research question, “Is Melbourne actually comparable to Toronto?” The

answer to this question helps establish the applicability (or inapplicability) of Melbourne as a relevant source of knowledge for Toronto. It also helps inform the criteria for data collection and analysis.

Operationally, "comparability" is defined in terms of local history, the structure of urban governance and the character of its politics, recent economic and political changes or trends, and the local practice of urban planning. In support of the second research question, the focus of "comparability" is on the city centre or downtown in the context of the wider city-region. The fewer ways that these variables differ between Toronto and Melbourne, the more comparable they are to one another.

The second proposition is that the renaissance of Melbourne's city centre can be emulated in Toronto. This leads to the explanatory research question, "What has Melbourne's 'renaissance' consisted of, with particular focus on actions that planners and other urbanists in Toronto could learn from?" The supplementary clauses of this question (the full version is found on page 5) are partially derived in the process of answering the first question.

Operationally, Melbourne's city centre "renaissance" is defined by the variables measured in Places for People 2004 (City of Melbourne, 2005), including but not limited to qualitative improvements in outdoor public spaces as well as quantitative increases in both the amount of pedestrian traffic and the frequency of stationary activities.

Data Collection

The case study data collection process was iterative in nature. It began with the consultation of books and newspaper articles, available online or in print in Toronto, about the recent history of Melbourne. The broad categories of inquiry were established early to help narrow the focus. As greater familiarity with the context was established, specific topics, events, and other details were sought through multi-disciplinary electronic indexes of scholarly journals, the online archives of local newspapers, and additional books available in Toronto. Toward the end of the process, specific people, reports, and events were investigated through general-purpose online search engines.

In addition, a similar albeit accelerated process of data collection was undertaken to establish the Toronto context for the purpose of comparing it with Melbourne. The early steps of consulting books and newspapers about Toronto's recent history was skipped and instead research efforts were directed toward reporting information that could be compared with what was learned about Melbourne.

2c. Analysis

The general analytic strategy is to follow the theoretical propositions that form the basis of the case study. In other words, the general analytic strategy is to test the statements:

1. Toronto and Melbourne are comparable (in terms of local history, the structure of urban governance and the character of its politics, recent economic and political changes or trends, and the local practice of urban planning).
2. The renaissance of Melbourne's city centre can be emulated in Toronto (in terms including qualitative improvements in outdoor public spaces as well as quantitative increases in both the amount of pedestrian traffic and the frequency of stationary activities).

The analytic technique is explanation building, a type of pattern matching. Yin (2009) cautions:

> The explanation-building process, for explanatory case studies, has not been well documented in operational terms. However, the eventual explanation is likely to be a result of a series of iteration:
>
> - Making an initial theoretical statement or an initial proposition about policy or social behavior
> - Comparing the findings of an initial case against such a statement or proposition
> - Revising the statement or proposition
> - Comparing other details of the case against the revision
> - Comparing the revision to the facts of a second, third, or more cases
> - Repeating this process as many times as needed
>
> In this sense, the final explanation may not have been fully stipulated at the beginning of a study […] The case study evidence is examined, theoretical positions are revised, and the evidence is examined once again from a new perspective in this iterative mode. (p. 143)

Due to the iterative nature of both the case study data collection and analysis processes, they ran semi-concurrently, informing one another. As data was collected about Melbourne, the research propositions were tested against the evidence, in turn refining the direction of data collection and further analysis.

3. Problem Investigation

3a. Literature Review of Key Concepts

What makes a public space and why do we care so much about them? This paper is ultimately about the uses and effects of public spaces in wealthy developed-nation cities, specifically in Canada and Australia. The following section explores the major strains of thinking about such public spaces, with an emphasis on the social and economic ends invested in them. There are competing visions for how public spaces should be, some with more currency than other. Throughout, connections are made to streets and sidewalks, the most widespread public spaces (more on this immediately below).

The Evolution of Streets and Sidewalks as Public Spaces

"Streets," Mehta (2009) argues, "hold a special place in the literature on public space and are both literally and metaphorically the most fitting symbol of the public realm" (p. 29). The continuous, complex, intricate public exchanges of people on foot has been famously described as "sidewalk ballet" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 51). Whyte (1988) wrote that the street "is the river of life of the city, a place where we come together, the pathway to the centre. It is the primary place" (p. 7).

Accounting for most of the directly publically controlled land in any city, streets have been conflated with 'public space' and the idea of 'the public sphere,' and the hopes and intentions for revitalizing public space—recreational, commercial, social, or otherwise—are often invested in streets (Mehta, 2009). They play many roles at once in the city, as places to be outdoors in the light and air, to meet other people for pleasure or business, to watch and be seen, and to make a political statement (Jacobs, 1993; Macdonald, 2011).

Most streets, however, fall short of their potential. Since around the 1930s, when traffic engineers took over the design and management of streets from landscape architects, streets have become almost exclusively dedicated to vehicular traffic. Engineering standards impose a rigid, movement-oriented hierarchy on streets that tend to require generous provision of physical space and design priority for motorized vehicles, their movement, and the potential for future traffic volume growth (Macdonald, 2011; Hess & Milroy, 2006). Sidewalks are generally squeezed at the periphery of these streets if they are provided at all.

The sidewalk as a distinct portion of the street for foot traffic alone has ancient precursors but its direct ancestors are the footpaths of mid- to late-eighteenth century Paris and

London, protected from wheeled carts by curbs or posts. Sidewalk construction was common in European cities by the late nineteenth century, and the generous sidewalks built for social strolling along the new boulevards of Paris and other cities became known as the height of urbanity for that age (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

Figure 1: Sidewalk tailor in Toronto circa 1920. (Source: Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1938)

Sidewalk construction was very common by the late-nineteenth century in the United States, built either of planks or (like today) raised concrete. These early sidewalks were very busy and hosted many different and often conflicting uses, particularly in the downtown area (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009):

> Sidewalks extended the realm of the adjacent shops: shopkeepers displayed fruit and vegetables, deliveries and overstock were stored on the sidewalks, and bulky goods such as furniture fit poorly in small shops and could be more easily displayed outside. Street peddlers also made a living on the streets. Public orators could highlight the ravages of capitalism or preach salvation. Children

played around building stoops, and dandies strolled along with an eye on the life of the street. (p. 20-21)

Figure 2: "Muddy York" - Sidewalks elevate pedestrians above the muddy, rutted roadway in Toronto in 1912. (Source: City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 41). The City began a program of wooden sidewalk construction as soon as it was incorporated in the 1830s (Wencer, 2009).

From approximately the 1880s through to the middle of the twentieth century, American sidewalks were redefined and reconstructed as pedestrian thoroughfares to the exclusion of all other activities. Municipal regulations to clear sidewalks of obstructions, supported by municipal leaders, bureaucrats, and department stores, became more widespread and effectively enforced (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). The concurrent emphasis on motorized mobility inspired attempts to regulate pedestrian behaviour and movement—to restrict 'jaywalking' for example. Ultimately, this combination of changes removed not just retail overstock and street vendors from American sidewalks, but most pedestrians as well (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

Similar changes to streets and sidewalks took place in Canadian cities as emphasis shifted toward mobility and away from the historic complexity of multipurpose streets (Hess & Milroy, 2006). In downtowns Toronto and Montreal, pedestrians were given climate-controlled food courts and underground tunnels to remove conflicts with vehicles on the roads. Streets became difficult for pedestrians to navigate and the distances that people needed to travel everyday could not be made on foot (Greenberg, 2009).

Public Space & Publicness

But what is it about streets and sidewalks that makes them (at least in theory) 'public' spaces? "Most of us assume we know" what public space is, observes Kingwell (2009, p. 3), but it is often an unexamined assumption. This ambiguity allows the business and civic leadership of cities to wield the idea of public space "in an intuitive and taken-for-granted fashion" seeming "wholly untroubled by the nuances of the publicness of 'public' space, with" planning, marketing, and development documents "outlining ambitions to create 'high quality public spaces' and 'world class public realm'" (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010, p. 575).

Traditionally, public space is defined "in terms of the rules of access, the source and nature of control over entry to a space, individual and collective behavior sanctioned in specific spaces, and rules of use" (Smith & Low, 2006, p. 4). In this way, it is framed in contrast with private space, and generally thought to be the more open and accessible of the two. "In the collective unconscious" of North Americans, "public space is leftover space" and cannot escape the 'property model' in which all spaces are private or owned to a greater or lesser degree (Kingwell, 2009, p. 16), whether by the state or private interests.

In the academic literature, it is more common to conceptualize publicness as multidimensional and public spaces as diverse. Parkinson (2009), for example, argues there are three different ways that spaces can be public: "openly accessible space; space of common concern […], and space used for the performance of public roles" (p. 75). Importantly, this definition does not neatly overlap with the definition of public space as only those spaces owned by the state, as it does under the property model.

Empirical models of publicness tend to focus on Parkinson's (2009) first type of public space: (nominally) openly accessible spaces. Németh and Schmidt (2011), in an attempt to measure publicness, define it as the interaction of ownership, management, and the use or users of a space. Similarly, Vana and Tiesdell (2010) propose the Star Model of public space publicness using five dimensions, along which a space can be 'more public' or 'less public': ownership,

control, civility, physical configuration, and animation (see Figure 3 below). Each dimension is comprised of indicators that can be modified or weighted depending on the type of space(s) being evaluated.

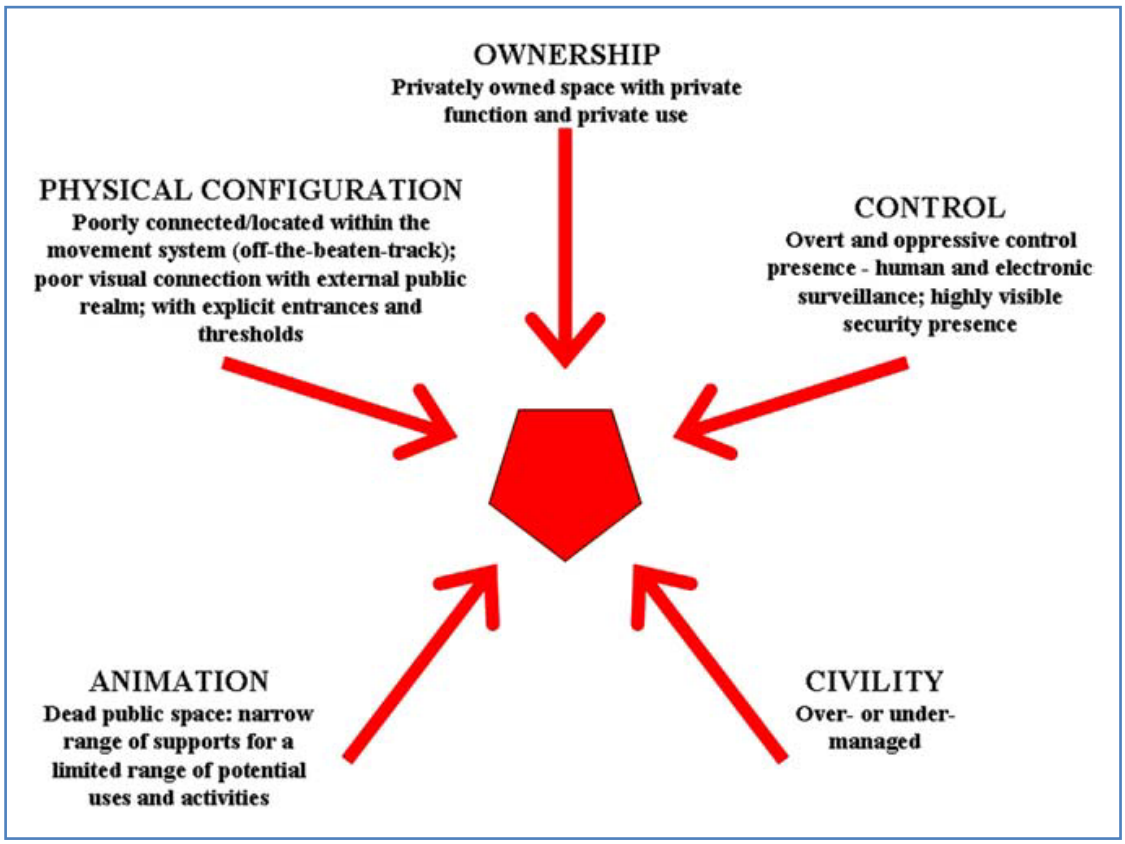

Figure 3: Characteristic attributes of 'less public' spaces using the Star Model. (Source: Vana & Tiesdell, 2010, p. 589)

Public Space & the Public Sphere

Smith and Low (2006) define public space more broadly as essentially "the geography of the public sphere" (p. 3), i.e. the spatiality of "the ideas, media, institutions, and practices that all contribute to the generation of something that we can call the public, publics or public opinion" (p.5). Complicating matters, neither the public sphere nor public spaces are purely public (or non-private). Restrictions are placed on activities in public spaces by the state and private actors, while access to the public sphere is often limited, for example, by the private media. Nevertheless, streets, parks, and squares number among the many forms of public space that are simultaneously generating and produced by the public sphere (Smith & Low, 2006).

The association between "the physicality of urban public space and the politics of the public sphere" is ancient and perhaps insolubly complicated, cautions Harvey (2006, p. 17), however, "we do not […] experience the city blankly, and much of what we do absorb from daily

life in the city […] surely has some kind of influence on how we are situated in the world and how we think and act politically within it" (p. 18). The stakes may be quite high, then, for the quality of our public spaces and, in turn, the public sphere.

There is an extensive "narrative of loss" (Crawford, 1995, p. 4) or "end of public space" (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, p. 148) literature that focuses on the role of public space as a site for the exercise of political rights. "As a normative ideal, city life provides public places and forums where anyone can speak and anyone can listen" (Young, 1990, p. 240). Some also worry about public spaces being rented out by the state to private interests, a commodification disparagingly called 'café creep' (Kohn, 2004). There is less and less room for the kind of ideal public sphere that Habermas envisages," observe Smith and Low (2006). One has to wonder, however, if such an ideal space has ever existed in a large modern city, or if it might even be possible.

Watson (2006) observes that Arendt, Habermas, and Young each emphasize the importance of public space in enabling people to be in the presence of difference, "either in debate or simply in a mutually productive proximity where each other's difference is recognized and acknowledged" (p. 13). As an alternative to the rarefied model of public space as a location for debate and deliberation with stranger, 'mutually productive proximity' may be a more pragmatic and useful ideal for urban public spaces. In Young's (1990) own words:

> Because by definition public space is a place accessible to anyone, where anyone can participate and witness, in entering the public one always risks encounters with those who are different, those who identify with different groups and have different opinions or different forms of life. The group diversity of the city is most often apparent in public paces. This helps account for their vitality and excitements. Cities provide important public spaces—streets, parks, and plazas—where people stand and sit together, interact and mingle, or simply witness one another, without becoming unified in a community of "shared final ends." (p. 240)

Interestingly, Wood and Gilbert (2005) take up this line of reasoning to explain the self-identification of Toronto as a 'multicultural' city, more or less unique among Canadian cities. They suggest that the robust, extensive public spaces of central Toronto—sidewalks, public transit, and parks, among others—"all render the diversity of these neighbourhoods constantly visible in a most ordinary, mundane way" (p. 687). Diverse neighbourhoods and encounters are practically inescapable with half of the city's population born outside Canada. "The workings of

the city have always ben about diversity whether it is officially recognized and appreciated. Hence, where the city 'works' is also where diversity 'works' and embeds itself into the psyche, actions, and hopes of residents" (p. 688).

Livability

The concept of livability, in roughly its current form, can be traced back at least as far as mid-twentieth century planning thought when scholars sought to define urban livability and design methods to achieve it. Attempts to define livability continue today (Godschalk, 2012). At its most broad, livability can be defined as "reflecting the wellbeing of a community and comprising the many characteristics that make a location a place where people want to live now and in the future" (Victorian Competition & Efficiency Commission, 2008, p. 7).

In practice, livability is recognized to vary according to personal preference, demographic characteristics, geography, and scale. For individuals, the most salient components of livability are often negative, such as traffic congestion (Victorian Competition & Efficiency Commission, 2008). The list of variables tied to livability is virtually endless, from sense of safety to cost of living to community sociality. Livability is also considered a critical prerequisite for sustainability, on the basis that "cities will not be truly sustainable unless they are considered as high-quality places where people want to live" (Kennedy & Buys, 2010, p. 3). The purported benefits of livability are divided between social and economic, addressed in the next two subsections below, beginning with the social benefits.

Open Streets and Third Places

One of the most prominent strains of thinking about livability outside the academic literature focuses on the untapped potential of public spaces to increase urban livability through social integration. Streets, in particular, are considered a great opportunity to get people outdoors and enjoying the company of others. Gil Penalosa, a former Commissioner of Parks in Bogotá, observes (Klayko, 2012):

> When we look at [cities] from the air, the biggest public places are the streets, so the biggest discussion, not only now, but ten years from now, is how are we going to use the streets? And by public space I mean the space that belongs to everybody—the young and the old, the rich and the poor. The streets belong to all, so how are we going to use them? How much space are we going to leave for coffee shops and cafes to have tables outside? How much space for pedestrians?

> How much for cyclists and public transit and cars? How we distribute this space is very important. (para 8)

In many ways, this line of thinking about public spaces is analogous to Oldenburg's (1999) work on 'third places' or gathering spaces that host informal public life. The "third realm of satisfaction and social cohesion beyond the portals of home and work […] is an essential element of the good life" (p. 9) and is a consistent feature of industrialized societies throughout time and around the world. Coffee houses, taverns, drug stores, and main streets have all filled the same need in any community for accessible, social places. "Without such places, the urban area fails to nourish the kinds of relationships and the diversity of human contact that are the essence of the city. Deprived of these settings, people remain lonely within their crowds" (p. xxviii). Jacobs (1961) made similar observations on her own New York City street, identifying the crucial role of public relationships—friendly but not intimate—in sustaining the essential social functions of urban neighbourhoods.

Similarly, the organization Project for Public Spaces [PPS] (n.d.a) is "dedicated to helping people create and sustain public spaces that build stronger communities […and] transform their public spaces into vital places that highlight local assets, spur rejuvenation and serve common needs." PPS has participated in hundreds of projects around the world, including the high-profile pedestrianization of Times Square in New York City. PPS is also associated with Danish architect Jan Gehl, who has played a leading role in the progressive pedestrianizations of the Danish capital, Copenhagen, (see page 17) over recent decades. He has popularized the philosophy that social activities can and should be encouraged in public spaces through careful design and public investment. The ultimate goal is to produce attractive, lively, and accessible public spaces that people enjoy spending time in (Gehl, 1986).

Gehl and Oldenburg both presume that people want to spend considerable amounts of leisure time in the presence of both friends and strangers and, interestingly, they cite shopping habits in support of their related arguments. Observing that people who work from home spend much more time shopping than people who commute to a place of employment every day, Gehl (1986) concludes that the former are seeking relief from isolation and the stimulation of human interaction by making many more small, inefficient shopping trips than necessary. Likewise, Oldenburg (1999) observes that Americans spend much more time shopping than Europeans, and concludes that Europeans have many more options for social leisure activities—third

places—than the shopping mall. Together, they make a seductive (if anecdotal) case for spaces that foster informal public life.

Economic Development

In many parts of the US, the concept of livability has been fused with the discourse of competitive city-regionalism, which has widely influenced economic development strategies and planning policies (McCann, 2007). Florida (2002) argues that regional economic growth depends on livability — "a life packed full of intense, high-quality, multidimensional experiences" (p. 166) — to attract the 'creative class' of people who produce new ideas, technologies, and media content. It seems fair to say that the concepts have fused in Ontario as well, because in 2008 the provincial government commissioned a report from the University of Toronto's Prosperity Institute, including Florida, to determine how to secure the province's global competitiveness and post-industrial prosperity (Martin & Florida, 2009).

Even economists unconvinced by Florida's thesis recognize that urban amenities, defined broadly, affect a city's attractiveness to employees and, in turn, employers. In a place where people generally want to live, employers can offer a lower average real wage (the wage after adjusting for cost of living) than in cities that are less desirable places to live (Avent, 2011). Urban amenities can include the weather, easy access to nature, active and exciting streetscapes, cultural activities, diverse culinary options, niche retail, and so on. New York City, for example, offers a wide variety of urban amenities, so employers offer a lower real wage to employees than in Houston, which is uncomfortably hot and humid in the summer, and offers a less expansive variety of urban amenities (Avent, 2011). This is essentially the same phenomenon that *The Economist* attempts to measure with its annual livability rankings, which many corporations use to determine "hardship allowances" for relocated employees (Barnes, 2011).

"Reconquered" Cities

At the intersection, so to speak, of public spaces and livability is the recent trend, in some cities, of reclaiming streets from motorized traffic, as has been pioneered in the Danish capital Copenhagen. In the 1950s, its narrow downtown streets were clogged with automobile traffic and its public squares by and large served as parking lots. The city had a reputation as unremarkably dull—hardly in the same league as larger European capitals (Turner, 2008).

Two days out of the year, at Christmas, Copenhagen would close its main street, The Strøget, to motorized vehicles. In November 1962, they built on this tradition and made the closure permanent year-round (Turner, 2008). Critics, who warned that businesses would fail and

that Danes would never adopt a 'Mediterranean' culture of public space in such a cold climate, were proven spectacularly wrong. The pedestrianized Strøget was a resounding success. Very quickly, it filled to capacity on summer days, carrying about 55,000 pedestrians, a number that has held steady in the following decades. Even on winter days The Strøget is ordinarily about 50% full (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999).

Over the following decades, Copenhagen incrementally pedestrianized additional stretches of street in the city centre and banished cars from the public squares, one by one (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999). It also slowly reduced the supply of public parking in the city centre by 2-3% per year (Makovsky, 2002). As the number of drivers declined, the number of cyclists and pedestrians more than made up the difference (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999). A long-term plan to physically upgrade these new public spaces was initiated, and urban design regulations were established to enhance the relationship between buildings and public space. By 1996, nearly 100,000 square metres of pedestrian streets and car-free squares had been slowly implemented in the city centre (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999), and a new urban culture focused on outdoor public spaces took hold (Turner, 2008).

Figure 4: The Strøget, Copenhagen, in June 2005. (Source: Flickr user PDXdj under a Creative Commons license. http://www.flickr.com/photos/pdxdj/21173204)

A critical component of this progress was the empirical evaluation, over time, of Copenhagen's public spaces and the activities in them (Makovsky, 2002). The data collected in Copenhagen has been useful for demonstrating the success of its pedestrianization and, perhaps most importantly, in improving how urban planning and design interventions are formulated. Professor Lars Gemzøe, one of the leaders of this data collection initiative, observes, "All the problems of vehicle traffic are well known and you'd never dream of changing anything in the public space without knowing how it conflicts with that," but, traditionally, there hasn't been enough information about people travelling on foot (cited in Turner, 2008, para 19).

In addition to basic information such as the area of pedestrianized spaces and the number of pedestrians passing through them, Copenhagen has been collecting data about "public life" or the activities that occur within public spaces. Particularly important is information about how people spend time in outdoor public spaces. For example, for approximately every 14 square metres of car-free space the city has created, one additional person has been attracted to engage in optional outdoor activities on an average summer afternoon (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999). In 1995, this meant nearly 6,000 people were enjoying Copenhagen's outdoor public spaces each afternoon (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999). Thanks to these efforts, Copenhagen also knows the number and location of café seats and other surfaces suitable for sitting, as well as the kinds of activities that keep people in outdoor public spaces across the city centre (see Figure 1, below).

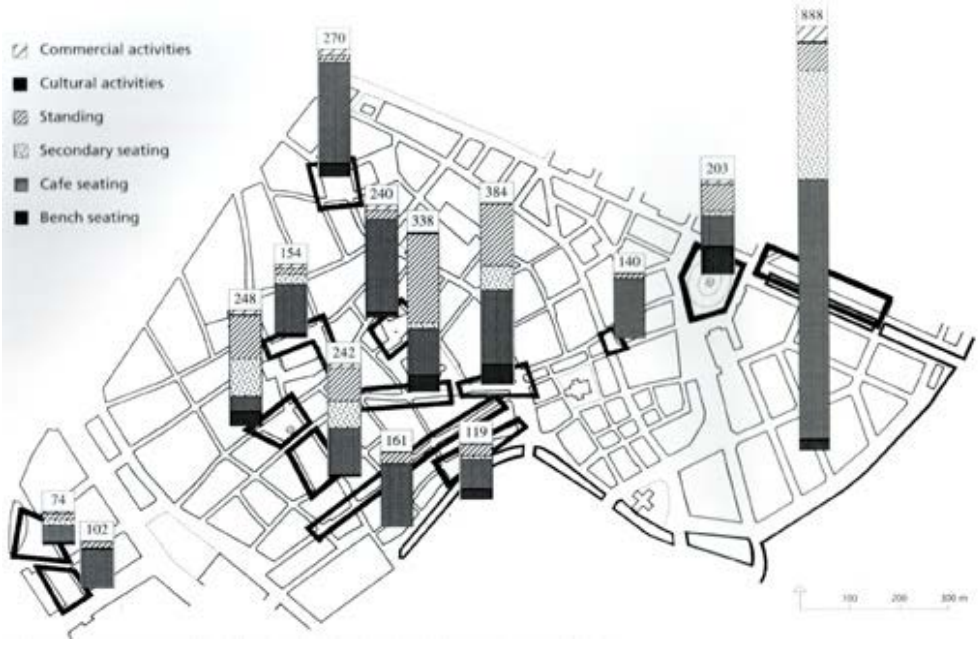

Figure 5: Average amount of stationary activites on a summer weekday between noon and 4 PM. (Source: Gehl & Gemzøe, 1999, p. 62)

As mentioned previously (page 15), Gehl has played an important role in both the physical transformation of central Copenhagen and, through his books, consulting work, and public speaking engagements, in transmitting knowledge to cities around the world of how and why it happened (Turner, 2008). Among the earliest cities to seek Gehl's assistance in replicating Copenhagen's successful reclamation from the car was Melbourne, where Gehl had been a university instructor for some time in the 1970s (see page 26). He has also brought the methods of 'public life studies' to cities including London, Sydney, and perhaps most notably, New York City, where his work (in partnership with Project for Public Spaces) led to the iconic pedestrianization of Broadway and Times Square.

Summary of Key Concepts

The widespread trend toward the emphasis on movement, particularly motorized movement, through public spaces has affected almost every large, wealthy city for decades. Alternative ideas about how public spaces should be shaped and used, and what benefits they can provide, have challenged and even undone the car-oriented reconfigurations of a few inner cities. Of particular significance is the confluence of alternative ideas about public spaces in cities like Copenhagen, where streets have been re-cast as places for staying instead of places for moving. Streets in the city centre of Copenhagen are expected to produce greater social benefits by bringing people near one anther in public and creating greater opportunities for pleasurable experiences. Meanwhile, the increase in livability resulting from expanded and improved public spaces is expected to deliver greater economic returns in the globalized economy. The far-ranging interest in these ideas, exemplified by the global work of Jan Gehl and organizations like PPS, indicate that, altogether, these ideas are a powerful challenge to the old way of thinking about public spaces.

3b. Case Study: Melbourne

The purpose of this case study is to answer the research questions:

1. Is Melbourne actually comparable to Toronto? This matters because the more unlike Toronto a city is, the more difficult it is to import lessons without significant limitations or modifications.

The sections on 'background' (page 21), 'governance and planning' (page 21), and 'recent history, politics, and economy' (page 23) primarily contribute to answering the first question.

2. What has Melbourne's "renaissance" consisted of, with particular focus on actions that planners and other urbanists in Toronto could learn from? What have they invested in? What rules, regulations, and policies have been changed? What did they study and what did they conclude? And, to the degree that it is possible to determine, what impact did these investments and interventions have?

The sections on 'reports, documents, and planning initiatives' (page 26) and 'investments and interventions' (page 28) primarily contribute to answering the second question.

Background

Melbourne is the capital of the Australian state of Victoria. The city centre is on the north bank of the Yarra River just inland of where it empties into Port Phillip Bay, around which much of the urban area stretches. There are few significant physical barriers to outward growth. The Melbourne urban area, home to about 70% of Victorians and 17% of Australians, is by far the largest in the state. Immigration is an important component of the Melbourne area's population growth, as 36% of people were born outside Australia. For additional information and data sources, see Appendix A: Key Statistics Comparing Melbourne and Toronto.

Local governments in Victoria are generally responsible for "child care, cultural institutions, parks and gardens, pet registration and vermin, rubbish and garbage disposal, health and social work, town halls, building control, city planning, heritage and traffic" (Dunstan, 2010). Urban local governments rely on property taxes for up to 60% of their funding; across Victoria, 22% of local government funding comes from other governments in the form of grants (Department of Planning and Community Development [DPCP], 2010a).

Governance and planning

In Australia, local government is not constitutionally mandated, so each state government is responsible for the legislation and institutions of local governments within their own territory. The earliest Melbourne Town Council was created by an act of the Victorian parliament in 1842 (Dunstan, 2010), and today the Department of Planning and Community Development oversees all 'Local Government Authorities' (LGAs), including cities, primarily through the mechanisms of the Victorian Local Government Act 1989. The City of Melbourne is also regulated by the City of Melbourne Act 2001, which is intended to improve coordination between the local and state governments on matters relating to the City's role as state capital, and also provides for the direct election of the Lord Mayor and Deputy Lord Mayor of the City

(DPCD, 2010c). The Minister for Local Government administers these acts and is primarily responsible for local government issues in the state government (DPCD, 2010d).

In 1994, the Victorian government began significant reforms of the LGAs, dismissing 1600 elected representatives, redrawing boundaries to reduce the number of LGAs from 210 to 79, appointing commissioners to temporarily operate the new LGAs, imposing a 20% cut on property tax rates, and requiring that half of all services be opened to competitive bidding by the private sector. Local elections were reinstated in 1996 (Millar & Dowling, 2004). Melbourne City Council was again dismissed in 2000 preceding the implementation of the new City of Melbourne Act 2001 (Dunstan, 2010). Coupled with the continued fragmentation of governance in the Melbourne urban area—there are 31 Melbourne LGAs, of which the City of Melbourne is only one (Department of Sustainability and Environment, 2005)—these reforms have, by design, greatly constrained the autonomy of LGAs in Victoria (Dunstan, 2010). "When elections were held in 1996, councillors were told to keep out of day-to-day council affairs, especially planning. Do the steering, not the rowing, was the dictate" (Millar & Dowling, 2004).

Figure 6: Council structure in Victoria. The City of Melbourne, unique among Victorian LGAs, has a directly elected Lord Mayor and Deputy Lord Mayor who serve for a full term along with the elected Council. (Source: Department of Community Planning and Development, 2010b).

The Victorian government ultimately controls urban planning, like all aspects of local governance. Metropolitan planning of the Melbourne urban area was delegated to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works in the third quarter of the 20th century as the

population grew rapidly. Beginning in the 1980s, planning was reoriented by the state government as a tool to facilitate economic development. At the same time as LGAs were restructured in the 1990s, local planning powers were diminished and metropolitan-scale planning was subsumed into Victoria's state-level planning processes (Freestone, 2010).

Land use and development is regulated through each LGA's 'planning scheme.' The principal components of a planning scheme are the State Planning Policy Framework, which will be identical in each LGA's planning scheme, as well as the Local Planning Policy Framework and the zone and overlay provisions. The latter component describes in detail how each parcel of land may be used as of right along with additional requirements for conditional uses (DCPD, 2010e).

Recent history, politics, and economy

European settlement of Melbourne began in the 1830s. The wide street grid of central Melbourne was quickly laid out on the north shore of the Yarra River at its navigable limit, marked by a small waterfall. Large parcels in the grid were speculatively purchased by investors from Sydney, who then subdivided and resold the smaller parcels at a profit; this process created the fine-grained urban fabric of laneways that, along with the grid, have persisted remarkably intact to the present day (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005).

Melbourne expanded rapidly during the gold rush of the 1850s and growth was sustained in the latter half of the century by massive British investment in wool, manufacturing, and finance. The city of this era is known as 'Marvellous Melbourne' for its concentration of wealth and prosperity expressed through public works and grand contemporary (Victorian) architecture. It was the largest Australian city at the time of independence and was the site of the national parliament until it moved to Canberra in 1927 (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005).

Following the Second World War, Melbourne participated in the trend of decentralization and suburbanization. People and jobs moved from the central city to low-density, automobile-oriented suburbs surrounding Melbourne. From the 1970s, Melbourne found itself at an economic disadvantage nationally and globally as deindustrialization and globalization hobbled its traditional sources of wealth and refocused global interest on Sydney, which is more conveniently connected by international air traffic to the global economy. Melbourne is now commonly understood to be Australia's 'second city' (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005).

In their own popular history, Melbournians credit European immigrants with enlivening the public life of the formerly dour, Protestant city. One of the key early moments in this transformation was in 1958, when the homesick French wife of a local hotel manager convinced him to put tables and chairs out on the sidewalk under multi-coloured umbrellas, creating the so-called 'Paris End of Collins Street' (Davison, 2001). The Mirka Café, opened by Jewish refugees from France, became a legendary hub for local artists and bohemian culture (Whitelaw, 2010).

In reality, the causes of Melbourne's gradual social liberalization were certainly more complicated. Most European immigrants to Australia were from the countryside, not the urbane cities. Often overlooked, too, are the increasingly large numbers of Australian tourists visiting Europe in the years after the Second World War (Davison, 2001). By way of illustration, the first espresso machine in Melbourne was introduced by a local teenager who had lived in London for some time in the 1950s after finishing school. Taken with the new fad of espresso cafés in London, he convinced his father to back him in securing the Australian distribution rights for the Gaggia brand of espresso machine, and together they opened a showcase café in Melbourne. The café and the distribution business were very successful, and by 1957 they had imported over 400 espresso machines (Frost, Laing, Wheeler, & Reeves, 2010).

The collapse ofthe early 1970s property boom left many 'temporary' parking lots on aborted construction projects in Melbourne's city centre. In the recession that followed, deindustrialization began to be felt and a large number of working-class jobs left the manufacturing districts around the city centre. At the same time, retail in the city centre declined dramatically as department stores relocated to shopping malls opening in the suburbs. These job losses, in turn, hurt inner urban neighbourhoods, including the city centre (O'Hanlon, 2009). These trends only accelerated in the 1980s as the Australian economy was deregulated (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005).

Successive Victorian governments, beginning in 1982, attempted to reorient the economy of Melbourne away from declining industries and toward tourism, leisure, and spectacle. Melbourne was already recognized as the leading Australian city for sporting events and the arts, and the state government spent a considerable amount to cement this position (O'Hanlon, 2009). During this decade, the city centre was recast from a 'Central Business District' to a 'Central Activities District' [CAD] (Adams & Rayment, 2006). Notably, the Melbourne Cricket Ground stadium on the east side of the city centre was completely rebuilt beside a new permanent home for the Australian Open, whose facilities can double as entertainment venues.

Redevelopment of the south bank of the Yarra River adjacent to the city centre as an arts and culture district was sped up in the 1980s as factories there closed. Various arts festivals were organized to promote Melbourne's local arts and culture and, above all else, attract tourists (O'Hanlon, 2009).

One of the aims of the new, ambitious conservative state government elected in 1992 was to reshape the city centre of Melbourne into a spectacular post-industrial capital city and, by extension, increase economic growth by attracting "footloose capital and tourism" (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005, p. 40). A great deal of public investment was directed toward physical infrastructure in and around the city centre, including a new toll freeway bridge to the west, a casino to the south, a new public square covering a portion of the riverside rail yards (see page 29), as well as various investments to increase the design quality and activity level of the city centre itself (Freestone, 2010). Many of these projects were driven by the report *Agenda 21: Major Civic Projects for Melbourne*, released only six months after 1992 election (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005). The large semi-public Docklands redevelopment to the east was also facilitated by the state government at this time (Freestone, 2010). These investments have been criticized for lacking sensitivity to local needs and desires, as their planning and implementation coincided with the state-wide suspension of local democracy (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005).

Even the best plans can be pushed unexpectedly aside. Melbourne's city centre revitalization was occasionally distracted by 'landmark envy.' While Sydney projects a single unified image of the harbour, Opera House, and bridge, Melbourne's character is "an acquired taste that resists conflation into iconic imagery" (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005, p. 32). In the 1990s, for example, civic attention was captured by a controversial proposal for a 600-metre tower on the docklands adjacent to the city centre. It would have been the tallest building in the world, and for a time it was feared that it would be built despite very poor urban design at the base, breaking the height limit twenty times over, and the opposition of a specially-convened advisory panel (Dovey & Sandercock, 2002). The blueprints were eventually transplanted to Dubai for the Burj Khalifa (Robinson, 2003).

Today, Melbourne's city centre is radically different from the 'doughnut hole' it was in the 1970s (Turner, 2008). Measures of public life, such as the amounts of pedestrian traffic and staying activities, rose dramatically between 1994 and 2004 (City of Melbourne, 2005). The network of accessible lanes, arcades, and alleys grew from 300 metres to 3,400 metres over the same period (City of Melbourne, 2005). Residents of Melbourne are apparently quite pleased

with the changes; when the city's lord mayor proposed to return cars to the pedestrianized main street, 70% opposed him (Hume, 2010). In the late 2000s, while overall tourist visits to Australia stagnated, the number of visitors to Melbourne continued to grow, attributed to the city's reputation for having 'things to do' compared to Sydney's 'things to see' (Frost, Laing, Wheeler, & Reeves, 2010). Reversing the general trend of the 20th century, Sydney is increasingly insecure in its rivalry with Melbourne (Farrelley, 2006; Dow, 2007).

Reports, documents, and planning initiatives

a. Strategy Plan, City of Melbourne, 1985

The *Strategy Plan* was the first comprehensive review of built form controls in the city centre since the 1960s. It undid many of the regulatory changes that were perceived to be mistakes from the immediate post-war era, particularly the use of plot ratios to control development which produced a built form characterized by large plazas and set-backs (City of Melbourne, 2011). The term "Central Activities District" also originates in the *Strategy Plan*, and to that end it proposed a dramatic re-population of the area within 15 years (Adams & Rayment, 2006). The re-thinking of development and purpose for the city centre had been credited with forming "the foundation for the subsequent two [now three] decades of the city's urban renewal" (City of Melbourne, 2004, p. 4).

The *Strategy Plan* established the following built form objectives for the CAD (as cited in City of Melbourne, 2011, p. 49):

- Protection from overshadowing by, and visual intrusion of buildings into the major landscape elements of the City, mainly its boulevards, waterways, parks and gardens
- Maintenance of high quality pedestrian or public domain in those areas of high pedestrian activity
- Retention of the visual dominance of the central activities district
- Retention of the visual prominence and context of important public buildings such as Parliament, within their surrounding areas
- The reinforcement of the historic built form, of high density low rise development defining the street walls within the central activities district

The *Strategy Plan* proposed a new system of envelope and setback controls to ensure that new buildings related well to the street and did not block sunlight from reaching the ground level. The new controls would permit a 30-metre street wall on most sites, because the streets are 30 metres wide, above which point there would need to be successive setbacks to let

sunlight in. This was considered a superior, more sensitive solution than simply reinstating the historical 40-metre height limit across the CAD (City of Melbourne, 2011).

b. Grids and Greenery, City of Melbourne, 1987

Grids and Greenery was developed in direct response to the 1985 Strategy Plan, and was the City of Melbourne's "first documented strategic direction [focused specifically on] urban design" (City of Melbourne, 2004, p. 4). It articulated generic urban design principles and described city form in local terms that Melbournians could identify with, showing how the interaction of simple elements create distinctive places (City of Melbourne, 2006). It demonstrated how, "in a context of continuous change, the enduring image and identity of Melbourne is fixed in stable natural and constructed patterns" (Adams & Rayment, 2006, p. 117).

c. Postcode 3000, City of Melbourne, 1992

This program, supported by Victoria's Department of Planning and Development, was designed to take advantage of extensive commercial and retail vacancies in the CAD to quickly and relatively affordably boost its residential population. The program was a coordinated campaign to improve the perception and reality of city-centre attractiveness to prospective residents and developers (Baird, 1994). Among its tools were financial incentives, regulatory changes, and technical advice for developers new to the conversion of older commercial buildings into residential dwellings. Also under the umbrella of *Postcode 3000*, the City invested in streetscape improvements and commercial promotion of the CAD. Altogether, it has been argued that this program and the ensuing population growth was the most significant factor in the city centre's revitalization (Adams & Rayment, 2006). From 736 dwellings in 1992, the city centre swelled to 6,692 private residential apartments in 2002, with an additional 2,929 other dwellings such as student accommodations (City of Melbourne, 2005).

d. Places for People, City of Melbourne, 1994 & 2004

This pair of planning studies measured activity in public spaces along with the quality of the built environment and related infrastructure across the entire city centre of Melbourne. Of particular interest were 'social' activities like sitting, watching, and conversing, which are taken as indicators of the quality of public spaces, i.e. spaces that are "inviting, comfortable, accessible, equitable, safe, secure and meaningful" (Rayment, 2005).

This kind of study had previously only been applied, at the scale of an entire city centre, to Copenhagen (Rayment, 2005). A key player from that city's experience, architect Jan Gehl, was invited to Melbourne in 1993 to partner with the City of Melbourne on the first *Places for People*

study. Complementing the raw data, the report included analysis and a set of recommendations for improving the quality and quantity of activity in the city centre's streets and public spaces (City of Melbourne, 2005).

By repeating the study after a decade and comparing the results, the City was able to evaluate which interventions and investments had been more or less effective (Rayment, 2005). The data collected for the second *Places for People* study in 2004 showed how dramatically the city centre had improved in only a short time. The residential population was more than nine times larger, the length of active laneways, arcades, and alleys increased from 300 metres to 3.4 kilometres, the number of outdoor café seats nearly tripled, and the amount of pedestrian traffic after regular business hours on weeknights increased 98% (City of Melbourne, 2005). Over two decades of sidewalk widening and road closures, 35 hectares of road space was reclaimed for pedestrians (Dow, 2007).

Investments and interventions

This section will not go on in detail about every single change to the centre of Melbourne since 1985. Investments and interventions have been divided into four general categories, which are illustrated with concrete examples.

Improved streets for public life

Swanston Street, Melbourne's main street, was closed to private vehicles during the day in 1992. Taxis, bicycles, and trams continue to use the street (see Figure 6). Over time, the City widened the sidewalks, planted new trees, encouraged micro-scale retail initiatives like sidewalk vendors, and approved a number of sidewalk cafés (Adams & Rayment, 2006). The closure faced strong opposition and was slow to prove itself, but within a decade, pedestrian users doubled on weekdays and grew by an even greater proportion outside traditional business hours (Adams & Rayment, 2006; City of Melbourne, 2005). Some commentators remain critical of the so-called "derros [homeless people] and the el-cheapo shops" (Hudson, 2005). Nonetheless, when the lord mayor recently proposed opening Swanston Street to private vehicles during the day, opposition was so strong (Hume, 2010), that the City instead initiated a program to further upgrade the pedestrian realm of Swanston Street and extend the closure to private vehicles around the clock (City of Melbourne, 2010).

Figure 7: Swanston Street, Melbourne, May 2009. (Source: Flickr user Scott Davies under a Creative Commons license. http://www.flickr.com/photos/scottdavies/3605837034)

Old planning legislation from the 1970s that would have widened all city-centre streets by 10 metres was revoked (Adams & Rayment, 2006). The City also amended Melbourne's Planning Scheme to add a requirement "to build up to street frontages to reinforce the 'street wall' of central Melbourne" (p. 120). Combined with an 'active frontages policy' that mandates a rhythm of narrow vertical facades with 75% permeable frontage through doors and windows, as well as protecting sun exposure with podium set-backs above 40 metres (Adams & Rayment, 2006), the urban stage is set for public life with the basic foundations of attractive, comfortable urban design for pedestrians.

New and renewed public squares and parks

- *Federation Square* is located at the southeast corner of Swanston Street and St Kilda Road, Melbourne's key civic intersection and symbolic 'front door' for being just north of a main bridge over the Yarra River. It was built partly on the site of former, unloved office towers from the 1960s and partly bridging the railway yards that separate the city centre from the river (Dovey & Woodcock, 2005).
- *City Square* was redeveloped to fulfil the community's desire for a more park-like setting in the city centre. The urban edges fronting the park are interesting and active, and

activities within the park like outdoor dining are supported by movable furniture. The entire space sits on top of a buried parking structure (City of Melbourne, 2005). City Square was the chosen Melbourne location for the recent 'Occupy' protests (Levy & Preiss, 2011).

- *Birrarung Marr* is a new riverside park between the railway and the water, located immediately upstream of Federation Square (Adams & Rayment, 2006). It also provides a green connection along the river from the city centre to the sports precinct anchored by the arena that hosts the Australian Open. Due to its large size and near isolation from the city by the rail yards, Birrarung Marr depends on large events to activate its space (Raxworthy, 2003).

Revitalised lanes

The laneways, a legacy of 19th century subdivision of the city centre's wide grid (Dovey & Sandercock, 2005), were almost entirely reserved for servicing until the mid-1990s; in 1994, only 300 metres were activated with public life (City of Melbourne, 2005). Since then, they have grown over ten times more extensive and are one of the iconic features of Melbourne. In contrast with the city centre's highly legible grid, says Mike Scott, who was appointed Melbourne's first urban designer in the 1980s, "it has another layer to it - a fine grain of paths and pedestrian movements, an unplanned rabbit warren to get lost and find yourself in" (cited in Jellie, 2011).

There is a surprising dearth of accessible information about how Melbourne reactivated its laneways and other small spaces in the city centre, especially in light of how much positive attention they receive in the local and international press. Travel writers are enchanted by the activity and diversity of the laneways (for example: Jellie, 2011; Kerr, 2011), and cities from Sydney to Toronto (Lorinc, 2012) are considering ways to emulate Melbourne's laneway improvements.

This is perhaps not as much of a problem as it seems. As Adams (cited in Turner, 2008) argues:

> "The challenge is to get people to realize you just can't pick up one model and transport it to another city. You can pick up the principle that we're going to make the city more livable. But for instance Sydney is getting hung up on the lane culture we've got in Melbourne. Unfortunately, they don't have the lanes

we've got, and they're not going to generate them overnight. So they've got to find their own particular character." (para. 29)

Placemaking and art

Hill (2009) argues an underappreciated aspect of Melbourne's revitalization since the 1980s can be credited to the work of Ian Dryden, Melbourne's lead industrial engineer, and his team. Much of the street furniture and infrastructure has been designed in-house, from the most prosaic items including litter receptacles and street lamps to more unconventional objects of civic attention like flower stalls and newspaper kiosks (Wilson, 2009). The high quality of these pervasive items is "the layer of everyday that helps glue the city together" (Hill, 2009, para. 7). Melbourne also has a long-term policy of re-paving sidewalks throughout the city centre with a local material known as 'bluestone' to create visual consistency and legibility of place (Trudgeon, 2009).

Although graffiti is illegal in Melbourne, it is encouraged in 'high-tolerance' zones, many of which are in the laneways (Kerr, 2011).

3c. Toronto's Context

Background

Toronto is the capital of the Canadian province of Ontario. The city centre is on Toronto Harbour, sheltered from Lake Ontario by the Toronto Islands. The urban area primarily stretches east and west along the shore of Lake Ontario, as well as north along Yonge Street. There are few significant physical barriers to outward growth. The Toronto urban area is the largest in Canada, home to about 42% of Ontarians and 16% of Canadians. Immigration is an important component of the Toronto area's population growth, as 47% of people were born outside Canada. For additional information and data sources, see Appendix A: Key Statistics Comparing Melbourne and Toronto.

Governance and planning

In Canada, local government is not directly constitutionally mandated, so each province is responsible for the legislation and institutions of local government within their own territory (Doumani & Foran, 2010). Toronto was first granted the power, by the province, to elect a council and mayor in 1834 (Benn, 2006). Today, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing oversees all municipalities, including cities, primarily through the mechanisms of the Municipal Act, 2001. In addition, the City of Toronto is regulated by the City of Toronto Act, 2006, which grants it increased powers of taxation and the option of a modified council governance structure that

invests greater power in the mayor. Some provincial responsibilities for urban governance and planning lie with other ministries; for example, the Ministry of Infrastructure shares some responsibilities for the Growth Plan for the Toronto region, while the Ministry of Transportation oversees regional public transit.

Land use planning by Ontario municipalities is governed by the Planning Act, The province has established a top-down approach to planning since the mid-twentieth century, and has been exceptionally active in regional planning over the past decade. There is a hierarchy of planning documents in Ontario that the province uses to set the parameters for local land use planning. All local planning must be consistent with provincial policies and plans; the province reserves the right to amend non-conforming local plans. Local planning decisions can be appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board, a body that oversees many municipal actions and can overturn or modify non-conforming local plans (Doumani & Foran, 2010).

Local governments in Ontario are generally responsible for providing services that include local roads, police and fire, waste disposal, land-use planning, water and sewer, public transit, and recreation, as well as some health and social services (Government of Ontario, 2009). The City of Toronto relies on property taxes for 39% of its operating budget and an additional 22% comes from other governments—overwhelmingly the province—in the form of grants (City of Toronto, 2012b).

In 1995, the Ontario government began significant reforms to municipalities, redrawing boundaries to reduce the number of municipalities, appointing commissioners to restructure and often temporarily operate the new municipalities, reforming the property tax assessment system, reducing the number of elected officials, and consolidating service delivery and realigning municipal-provincial responsibilities (Sewell, 2009).

In 1998, the City of Toronto was amalgamated with its regional government, Metropolitan Toronto, and its immediate inner-suburban neighbours: Etobicoke, York, North York, East York, and Scarborough (Sewell, 2009). The amalgamated Toronto, pejoratively called “the megacity” for a time, was styled The City of Toronto, and its primary government functions—City Council, for example—occupied the former City’s iconic modernist city hall downtown. It caused tremendous dysfunction as staff was reorganized, services were harmonized, and functions were standardized. Urban governance was disrupted for several years (it is arguably ongoing) as structures for management, service delivery, and so on were re-

established. The loss of institutional memory was a significant challenge due to staff reductions (Hess & Milroy, 2006).

The City of Toronto now accounts for slightly less than half of the regional population. The most recent provincial government has taken a comparatively cautious, respectful approach to managing the municipalities. It acceded to the City's request for additional powers of taxation and governance in 2006. It has also been 'uploading' social services and investing in rapid transit.

The Ontario government ultimately controls urban planning, like all aspects of local governance. Regional planning of the Toronto urban area was quite strong in the years following the Second World War due in large part to the establishment of Metropolitan Toronto to control suburban growth with planning and infrastructure (Sewell, 2009). As suburban growth spread beyond the borders of Metropolitan Toronto, the provincial government established 'mini-Metros' or upper-tier Regions to manage growth on each of the three sides of Toronto that presented no physical barriers to growth. Growth in the Regions was facilitated by provincial investments in highways, water, and other infrastructure (Sewell, 2009).

Since 2003, regional-scale planning has been brought under the umbrella of Ontario's provincial planning processes, which now limits the extent of suburban growth with a green belt, closely manages the content of municipal official plans, and controls regional infrastructure investments.

Land use and development is regulated through each municipality's 'official plan.' All official plans must be approved by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, and to receive approval they must be consistent with the principles of the Provincial Policy Statement on planning, as well as provincial projections for population and employment growth. Each local official plan informs the zoning by-laws that describe in detail how each parcel of land may be used as of right.

Recent history, politics, and economy

Toronto was founded as the Town of York in 1793 on what was, at the time, the Upper Canadian frontier, and grew very slowly in the following years as the centre of provincial government and little else (Benn, 2006). It only became Upper Canada's largest town in the 1830s, at which point it was incorporated as the City of Toronto and permitted by the province to elect a city council and mayor. In the 1850s, Toronto became the province's main railway hub, and later in the 19th century developed into a centre of industry and manufacturing. The city grew rapidly in the first decades of the 20th century (Benn, 2006). Toronto was Canada's second

city for many decades, and only eclipsed Montreal as Canada's largest city and most important centre for business in the 1970s when political and cultural changes in Montreal made that city suddenly unattractive to national head offices and the associated Anglophone elite (Polèse & Shearmur, 2004).

Following the Second World War, Toronto participated in the trend of decentralization and suburbanization. People and jobs moved from the central city to low-density, automobile-oriented suburbs surrounding Toronto. From approximately the 1980s onward, the inner city deindustrialized and banks and financial services increasingly dominated the Central Business District.

Arguably the most distinctive social feature of Toronto today is its ethno-cultural diversity. The dubious claim that Toronto is the world's "most multicultural" city is widespread. What can accurately be said of the City and region is that tens of thousands of international immigrants do choose to move there every year, and they come from diverse origins; about half the residents of the City were born outside Canada, and no ethno-cultural group represents a majority—although the bureaucratically constructed "not a visible minority" category made up a slim majority in the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2007). In their own popular history, Torontonians credit European immigrants with enlivening the public life of "Toronto the Good," a dour, Protestant city. City by-laws did not even permit outdoor dining until 1985 (Saunders, 2006)

In 1972 a 'reform' city council was elected on a loose platform of opposing inner city expressways and urban renewal, and supporting local participation in planning. A temporary height limit of 45 feet was put in place while the philosophy and mechanics of downtown development and zoning were rethought. Downtown development was eventually re-oriented toward mixed residential and employment uses, and activity at grade (Sewell, 1993).

Industrial areas to the immediate east and west of the central business district declined rapidly through the 1980s, so in 1996 the City released most zoning use restrictions on those areas while maintaining standards for the built form, attracting residential and commercial growth (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, n.d.). One-third of recent residential growth has been concentrated in the downtown (City of Toronto, 2011a). Today, one third of all jobs in the City of Toronto are located downtown. Between 2005 and 2010, while the rest of Toronto lost 9,500, downtown gained 45,600 jobs, made visible in the new office towers (City of Toronto,

2011b). Employers are reported moving back to the downtown from suburban locations to attract and retain the young professionals they employ (Pigg, 2011).

4. Findings

4a. Comparability

Melbourne and Toronto are highly comparable, as cities and city-regions go, but needless to say the match is not perfect.

	Similarities	Differences
Local history	• Established by British during Victorian era • Rapid post-war suburban growth • Increasingly socio-culturally diverse population	• Earlier (19th gold rush) boom in Melbourne • Earlier deindustrialization in Melbourne
Structure of urban governance	• Province/State ultimately controls all aspects of local government • Dramatic restructuring of local government in the 1990s	• City of Toronto is much larger in both absolute terms and relative to its urban area • Victoria operates regional public transit system
Character of urban politics	• Insecure about place in national/international hierarchy of cities • Proud to be less 'dull' than in the past • Approximately same timeframe for implementation of neoliberal urban governance	• The Melbourne urban area accounts for a large majority of Victoria's population • City of Toronto represents large areas of 'inner suburb' • Toronto's downtown covers a larger & more diverse area than Melbourne's city centre (see Figure 7 below)
Recent economic trends	• General post-industrial prosperity in resource-based national economies • Emphasis on services, tourism, and "creative" work in city centre • Population growth in city centre	• Toronto has a strong and growing banking and financial services sector located in the central city • Toronto is Canada's primary city-region, while Melbourne lags somewhat behind Sydney
Local practice of urban planning	• Province/State sets many limits on scope and direction of planning • Hierarchy of planning policies beginning with Province/State (Provincial Policy Statement & State Planning Policy Framework) • Province/State has ministry responsible for urban affairs • City has department responsible for planning that gives advice to local council	• Some aspects of planning are administered by different Ontario ministries, e.g. the regional plan resides with the Ministry of Infrastructure • Victoria takes a greater interest in symbolic "capital city"

Figure 8: Melbourne's city centre, outlined in yellow, is overlaid on downtown Toronto, outlined in red. These are the formal boundaries as defined by their respective local governments. Melbourne's city centre is positioned to match the Yarra River with Toronto's rail corridor. As you can see, Melbourne's city centre is much smaller.

Figure 9: Excluding established residential neighbourhoods and the rapidly intensifying central waterfront, Toronto's inner downtown is approximately as densely populated as Melbourne's inner city, at about 70 residents per hectare. The most recent statistics available for both cities are from 2006, although media reports from Melbourne and new census data from Toronto suggest that both have experienced rapid central growth in the intervening years. "Inner downtown" is defined as census tracts (in blue, above) near the financial core making up approximately the same area as Melbourne's inner city (in yellow). See Appendix A, page 43, for additional details.

The greatest differences between Melbourne and Toronto are due to population and political boundaries. Melbourne's city centre is a large proportion of the City of Melbourne, which itself is only a small part of the Melbourne city-region, which in turn is home to the majority of Victorians. On the other hand, Toronto's city centre is a small proportion of the City

of Toronto, which itself makes up about half of the Toronto city-region, which in turn is home to only a plurality of Ontarians. In theory, the Victorian government is in a better position to act as a de facto regional government, and the City of Melbourne has fewer responsibilities outside the city centre. By comparison, Toronto's city centre is less a focus of either the province or city's political attention.

Nonetheless, the institutional similarities are striking. Urban governance and planning in Victoria and Ontario are remarkably similar. Both have top-down hierarchies of planning policy driven by the state or province. Nearly identical institutions (e.g. Cabinet, Ministry, Minister) govern at the state or provincial level. The City of Melbourne and the City of Toronto also have nearly identical governance structures composed of an elected council and mayor who direct a professional civic bureaucracy. In Victoria, the equivalents of Ontario's Provincial Policy Statement, official plans, and zoning by-laws are combined in each local government's planning scheme.

These findings suggest that Melbourne and Toronto are very similar in urban governance, although due to the distribution of population and political boundaries, they may diverge on matters of urban politics. In other words, those things that are technically possible in Melbourne are likely to be technically possible in Toronto as well. Finding the will to do such things may be another matter. Despite their political differences, a superficial comparison between Toronto and any given city of a similar size (e.g. Philadelphia or Frankfurt am Main) reveals even greater differences. Thus, Melbourne is, in fact, comparable to Toronto, although of course we must take care not to overlook the limitations to learning from Melbourne that remain.

4b. "Renaissance"

Actions by the local and state governments seem to be primarily responsible for Melbourne's city-centre renaissance. They were characterized by the following principles:

- Long-term vision
- Emphasizing local strengths
- Investment in quality
- Making space for people on foot
- Argument & evidence

Long-term vision

The renewal process began in the 1980s, more than a decade before the city centre's improvement was recognized, and more than two decades before it could be called a "renaissance." A conversation about the future of the city centre and the planning process to implement it began with the long view of the 1985 Strategy Plan. A series of plans, programs, and, investments followed the Strategy Plan to refine and achieve its goals, each building progressively on that which preceded it. This long-term vision survived multiple state governments and even the temporary suspension of local democracy, which implies that it was shared at multiple levels—including at least to some degree in the population at large—to survive such disruptions.

Emphasizing local strengths

Although it was inspired, in later years, by the example of Copenhagen, early in Melbourne's renewal process the *Grids and Greenery* report identified the natural and constructed patterns that constitute Melbourne's physical identity, and incorporated those into urban design principles. Later, the reactivation of kilometres of laneway as public space was a distinctly and spectacularly successful local innovation arising from the city centre's unique built form. Melbourne's iconic trams have also been embraced and incorporated into the renewed city centre, contrary to the experience in Copenhagen where public transit is generally relegated to the periphery of its city centre.

Investment in quality

Melbourne's plans and the spirit of its long-term vision have been supported by government investment. At the scale of everyday life, this includes the emphasis on the quality and uniqueness of street furniture, and the requirement that all sidewalks be paved with local stone rather than concrete. There has also been considerable public investment in new and improved public squares; decking over the rail yards to build Federation Square did not come cheaply or without controversy. Around the edges of the city centre, government laid the foundations for private redevelopment of former industrial lands, greatly increasing the population living in the inner city.

Making space for people on foot

The most critical (and possibly the most difficult) change in Melbourne's city centre over the past three decades has been the increase in quantity and quality of space for people on foot. A significant portion—35 hectares—was reclaimed from motorized traffic. The political success

of these encroachments on the automobile's territory seems to have depended on two tactics: incremental change and high quality. By moving slowly and ensuring that each new pedestrian space was a clear improvement on what it replaced, Melbourne has been able to expand the pedestrian realm without unduly alarming drivers or causing serious traffic congestion.

From the earliest closure of Swanston Street, the City has continually upgraded and expanded the pedestrian spaces in the city centre. In fact, a second round of improvements to Swanston Street is currently underway to ease access to the trams and further restrict traffic. The ongoing reactivation and expansion of the laneway network, which is primarily pedestrian, also greatly improves the pedestrian experience in Melbourne's city centre.

Argument & evidence

A particular strength of the *Places for People* reports is that they made the case for change in the city centre with both images of precedents and the extensive public life data collected in the city centre. In the contest between the competing ideas of streets as places and streets as conduits for traffic, Hess and Milroy (2006) observe that images are often used to argue for place, while numbers, which are perceived as more scientific and valid, are often used to argue for traffic. Speaking in both these 'languages' apparently helped make it possible to advocate for change in Melbourne.

They also help the City to efficiently and effectively target investments in the city centre. For example, the 2004 Places for People report (City of Melbourne, 2005), makes a number of general and site-specific recommendations based on the collected data. Among the former, the report observes that far too many of the seats in the laneways belonged to cafés, for which one must pay to have the privilege of sitting. Among the latter, the report identifies several intersections lacking pedestrian signals that saw a high volume of dangerous pedestrian crossings.

5. Recommendations

The recommendations are derived from the findings of what actions contributed to the "renaissance" of Melbourne's city centre. As a practical matter, they are adapted to suit Toronto's context, a process that takes into account the comparability of Melbourne and Toronto.

Although the recommendations are primarily directed at the City of Toronto, it must be acknowledged that the City is not the only important actor affecting Toronto's public spaces. The private sector and the downtown community are both important stakeholders, not to mention voters city-wide who give direction to City Council. In the absence of action by the City on these recommendations, they would ideally be pursued by any one (or a coalition) of Toronto's civil society groups and organizations.

- The City of Toronto should facilitate a civic conversation about the long-term vision for its downtown and the various smaller districts within it, particularly the rapidly developing areas that are attracting employment and population growth. The financial district, for example, presents different challenges from the central waterfront or Annex neighbourhood due to the concentration of employment and the associated crush of pedestrian traffic during weekdays, as well as the intense competition for land (see for example Canadian Urban Institute, 2011). A desired direction needs to be established so that growth can be managed appropriately and municipal investments can be deployed efficiently and effectively.
- The City of Toronto should initiate a public life survey of the downtown to establish a baseline of data about how people use downtown public spaces. This data can provide part of the foundation for identifying Toronto's strengths and opportunities. It will also give public space advocates in the community and the civic bureaucracy the 'language' to make convincing arguments with numeracy-minded critics.
- The City of Toronto should invest is the physical quality of downtown public spaces. For example, as the opportunity arises, sidewalks should be reconstructed with higher quality materials; the recent partnership with the Bloor-Yorkville Business Improvement Area to install granite sidewalks along a stretch of Bloor Street is one precedent demonstrating what is already possible in Toronto. To the same end, the City should

investigate reclaiming responsibility for street furniture in the high-traffic, space-constrained areas of Toronto including downtown.

The City of Toronto should, cautiously and with great care, begin an incremental program to reclaim roadway space from cars in locations of high pedestrian traffic, replacing it with attractive, lively, and comfortable places for people. Data from the public life survey should inform this action. It is critical that early project be successful and high-quality to ensure the sustainability of these improvements. The all-way pedestrian crossing at the intersection of Yonge and Dundas streets is a precedent for this approach.

Appendix A: Key Statistics Comparing Melbourne and Toronto

Category	Subcategory	Melbourne	Notes	Toronto	Notes
Population (2006)	downtown / city centre (formal)	23,903	Postal areas 3000 & 3006, nearly coterminous with the city centre.(1) Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS].	169,000	City of Toronto (2)
	"inner downtown" (3)	N/A		21,533	
	local government	71,380	ABS	2,503,281	Statistics Canada
	urban area	3,592,591	"Metropolitan Region of Melbourne" - ABS	5,113,149	"Census Metropolitan Area" - Statistics Canada
Country of birth (outside nation, 2006)	urban area	36%		47%	
Area (ha)	downtown / city centre (formal)	317	measured boundary in Google Earth	1,657	measured boundary in Google Earth
	"inner downtown"	N/A		324	
	local government	3,620	ABS	63,018	Statistics Canada
	urban area	809,720	ABS	590,363	Statistics Canada
Density (people / ha, 2006)	downtown / city centre (formal)	75		102	
	"inner downtown"	N/A		67	
	local government	20		40	
	urban area	4		9	

(1) Postal Area 3000 (north of the river, including traditional city centre) = 14,538. Postal Area 3006 (south of the river, including Southbank redevelopment area) = 9,365 residents.

(2) http://www.toronto.ca/planning/pdf/living_downtown_nov1.pdf

(3) Toronto's "inner downtown" is an invented entity for the purpose of comparing a portion of downtown Toronto of roughly equal size and urban typology to Melbourne's city centre. Due the size of Canadian census tracts, it is somewhat coarse. See Figure 8, page 37, for a map.

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