USTVARJANJE PROSTOROV RAZNOLIKOSTI IZ PROSTOROV SODOBNOSTI: PRIMER SOSESKE JANE-FINCH, TORONTO (KANADA)[1]

CREATING 'SPACES FOR DIVERSITY' FROM 'SPACES OF MODERNITY': THE CASE OF THE JANE-FINCH NEIGHBOURHOOD, TORONTO (CANADA)[1]

Izvleček

Modernistično načrtovanje in urbani razvoj sta pogosto urejala prostor brez upoštevanja prebivalcev na območjih urejanja. Veljalo je splošno prepričanje, da je načrtovalec tisti, ki dobro pozna problematiko in tudi rešitve. Načrtovalec je bil postavljen v vlogo oblikovalca (načrtovalca) fizičnega prostora s odrejanjem odprtih zelenih površin, visokimi zgradbami ali z določanjem območji stanovanjske zazidave. S temi preddoločenimi načel so modernistični načrtovalci zasnovali in oblikovali mnogo novih sosesk, novih mestnih četrti in celo novih mest. Idejno so sledili tezi idealnih skupnosti v idealnih prostorskih zasnovah. Pogosto so se ti ideali preslikali v njihovo nasprotje: izguba kvalitet prostora zaradi utilitarnosti zasnove; zgoščevanje etičnih skupin, območja revnejšega prebivalstva, stigmatizirane skupine in visoka stopnja kriminalnih dejanj.

Na severozahodnem delu mesta Toronto je soseska Jane-Finch, zasnovana je po modernističnem načelu in ima vse značilnosti razdvojenosti med teorijo in prakso. Cenena stanovanjska gradnja in priseljenske skupine so osnovni atributi. Navkljub stigmi, to območje doživlja preobrat pri upravljanju prostora in prebivalstva. Članek obravnava ta preobrat in predstavlja nujnost iskanja novih načinov načrtovanja z vključevanjem kompleksnih urbanih skupin v ta proces.

Abstract

Modernist planning and urban development created a lot of residential space without consulting the people who would live in it. It was generally assumed that the professional planner was the best judge of the needs of the community and knew exactly how to meet these needs through physical design: open green space and high-rise, cheap-to-build apartment blocks with fresh air between them. With these and other principles in mind, modernist planning, produced many neighbourhoods and new towns in an attempt to create 'ideal communities and spaces'. Before long, most of these neighbourhoods and towns had lost their charm and had descended into rundown hubs of poverty, racial and ethnic exclusion, criminality and stigmatisation. Toronto is no stranger to this problem. Jane-Finch, a neighbourhood in the north-western corner of the city is one of the products of modernist planning. Jane-Finch, as a cheap neighbourhood, houses a large immigrant population and diverse groups, but thanks to its community-planning tradition, some social transformations are taking place there and turning a stigmatised rundown area into a community hub. This paper discusses the changing social and spatial dynamics in the Jane-Finch neighbourhood and underlines the need to find new planning approaches in order to deal effectively with an increasingly diverse and complex urban society.

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1. Introduction

Driving into the Jane-Finch 'neighbourhood' the first thought that springs to mind is "Where is it?". Driving on a highway, passing creeks, bridges, big intersections, waste green space and low-density, almost empty strip malls, and finally high-rise apartment buildings in-between, one can't help wondering what makes this place one of the most diverse and socially organised 'neighbourhoods' in Toronto. The feeling of 'being lost' in this waste space with unidentified empty areas merely reinforces the image of Jane-Finch as perhaps the most stigmatised area in the city. It is hard to imagine that anyone could define the boundaries of this space, let alone develop a sense of 'belonging' (figure 1). Yet, there are people in Jane-Finch who feel a very strong bond and even talk about the Jane-Finch community with passion. How can one develop a sense of belonging and community in this vast area of 21 square kilometres with a density of about 4 persons per kilometre [Census, 2008a] and no physical infrastructure to bring people together? Looking deeper at this complex neighbourhood, which is a product of modernist planning, one realises soon enough that community means a lot to the residents of this area, which seems 'borderless and meaningless' to an outsider. This article tackles the challenge of accommodating a highly diverse population in a space originally designed for a homogeneous population and the questions surrounding the transformation of planning in this new social setting of urban diversity.

Modernist urbanism aimed to create 'the ideal city' by adopting rigid, abstract, geometric patterns and functional land uses [Talen & Ellis, 2002]. Although this era also produced scholars, such as Louis Wirth and Lewis Mumford, who raised concerns about the practice of defining cities on the basis of the principles of an ideal society, to this day the modernist planning approach still envisions cities through the design and organisation of space.

Slika 1: Pogledi na sosesko Jane-Finch, Toronto, Kanada.
Figure 1: First impressions of the Jane-Finch neighbourhood, Toronto (Canada).

The places created by this approach throughout the 20th century, either in the inner city or on the outskirts, have a tendency to deteriorate into zones of poverty, crime, and social deprivation, so much so that most of them have undergone redevelopment. As the housing in most of these stigmatised and isolated areas is cheap and affordable, they have attracted a broad mix of disadvantaged groups, consisting largely of immigrants and newcomers, single mothers, and low-income households. Saunders (2011), who focuses on new, less-organised immigrant communities in such areas, or 'arrival cities' as he calls them, takes a different and positive stance by showing that the high levels of social mix actually confer rich potential for innovation and creativity. These areas, according to Saunders, provide an easier environment for starting small businesses for immigrants, especially newcomers, as the networks in these areas and outside the country offer easy access to information [Tasan-Kok, Kempen, Raco, & Bolt, 2013].

Saunders (2011) also highlights the connection between the success and failure of these people and the physical design (layouts of streets and buildings, transportation links to the economic and cultural core of the city, direct access to the street from buildings, proximity to schools, health centres and social services, the availability of high-density housing, the presence of parks and neutral public spaces, the availability of space to open a shop, etc.). Keeping this in mind, and like Saunders, taking a positive stance, this article argues that these areas hold enormous potential for the future of cities to become centres of social self-organisation, community building and participation. This article shows that spaces created by modernist

planning approaches may turn into new zones of diverse forms of social organisation even though they lack the catalysts that bring people together. The article cites cases to illustrate how these modernist spaces are now accommodating communities and self-organisation initiatives. And finally, it questions the approach and place of urban planning in this era of increasingly complex and diverse urban societies.

I will first briefly underline the principles of modernist urban development that are dominant in Jane Finch and many other neighbourhoods in Toronto. After explaining what makes the Jane-Finch neighbourhood an 'in-between city' [Boudreau, Keil, & Young, 2009], I will focus on Jane-Finch as an 'arrival city' [Saunders, 2011] in which communities organise themselves without having the required spatial infrastructure and space.

2. Modernist principles of the organisation of space: What went wrong?

"Modernity […] not only entails a ruthless break with any or all preceding historical conditions, but is characterized by a never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself"

(Harvey, 1989: 12)

Interpreted as an extension of the 18th century 'Enlightenment' [Mautner, 1996] and as a positive movement that seeks alternatives to the classic understanding of every aspect of life via "rational planning of ideal social orders and the standardisation of knowledge and production" (Harvey, 1989), the modernist planning
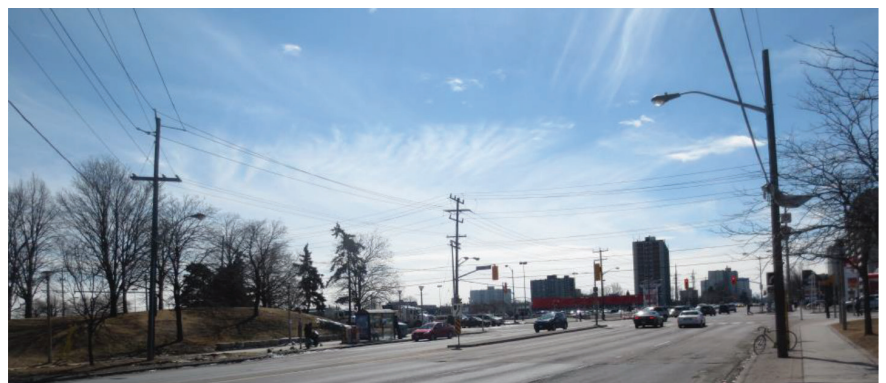
projects that emerged in the first half of the 20th century [Beauregard, 1989] focused primarily on achieving an ideal society by applying design-based planning interventions in urban space along the lines of positivistic, technocentric, and rationalistic universal modernism [Harvey, 1989]. Starting out from this perspective, modernist planning emerged as a design-oriented approach to urban development and resulted in the development of new towns and neighbourhoods, mainly in the suburban zones of cities [Fainstein, 2000], spearheaded by the principle of large apartment blocks isolated in an expansive green setting.

In this article the 'design-oriented planning' refers to the practice of plan-making in which the organisation of space is the main goal of developing (or re-developing) an urban area based on clear principles of physical organisation defined by the designer (architect, planner, or urban designer). As Fainstein (2000) puts it, this model of planning aims to use spatial relations as a tool to create an interactive urban community. The designer takes the advantage of his/her position to decide what is best for the people living in this area and uses special design techniques to define the characteristics of an ideal urban space. Design-oriented planning is totally different from communicative and participatory planning practices that aim to understand people's needs and demands to put these at the

centre of the plan-making process. In these collaborative models of planning, participation in decision-making is part of the ideal of the 'just city' [Fainstein, 2000]. Thus, planning processes that put people at the centre of plan-making also include people directly or indirectly in the process of spatial organisation and use design as a tool to reach community targets in a collaborative way. As it focuses on creating ideal spaces with physical elements in perfect order, design-oriented planning can be seen as a product of modernity which has produced classic examples on diverse scales (buildings, neighbourhoods and entire new towns) across the world. These places are criticised for their lack of social amenities (such as retail, healthcare, leisure) and sense of belonging and safety, both on the scale of an entire suburban town (like Milton Keynes in the UK) and the scale of a neighbourhood (like Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, the Netherlands).

A few urban designers and architects left their mark on this era. The first name that comes to mind as the founding father of the modernist movement in urban development is Le Corbusier (1887-1965), who came up with ideas to create liveable spaces in the heavily industrialised, overcrowded and polluted cities of the early 20th century. Le Corbusier was following in the footsteps of Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), creator of the concept of the garden city where people could live
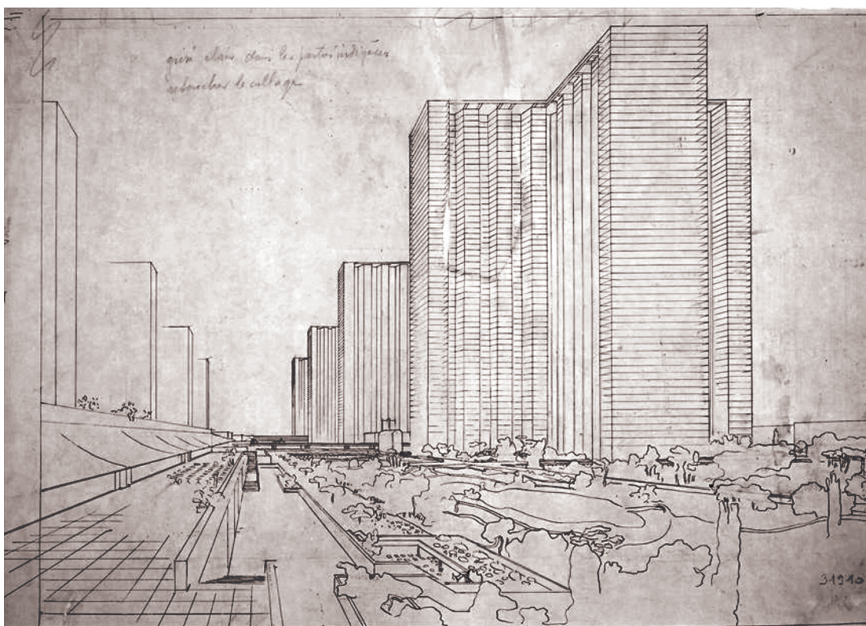
Slika 2: Poustvarjanje Le Corbusierovih načel na primeru soseske Jane-Finch.
Figure 2: Realisation of Le Corbusier's principles in the case of Jane-Finch. Source: (Left) Foundation Le Corbusier Paris (www.fondationlecorbusier.fr); (Right) Author (Jane-Finch, Toronto)

in harmony with nature. Both were trying to address the ills of industrial cities, such as poverty, density, lack of infrastructure, pollution, disease, and a desperate shortage of open space, by setting the principles of an ideal city. Their contemporary, another modernist architect, Frank Lloyd Right took yet another path to the ideal city. However, they were all searching, each in his own way, for the principles of an ideal space where society could thrive and people could even be happy [Habermas, 1983; Harvey, 1989]. In Howard's garden city shops and single-family houses formed the centre of a carefully designed geometric pattern with farmland-like surroundings; Wright created the suburban Broadacre City, based on accessibility by car; and Le Corbusier projected Ville Radieuse, a city of skyscrapers set down in open green space [Fishman, 1982].

The influence that these new approaches to spatial development had on the creation of new spaces was immense, visible, and widespread, especially on the edge of cities where land was freely available for new development. Everywhere in the world suburban new towns emerged, especially during the post-war period. The earlier suburbs that followed low-density garden-city models were replaced by large-scale public housing estates [Kostof, 1992]. Believers in low-density suburban development such as Raymond Unwin stressed the importance of streets, squares and avenues to shape the urban form: stately squares, radial streets, straight avenues and rond-points as elements of the urban fabric within a system of narrow streets [Kostof, 1992: 232]. Criticising Unwin's narrow street system for being "unhealthy and airless" Le Corbusier set very different principles for the design and organisation of urban space: high-rise apartment blocks overlooking large green spaces raised on stilts (pilotis), connected by a network of elevated highways and ground-level service roads [Kostof, 1992: 233]. His vision was simply one of skyscrapers on a grid street setting where cars could drive fast: "A city made for speed is made for success" [LeGates & Stout, 2011] (figure 2).

The basic principles of Le Corbusier's city included decongesting the city centre; increasing the density of the residential suburban areas by building skyscrapers; providing more means of transport in the form of elevated roads and railways (with a station in the centre); and large expanses of parks and open spaces [LeGates & Stout, 2011]. Le Corbusier also imagined a 'homogeneous' society that would differ only on the basis of work and residential location: 'citizens proper', 'suburban dwellers' and 'mixed kind'. His static vision also included where and how people would live and work in different parts of the city:

- Citizens are of the city: those who work and live in it
- Suburban dwellers are those who work in the outer industrial zone and who do not come into the city: they live in garden cities
- The mixed sort are those who work in the business parts of the city but bring up their families in garden cities] [Corbusier, 1989; LeGates & Stout, 2011: 338, ref. to Le Corbusier, 1989]

Le Corbusier's obsession with creating the 'perfectly functioning space' constricted his view of the people for whom he designed the city in the first place. However, modernism also produced scholars who expressed concerns about the well-being of urban society in increasingly crowded, complex, and problematic cities. Scholars such as Louis Wirth, Ernest Burgess, Robert Park and St. Clair Drake of the Chicago School of urban sociology looked at the city as a 'living laboratory' and tried to imagine the needs of a heterogeneous urban society that differed in terms of race, language, income and social status during the pre-war period. Wirth (1938) defined the city as a "relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals". For him, the characteristics of the city included the size of the population, the density, and the heterogeneity (social diversity of the population), with no specific physical principles of spatial organisation, as he saw urbanism as a form of social organisation. Others such as Kevin Lynch and William Whyte had similar societal concerns and tried to improve the comfort level

of the city residents by proposing design strategies for various elements [LeGates & Stout, 2011]. These rationalist planners were criticised by Jane Jacobs during the 1950s and 1960s for rejecting the importance of people and communities in cities that were characterised by complexity and seeming chaos [Jacobs, 1992].

Efforts by all these scholars, and many more, have contributed to design-oriented planning principles, some of which are still influential in planning schools today, and implemented on different scales at street and neighbourhood level and sometimes extending even to entire settlements and cities. What went wrong with those spaces? Although they offered affordable housing solutions, they did nothing to help the residents develop a sense of attachment and belonging. Lacking the spatial qualities to encourage social 'encounter and recognition' [Fincher & Iveson, 2008] between different groups, most of these areas share a common destiny as centres of alienation, social exclusion and even crime[2]. The Jane-Finch neighbourhood in Toronto, selected in this article as a case study to illustrate the failures of modernist planning, explains the fall and rise of 'spaces of modernity' in cities and their transformation with the new social composition of contemporary urban society. Here 'failures' refer both to the social problems in areas that are products of modernist planning and the lack of community involvement and democratic participatory plan-making processes. The following sections, after briefly introducing the problems of the Jane-Finch neighbourhood, focus on the changing social dynamics in this area to illustrate how this modern neighbourhood, which failed to create spaces for social organisation, community building, and a sense of belonging in the first place, started to generate opportunities for bottom-up initiatives and self-organisation dynamics by drawing on its own resources.

3. Jane-Finch neighbourhood: Story of an 'in-between city'

By 1914 the modernist ideas in urban development were clearly visible in Toronto and in the suburbs of many

other Canadian cities [Sewell, 1993]. Examples of new modernist ideas, such as Lawrence Park in Toronto, were already appearing in the early 20th century (1909) [Sewell, 1993]. Jane-Finch is one of the many areas in the city that were developed as a result of modernist planning exercises.

Jane-Finch is an area in the northwest corner of Toronto around the intersection of two large roads, Jane Street and Finch Avenue (figure 3). It is home to approximately 80,000 people and accommodates two neighbourhoods: Black Creek, which extends from Finch Street North to Steeles Avenue; and Glenfield-Jane Heights which stretches from Finch Street South to Sheppard Avenue.

Developed as a modernist suburb during the 1960s, based on principles of large green space, wide avenues and high-rise apartment buildings, Jane-Finch was reporting community problems as early as the 1970s. Today it is one of the most stigmatised neighbourhoods in the city (see figure 4) with the largest concentrations of criminal gangs of any area in Canada. Jane-Finch is also one of the most diverse neighbourhoods in Toronto, although this does not get as much media coverage as the crime rates.

Boudreau, Keil and Young (2009) define Jane-Finch as an 'in-between city'. They describe it as "an area in need of some rebuilding" between modernity and post-modernity and explain what defines the Jane-Finch neighbourhood on the basis of three modernist ideas (p. 124-125): public housing, experimentation in planning and urban design, and immigration policy. This analytical framework is useful for explaining the social and spatial characteristics of the area.

Public housing was the main driver for planning and developing this area throughout the 1960s. By the mid-1970s about 22.5% of the Jane-Finch corridor consisted of public housing units built by the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC), which was doubling the number of social housing units in the city at the time [Boudreau et al., 2009: 125]. Today, most of the housing consists of apartment blocks of five or more storeys, 66% of which is rented and 34% is privately owned [Census,
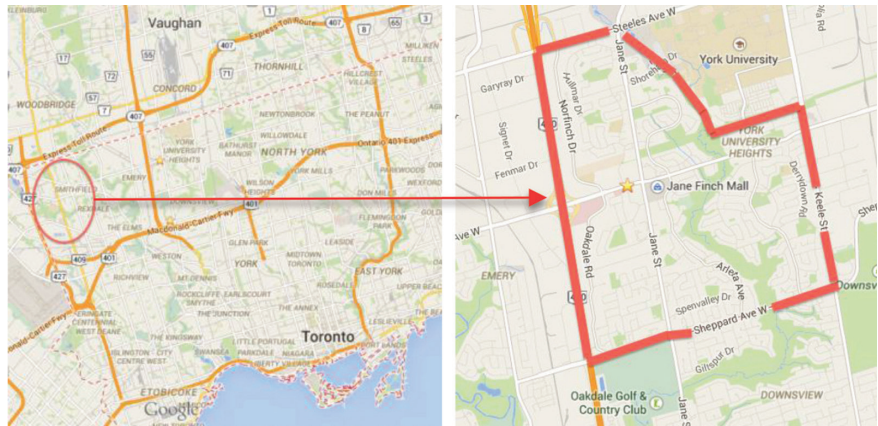
Slika 3: Soseska Jane-Finch. Vir: Google 2014.
Figure 3: Jane-Finch neighbourhood in Toronto. Source: Map Data 2014, Google.

2008b]. Statistical data on the Black Creek area indicates that the number of tenants, lone parents, and multi-family dwellings is higher there than in the rest of the city [Census, 2008b]. Moreover, most of the units are in a worse state of disrepair than units in the rest of the city.

As illustrated by Boudreau et al. (2009) experiments in planning and design principles influenced the development of Jane-Finch. The official District Plan of 1962, though it never became binding, dictated the main development style in the Jane-Finch area by stating that more than 50% of the buildings would be high-rise [Boudreau et al., 2009]. The 1962 plan was drawn up by Eli Comay, the planning commissioner for District 10 (which covered the Jane-Finch corridor) [Sewell, 1993]. There are many similar cases of modernist development that were initiated in the 1960s as part of planning experiments and which have since undergone redesign and redevelopment. Edgeley Village and San Romanoway are just two examples (see figure 5).

The 1962 Master Plan for District 10 aimed to transform this agricultural land (with scattered farms) into an urban area that focused on employment, servicing and equity. It would take the form of a residential strip with industrial employment zones and commercial areas at the intersection of wide avenues, and include schools, community centres and green space in the interior [McClelland & Steward, 2008]. The District 10 Plan was prepared by several planning organisations (Metropolitan Planning and North York Planning) and school boards (the North York Public School Board

Slika 4: Spletna stran z najmanj priljubljenimi soseskami Toronta.
Figure 4: Toronto's least liveable neighbourhood? Source: The Star (http://www.thestar.com/news)

and the Catholic School Board) under the auspices of the Federal Provision Partnership [Rigakos, Kwashie, & Bosanac, 2004]. The Partnership had expropriated the land on which the Jane-Finch neighbourhood would be developed in 1965. There have been many attempts since then to redesign and change the spatial setting of the area. In 1987, for instance, the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) searched for ways to reshape parts of the area. Architects (Alan Littlewood and later A.J. Diamond) worked on alternative forms of development to change Edgeley's setting and create more public control in open spaces [Sewell, 1993].

More comprehensive (and less design-driven) ideas began to appear in the 2000s, with the idea of "Tower Neighbourhood Renewal', which was a joint effort by different stakeholders including planningAlliance, E.R.A. Architects (who were influential in the development of the Jane-Finch) and the Cities Centre at the University of Toronto (in the form of a report Tower Neighbourhood Renewal in the Greater Golden Horseshoe), and was commissioned by Ontario's Ministry of Infrastructure [Stewart & Throne, 2010]. Several regulatory arrangements were made which included zoning revisions, tax arrangements and loan guarantees at no net cost to the city to encourage landlords to consider redesigning buildings with green systems and allow commercial and institutional uses to develop between and in the towers[3]. Several pilot renewal projects were initiated under this scheme, including the San Romanoway Revitalisation project in Jane-Finch.

The third modernist idea referred to by Boudreau et al., (2009) is the federal government's immigration policy, which increased the flow of immigration to Canada from across the world. The immigrants ended up mainly in the modernist spaces that offered affordable housing. Jane-Finch has always been a very popular destination for newcomers to Toronto. The 2011 Neighbourhood Improvement Area Snapshot shows that more than half of the population (56%) living in Jane-Finch speaks a non-official language (other than English and French) [Census, 2013]. According to the 2006 census, 70.6% of the population in Jane-Finch belongs to visible minority groups[4]. The black (20.2%) and South Asian (18.2%) groups are more dominant than other visible minority groups such as Chinese, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, and Korean [Census, 2008a]. Census information [Census, 2003] shows that this area has a larger number of visible minorities, immigrants and recent immigrants, more non-official home languages, and a larger population with no knowledge of official languages than anywhere else in Toronto. At the same time, the percentage of the population of aboriginal origin and with Canadian citizenship is lower than in the rest of the city.

Slika 5: San Romanoway (levo), Edgeley (desno).
Figure 5: San Romanoway (left), Edgeley (right).

This information suggests that Jane-Finch residents with their multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-lingual background live in an area which lacks a physical infrastructure to bring these diverse groups together. On the contrary, open wasteland with no social control and no connection to other land uses has provided an excellent breeding ground for activities. Gangs and criminals have claimed territories in the area, instilling fear and disconnection in the process. Yet, despite the spatial limitations and societal challenges, there are many community initiatives, civil society organisations, NGOs and other social organisations that are exerting an influence in Jane-Finch [Ahmadi & Tasan-Kok, 2014]. How does this area create and accommodate these communities?

4. Towards an 'arrival city'? Communities and social organisation in Jane-Finch

Saunders (2011) defines arrival cities as areas on the outskirts of cities where 'ex-villagers' cluster and struggle in 'hidden pockets' to "establish a new life and integrate economically and socially". They may fail or succeed, but Saunders sees opportunities in these areas for innovation, creativity, employment, social connectivity and transformation. Although it is not possible in this article to provide a full analysis of the success or failure of the Jane-Finch neighbourhood as an arrival city, this section will focus on how, during its transformation from a 'space of modernity' into a 'space of diversity', a social infrastructure of community and self-organisation managed to develop despite the absence of the necessary spatial setting and infrastructure.

At this point we need to draw attention to the meaning and importance of 'communities' in North American cities. Unlike the welfarist models of European social organisation, where the needs of the citizens are covered by state-funded social services at local and national level, the North American system works through

community services that expect self-organised citizen initiatives, NGOs, and specialised neighbourhood or community initiatives. With the aid of service workers, the residents in an area can reach services or make their voice heard. In Toronto, community means a lot to urban residents from different ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds. Communities in Toronto are organised not only through ethnicity but also through other commonalities such as sexual orientation and gender, disability, employment, homelessness, age, language, health conditions, religion and economic opportunities. There are many community initiatives in Jane-Finch that provide services for diverse people in need.

As the primary community centre in the area, the Jane and Finch Community and Family Centre (JFCFC) is a very well-established organisation which plays a crucially important role in the success of the initiatives, since it functions as an umbrella organisation that provides support for the otherwise independent initiatives [Ahmadi & Tasan-Kok, 2014]. Most of these communities in Jane-Finch aim to create and cultivate 'inclusive spaces' and to build opportunities for encounters between diverse groups and collaborations among community members who differ not only in terms of ethnicity but also in terms of economic status or cultural background [Ahmadi & Tasan-Kok, 2014].

Communities are very important elements of urban governance in Canada and are becoming more visible and active in Toronto. These neighbourhood-based initiatives, says Brenner (2004), address the regulatory deficits and crises [Boudreau et al., 2009]. In fact, they

fill the gaps in the system when it comes to the provision of social services. Our field study in the Jane-Finch[5] neighbourhood accentuated the influence of economic crises on the form and function of these communities. Financially dependent on federal, city and private resources, the communities are facing severe budget cuts and uncertainty and are suffering from a lack of administrative staff [Ahmadi & Tasan-Kok, 2014]. Moreover, in almost every case, it is very difficult to find the right location and space to accommodate the community activities. In a context characterised by vast stretches of empty wasteland, the need to use – sometimes unaffordable – public transport, fear of gangs, lack of space, and many other negative influences, these communities are turning some spaces of modernity into community spaces that provide an inclusive space for people to express their needs and receive services. Malls that underperform commercially, basements in residential towers, hidden in-between locations, warehouses, and anywhere that is cheap, central and easy to reach are used by the communities as places of self-organisation. (figure 6)

Since 1999 an active community-initiated rebuilding programme has been underway in Jane-Finch, following the shooting of a little girl in the area. The Black Creek West Community Capacity Building Project (BCWCCBP) was launched with participation by Jane-Finch residents and locals. Its aim was to build on 'the area's strengths' and it resulted in an Action Plan approved by the City Council in 2005 [Boudreau et al., 2009]. Moreover, following on from the work of United Way of Greater Toronto, a national organisation based on voluntary NGOs, a new

Ontario Early Years Center at Jane Finch Mall

The Spot (Where YOU(th) Wanna Be) at Yorkgate Mall

Women Moving Forward at the ground floor of a residential building

Jane Finch Community and Family Center meeting room in the basement of a residential building

strategy document was issued (Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call for Action) in 2005 which resulted in the definition of 13 neighbourhoods in need, including Black Creek and Glenfield-Jane Heights (Jane-Finch). These and many other federal, city and neighbourhood services are manned by volunteers, social and community service workers in the area, who are basically helping the community to keep functioning. Although these efforts seem 'responsive', rather than 'pro-active', and as argued by Boudreau et. al. (2009), are subject to state interventions, the Jane-Finch neighbourhood accommodates many community efforts that are designed for the needs of diverse ethnic, age, economic or gender groups, the youth, one-parent families, refugees and immigrants, people without a high-school diploma, low-income groups, and public housing tenants.

Our fieldwork uncovered a strong sense of belonging among the community members in this area and active participation in the community services not only as a user but also as a volunteer. Those communities, especially the ones that support disadvantaged groups, helping individuals to gain strength, self-confidence and skills and find employment opportunities include Women Moving Forward, PEACH (Promoting Education and Community Health), the COSTI specialised housing programme, the Learning Enrichment Foundation (LEF), and the Youth Enterprise Network (YEN). And there are others, such as Black Creek Farm, Aging at Home, Black Creek SNAP, Jane-Finch Action Against Poverty (JFAAP) that target harmony, social cohesion and the sense of belonging in the community [Ahmadi & Tasan-Kok, 2014]. All these efforts make Jane-Finch a special 'arrival city' where newcomers find themselves in a strong community setting without the spatial infrastructure that – ideally – should be there to support it.

5. Conclusion

Referring to modernist experiments, Jane Jacobs [Sewell, 1993] says in her foreword to John Sewell's book The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning that "planners did not know what they were doing". Although she was very positive about the modernist planning experience in Toronto compared with the US experience, she criticised modernist planners for being "artificial, simple-minded, and incautious". The obsession with creating the 'perfect place for an ideal society' was obviously shared by the architects, urban designers and planners of this era. Society is not homogeneous, nor are the needs of people. Society is diverse, even hyper-diverse [Tasan-Kok et al., 2013], which makes place-making a complex task.

Planning has been, slowly but surely, transforming. Toronto provides an excellent laboratory for understanding the main characteristics and challenges of this transformation. First of all, planning in Toronto has been moving away from the obsession with design. Nowadays, Toronto's approaches to community and social planning use design as an instrument instead of a target. They are open, participatory, and community-driven. Diverse players, such as community service providers, community representatives, social workers, school boards and academics, take part in the decision-making process, along with the planners. Many other organisations, social groups and individuals can make their voice heard. In contrast with classic metropolitan planning approaches, joint and bottom-up attempts initiate the programmes that influence urban plan making (for example, the Strong Neighbourhoods programme or the Tower Neighbourhood Renewal programme). Although the academic community is not yet satisfied with the degree and direction of this transformation [Boudreau et al., 2009] and some major challenges – not least racism – are still high on the agenda, the planning in Toronto has definitely shifted towards community-driven social policy that accommodates the needs of the diverse urban society better than elsewhere. The Jane-Finch neighbourhood shows how this transformation takes place in the space and society. Despite the physical and fiscal limitations, communities survive and not only make their voice heard in the higher echelons of government, they also provide platforms to give voice and support to diverse people in need. The unprepossessing malls, basements and warehouses provide support services for the community. People, even though they may not have $3 for a bus ride, use these unattractive places, the leftovers of modernity, to find comfort, support, training and jobs. Spaces that are designed by the modernist planners and designers for community use (large green areas, parks, commercial centres, etc.) do not fulfil their original purpose. Their functions are modified and reorganised by members of the community to create places that will accommodate community activities, initiatives and social and commercial services.

This positive stance, however, does not imply that what happens in the background of these developments is always fair. The global economic agenda on the one hand, and the crises of state-regulated capitalism on the other, have nudged Canadian economic policy towards a more competition-oriented agenda in recent decades. Toronto, as the main economic driver of the country and the target of international immigration, is affected most by this tendency. Increasing privatisation and the devolvement of responsibility to communities on the one hand, and the success of conservatives on the political scene on the other, have reduced national/federal financial support and led to less immigrant-friendly policies. Hence, communities are being left to solve their problems on their own with less staff, fewer resources, and lower budgets.

Some private attempts began appearing on the Toronto community planning scene as success stories, replacing the missing elements to make 'things happen'. In Regent Park, another product of modernist planning in downtown Toronto, a private company (Daniels Corporation) is cooperating with Toronto Community Housing, the City of Toronto, and the communities to revitalise this degenerate urban neighbourhood with a 'zero-displacement' policy for community needs. In Jane-Finch another private company, Greenwin, is involved in a public-private partnership to revitalise the San Romanoway area (Chalkfarm)[6], which is stigmatised for its heightened

levels of crime, violence and poverty. Both projects are being celebrated in the media for their innovative, collaborative public-private approach to community revitalisation, but the academic community is still sceptical as to whether including 'profit' in community planning is the best approach. Even if both these projects are successful in terms of community satisfaction and space, the question remains whether public interest can always be achieved fairly with private sector involvement, especially when the community is increasingly diverse.

Spaces of modernity will not turn into places of social interaction, cohesion and mobility in an increasingly diverse and complex society. This article, by focusing on the failure of the design-oriented modernist planning and the success of community-friendly social and spatial policy, underlines not only that new planning approaches are needed to deal with the needs of an increasingly complex and diverse urban society, but a new understanding of the place of planning in the urban policy making is also necessary to deal fairly with these complexities. Spaces of modernity, as in the case of Jane-Finch, may turn into successful arrival cities, but more effort is needed on the planning theory side to accommodate people's imagination, innovation and creativity into place-making.

Notes

2. Spaces of modernity and their impact on society are illustrated in visual media such as movies and documentaries. A good example is The Architect (a film directed by Matt Tauber, 2006) which illustrates a dispute between the designer and the community on the meaning and use of space in a high-rise housing estate in the United States..

3. http://urbanspacegallery.ca/exhibits/jane-jacobs-urban-ideas/toronto-idea-tower-neighbourhood-renewal

4. According to the Employment Equity Act of 1995 of Canada: 'members of visible minorities' means persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.

5. Carried out jointly by Donya Ahmadi (PhD student/researcher TU Delft) for the DIVERCITIES project.

6. http://www.thestar.com/news/crime/raceandcrime/2010/02/07/troubled_neighbourhood_desperate_for_change.html#

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