

Missing social sustainability:
Planning “green condo-ism” in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal

Ashley Marie Arbis

A Thesis
in the Department of
Geography, Planning & Environment

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Science (Geography, Urban and Environmental Studies)
at Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

January 2022
© Ashley Marie Arbis, 2022

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Ashley Marie Arbis

Entitled: Missing social sustainability: Planning “green condo-ism” in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science (Geography, Urban and Environmental Studies)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final Examining Committee:

_____ Chair

Dr. Damon Matthews

_____ Examiner

Dr. Hélène Bélanger

_____ Examiner

Dr. Anna Kramer

_____ Supervisor

Dr. Ted Rutland

Approved by

Dr. Craig Townsend, Chair of Department

_____ 2022

Pascale Sicotte, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science

Abstract

Missing social sustainability:
Planning “green condo-ism” in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal

Ashley Marie Arbis

Condominiums are present in urban skylines throughout the world, including Canada. The condominium literature helpfully identifies the political-economic actors behind their development. However, it misses the role of urban planning and, in particular, the ways that planners’ pursuit of sustainability goals relates to condominium developments and “condo-ism”. This research, focused on urban planning in the Namur de la Savane sector of Montréal, aims to answer the following question: How do environmental and social sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism? What are the social consequences of this ideal form of urbanism? To answer these questions, I used document analysis of various planning documents and policies between 2004 and 2020. The document analysis showed how planners pursue ecological sustainability through the promotion of green urban landscapes, density, and transit-oriented development. The pursuit of social sustainability appears in these documents in the limited form of “social mix,” including some support for social housing. The implications here are twofold. First, the pursuit of these goals ultimately leads to the promotion of condominiums. Second, the framing of the goals ignores many important social considerations, including the social effects of condominiums on the broader neighbourhood. These findings contribute to the literature on condo-ism, showing how urban planning is central to the latter. Indeed, these findings can make a contribution as various levels of government are putting forward sustainability policies that will greatly influence urban planning but must take into consideration the importance of social sustainability in the planning of future cities.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ted Rutland, for all of the support, patience and encouragement he gave me throughout my progression of my thesis. Thank you for the insights and resources you shared with me throughout these past few years.

I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Geography, Planning and Environment department for their support in the early phase of my research.

Finally, I'd like to thank my parents and friends for their prayers and encouragement throughout my studies.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Images.....	vii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Literature review	2
Condominiums and ‘condo-ism’	2
Condominiums and Sustainability	6
Condominiums and Social Sustainability	8
Summary	10
3. Research Outline	11
Document analysis.....	13
Limitations and strengths of methods used	13
4. Background: The Planning Pre-History of Namur de la Savane	15
The elaboration of an economic sustainable development approach.....	15
The place of social sustainability in Montréal planning	18
The Décarie– Cavendish–Jean-Talon Ouest Sector.....	20
5. Making Green Condos in the Namur de la Savane.....	23
Planning a Green (Condo) Neighbourhood	26
TOD, Density, and Condominiums.....	28
Planning Social Sustainability	32
6. Conclusion	37
Bibliography	39

Appendix..... 61

List of Tables and Images

List of Tables

Table 1 – A list of documents analyzed Page 11-12

Table 2 – Total number of private households by condominium status Page 29

Table 3 – Occupied private dwellings by condominium status - 25% sample data Page 29

List of Images

Image 1 – The Décarie–Cavendish– Jean-Talon Ouest in the Plan d’Urbanisme Page 21

Image 2 – The Namur de la Savane sector Page 27

Image 3 – The projects in Namur de la Savane sector Page 32

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the increasing development of condominiums in the form of socially mixed, sustainability-oriented developments in Montréal. Condominiums, as a form of tenure, are increasingly built by developers in cities across North America and across the world (Harris, 2011; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Parallely, sustainable neighbourhoods are also being pursued by cities as climate change continues to affect lives of urban residents not only in Montréal but also around the world (Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020; Crabtree, 2005; Paré, 2019). In this thesis, I aim to connect the concepts of condominiums and sustainable neighbourhoods to better understand how condominiums have become such an important form of urban development and to consider the social consequences of “sustainable” condominium development.

While condominiums are, by definition, a form of tenure (Harris, 2011), they are increasingly being marketed as a packaged lifestyle fitting a certain urban form (i.e., a multi-unit building with amenities for its residents). In addition, they are generally developed and sold to middle class individuals and small households. This type of condominium becomes an expectation of a certain condominium configuration – apart from its legal form of tenure. When I refer to condos in this thesis, unless otherwise indicated, I am referring to the most common form of condos in today’s cities. That this form of condo has become so widespread, of course, depends on more than the actions and interest of property developers. Looking more closely at urban planning, I believe, can provide new insights into the spread of condos. There are indications in the urban planning literature, for example, that suggest that the pursuit of sustainability aims, although they are not directly related to condominium development, ultimately promotes densification and intensification (Bunce, 2004). In practice, the form of densification and intensification are largely residential in the form of condominium developments.

In this paper, I aim to answer the following questions: How do environmental and sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal? What are the ecological and social consequences of this ideal form of urbanism? To answer the questions, I analyzed urban planning documents and sustainability related policies between 2004 and 2020. I argue that sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal by promoting green neighbourhoods, density, and transit-oriented development, while failing to adequately meet *social* sustainability aims within development projects.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. First, I will introduce the literature review on condominiums and sustainability, followed by the research outline. Next, I will provide background context on the period of planning processes examined in the thesis. That is, I will trace some of the environmental and social policies, many of them city wide, that preceded the 2009-2020 period and that would shape that period. Finally, I will analyze how key planning ideals, including green neighbourhoods and “social mix,” shaped planning in the Namur de la Savane sector in the 2009-2020 period. The incorporation of these ideals into the planning process, I conclude, ultimately led to the promotion of condominiums as the dominant form of urban development, with mostly unrecognized social consequences for the sector, the broader neighbourhood, and the region of Montréal.

2. Literature review

In the literature review, I will introduce the condominium literature, then relate condominiums to sustainable neighbourhoods and explain the role and importance of social sustainability in this form of planning. The literature of condominiums, and condo-ism, critically analyses the rise of condominiums, largely in Toronto, Canada due to its negative socio-economic consequences (Kern, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). The sustainability literature also mentions the lack of inclusion and conceptual and practice of social concepts and aims (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011). The two literatures are helpful in their critical analyses of urban developments that miss the mark on ensuring social justice and equity. Bringing these two literatures together, I will show, is helpful in several respects. First and foremost, the literature on condominiums lacks sufficient attention to the role of urban planning in condo-ism. The literature on sustainable neighbourhoods is helpful here in bringing attention to contemporary planning ideals, while missing the condo-ism literature's attention to the central role of condominiums in city-making today. Drawing on both of these literatures makes it possible to see how two urban patterns – condo-ism and sustainability – are not distinct but co-exist in the conceptualization and development of recent and future urban development projects. It is that gap that I wish to address in this paper within the framework of a case study of an urban revitalization sector in Montréal.

As I focused on Rosen and Walks' concept of 'condo-ism' in the Canadian context, I largely base my literature on condominium development in Canadian cities. As green neighborhoods and social sustainability are more global concepts, I based that section of the literature at a more global scale.

Condominiums and 'condo-ism'

Condominiums and condo-ism are redefining urban landscapes around the world, especially in inner downtown areas (Harris, 2011; Kern, 2007, 2010c; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). While we might know condominiums as an architectural form, it is, by definition, a form of tenure that allows for multiple owners to own their own unit in the same building while sharing the cost for common areas like hallways (Harris, 2011; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Specifically, condominiums are fundamentally "a form of ownership" (Harris, 2011, p. 719). Explicitly, condominiums do not necessarily equate a tall skyscraper-like building. Rather, condominiums are legal property tools that "combines private ownership of an individual unit in a multi-unit building with an undivided share of the common property in the building and a right to participate in the collective governance of the private and common property" (Harris, 2011, p. 693). As such, condominiums can be understood as a vertical suburb – individual homes in the form of condo units that are combined with collective amenities and services for the residents, both condominium owners and renters – all under one roof. While initially imagined positively, many researchers have taken an oppositional stance against condominiums citing them as contributing to gentrification (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009), exacerbating social and class disparities (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009) and creating exclusive enclaves for the wealthy (Pow, 2009).

With the passage of new condo-enabling legislation in the 1960s and 70s, condominiums have proliferated around the world in countries like Australia (Nethercote & Horne, 2016), Singapore (Pow, 2009), India (Patel, 2015) and Canada (Harris, 2011; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Condominium legislation defines the ownership of the 'floating lot' – that is of each unit within the vertical building and shared ownership of the non-residential amenities and infrastructures (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). Thus, condominium legislation allows for vertical home-ownership of multiple owners on a set of land (Harris, 2011). This form of legislation allows an

increase of vertical homeownership. The major result here is that more profit can be derived with vertical homeownership than horizontal single-family homes.

The rise of condominiums has had major effects on contemporary cities. Attempting to grasp these effects, scholars have approached the phenomenon of condominiums under many labels: “condo-ism” (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015), “condo-isation” (Lippert & Steckle, 2016), “condofication” (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009) and “condominisation” (Pow, 2009). The first three of the four conceptualizations of condominiums as an urban form is used to describe the negative effects of the increasing presence of condominium buildings in the Canadian city of Toronto, Ontario (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009; Lippert & Steckle, 2016; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Lehrer & Wieditz (2009), for instance, assert that ‘condofication’ effectively deepens physical and social inequalities (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). Similarly, Lippert & Steckle (2016) theorize that the rise of condominium developments requires many stakeholders and organizations to work together to create and maintain condominium developments (Lippert & Steckle, 2016). Finally, Pow (2009)’s conceptualization of “condominisation” is most similar to (Rosen & Walks, 2013) concept of “condo-ism” because they focus on the creation of exclusive urban lifestyles for the wealthy (Pow, 2009). Pow (2009) and Lehrer & Wieditz (2009) respectively, do not go in-depth in defining “condominisation” and “condofication” but rather describe the increasing presence of condominium buildings in their respective locales (Singapore and Canada) (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009; Pow, 2009).

In this thesis, I will focus on Rosen and Walks’ term condo-ism (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Condo-ism not only describes the rise of condominiums in Canadian cities, but also analyzes how various actors and objectives have come to support condominium developments and critically assesses the socio-economic consequences of condo-ism at the city and neighbourhood levels. Rosen and Walks focus on the different elements of “condo-ism” in their major articles about condominium developments (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Their clearest definition of condo-ism is: “a ... mode of development rooted in a nexus of, on the one hand the economic interests of the private sector development industry and the state, and on the other new urbane yet privatized residential preferences, lifestyles, and consumption interests among consumers” (Rosen & Walks, 2015, p. 209). In other words, condo-ism is reconfiguring the spatial concentration, urban landscape and consumption practices through a particular type of construction (condominium developments) as the “key mode of (re) development producing new privatized and securitized ways of life in the city” (Rosen, 2017; Rosen & Walks, 2015). Their analysis is useful in better understanding where condominiums are being constructed, why those locations are particularly attractive to condominium developers, and how as an urban form, condominiums have spatial and social consequences (Rosen, 2017). In other words, Rosen and Walks’ term condo-ism points out that condominiums are not merely legislation tools or an urban form, but also an element of a group of actors and objectives that reshape the physical and social fabric of neighbourhoods and cities (Rosen & Walks, 2013).

One important effect of condo-ism is to produce a particular form of lifestyle. Condominium developments may take several urban forms such as tall skyscrapers to a modest triplex, but all promote a particular condo lifestyle. While Rosen and Walks have identified the rise of condo-ism, other scholars have examined more closely the role of particular actors within condominium development. Some scholars, for example, have examined the role of property developers, and show how developers play a key role in promoting the individualist lifestyles identified by Rosen and Walks. These scholars show that condominium developers build, create and design condominiums to fit the changing lifestyle needs of the middle-class through marketing and branding (Kern, 2010a; Lippert & Steckle, 2016; Zwick & Ozalp, 2011). In other words, place – that is the condominium building and its downtown location – is marketed in a certain way that leads to a

certain middle-class lifestyle, one that prioritizes private and secure living (Kern, 2010b; Pow, 2009; Rosen & Walks, 2013).

While marketing and branding are frequently mentioned as mechanisms that promote an exclusionary lifestyle, security features are another important mechanism (Kern, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Lippert & Steckle, 2016; Pow, 2009; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Indeed, security is essential to the overall image of a privatized condo lifestyle (Pow, 2009; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Kern (Kern, 2007, 2010c), for instance, has extensively studied the securitization of condominiums in downtown Toronto through the point of view of women and has listed examples of security assets (i.e., benefits that are expected to come with a condo purchase and lifestyle). Most of the examples that Kern cites include protection for condominium residents, in particular young women, in the form of security personnel and personalized digital securitization tools such as “key card entry ... and hand-print door locks” (Kern, 2010c, p. 371). In addition, digital tools and security personnel work together to provide the around the clock “video surveillance” to ensure the safety and security of condo residents (Kern, 2010c, p. 371; Rosen & Walks, 2013). The use of digital security tools ensures the easy trackability of the entrances and departures of residents, visitors and condominium staff (Kern, 2010c, p. 371; Lippert, 2014; Patel, 2015). Thus, security features are essential elements of ‘condo-ism’ because they privatize condo lifestyles by providing security for condo residents only (Rosen & Walks, 2015).

In addition to security measures, scholars have examined the role of amenities in the creation of condo lifestyles. Amenities, here, come in two forms: exclusive amenities in the buildings for condominium residents (Kern, 2010a; Rosen & Walks, 2013; Lippert, 2014; Nethercote & Horne, 2016) and downtown amenities surrounding of the condominium building (Nethercote & Horne, 2016). The amenities in the condominium building itself are composed of shared spaces and services which solely cater to the entertainment, use and safety of residents (Kern, 2007, 2010c; Pow, 2009; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Some of these in-condo amenities may include “swimming pools, landscaped gardens, clubhouses” (Pow, 2009, p. 188). The provision of amenities and services promote a certain condo lifestyle – residents not only own or rent a condominium unit but are also exclusive users of in-condo amenities (Kern, 2010c; Patel, 2015; Pow, 2009). In-condo amenities and services promote an exclusionary lifestyle in two ways: first, only residents of the condominium building have access to those amenities and second, condominium residents are more likely to consume those amenities in a highly secure environment rather than perusing public amenities (Patel, 2015; Pow, 2009). In other words, condominium buildings plan, promote and provide privatized amenities and services for condominium owners that, inevitably, separate residents from the rest of the neighbourhood (Kern, 2007; Patel, 2015; Pow, 2009). Thus, socialization among condominium residents become privatized and separate from the wider socialization of the neighbourhood.

In terms of nearby amenities, many scholars focus on the condo lifestyles of condominium residents who live downtown (Kern, 2010a, 2010b; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Such a condo lifestyle provides ample consumption-oriented opportunity in the forms of entertainment, restaurants, networking, get togethers, and shopping (Kern, 2010a; Nethercote & Horne, 2016). Typically, a consumption-oriented lifestyle is sought after by young, single creative professionals or middle-aged adults (Kern, 2010a). In other words, a curated consumption-oriented lifestyle is planned and geared by condo developers, real estate agents and public officials towards attracting and maintaining a particular class – an essential element of condo-ism (Kern, 2010a). Condominium residents, as a narrowly defined demographic and socioeconomic group, are not only ascribed a certain lifestyle but also perpetuate it to maintain their status (Kern, 2010b; Rosen & Walks, 2013). The emphasis on security, privacy, privatized services and amenities, and the

creation of a self-contained lifestyle define condominium developments (Kern, 2010b; Rosen & Walks, 2013).

Thus, one of the common criticisms is the privatization of amenities and increasing securitization of condominium buildings (Kern, 2007, 2010b; Rosen & Walks, 2013). This leads to a move towards less public space and more privatized spaces, as condo residents use amenities within their buildings rather than those outside (Kern, 2007, 2010b). This criticism comes prominent as condominiums are increasingly the core residential components of mixed-income developments (August, 2014, 2016b). This means that the governance of condominium buildings is increasingly being managed by a few experts while some of the residents do not participate in the process in the ongoing maintenance of common areas (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). Studies have examined how urban governance in condominiums are conducted and the level of participation of condominiums owners (Lippert & Steckle, 2016). In all, these studies have been critical regarding the effects of condominiums and social ties. For instance, scholars have pointed out that condominium governance acts as new urban governance pertinent to condominium residents (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). This form of governance exists apart from other forms of scales, such as municipal or provincial governance (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). Unlike other forms of government, condominium governance is entirely private (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). In practice, not all residents actively participate on the governance process and some residents, such as tenants, are simply not able to participate due to their tenure (Lippert, 2012; Lippert & Steckle, 2016). In addition, Lippert and Steckle (2016) argue that these restricted forms of governance become more prominent as projects have a shorter timeline between inception and construction (Lippert & Steckle, 2016).

Another thread of the literature has examined the relationship between condominiums and the surrounding neighbourhood. A central focus here is so-called “social mix,” a concept that refers to have a socio-economic and demographic mix of residents (August, 2016b; Rose, 2004). In many cases, social housing is constructed on the same site or within condo buildings. Here, scholars criticize the lack of social mix between condominium residents and low-income and other non-condominium residents (August, 2014, 2016b; Rose, 2004). This lack of social mix shows the inherent weakness of social mix policies which aims to mix income levels but do not necessarily put into place mechanism to encourage social mix nor do those policies aim to deepen social ties between all residents of a socially mixed neighbourhood (August, 2014, 2016b; Rose, 2004; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Regent Park, in Toronto, is an example of a failed attempt at social mix by the private and public sectors (August, 2016a). The stigmatization of social housing residents further adds to their segregation, marginalization in socially mixed developments (August, 2014, 2016a; Rose, 2004).

In summary, the different terms that have come out to describe the condominium phenomenon are largely critical of the urban development of condominium development – a process encouraged by the public sector but largely implemented by the private sector (Kern, 2007, 2010b, 2010c; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2013). Condominiums have been criticized for the gentrification of neighbourhoods, displacement of residents, and increasingly unaffordable housing costs (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). The phenomenon has been studied by various scholars in Toronto, Canada and comparative studies of other Canadian cities have also been completed (Kern, 2007, 2007, 2010b; Lippert, 2012; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Rosen and Walks’ conceptualization of condo-ism (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015) was supported by the increasing amount of scholarly attention of condominiums in many cities, predominantly in Toronto (Kern, 2007, 2010b, 2010c; Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009; Lippert, 2012). This work is important, as it approaches condominiums not simply as a built form of legal arrangement, but a type of urban development in our times using analytical lenses such as feminism and Foucauldian

an analysis (Kern, 2010a; Lippert, 2019). In addition to Toronto, there are some studies on the condominium phenomenon in other cities like Vancouver, British Columbia (Harris, 2011) and Montréal, Québec (Bélanger et al., 2013; Darchen & Poitras, 2020; Guerrero, 2014; Podmore, 1994; Rose, 2010). Urban planning and its ideals, such as densification, intensification are often discussed in the condominium literature (Quastel et al., 2012; Rosen & Walks, 2015). However, other ideals such as transit-oriented development, carbon neutral cities come into play. This is where sustainability as an ideal for urban planning comes into play.

Condominiums and Sustainability

The literature on sustainable planning and/or sustainable neighbourhoods is largely separate from the condo-ism literature. As we will see, however, there is some attention to condominiums in this literature – an attention that ultimately needs to be brought together with the richer analytical of the condo-ism literature. In a broad sense, the literature on sustainable neighbourhoods is concerned with the way that planning practices and objectives can be mobilized to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and the effects of climate change (Caprotti, 2014). This general orientation is examined at a variety of scales, from the planning of green neighbourhoods and cities, and even entire countries (Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020; Caprotti, 2014; Caprotti et al., 2015). In the following, I will review how the literature addresses three aspects of sustainable neighbourhood planning: greening, density, and transit-oriented development.

Greening, or green neighbourhoods, aim to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through green urban landscapes, design, and architecture (Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020; Caprotti et al., 2015; Cervero & Sullivan, 2011). This is accomplished through meeting green building criteria (i.e., LEED), increasing green landscapes and green transportation infrastructure (Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020; Cervero & Sullivan, 2011). In other words, greening comes through technological or urban design and landscape initiatives (Caprotti, 2014). The rise of so-called green neighborhoods and cities, such as LEED-NDs and eco-cities are recent approaches to green urbanism (Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020; Caprotti et al., 2015; Cervero & Sullivan, 2011).

In some cases, the pursuit of green neighbourhoods occurs through attention to architecture, and particularly forms of architecture categorized as more sustainable. At the building level, for example, sustainable assessment tools such LEED, BREEAM and other tools are used to build and design green buildings (Berardi, 2013). LEED and BREEAM, for example, are highly sought for certifications that follows a set of green building criteria that aim towards reducing energy consumption and waste (Berardi, 2013). In many cases, the promise of green neighbourhoods also comes with the expectations of green buildings (Berardi, 2013). Beyond the building level, there are LEED-ND classifications for neighbourhoods ((Benson & Bereitschaft, 2020). At the city level, a similar approach appears in the concept of eco-cities (Caprotti et al., 2015). One of the criticisms of the LEED, and consequently other similar tools, lack focus on social sustainability indicators (Olakitan Atanda, 2019). Olakitan Atanda (2019), for instance, found that LEED focuses on building and urban landscape improvements but lack socially oriented indicators (Olakitan Atanda, 2019). As such, affordability in LEED-NDs are questioned as the urban design and landscape often over emphasize greening over additional and essential social indicators, many of which are not necessarily – or rather cannot – be easily designed and integrated into new built neighbourhoods (Szibbo, 2016).

Another element of sustainable planning is density. This element can work together with attention to green design and aesthetics or independent of it. The emphasis here is on densification, intensification, and compactness (Darchen & Poitras, 2018, 2020; Quastel et al., 2012). This usually means building vertically to use less space, curtail urban sprawl, and allow for more green landscapes. While density can be a planning objective in itself, it is commonly connected

to a related planning objective: transit-oriented development (Cervero & Sullivan, 2011). Essentially, transit-oriented development aims to develop mixed use and dense developments in close proximity to transit infrastructure (Cervero & Sullivan, 2011). Thus, the pursuit of TOD generally involves the promotion of density, but density specifically in areas close to public transportation infrastructure. When achieved, TOD is believed to promote more ecological lifestyles. In TODs, for example, lifestyles are geared towards the use of public and active transportation (Ibraeva et al., 2020). Thus, the role and importance of automobiles is reduced in favour of more climate-friendly transit options. There are often connections between the pursuit of green neighbourhoods and TOD. Transit is at the center of some conceptions of green neighbourhoods, especially with transit-oriented developments which promotes densification, compactness, and mixed use near new and existing transportation infrastructure (Cervero & Sullivan, 2011; Cournoyer-Gendron, 2017).

The sustainable planning literature is generally distinct from the literature on condo-ism. However, condominiums are often discussed in the sustainability literature. When it comes to greening, for example, a few scholars have argued that vertical buildings can preserve green spaces in cities (Cervero & Sullivan, 2011). Perhaps more importantly, many condominium developments occur on so-called brownfield sites (Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 267). Brownfield areas whose land use was originally industrial but whose use, over the years, has declined (Teelucksingh, 2010). When condominium developments include green spaces, then, they automatically turn “brown” into “green.” Although justified behind environmentally friendly policies such as smart growth and sustainability, redeveloped brownfield areas in the downtown can be a form of “instant gentrification” which leads to the redevelopment of a medium to large scale area within a much shorter timeframe than classical gentrification – one that spans years rather than decades (Teelucksingh, 2010). Thus, the redevelopment of large swathes of brownfield areas is positively supported and justified by environmental policies but also greatly benefit real estate developers and urban planners financially. This means that the influx of new condominium developments in the downtown leads to a sudden demographic change which fuels condo-ism by prioritizing a consumption-oriented lifestyle (Rosen & Walks, 2015).

When it comes to density, moreover, many scholars suggest that condominium developments are a way of achieving greater density. Vertical homeownership in the form of condominiums is thus described as benefitting the environment by promoting densification, mixed-use (in some cases), and leaving more green spaces in and beyond cities by curtailing sprawl (Darchen & Poitras, 2018). For cities and city-states that do not have a large land mass, such as Singapore, the legislation of condominiums has allowed them to build up to preserve green spaces (Caprotti et al., 2015; Pow, 2009). For Canadian cities, condominium legislation have allowed for the densification of downtown areas as the focal point of urban centres (Darchen & Poitras, 2018, 2020; Rosen, 2017; Rosen & Walks, 2015). There is a sense, then, that density and condominium developments go hand in hand. The ostensible ecological benefits of condominiums are even greater when they are constructed near transit nodes and infrastructures (Cervero & Sullivan, 2011), a twinning of condominium development and TOD.

The ostensible link between sustainability and condominium development is apparent in the literature on condominiums in Canadian cities. In Montréal, scholars show, condominiums have often been promoted around the world for their supposed ecological benefits (Darchen & Poitras, 2018). The most common justification for condominiums in downtown areas is densification and intensification (Darchen & Poitras, 2018; Filion et al., 2010, 2020; Filion & Kramer, 2012; Searle & Filion, 2011). The latter is a response to unbridled urban sprawl which threaten green fields surrounding urban areas. Thus, the justification for dense condominiums is environmentally oriented (Darchen & Poitras, 2018). Similarly, the push for densification and intensi-

fication to curb urban sprawl and respect green growth boundaries around metropolitan areas like the Great Toronto Area have benefited and lead to condominium towers and high-rises to be both economically profitable and environmentally approved (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Increasingly, the justification for dense, mixed-use, and compact neighbourhoods are due to global urban aims to protect green areas outside of urban centre, prevent urban sprawl and reduce greenhouse gases (Bunce, 2004; Rosen & Walks, 2015). In addition to densification, intensification is also encouraged to promote mixed use buildings. The push for intensification is also related to the push for compact neighbourhoods and city centers that promote densification in specific urban areas, most notably near transit infrastructures such as bus, metro, and train stations (Bunce, 2004; Searle & Filion, 2011).

The ecological benefits of condominiums have also been questioned. The most common criticism focuses on the social impacts of 'green condo-ism'. As noted above, condominiums often contribute to gentrification (Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). A more pointed critique focuses on the role of green branding in this process. Under terms such as green gentrification (Anguelovski et al., 2019), environmental gentrification (Checker, 2011) and eco-gentrification, sustainable urban forms and their amenities such as parks and water fronts have been criticized for increasing the property costs and rents in neighbourhoods which can lead to the displacement of residents (Anguelovski et al., 2019; Bunce, 2009; Checker, 2011). It's also possible to question the ecological benefits of green condo-ism. Do these developments actually address environmental problems? The literature on this question is more limited, but a few arguments emerge. Due to the criticisms related to the greening initiatives, whether at the neighbourhood or building scale, scholars have been critical of environmental policies such as green growth boundaries (Bunce, 2004). Thus, the discourse is centered less on sustainable development but rather the missed marks and opportunities on urban sustainability.

A concept that comes up in the literature questioning the notion of green condominiums is ecological modernization – that is how economics come into play with the environment (Bunce, 2004). This means that the economy and the environment are planned together and work together to meet environmental policy goals (Buttel, 2000; Langhelle, 2000). Langelle (2000) writes that while ecological modernization and sustainable development are not the same, both concepts revolve around environmental policy (Langhelle, 2000). On this note, it is unlikely that one will find the term ecological modernization in environmental policies and documents. Rather, it is sustainability that is commonly mentioned in the environmental policies (Langhelle, 2000). Langhelle (2000) further notes the limits of ecological modernization in comparison to sustainable development which incorporates more aims outside of the development and implementation of 'greener' technologies (Langhelle, 2000). Scholars have mentioned ecological modernization in studies related to urban planning and gentrification and, to some extent, condominiums (Adamo, 2012; Desfor et al., 2006; Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). Those studies have largely analyzed the urban planning plans and development of cities in Ontario: Ottawa and Toronto (Adamo, 2012; Desfor et al., 2006; Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009). Those studies relate how environmental policies, in the two respective cities, coincided with environmental policies, such as smart growth, which led to gentrification (Adamo, 2012; Desfor et al., 2006; Lehrer & Wieditz, 2009).

Condominiums and Social Sustainability

If condominiums are billed as promoting sustainability through densification and intensification, we can ask: to what extent do they contribute to "social sustainability"? Social sustainability is part of the three-pillared concept of sustainability: environment, social and economic as listed in the Brundtland Report (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011). Although social sustainability does not have a single definition, the term is rather used to encompass important social aspects such

as social justice and social equity (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011). Thus, whether social sustainability is used as a conceptual framework or measurement tool, its focus is social ties at various levels, usually neighbourhood or city level (Dempsey et al., 2011). While social sustainability encompasses many indicators, important ones include social justice and equity (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Eizenberg & Jabareen, 2017).

There is a small literature that examines the question of social sustainability in urban planning. Ancell and Thompson-Fawcett (2008), for instance, studied the importance of social justice and equity in relation to social sustainability and housing in Christchurch (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008). In the literature, social justice is related to distributive justice and social equity can be defined in relation to access to “key services and facilities” (Dempsey et al., 2011, p. 292; Eizenberg & Jabareen, 2017, p. 7). The terms are important for their focus on the so-called “soft” elements of social sustainability, that is nontangible components (Shirazi & Keivani, 2019). While social sustainability indicators also encompass so-called “hard” aspects of social sustainability (ex. physical and tangible elements), past literature have emphasized that physical elements can foster social sustainability but do not necessarily bring essential “soft” social sustainability elements (Dempsey et al., 2011; Shirazi & Keivani, 2019). Although the theoretical and conceptualization of social sustainability continues to be an area of debate and discussion, cities, such as Vancouver, have also put in place a social sustainability policy to meet sustainability goals but its aims have been criticized for lacking emphasis on social sustainability (Davidson, 2009, 2010; Holden, 2012; Quastel et al., 2012).

The social sustainability of condominiums is already called into question by the gentrification literature cited above. However, in the social sustainability literature, gentrification is not commonly mentioned but the focus on the lack of social justice and equity and the lack of affordability are discussed (Woodcraft, 2012). The social sustainability literature has a set of indicators to baseline the social sustainability of urban development process and outcome (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011). Such indicators can fall under categories, sets or themes (Karji et al., 2019; Olakitan Atanda, 2019). Usually, a list of indicators will include both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ components from desired process outcomes (i.e. equity) to urban neighbourhood elements like urban design and landscape (Karji et al., 2019). In other words, social sustainability focuses on essential indicators of social sustainability to be included in urban developments (Anguelovski et al., 2019; Dempsey et al., 2011). Scholars have found that urban planning goals may conflict with one another and which may lead to missing social sustainability goals (Campbell, 1996; Vallance et al., 2011; Woodcraft, 2012; Yiftachel & Hedgcock, 1993).

A key consideration, when it comes to social sustainability, is the development process that produces condominiums – that is urban renewal in some cases (Chan & Lee, 2007). The latter is important as it analyzes social sustainability not only as a desired outcome of sustainability but rather an essential component and process that leads to sustainability. In the literature, the focus has been critical, and most projects do not meet social sustainability due to the lack of participation and recognition of residents needs as examples of failures (Chan & Lee, 2007). In some cases, residents are not consulted. In the condominium literature, the outcome of the urban development is often focused, and public consultations are not mentioned much. However, a lack of focus on the process of urban development can implicitly indicate a lack of social sustainability in newly built urban development.

Housing is an important component of social sustainability (Crabtree, 2005). Social justice and equity, for instance, focus on redistribution and justice of resources and services (Cuthill, 2010; Dempsey et al., 2011). The latter is all the more important for housing as an essential component to social sustainability, albeit it is often not at the center of social sustainabil-

ity discourse at times. The need for affordable housing is important and mentioned in the social sustainability literature (Karji et al., 2019; Vallance et al., 2011; Woodcraft, 2012). While hard components of sustainability focus on densification and compactness, these are often encompassed residential components of new sustainable development (Dempsey et al., 2011). While housing is mentioned as essential and a human right, the discussion of housing in the social sustainability literature is limited. On the other hand, the condominium and gentrification literature bring housing and residents at the forefront of the discussion (August, 2014; Rosen & Walks, 2013). However, the condominium and gentrification literatures do not mention sustainability often but rather focus on the failures and gaps of environment-oriented development.

Summary

My literature review brought together two major fields of urban research: condo-ism and sustainability planning. Broadly, condo-ism also refers to an exclusive lifestyle and urbanism (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). The latter is important to remember in relation to the increasingly common approach of building new socially mixed income and use neighbourhoods (August, 2014, 2016b). Indeed, condo-ism and its attached meanings and lifestyle do not disappear in so-called social mix neighbourhoods (August, 2014, 2016b). But rather, condo-ism continues to thrive. It becomes all the more important to understand how condo-ism in green socially mixed neighbourhoods defines social sustainability discourse in the conceptualization of the project but also the urban form and social mix opportunities. Indeed, condo-ism and social sustainability are two aims difficult to reconcile while one focuses on profit and privatization while the latter focuses on improving and strengthening access to amenities and services and social connections and ties.

In this research, I aim to contribute to these literatures by examining how condo-ism becomes a dominant mode of development partly in response to sustainable goals. I also examine how social sustainability is included in new developments and how social sustainability and condo-ism co-exist in the conceptualization and development of new built or revitalization neighbourhoods. The social sustainability, at times, can become theoretical but its concepts and indicators are important tool for application in existing urban development projects. Similarly, the condo-ism literature focuses on the pattern of condominium development and lifestyles but doesn't connect to the literature on urban development towards green urbanism (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). Thus, I aim to bring condo-ism and social sustainability in discussion and how concretely, these two concepts do not evolve separately but rather are being used and developed together in urban revitalization and development.

3. Research Outline

To better understand the role of planners during the development of neighbourhood-level projects, I aim to answer the following research question: How do environmental and social sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal? What are the social consequences of this ideal form of urbanism? I argue that environmental and social sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal by promoting green neighbourhoods, urban forms, and design while failing to adequately meet social sustainability aims within development projects.

In this paper, I aim to:

- Understand the justification for these green mixed-use and income neighbourhoods and the role of condominiums
- Understand the process of developing these projects and the role of social sustainability in these projects and site study

The Namur de la Savane sector was chosen as the area of study for this research due to the increasing number of publicly and privately led developments in the area that have risen in the last decades (McGill Oroboro Team, 2019). While the developments vary in size, start and due dates, they share similarities in their urban planning inspiration and form. For this research, only sites from the borough of Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce of the City of Montréal were examined. The projects that were examined include the Triangle, the Westbury site and the Namur-Hippodrome (McGill Oroboro Team, 2019). All projects within the Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce fall within the boundaries of the Namur de la Savane sector.

In this research, I used document analysis (Bowen, 2009) which means that I looked at various documents to better understand the discourse around condo-ism (Rosen & Walks, 2013) and social sustainability. Below is a table which lists of the documents analyzed.

Documents	What was analyzed
Urban planning documents	Plan métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement (PMAD) (2012) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012) Schéma d'aménagement et de développement de l'agglomération de Montréal (2015) (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015) Plan d'urbanisme de Montréal (2016) (Ville de Montréal, 2016a)
Montréal sustainability plans	Montréal durable 2016-2020 (2016) (Ville de Montréal, 2016g) Plan local de développement durable 2019-2022 de l'arrondissement de Côte-des-Neiges—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (2019) (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2019) Plan climat Montréal: objectif carboneutralité

	d'ici 2050 (2020) (Ville de Montréal, 2020a)
Metropolitan and Montréal social mix policies	Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables dans les nouveaux projets résidentiels (2005) (Ville de Montréal, 2005) Plan d'action métropolitain pour le logement social et abordable (2015) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015) Règlement pour une métropole mixte (2020) (Ville de Montréal, 2020c)
Public consultation documents from the Office de consultation publique de Montréal (OCPM)	Réaménagement Du Secteur Namur–Jean-Talon (2009) (70 documents excluding reference documents) (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009f) Quartier Namur-Hippodrome (100+ documents) (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020b)
Council meeting minutes and documents of Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce	Minutes and documents from 2007-2020 (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, n.d.)
Urban Design documents from Design Montréal	Urban designs of finalists of the competition (Design Montréal et al., 2011)
Websites	The different condominium developments in the Triangle (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.; Devmont, n.d.-a; IMTL, n.d.; McLean, 2016; Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008, 2009; Summit Management, n.d.-a) The Westbury development website (Devmont, n.d.-b)

Table 1: A list of documents analyzed

For the document analysis, I found pertinent information related to sustainability and the Namur de la Savane and the projects within the boundaries of Côte-des-Neiges by doing the following searches (see Appendix). Some of the terms related to the social sustainability were inspired by (Dempsey et al., 2011)'s social sustainability indicators on Table 1 (Dempsey et al., 2011, p. 291).

For information on the Namur de la Savane, I searched for the Hippodrome and Blue Bonnets (the original name of the site) (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). For each project, I searched for their names (past and current), the names of the streets within each of their boundaries, the name of the condominium projects and finally, the name of the social housing projects in each site.

In addition to textual analysis, I also analyzed the images and visual representations used in the public consultation documents, council meeting notes and development websites.

The data that were collected included online documents and websites. Governmental documents, such as documents on the projects, council meeting agendas and meeting notes,

related policies and news articles were all readily available online. Policies were found in governmental websites, usually in French. Office de consultation publique de Montréal (OCPM) documents were found on their website and collate OCPM documents, borough and City documents, as well as reports submitted by participants of the public consultations (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009f, 2019a). Council meeting documents were found in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce borough website (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, n.d.). Online news articles were found on a news aggregator, Google News, which linked the original news articles (Google, n.d.).

I found and selected these documents because a) policies explained the justification of green urban development b) Office de consultation publique de Montréal documents presented some of the development projects c) council meeting notes provided detailed and chronological information on each site and d) news articles gave up to date details on the OCPM public consultations as well as occasional updates on the sites and case study. The documents on each site helped me better understand the conceptualization and development towards green neighbourhoods. The policies and governmental files helped me understand the justification for green urban development policies and understand social mix policies and finally, the news articles and council meeting minutes and documents helped me understand the progress of the sites after the public consultations. In addition, images from condominium websites and project documents were analyzed because of key themes and words from the document analysis.

In total, I looked at 3 important urban planning plans, 3 Montréal sustainability plans, 3 social mix policies, 156 months of borough council meeting minutes and documents and over 250 public consultation documents on two sites from the Office de consultation publique de Montréal (OCPM). Finally, I also looked at condominium development websites.

Document analysis

My analysis started with the documents and websites related to the Namur de la Savane sector and three projects within the sector. I extracted key themes and from those documents. The keywords were categorized into three general themes: housing, sustainability and social sustainability (see Appendix for a list of keywords searched). I found policies directly related to social sustainability and searched for those key themes and words. I also searched for the names of the different site studies and the Namur de la Savane sector. Thus, I started the document analysis by looking to the different projects in the sector and also examined how and why the different projects in the Namur de la Savane sector aim for sustainability goals. As documents were either in French or English, the analysis of documents was done based on the language of the document. For example, I searched for keywords such as 'sustainability' if the document was in English or 'durabilité' if the document was in French.

Limitations and strengths of methods used

This research was dependent on existing secondary online sources. This meant that not all information could be found in these documents as they focused on certain aspects of the development of the project. Although there is a lot of information that can be found online, the amount of information of each site study varied. Some of the development projects underwent public consultations at the city level which meant that a lot of information on the sites could easily be found (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009f, 2019a). However, consistent information even for those sites over the years were not regular. Instead, newspaper articles were used to shed a light on the evolution of site projects throughout the development of the projects. Other site studies have a little information on them with few public documents. Furthermore, I only de-

veloped an analysis based on publicly available documents that were easily accessible online. To mitigate missing pieces of information, many types of sources of information and documents were searched and found to have a better and more complete understanding of the phenomenon and development under study. As documents span decades, different levels of governments and political parties, I chose secondary research as it didn't make sense to interview a few key actors now when policies and projects span years in the making, implementation, and revision.

One of the problems anticipated was the lack information on the sites. However, two of the site studies went through a public consultation process through the OCPM and therefore, the conceptualization and reception of the projects were both well documented. In addition, council meeting notes gave detailed and chronological background information on the sites and case study area. In terms of validity (Salkind, 2010), I tried to find information from different sources of information, many of which came from official City and borough documents. When possible and relevant, I also looked at the website of community organizations to better understand their role and understanding of social sustainability in the case study. To ensure reliability (Salkind, 2010), documents are largely official City or borough documents. I also looked at OCPM public consultations and council meeting notes which add more details to the development of the sites. Finally, I chose documents such as policies, minutes and documents from various levels of government to understand how the city and urban planners defined and understood sustainability as an urban development aim and how they balanced the three pillars of sustainability (environmental, social and economic) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

4. Background: The Planning Pre-History of Namur de la Savane

Before describing the planning processes within the Namur de la Savane sector between 2009 and 2020, it is important to look at the situation of the area prior to official urban revitalization of abandoned or underutilized sites (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Ville de Montréal, 2019b) and its official naming in 2013 (Ville de Montréal, 2013b). The pre-history of the site will help us better understand why the area was initially targeted for urban revitalization and what urban planning approaches have greatly influenced the development and urban form of new developments. To do this, it is important to briefly summarize the environmental and social mix policies that helped shaped the revitalization of the area.

The elaboration of an economic sustainable development approach

Sustainable development is a central concept for planning in Montréal. Montréal is no different from other Canadian cities in its approach to urban sustainable development. In its *Plan d'Urbanisme*, the urban sustainable concepts that were mentioned included densification, intensification, and compactness (Ville de Montréal, 2016a). In the first chapter of *the Plan d'Urbanisme*, it is mentioned that the City of Montréal aimed to take “une approche équilibrée de vitalité économique, d'équité sociale, de préservation de l'environnement et de respect des besoins des générations futur”, that is a three pillared approach to sustainability (Ghahramanpouri et al., 2013; Ville de Montréal, 2016b, p. 6). The City of Montréal's approach aimed to “diminuer la dépendance à l'égard de l'automobile et à protéger les espaces naturels” which “souligne le rôle majeur que la Ville de Montréal peut jouer dans la mise en application du Protocole de Kyoto” (Ville de Montréal, 2016b, p. 6). The *Plan d'Urbanisme* was, and continue to be, a key document for sustainable development: “la Ville de Montréal a entrepris l'élaboration d'un Plan stratégique de développement durable, auquel les actions du Plan d'urbanisme font écho” (Ville de Montréal, 2016c, p. 154). As the foundational urban planning document, this orientation was transferred to the later policies such as the *Plan métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement* (PMAD) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012), the *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement de l'agglomération de Montréal* (SADAM) (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015), and borough level plans (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016a, 2019).

The definition of sustainable development in Montréal borrows from the Brundtland Report and mentions the three elements of sustainable development – economic, social and environment (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). Unsurprisingly, the environment component of sustainable development is heavily detailed in urban planning documents through its description of the cause of climate change and its negative effects in urban areas and its surroundings (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015).

Recently, Montréal's pursuit of environmental sustainability involves a new goal, carbon neutrality. In 2020, the City of Montréal recently published its plan towards carbon neutrality, a plan that the city hopes will shape planning and development across the urban landscape (Ville de Montréal, 2020a). The City of Montréal explains the focus on carbon neutrality as a way to “[...] avoir un impact nul sur le climat. Montréal réduira au maximum ses émissions de gaz à effet de serre (GES)” (Ville de Montréal, 2020b). Thus, the goal of the *Plan Climat 2020-2030* is to, as much as possible, reduce the impact of the City of Montréal on climate change in the next decade (Ville de Montréal, 2020b). The *Plan Climat 2020-2030* also included a by-law entitled ‘*Règlement sur la divulgation et la cotation des émissions des émissions de gaz à effet de serre des grands bâtiments*’ which took effect September 2021 to “connaître l'utilisation des énergies fossiles au sein des bâtiments afin d'en réduire la consommation” (Ville de Montréal, 2021, p. 53). The move towards carbon neutrality is not a sudden

move but rather the result of the City of Montréal's previous engagements on fighting climate change through climate agreements (Karel, 2018) and the planning policies I discussed above. In 2019, the neighbourhood named the Namur-Hippodrome (a sector of the Namur de la Savane area) as a future carbon neutral neighbourhood, the first time this was named as a goal at the neighbourhood level (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). Thus, the concept of sustainability as one focused on reducing environmental harms is still very much present and is at the centre of environmental goals and objectives of the City of Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2020a).

While there are sustainability plans at the city level, there are also plans at the agglomeration and metropolitan levels (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). At the metropolitan level, we have the Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal's *Plan métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement du Grand Montréal* (PMAD) which is policy document that not only covers Montréal but 82 municipalities in total (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, n.d.-a). Their policies have a great influence on the City of Montréal since their mandate covers "urban planning, transportation, social housing, environment and economic development", among others (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, n.d.-a). The Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal's mandate also touches on the three elements of sustainability: environment, social, and economic (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, n.d.-a; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). At the metropolitan level, reducing emissions from transportation also plays a key role in the PMAD (Ville de Montréal, 2016a). The latter promotes transit-oriented developments (TODs) which consists, largely, of dense residential developments along existing public infrastructures such as metro stations (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

As reducing greenhouse gases, especially those emitted from automobiles, is repeatedly mentioned as the one of the main targets of climate change adaptation, planning policies gear towards urban planning and design solutions that aim to reduce its emissions and effects (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). The PMAD, for instance, mentions urban planning and transportation and how overall the plan aims to "favoriser la réduction des émissions de gaz à effet de serre" (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 9). At the municipal level, this means primarily promoting active and public transportation, and green mobility (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Ville de Montréal, 2016a).

A commitment to sustainability, in addition to requiring attention to transportation (greenhouse gases) and the urban form (density and densification), was also expressed in planners' conception of the neighbourhood, and building level. At the neighbourhood level the concept of 'écoquartier' aimed for an environmentally friendly neighbourhood design and form (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). This concept was described in the PMAD under the title, "Vers la création d'écoquartiers (ou quartiers « durables »)" (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 53). In the PMAD, an écoquartier is defined as

"La réalisation d'un écoquartier, aussi appelé « quartier durable », s'articule notamment autour du concept de la mixité socioéconomique, culturelle et générationnelle tout en intégrant la concertation, respectant ainsi les principes de base du développement durable." (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 53)

In other words, an écoquartier favours mix of land use and social mix (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 53). At the building scale, planners emphasize the benefits of LEED certification, which aims for green buildings (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). LEED also has a neighbourhood level certification (LEED-ND), one attained by a Montréal project – the Technopôle Angus in Rosemont (Paré, 2019). LEED was mentioned in the *Plan d'Urbanisme*

and in the *PMAD* in 2012 (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 52; Ville de Montréal, 2016e, p. 100), while LEED-ND was mentioned in the *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement de l'agglomération de Montréal* in 2016 (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015). It is worth noting that écoquartiers and LEED both fall under the *PMAD*'s first orientation – “Un Grand Montréal avec des milieux de vie durable” (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 10). The emphasis, then, is to create living environments that achieve sustainability goals.

In 2011, transit-oriented development (TOD) was not only an idea of the Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal (CMM) but the chosen metropolitan tool for development as seen by their published urban development guide on TOD (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2011). TOD plays such a key role in metropolitan urban planning that the first objective of the overall *PMAD* emphasizes, through two sub-objectives, TOD planning: “1.1 Orienter 40 % de la croissance des ménages aux points d'accès du réseau de transport en commun métropolitain structurant” and “ 1.2 Optimiser le développement urbain à l'extérieur des aires TOD” (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 10).

For the CMM, TOD is not just about environmental sustainability. TODs not only offer an urban design and planning solution to reducing greenhouse gases, but they also act as a tool for economic development for the residential and commercial real estate markets (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). Indeed, there is a financial program by the CMM to finance the creation of TOD zones for municipalities (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, n.d.-b). It is at the crossroad of TOD and sustainable development that we can understand the *PMAD*'s emphasis on a being a “competitive, attractive, and sustainable metropolis” (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, p. 5). The meaning of “competitive” becomes clear when we observe that TOD, at the time it was promoted in the *PMAD*, was already being implemented internationally and locally in different cities (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). In other words, sustainable development becomes a competitive metric wherein cities or metropolitan areas compete with one another on urban sustainable development to promote their sustainability approach in the fight against climate change (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). This means that the imperative goal of reducing greenhouse gases becomes a kind of urban branding tool. The concept of ecological modernization comes to mind to emphasize that sustainability goals are not far behind economic goals but rather is included in overall economic goal (Langhelle, 2000).

An example of this is that densification encourages a certain type of urban development, condominiums. There are also rental buildings but recently, they have been imitating the luxurious amenities and lifestyle marketing of condominiums. In addition, transit-oriented development, which is promoted by the CMM, inevitably leads to the construction of condominiums as well. Thus, urban sustainable aims such as densification and transit-oriented development end up promoting condominiums. Indeed, in the condo-ism literature, Rosen and Walks note that condo-ism is “a planning philosophy that favors intensification, downtown living, and densification, and the cultural promotion of high-rise living as both sophisticated and environmentally friendly” (Rosen & Walks, 2015, p. 299). Thus, we can better understand why municipalities encourage densification and transit-oriented development – the latter reduces greenhouse gas emissions which is the one of the key aims of the City of Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2016c, 2016g).

Thus, sustainable development aims to fight climate change, while also supporting economic development by helping the city (or metropolitan area) to position itself in the global arena of other metropolitan areas for residents, tourism, and capital investment (Communauté métro-

politaine de Montréal, 2012). This means that overall urban planning documents have excelled at pushing for the environmental and economic aspects of sustainability as a winning combination. The self-branding of cities and position amongst other cities plays an important role in the sustainable development approach of the Montréal metropolitan, agglomeration, and municipal areas (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). All of this, as I suggested, supports the development of condominiums – a form of residence that helps the city to achieve its sustainability goals, as these goals have been conceived. One may ask, therefore, where does the social aspect of sustainable development come into play in this discussion?

The place of social sustainability in Montréal planning

Urban social sustainability, although consistently *mentioned* as one of the three pillars of sustainability in Montréal planning documents, receives relatively little attention in these documents. Elements of social sustainability mentioned in the documents include aims like social mix, affordability, social housing, and social equity (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). For the most part, social sustainability is encouraged by these planning documents and policies by encouraging affordable and social housing at the metropolitan and city level. This means, in particular, including affordable and social housing in new urban development projects (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2005, 2020c). This is usually described in terms of social mix – a key indicator of social sustainability. However, unlike social mix, there isn't an overall plan for social *equity*, nor is it explicitly mentioned in urban planning documents apart from its vague use and when mentioning the definition of sustainability from the Brundtland report (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). In all, social mix in housing (i.e., the inclusion of affordable and social housing in new developments) plays a key role in the idealized neighbourhoods presented in urban planning documents (Ville de Montréal, 2016a).

At the metropolitan level, we find some attention to social sustainability in the aforementioned TOD policies. These policies discuss the social aspects of TODs, mainly their potential achievement of social mix (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). Here, like at the municipal level, social mix usually refers to the inclusion of social and affordable housing in TODs (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). However, there is also attention to “mix” in other senses. Overall, the aim is for diversity in terms of different housing types (townhouses, apartments, condominiums) and affordability and tenures (ownership and tenancy) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).¹ Apart from social mix, vague social aims such as “harmony” and “cohesion” are also briefly mentioned (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016a). In the *Plan d'Urbanisme*, for example, social harmony is also used in relation to housing mix (Ville de Montréal, 2016d). In other words, social sustainable development aims largely to achieve social mix and vague social ideals. Neither social equity nor social justice are mentioned or pursued.

Like environmental sustainability goals, some social aspects of sustainability have become part of the competitive image of a city (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). Paradoxically, the self-branding of the metropolitan area and municipality through positively associated terms such as diversity and mix are often lacking at the implementation stage (for examples in Montréal neighbourhoods, see Poitras, 2009). This means that social mix are men-

¹ In the PMAD, for instance, diversity is related to the different types of housing or land use (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, pp. 82, 87). In the same document, mix is used similarly to diversity as it usually relates to social mix, mixed use, socio-economic mix (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

tioned as an aim in urban development plans, but actual social mix does not actually materialize until much later into the development phase or materializes but disproportionately favours homeowners over tenants. Essentially, social aspects may be promoted at higher levels such as the metropolitan level, but this can co-exist with particular developments, or neighbourhood-level plans, that promote displacement and various social injustices. This is echoed in the literature wherein the ideal concept of social mix is imagined but not experienced once a project is completed (August, 2016b; Kelly, 2013). In other words, social aspects, while important are difficult to implement and may lead to displacement or the gentrification of a neighbourhood (August, 2014, 2016b; Kelly, 2013).

At the metropolitan level, there is an action to develop more social and affordable housing through the *Plan d'action métropolitain pour le logement social et abordable* (PAMLSA) (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015). The first version of the PAMLSA was published in 2008 and the previous version in 2015 (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015). In the most recent action plan (2015-2020), the development of social and affordable housing is to be built in new TOD developments in accordance with the PMAD's goal of "orienter minimalement 40 % de la croissance des ménages" (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015, pp. 2, 8). In addition, new social and affordable housing are also mentioned to contribute to the CMM's overall strategy of ensuring that sustainability is included in their economic plan and that their economic plan meets sustainable development (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015). However, social mix was not often mentioned in the 2009-2013 version of the action plan (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2008). On this note, social mix was mentioned nine times in the 2015-2020 action plan and in one of the passages, the CMM notes that "l'atteinte des objectifs de mixité sociale présents dans le PMAD et dans la notion de développement durable est fortement tributaire de la volonté et de l'action des gouvernements et des municipalités" (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2015, p. 91). This means that social mix can be reached with government interventions.

The development of affordable and social housing, the key means of attaining social goals in the planning documents and policies, is enabled, and promoted through specific housing policies. Such policies were first developed at the municipal level, a policy called the *Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables* in 2005. Briefly, the policy aimed for the inclusion of 15% social and 15% affordable housing units in new residential developments. It was admittedly a "strategy" and not a policy. The affordable housing component is meant to shape the profit-making of developers. Units are defined as "affordable" "lorsque son loyer ou son hypothèque mensuels (incluant les taxes foncières et les frais de chauffage) ne dépasse pas la capacité de payer d'un ménage donné, soit 30 % de son revenu mensuel brut" (Ville de Montréal, 2005, p. 2). The aim, for developers, is to produce such units, while still making a profit.² The social housing component essentially requires the developer to provide the land (or the cost of the land) for social housing units that are publicly financed (through the Accès Logis program) (Ville de Montréal, 2005, 2020c). Though the strategy did not apply to developments across the board, there are a few large-scale projects that benefited from the *Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables dans les nouveaux projets résidentiels*. However, the program had its limitations. For

² In some cases, developers opted to build and sell "affordable" condo units. In other cases, a par-municipal body, the *Société de développement et d'habitation de Montréal*, marketed the condos. Parallely, since 2005, the *Société d'habitation et de Développement de Montréal* (SHDM) has had a program that funds affordable condominium units, through their Accès Condos program to encourage homeownership at an affordable price (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, n.d.-b). The Côté Ouest condominiums in the Namur –Jean-Talon sector (now the Triangle) was funded through this program (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008).

instance, the voluntary nature and unit cap meant that social and affordable housing units depended on the financial contribution of developers (Ville de Montréal, 2005). Thus, affordable housing units were included in new condominium projects which leads to questioning the affordability of the units.

In 2019, the City of Montréal updated its *Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables dans les nouveaux projets résidentiels* for its *Règlement pour une métropole mixte*. The shift in this policy increased the desired percentage of social and affordable housing (20% each) and added another category: 20% family units. At last, the city had a “policy” rather than a strategy. The new policy would apply to all new residential developments in the city. However, due to its nature developers may chose to develop below the unit cap or simply contribute financially instead of developing social, affordable family units. In other words, the program has increased the percentage for much needed housing units at an affordable price, but still depend on developers' contribution (Ville de Montréal, 2020c).

Thus, while social sustainability is equated to equity in planning documents (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2016c), it narrowly focuses on social mix as the mode to implement and provide social and affordable housing. Indeed, in the *Plan d'Urbanisme*, it is noted that “[...] la Ville prévoit développer des outils qui favorisent l'émergence d'une offre diversifiée et équilibrée de logements. Il s'agit là d'une condition essentielle au développement durable de Montréal” (Ville de Montréal, 2016d, p. 23). Thus, social mix is considered to be an important component of sustainable development for the City of Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2016d, p. 23). While social mix means the inclusion of social and affordable housing, it also means that that those types of housing are to be included within condominium developments. This means that social mix is an addition to condominium developments rather than a balanced approach to housing development and provision. Social mix ends up favoring developers to continue to build condominiums. Indeed, Rosen relates “the shifting of power dynamics from the public to the private sector via condominium development” through condo-ism (Rosen, 2016, p. 78). Rosen also connects urban renewal to social mix which is relevant as social mix in new developments would need to undergo urban renewal or revitalization of an area to make spaces for social mix opportunities (Rosen, 2016, p. 83). Thus, while the word social is included in social mix, it is highly dependent on the development of condominiums, which is a far from the aims of social sustainability. Finally, there are two reasons why condominiums are the ideal form of development in City of Montréal which we will see in the development of the Namur de la Savane sector.

The Décarie– Cavendish–Jean-Talon Ouest Sector

In this section, I provide some background on the sector, as well as a property development and planning processes that preceded my time period of focus in this thesis (2009-2020). In the *Plan d'Urbanisme* of Montréal, the sector around the Namur and De la Savane metro stations was called the the Décarie– Cavendish–Jean-Talon Ouest area, one of the 24 “secteurs de planification détaillé” in the *Plan d'Urbanisme* (Ville de Montréal, 2016f, pp. 199, 232–233). As the city explained in the *Plan d'Urbanisme*, the area required revitalization due to “un tissu urbain déstructuré et sous-utilisé: variation d'implantation et de volumétrie des bâtiments, disparité des fonctions urbaines et multiplicité des aires de stationnement” (Ville de Montréal, 2016f, p. 233). In other words, the area needed more cohesion and more land uses and activities (Ville de Montréal, 2016f, pp. 232–233).



Image 1 – The Décarie–Cavendish– Jean-Talon Ouest in the Plan d’Urbanisme. Source: (Ville de Montréal, 2016f, p. 232)

Prior to the OCPM’s 2009 public consultation for the Namur–Jean-Talon sector, the sector was car centric as the two highways intersected in the area (Décarie Expressway and the Metropolitan Autoroute). Indeed, the construction of the two highways in the mid 20th century has defined the sector and its vocation. First, the Décarie Expressway is a major highway that cuts through the sector from North to South and the Metropolitan Autoroute cuts the sector from East to West (Ville de Montréal, 2016f).

Thus, there a lot of cars, delivery trucks and buses that drive around the sector. The sector has a lot of big box stores, for example the Smart Center, as well as large area office buildings. Since the sector is so close to two highways, there are also quite a lot of commerce and gas stations. There are also hotels, malls (Décarie Square Mall), factories and fast-food chains. There are a few residential buildings along the Décarie Boulevard, and most are either condominiums or apartment buildings. The area is often loud and noisy due to passing cars. There are two metro stations in the area: Namur and de la Savane which were both built in the 1980s (IMTL, 2021b, 2021a).

While the City of Montréal had plans for to revitalize the area, a developer completed a condominium project, in 2008, prior to the OCPM’s public consultation in 2009 (Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008). The developer turned to the area primarily because of the medium to large sized industries that were either abandoned or not in use (Les immeubles Devmont, 2009). The sector is also targeted due to its strategic central location in proximity to existing transit infrastructure, both metro stations and highways (Ville de Montréal, 2019b).

At the early phase of the urban revitalization of the Namur de la Savane sector, there were few existing residential developments in the area. The oldest residential street in the Namur–Jean-Talon site lived on Mountain Sights Avenue between de la Savane and Paré Street site (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). The sector predominantly has three to seven floor apartment buildings that cater to low-income immigrant families (Project Genesis et al., 2009). The construction of two affordable condominium projects on de la Savane brought tall buildings with over 200 units (Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008). The other residential streets, largely single-family homes or duplexes are located within the boundaries of Côte-Saint-Luc and Town of Mount-Royal. Thus, there was only one condominium development built prior to the 2009 OCPM public consultation but, as we will see, the next few years would bring many more condominium developments, starting with the Namur–Jean-Talon site.

There are a few barriers to social sustainability in the Namur–Jean-Talon site prior to and up to the OCPM public consultation in 2009. In 2007, the Mountain Sights Community Center, located in the Namur–Jean-Talon site, worked to better improve and resolve residential buildings that faced insalubrious issues on Mountain Sights Avenue (Centre Communautaire Mountain Sights, 2007). In 2009, the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood had a waiting list of more than 3800 households for social housing and too many residents were not living in “affordable” housing (Project Genesis et al., 2009). As such, residential buildings within Namur–Jean-Talon site and the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood as a whole experienced important housing issues and needs. This is important to note as the new development will affect residents who live in the immediate surrounding areas.

Summary

This section provided a brief history of the justification for the revitalization of the Namur de la Savane sector as well as the environmental and social sustainability policies that influenced the form and approaches of the revitalization of the area. In the next section, I will describe how the urban planning plans, policies and approaches will help us understand the reasoning and approaches to the different revitalization efforts throughout the several sites in the Namur de la Savane area.

5. Making Green Condos in the Namur de la Savane

In this section, I will examine the revitalization of the Namur de la Savane sector from 2009 to 2020 to describe how environmental and social sustainability policies encouraged condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism. The environmental and social sustainability policies were not new; rather, as I discussed above, they came into place at various scales and times in the preceding years. The planning process in Namur de la Savane, however, brought these policies together in an effort to revitalize a vast sector of the city. Planning the sector, in other words, provided an opportunity to put these policies to work and to produce a neighbourhood in the image of emerging environmental and social ideals. One of the striking features of this planning, as I will suggest, is the overwhelming emphasis on condominiums. While property developers had their own reasons for favouring condominiums, we need to see how planners' emphasis on condominiums stemmed primarily from their commitment to a particular form of environmental and social sustainability. Condo-ism in Namur de la Savane, then, takes the form of "green" condominium neighborhoods – the material expression of current visions of environmental and social sustainability. As I will show, the result achieves environmental and social goals only in a limited sense. Planning in the Namur de la Savane sector promotes green neighbourhoods and urban forms, while failing to adequately meet genuine social sustainability aims. In this section I will first describe the planning process of the sector, then the "greening" of the sector and the densification of the area. Finally, I will describe the planning of social sustainability in the area.

Planning the Sector

The Namur de la Savane sector was first named in 2013, as part of the public consultation that year (Ville de Montréal, 2013b). However, before the area was named, there were planning processes that pertained to certain areas of the sector. The Namur–Jean-Talon site, now called the Triangle, an area that would become part of Namur de la Savane, was the first site to undergo revitalization (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). The site was seen for its redevelopment potential due to its underutilization, lack of urban cohesion, and emphasis on automobile use (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). Indeed, the urban design study of the Namur–Jean-Talon site, published during the 2009 public consultation, used negative words such as 'peu favorable', 'insuffisant', 'déficiente', 'difficile', 'manque', 'environnement hostile', to describe the weaknesses of the Namur Jean Talon sector (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009, p. 18)³. The sector, in other words, was viewed through the lens of the planning policies that I described in the previous chapter.

As the City of Montréal moved toward a more sustainable city, automobiles and businesses that serve them were perceived unfavourably. Instead, cleaner ways of public transportation were encouraged such as public and active transportation (Ville de Montréal, 2016a). This was a first effort to revitalize and replan the sector, though focused on a particular area. The planning of this area, Namur–Jean-Talon, was advanced by the City of Montréal and implemented by the borough of Côte-des-Neiges in its early stage (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). Not surprisingly, transit-oriented development was the envisioned urban form during the 2009 public consultation for the area (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). Notably, this commitment to TOD preceded the *PMAD*'s goal of increasing TODs in proximity to public transit in 2012 (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

Four years later, the Namur de la Savane sector was finally introduced in the Office de consultation publique de Montréal (OCPM)'s public consultation on the *Plan de développement*

³ For visuals of the site in 2009, view (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009)

de Montréal (2013), a strategic plan for Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2013b). In the *Plan de développement de Montréal* (2013), the Namur de la Savane sector was identified as an economic sector due to its proximity to highways and transportation infrastructures (Ville de Montréal, 2013b, pp. 29–30). In the same document, it is also named as a strategic sector where “il recèle un fort potentiel en vue d’y accroître les activités économiques et résidentielles” (Ville de Montréal, 2013b, pp. 56, 60). It is worth noting that in the same document, the Triangle and Namur-Hippodrome areas (located within the Namur de la Savane sector) are mentioned for “[leur] possibilité de construire des quartiers durables” (Ville de Montréal, 2013b, p. 61). What would now be called the Namur de la Savane sector included parts of two municipalities and two boroughs. The Namur de la Savane sector’s falls under the urban governance of two western central municipalities (Town of Mount Royal and Côte Saint-Luc) and two western central boroughs (Côte-Des-Neiges—Notre-Dame-De-Grâce and Saint-Laurent) (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2015, p. 564; Ville de Montréal, 2019b)). The two municipalities and two boroughs have their respective development projects and plans.

Planning the Namur de la Savane sector is a complicated endeavour, politically. The sector stretches across two municipalities and two boroughs. There isn’t a coordinating body per se that oversees the cohesion of the sector. Rather, the planning process is meant to bring the entities together and develop an overall vision that they, within their own territorial mandates, can bring to fruition through their individual redevelopment plans. Concretely, there was a collaboration among the two Montréal boroughs, the two municipalities and transportation agencies from different levels of government in the form of a working group that studied the transportation question in the Namur de la Savane (Adenot, 2019). Similarly, a Coordinated Concept Plan for transportation was created by the Oroboto Team for the municipality of Côte-Saint-Luc and the borough of Saint-Laurent the same year (Oroboto Team, 2019). What unites the two municipalities and two boroughs is the potential for the revitalization of the Namur de la Savane sector as one of the ‘Grands Secteurs Stratégiques’ of the City of Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2013b, p. 60). The sector, while subject to a particular planning effort, continues to be affected by planning decisions at higher and lower scales, from borough-level redevelopment plans to city-wide or metropolitan wide plans and policies.⁴

Particular areas of the sector continue to be subject to targeted planning efforts. One important planning effort concerned the Westbury site. This site, home to the now-abandoned Armstrong Factor (Hendry, 2017; Sargeant, 2016), called for the attention of planners as a developer proposed to build a mixed-use condominium neighbourhood there. The developer was not new to the area and, in fact, built many condominium projects in the Triangle area prior to starting this project (Devmont, n.d.-a; Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008, 2009). The planning of the Westbury site began in 2015 (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). The aim was to take a broader view, to plan the area as a whole, rather than allow the area to be developed in piecemeal fashion like the Namur–Jean-Talon area⁵.

Another important planning effort, begun in 2019, concerned the Namur-Hippodrome. In that year, the Office de consultation publique de Montréal started the public consultation for the

⁴ Recently, the sector was identified as a “Strategic Planning Area” in the *Schéma d’aménagement et de développement de l’agglomération de Montréal* (2015), which has accelerated the urban revitalization of the area, largely in the form of predominantly dense condominium developments (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015). Parts of the sector was defined as a site for redevelopment in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce borough section in the *Plan d’Urbanisme* (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016a).

⁵ To view the urban design document for the site, view (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016).

City-owned site (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). It is worth noting that this area is still in the pre-development process and has a more targeted aim towards sustainability due to the fact that it must be in accord with the *Plan d'Urbanisme*, the PMAD, and the *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement de l'agglomération de Montréal* (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). As I will show below, sustainability aims received more attention in this area than in the Namur–Jean-Talon and the Westbury sites. In part, this was due to the more advanced sustainability goals of the overall city, goals expressed in terms of achieving carbon neutrality (Ville de Montréal, 2020a)⁶. At the same time, TOD principles were less important due to features of the Hippodrome site: the site's distance from the Namur metro station, the presence of the Smart Center at the entrance of the area, as well as the presence of Décarie Expressway (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2019a). In other ways, the planning of the Namur-Hippodrome site was very similar to the Triangle and Westbury sites, particularly in planners' emphasis on dense residential developments and mixed land uses (Ville de Montréal, 2019b).

As I've shown, the Namur de la Savane sector was the subject of intense planning efforts in the 2009-2020 period. These efforts included plans and consultations concerning particular areas of the sector (the Triangle, Westbury, and the Namur-Hippodrome), as well as one effort to plan the overall sector (Adenot, 2019; Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Ville de Montréal, 2019b). When analyzing the overall sector, then, it is necessary to see how these various efforts came together – how they expressed and contributed toward a particular urban vision. In the following sections, I will show how environmental and social objectives shaped these planning efforts. In particular, I will describe the greening of the area, the densification of the area, and the planning of social sustainability in the area. It is worth remembering, as we proceed, that the different processes did not happen at the same time throughout the Namur de la Savane sector, but rather happened as each development project started.

⁶ To view the City of Montréal's document on the Namur-Hippodrome, view (Ville de Montréal, 2019b).

Secteur Namur-De la Savane



Image 2 – The Namur de la Savane sector (Ville de Montréal, 2019c, p. 5)

Planning a Green (Condo) Neighbourhood

Various environmental objectives factored into the planning of the Namur de la Savane sector. As I mentioned above, city-wide commitments to TOD principles and eventually carbon neutrality received significant attention (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2020a). Here, however, I want to bring attention to an environmental goal particular to the neighbourhood scale: the importance of green urban design. Amenities such as parks and green spaces were heavily emphasized and put at the center, quite literally, of the development sites of the plans (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2019a). For instance, the Namur-Jean-Talon site, now called the Triangle, set a side of portion of land for a green multi-use park, with green paths throughout the development (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2017, p. 430; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). Similarly, the Westbury site planned for a more linear park on de Courtrai Avenue (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). Various actors who participated in workshops also recommended various park recommendations for the Namur-Hippodrome as well (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020a). These green amenities contributed toward a vision of a green neighbourhood. Apart from these new green parks, an existing park called the de la Sa-

vane Park, underwent renovations shortly after the public consultation of the Namur-Jean-Talon site (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2010).

Where does the idea of a green neighbourhood come from? Overwhelmingly, the inspirations of the public spaces and buildings in the Triangle and the Namur-Hippodrome were Western and Northern European green neighbourhoods and cities. Some cities that came up often in planning discussions were Malmo, Sweden and Vauban, Germany (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Enclume, 2019). Other countries that came up often as inspiration include Spain, France, and England. At times, planning discussions mentioned the idea of an “écoquartier,” a term inspired by green sustainable neighbourhoods in France (Enclume, 2019). While an “écoquartier” refers to the overall sustainable aspects of the neighbourhoods and used primarily in the 2020 document for the public consultation of the Namur-Hippodrome, it alluded to its green aspects in the Urban Design document of the Namur-Jean-Talon site as “Parc urbain / espace vert, [was considered] comme catalyseur de revitalisation” (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009, p. 20). The examples given in the same document allude to “parc urbain comme espace central d’un projet de revitalisation” and “grand parc urbain contemporain ouvert”, for example, within the newly revitalized sites (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009, pp. 21 and 25). In addition, the document also mentioned LEED-ND for the Namur-Jean-Talon site: “Accès aux parc et espaces publics: Prévoir ½ acre pour 7 acres de développement = environ 6 acres” (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009, p. 45). Other aspects of sustainable neighbourhoods were mentioned such as transit-oriented development (the approach for the Namur-Jean-Talon site) (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). In the document *‘Recherche documentaire de précédents en matière d’aménagement de quartiers durables – 2019’*, an écoquartier is defined as a neighbourhood that meets the three pillars of sustainability (environmental, social and economic) (Enclume, 2019). Nevertheless, green spaces, often in the form of parks are also important characteristics of écoquartiers mentioned in the reference document (Enclume, 2019).

Though discursively tied to sustainability goals, the actual effects of green spaces and neighbourhoods are ambiguous. For instance, green spaces around condominium buildings serve as landscape rather than spaces to be used. In addition, green spaces in the middle of condominium developments are amenities for residents. Thus, the combination of dense condominium developments, mixed-use buildings on main streets, and parks and green spaces does not necessarily lead to a sustainable development. It leads strictly to a visual green urban landscape aesthetics. It is an upgrade, from a sustainability view, from underused or unused industrial sites. The connection between these green spaces and exclusionary residential (condominium) developments, meanwhile, has important social effects. On this note, one of the housing committees in Côte-des-Neiges has called out the recommendations set forth by city for the Namur-Hippodrome as “eco-gentrification” (Organisation d’éducation et d’information logement de Côte-des-Neiges, 2020b).

Alongside green spaces, another aspect of green design that factored into the planning of the sector was LEED principles for new buildings. The inclusion of LEED was an initial approach to revitalization in the Triangle and mentioned as one of the types of ‘quartier durables’ in a reference document for the Namur-Hippodrome public consultation (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Ville de Montréal, 2019b). LEED is seen as one of the criteria of evaluation to be include green buildings in green neighbourhoods, more specifically in the Namur-Hippodrome (Enclume, 2019). LEED is usually mentioned as a model of criteria by urban planners and design to promote the sustainability of new neighbourhoods. While it is a desired model, it is up to the developer to build LEED certified buildings. Despite the condominium boom in the sector, there isn’t a LEED certified building in the sector at the time of writing.

The more obvious benefit of green spaces and LEED principles is profit. For the Triangle and Westbury sites, for instance, the parks are assets used in marketing and promotional websites for condominium and rental building residents (Devmont, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). Apart from the central park, green visuals are prominent in the master plans and marketing materials for each project. The Westbury site has a similar green emphasis on their plans primarily in the form of a rectangular shaped park in the middle of its development (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). Although the master plans visually emphasize greening, the sustainability aspect is not as emphasized. For example, the branding of each project does not necessarily list the sustainable aims or benefits of their respective neighbourhoods. Thus, developers aim to brand *green* rather than sustainable. Thus, a publicly administered and planned space becomes another amenity for the privatized condo lifestyle.

And whose lifestyle? The condo-ism literature points to the centrality of single people and young couples (without kids) to condominium developments (Kern, 2010a; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). This is reflected in the Namur de la Savane sector. The green spaces in the different master plans design spaces with little infrastructure for children to play with or for adults to engage with (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). During the 2011 urban design competition, green spaces are designed as literally green spaces without much infrastructure for children or, indeed, families or adults (Design Montréal et al., 2011). Thus, the green park is imagined as a feature that comes with the neighbourhood for condominium and rental building residents.

Thus, green urban design was and continues to be very important elements of green neighbourhoods in the Namur de la Savane sector. Master plans of redevelopment projects in the Namur de la Savane emphasize green spaces and describe this as contributing to the creation of a green environment. The importance of environmental sustainability becomes a bit questionable when a closer look to the urban form in the new green neighbourhoods are primarily new condominiums. Indeed, it is questionable due to a paradoxical lifestyle focused on amenities and reachable luxurious consumption-oriented lifestyle.

TOD, Density, and Condominiums

Alongside green spaces and LEED, densification was another important component for the new buildings in the new redevelopments – and another way of (ostensibly) achieving sustainability goals. Densification appears here as a way of promoting TOD and sustainable transportation due to the sector's metro infrastructures. Within the sector, there are two metro stations: Namur and De la Savane (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). The two metro stations, roughly speaking, are approximately 15 minutes by walk from one another. The Namur–Jean-Talon Ouest development (now known as the Triangle) is located but a few blocks from the Namur metro station (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). The Westbury site is close to the Namur metro station but is hindered from easy access by railway tracks (Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). The development is closer to the Plamondon metro station by a 10-minute walk unhindered by any transportation infrastructure. TOD is less emphasized for the Namur-Hippodrome development because it is further from the Namur metro station and is separated from the station by car-oriented shopping area called a Smart Center (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). Nevertheless, in 2019, the borough of Côte-des-Neiges noted “Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce est un terreau fertile pour des initiatives de développement durable telles que les quartiers de type TOD (transit-oriented development)” (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2019).

Given the presence of these two metro stations, densification provides a means of implementing TOD principles – promoting development that makes the use of public transportation feasible and desirable. But what does this mean in practice? In principle, both residential and commercial uses would be compatible with TOD. The first would enable residents to live in an

area well served by public transportation, while the second would allow people from outside the sector to travel to businesses by public transportation. In the end, the new developments in the Namur de la Savane are primarily residential but also offer a mix of commercial uses as well (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). This is where urban forms such as the PMAD’s transit-oriented development materializes. The PMAD’s emphasis on building TODs throughout its regional jurisdiction leads to dense developments but do not necessarily lead to true mixed used “new neighbourhoods” (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

Not surprisingly, the pursuit of density and TOD overwhelmingly promoted condominium developments. In principle, dense *rental* developments would achieve density goals as well as condominiums. In the period in question, however, property developers seldom built rental housing, and planners did not require them to. As a result, there are also rental apartment buildings in the Namur de la Savane sector, specifically in the Triangle area, but there are few compared to condominium buildings (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.; Summit Management, n.d.-a). While varying in size, the revitalized sites produced condominium neighbourhoods (Devmont, n.d.-a; Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008, 2009; Summit Management, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). The word condominium appear very little in the master plans of the revitalized sectors (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009). In the Namur-Hippodrome document, it doesn’t appear to mentioned at all (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). In the latter, the ambiguous use of the word ‘logement’ is used, a term that doesn’t describe the social mix of the projects despite the fact the past and current inclusionary policies (Ville de Montréal, 2005, 2020d).

While disguised in planning documents, a look at census data reveals the overwhelming emphasis on condominium developments. Indeed, the borough of Côte-des-Neiges showcased all of the development projects in 2016 and most are condominium developments (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016b, p. 593). The census tracts within the Namur de la Savane sector have all experienced an increase in condominium units from 2011 to 2016, except for the census tract in which the Westbury site is located (CT 112.01). The census tract where the Triangle and the Namur-Hippodrome are located (CT 120.01) experienced more than a double increase of condominiums. As Tables 2 and 3 show, the percentage of residents living in condominiums greatly increased for the 120.01 census tract – where the Triangle is located. In comparison, the number of condominiums in the sector where the Westbury site is currently being built decreased (Statistics Canada, 2011, 2016).

Total number of private households by condominium status			
	112.01	120.01	
Condominium	5%	24%	
Not condominium	95%	76%	

Table 2 - Source: (Statistics Canada, 2011)⁷

Occupied private dwellings by condominium status - 25% sample data			
	112.01	120.01	
Condominium	3%	51%	
Not condominium	97%	48%	

⁷ The 2006 Census did not count the number of condominiums. In addition, the 120.01 census tract does not exist – only census tract 120 can be found in this census.

Table 3 - Source: (Statistics Canada, 2016)

These figures provide only a partial picture. It is worth noting that the increased development is experienced in the Triangle while the Namur-Hippodrome continues its pre-development planning process (Statistics Canada, 2011, 2016). While the site is still in pre-development, residents and community organizations shared their concerns regarding the development of the site during public audiences between 2019-2020. Specifically, residents and local organizations shared the need for social housing units for low-income Côte-des-Neiges residents and apprehension to a predominant condominium development on the site (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2019b, 2020c, 2020d). It is also worth noting that the Namur-Hippodrome is still to be built whereas the Westbury site has completed its first few condominiums, hotel, and office at the time of writing. This means that census tract information has not captured the recently built condominium construction developments of Westbury site. As such, it will be important to compare the number of condominium units of the past censuses with the information from the upcoming 2021 Census. Finally, the first urban revitalization projects are in census tracts within Côte-des-Neiges. This is important the ramification and effects of the revitalisation of the area will greatly affect Côte-des-Neiges residents.

The promotion of condominiums, as a means of achieving goals of densification and sustainability, has several negative effects. For one thing, it has resulted in various condominium development islands desperately lacking in services and amenities for the large number of new condominium and rental building residents and existing residents in the sector (i.e., Mountain Sights residents). The Triangle is an example of this lack (Anhoury, 2019). It's only recently that the lack of amenities and services is being met with newly built infrastructures and amenities (Goldenberg, 2020). During the summer months of 2019, almost a decade after the public consultation of the site, construction for a primary school and social housing was finally approved to meet the growing needs of area residents (Anhoury, 2019). Despite this effort, the construction was also proposed, in 2020, of various public consultations for the construction of new condominium developments in the Triangle (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2020c, 2020d, 2020e). Indeed, the revitalization of sites in the Namur de la Savane usually starts with new condominium buildings which are followed by green and public spaces. Services and amenities are usually built after condominiums are built. Densification as the desired form usually leads to a concentration of new condominium buildings built in multiple phases, that is buildings with the same architecture and design and built with common semi-private spaces. Due to the absence of necessary amenities and services, it is a stretch to call these "neighbourhoods" but rather condominium neighbourhoods.

The lack of attention to neighbourhood amenities and services is consistent with the conception of condo lifestyles. In the latter, as many scholars point out, the lifestyle is "privatized" (Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). To speak of "common" or "shared" amenities is to speak of installations within condominium developments and reserved for their residents alone (Kern, 2010a; Rosen & Walks, 2013). Consistent with condominium developments everywhere in the world, the condominiums built or planned for the Namur de la Savane sector included a range of amenities for condominium residents (Devmont, n.d.-a; Summit Management, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). Some examples of shared amenities in the condominium developments in the Triangle and the Westbury site include a pool, rooftop patio, gym, and theatre (Devmont, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-b). Essentially, shared amenities are either health-oriented such as such or recreational such as theatres (Devmont, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). While not all condominium and condominium-like rental buildings provide shared amenities there are multiplication of shared amenities. For instance, there are two different condominium buildings that have their own pool (Devmont, n.d.-a; Summit Management, n.d.-a).

While new condominiums provide amenities for new residents (often the same type of amenities, as well), there are not a lot of new amenities for existing residents, those on Mountain Sights. The Triangle will have renovated park and linear park in the area but not more green spaces or public spaces for existing residents. This is unfortunate as community organizations, existing residents of Mountain Sights and even the early condo residents of Côté Ouest mentioned the lack of services in the area during the 2009 *OCPM* public consultation for the Namur–Jean-Talon site (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009g). Indeed, amenities are developed within condominium buildings by developers. However, green and public spaces are dependent on the borough – a level of government that lags in terms of new service or space provision for residents who may not be affordable to rent or own a condominium unit with access to amenities.

Like green spaces and LEED, the promotion of density and densification in the form of condominiums is more conducive to profit making than sustainability. The fact that the pursuit of planning principles led to a form of development appreciated by condominium developers is clear when we look at the marketing of the resulting condominiums. This inward focus on privatization of shared amenities is strongly emphasized in the place branding of each site. Each site is developed on each its own site, separately, at different times by different real estate developer. Rather than sustainability here, then, we find ‘green condo-ism’ – a form of development that promotes sustainable buildings, neighbourhoods and lifestyles but with a lack of emphasis on meeting existing and urgent community needs. The pursuit of TOD, in other words, meets the profit objectives of developers to the sustainability objectives of planners. Therefore, the planning of TODs is a private-public development that heavily relies on the private sector to meet the targets for TOD developments (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012).

Finally, the emphasis on “green condominiums” fails to consider what sustainability would mean for the entire neighbourhood and its existing residents. How could the low-income apartment buildings along Mountain Sights become more sustainable? Or those along Barclay or Victoria? Such questions were never seriously considered during the planning processes for the Namur de la Savane sector, which, as I’ve shown, focused on new developments. There is a missed opportunity here, as well as a potential danger. What happens to a neighbourhood when new developments become the image of sustainability? Does the existing neighbourhood seem out of step and unsustainable? Such a risk seems inherent in the current planning approach, as well as the marketing efforts of condominium developers. In the latter, there is a selective neighbourhood imaginary that simultaneously brands itself apart from the other sites at the same time as it relates itself to particular spaces in Côte-des-Neiges.

Indeed, the names of the overall sector and the various sub-area also act as a place branding tool – the Triangle, the Westbury site and Quartier Namur-Hippodrome (McLean, 2016; Ville de Montréal, 2019b; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). This place branding tool separates itself from the wider Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood and their immediate residential surroundings. The place branding and privatization of shared amenities, in a way, support TOD targets in that it focuses on the development itself rather than its connection to its surroundings. In other words, the new neighbourhoods planned apart from its surroundings become myopic microcosms far from being self-reliant due to their paucity in services and amenities. These new neighbourhoods are, by name, new in construction, but not so in its features. Therein lies the limits of planning new neighbourhoods in urban revitalization areas.

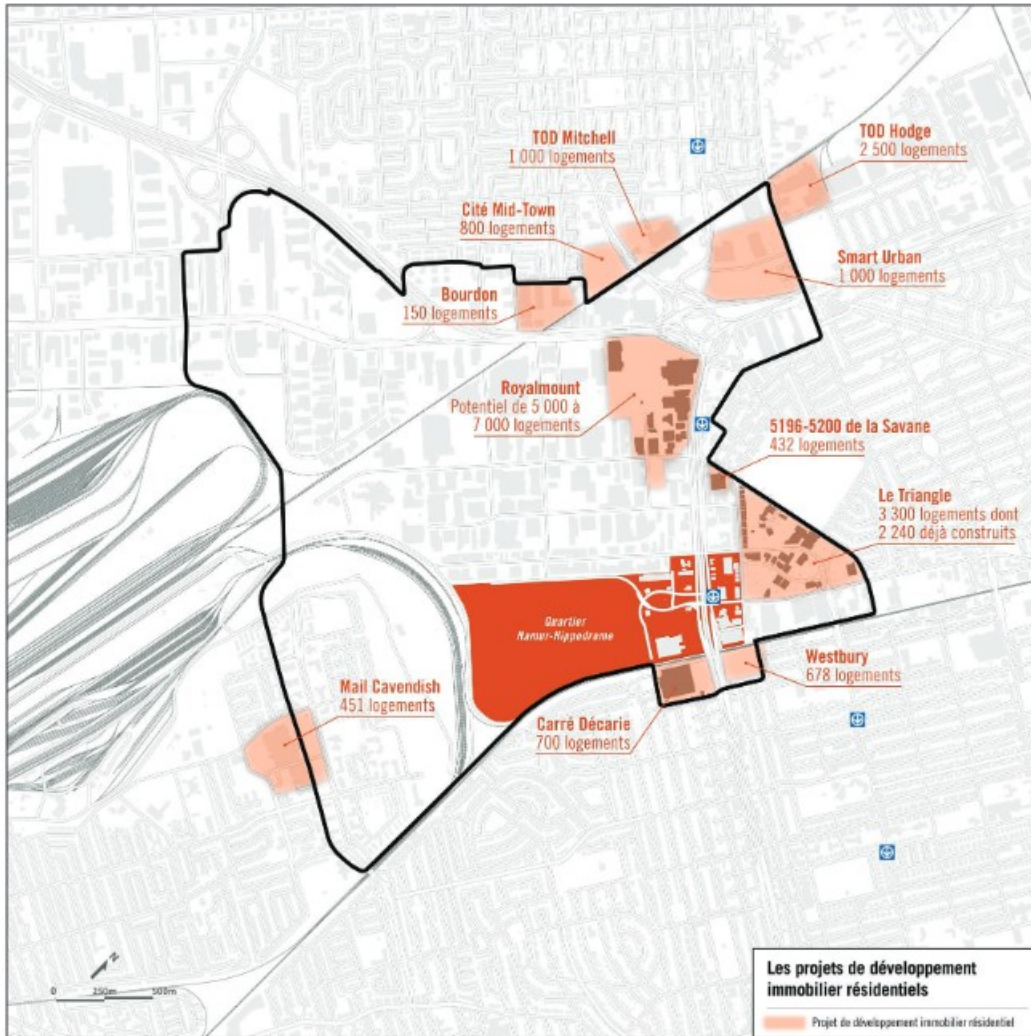


Image 3: The projects in Namur de la Savane sector
 Source: (Ville de Montréal, 2019b, p. 49)

In summary, the urban planning approach towards densification ultimately lead to the development of condominiums. While there are a few rental buildings, those buildings aimed to replicate a condominium lifestyle and building (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.). Thus, the condominium as an urban form brings a condo lifestyle, on that advertises private amenities and a place brand. In other words, condominiums are not neutral urban forms despite their environmental benefits. While condominiums meet the densification and intensification goals of the City of Montréal, condominiums miss social sustainability goals. The most apparent missed social sustainability goals are social mix and the provision of social and affordable housing units.

Planning Social Sustainability

In the two previous sections, we've looked at green urban design and densification of the sites of revitalization in the Namur de la Savane sector. In this section, we will look into the social sustainability of the conceptualization and development of those sites. As I discussed in the previous chapter, social sustainability in Montréal receives much less attention than environmental sustainability. When it receives attention at all, moreover, it involves the promotion of "social mix." The meaning of social mix is necessarily vague. At different moments, it can mean a mix of

tenures (rental, owned), or a mix of household forms or sizes (single people, couples, families). In the planning of the Namur de la Savane sector, the vagueness of social mix allowed it to take on different meanings in different moments. None of these meanings, however, came close to addressing the real social concerns of community organizations in the area or low-income residents.

Social mix can mean a mix of forms of tenure. These meanings are observable in two of the developments in the sector. In these two built sites, there is a social mix of in terms of the forms of tenure (or types of residential buildings). There is a cooperative (FECHIMM, n.d.), rental buildings (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.; McLean, 2016; Summit Management, n.d.-a), and condominiums in the Triangle (Devmont, n.d.-a; IMTL, n.d.; Summit Management, n.d.-a). In addition, there is also mix with the land use of the sites. In the Triangle and the Westbury sites, there are commerce on main streets. For instance, the commerce on the ground floor of condominiums is located on Jean-Talon Street for the Triangle sector and the ground floor of the condominium buildings on de Courtrai Avenue for the Westbury site (Devmont, n.d.-a; Summit Management, n.d.-a; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). The Westbury site also has an office building and hotel (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). The Triangle is also mixed in terms of land use as the revitalization of the area was by a lot by lot basis while maintaining existing shops, office buildings and commerce. Thus, urban form and tenure wise, there is a mix in the revitalized sites.

The form of social mix that received the most attention in the planning process concerned household types. In particular, efforts were made to ensure that housing units were provided to young families (Bordeleau, 2019; McLean, 2016; Summit Management, n.d.-b, p. 7). In the condo-ism literature, condominiums are aimed towards young professionals, couples with no children, and empty nesters (Kern, 2007, 2010b; Rosen & Walks, 2013). However, both planners and developers in Montréal have sought to broaden the clientele of condominiums. One of the ways that the City of Montréal is encouraging young families to settle in the city is through the Accès Condos Program, created in 2005 (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, n.d.-a). The Accès Condos Program was, and continues to be, one of the tools to encourage new owners into homeownership at an affordable price (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, n.d.-b). The Accès Condos Program was used for two early condominium buildings in the Namur–Jean-Talon sector (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, 2008, 2009). It provided relatively affordable condo units, sized for the needs of young families.

This attention to condo ownership for young families was extended into subsequent policies as well, including the *Plan de fidélisation des familles 2014-2017* (Ville de Montréal, 2013a) and the *Programme municipal habitations urbaines pour familles* (Ville de Montréal, 2019a). The urgency to keep young families in the City of Montréal was often brought up urban planning documents and social mix policies in the Namur de la Savane sector (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012; Ville de Montréal, 2004, 2005, 2020c). The attention to young families is also resoundingly clear in the City's recently adopted policy called the *Règlement pour une métropole mixte* which aims for social mix with an emphasis on the inclusion of family sized units for new projects (Ville de Montréal, 2020c). These policies exert pressure on developers to provide family-sized condo units. It is not clear, however, that developers are always reluctant to build such units. Indeed, the marketing for the condominiums in Namur de la Savane often seems tailored to young families. Young families are targeted as potential residents of the projects through the use of young families visuals their website, plans or through the amenities of the building such as a daycare and children's playground (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; Devmont, n.d.-a). In addition, an elementary school is being planned for the Triangle sector (Anhoury, 2019).

Another meaning of social mix, observable in the planning process, is a mix of incomes. Here, the city's inclusionary housing strategy provided a framework for developments in Namur de la Savane. As I discussed in the last chapter, this strategy aims to see included in new, large residential developments 15% social housing and 15% affordable housing (Ville de Montréal, 2005). The affordable housing portion, in the sector, most often took the form of "affordable" condominiums. The aforementioned Accès Condo program, in addition to the particular goal of providing housing to young families, also aimed to provide affordable home ownership to other household sizes/forms (Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal, n.d.-a). In a few developments, "affordable" rental units were constructed. Even here, however, rental units mimic the condominium lifestyles (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.; McLean, 2016; Summit Management, n.d.-a). Thus, affordability relates largely towards affordable homeownership or, in a few cases, "affordable" rental units that resemble condominiums.

The social housing part of social mix were included in the planning documents of the three projects. The inclusion of social and affordable housing was initially included in planning documents for the Namur–Jean-Talon site and set to meet the goals of the *Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables* (Système de gestion des décisions des instances, 2009). More concretely, two social housing projects are planned for the Westbury site (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016). In addition, rental housing is leaning towards more and more condominium-like buildings with amenities for its tenants (4980 Buchan Development Inc, n.d.; Bordeleau, 2019; Summit Management, n.d.-a). In terms of cooperatives, a 45-unit cooperative, named the coopérative d'habitation Fleur de l'île, was built in 2015 – six years after the 2009 OCPM public consultation (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016b, p. 593; FECHIMM, n.d.). Another non-profit development was built outside of the boundaries of the Triangle, Les Fondations du Quartier, with 99 (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016b, p. 593).

While the new social housing units increased the number of much needed social housing units in the neighborhood, the overall attempts to reach social mix continue to fail to meet the needs of social housing units for Côte-des-Neiges low-income tenants (Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges, 2020a; Project Genesis, 2020). With respects to families, for example, there is a concerted effort in building new green neighbourhoods for families but only families who are able to afford so-called 'affordable' condominiums or luxurious condominiums. Families who cannot afford to own or rent a condominium are also in need of housing in Côte-des-Neiges as repeatedly mentioned by local housing committees (Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges, 2009; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009; Project Genesis et al., 2009). Social housing, while it fits within some definitions of social mix, also received little attention in the planning process. This was often pointed out by community groups. During the OCPM-led public consultation of the Namur–Jean-Talon sector, housing committees and community groups repeatedly called for social housing for low-income residents, many of them are family households (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009b, 2009a, 2009c). A decade later, community groups have been consistent with their demand for social 2500 housing units, this time for the Namur Hippodrome site (Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges & Rayside Labossière, 2016). New social housing units are planned to be built along with the construction of new condominium units in the Triangle (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2020a, 2020b, p. 538, 2020c, p. 1069, 2020f, p. 2204).

One can also think about the integration between the social housing units that were built and the rest of the new developments. The Triangle, for instance, has a recently-built cooperative on-site (FECHIMM, n.d.). Although urban agriculture is a feature of their development, they

do not have the same shared amenities as their neighbors as their building is much smaller in size and height (FECHIMM, n.d.). Shared public amenities are important for cooperative residents as well as apartment residents who do not have shared amenities and depend on public spaces and infrastructure to meet their health and recreational needs as well as meeting others outside of their home. Thus, predominantly building condominium buildings each with their own amenities while continually shortchanging non-condominium residents out of public and green spaces only continues to exacerbate the lack of amenities in the sector.

The most important limitation of planners' approach to social mix, however, concerns the relationship between the new developments and the surrounding (existing) neighbourhood. This is where community groups consistently, throughout the years, voice their concerns regarding gentrification of Côte-des-Neiges (Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges, 2020b; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009). Social mix within the site itself is one thing but it is also important to discuss social mix within the larger neighbourhood. While the Triangle and the Westbury site are physically separated from Côte-des-Neiges, it does not mean that the sites shouldn't be integrated into the wider neighbourhood (BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a). Herein comes to the paradox of social mix which doesn't follow social sustainability principles.

The term affordability is loosely mentioned throughout the revitalization of the Namur de la Savane sector. However, 'affordable' condominium units are not affordable to many Côte-des-Neiges residents, as repeatedly mentioned by local organizations and even tenants who reside in Côte-des-Neiges (Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges & Ray-side Labossière, 2016; Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020g, 2020f; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges, 2020a; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009; Project Genesis et al., 2009; Project Genesis, 2020). Paradoxically, while affordability is widely publicized, social and community housing are far less known and publicly noted. For instance, there is an on-site cooperative and two off-site projects for the Namur–Jean-Talon project but they are nowhere to be found in any of the condominium promotional documents of the development (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2016b, p. 593). However, their size, height and number continue to lag in terms of the number of units and condominiums built and to be built in the Triangle. Similarly, the two social housing buildings in the Westbury site is nowhere to be seen on the project's website while it is stated in the project's master plan (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016, p. 652; Westbury Montréal, n.d.-a) This contradicts social mix as it encourages it but does not want to advertise it. Perhaps, the stigma of social housing is not removed by social mix policies. While social mix are promoted in social mix policies and touted as a characteristic of a sustainable neighbourhood, their physical existence is nowhere to be seen in the imaginary of the sites.

It is important to point out effects of the urban revitalization condominium projects on Côte-des-Neiges residents, especially those who live within revitalization sectors (for instance the residents on Mountain Sights Avenue in the Triangle) or immediately adjacent to the new developments (such as residents who live on Westbury Avenue). While the sites were redeveloped on abandoned or underused sites, the overall sector is located predominantly apartment or duplexes in the neighbourhood Côte-des-Neiges. Community groups foresaw this and feared the gentrification, displacement and lack of meeting the needs of Côte-des-Neiges residents (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009; Project Genesis et al., 2009). In addition, L'OEIL was heavily critical of the lack of affordability and misuse of TOD in the Namur–Jean-Talon urban development in 2009 (Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009). Only the Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges explicitly

mentioned “nous ne sommes pas contre la densification résidentielle du site” (Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges, 2009, p. 3).

In other words, urban revitalization is not a neutral act that does not have a ripple effect on the rest of the neighbourhood. In fact, the revitalization of the sites in the Namur de la Savane has been a cause of concern for local organizations, such as housing committees from the start of the revitalization process of the Namur-Jean-Talon area in 2009 (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009b, 2009a, 2009c; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009). Their concern has been the importance of meeting housing needs of Côte-des-Neiges residents, especially in the form of affordable and social housing units (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009b, 2009a, 2009c; Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges & Dagneau, 2009). This is an important factor with regards to social mix – or it should be.

This inattention to the broader neighbourhood has social, as well as environmental impacts. While sustainable urban forms and developments such as TOD focus on encouraging a more transit oriented and active lifestyles, these lifestyles may be cut off from the rest of the neighbourhood if the site is already physically separated from the wider neighbourhood to begin with. It is important to focus on social mix within new urban developments, but it is only important to see how new urban developments will cohere to the rest of the neighbourhood. The focus on the Namur de la Savane and further the different site can lead urban planners and designers to focus on just those new shiny urban developments at the expense of the connecting the newly branded sites to the wider Côte-des-Neiges residents. This concern was brought up early on during the 2009 public consultation for the Namur–Jean-Talon sector - Mountain Sights residents and community organizers urged the city and planners to plan ways to integrate the Namur–Jean-Talon sector with the rest of Cote-des-Neiges (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009h).

Summary

In summary, the approach of social sustainability by the City of Montréal is narrowly focused on social mix – a goal that heavily depends on higher levels of government. While the construction of condominiums promotes social mix (as new social housing depend on new condominium development), it does so at a disproportionate way by emphasizing condominium development but failing to meet the social and affordable housing units needs of residents who cannot afford to rent or own a condominium unit. In other words, social sustainability continues to lag in new developments as social housing demands continue to increase while the construction of social housing continues to fail to meet demand.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, in this thesis, I aimed to answer the following questions: How do environmental and social sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal? What are the social consequences of this ideal form of urbanism? I argued that environmental and social sustainability policies promote condominiums as the ideal form of urbanism in the Namur de la Savane sector in Montréal by promoting green neighbourhoods, urban forms, and design while failing to adequately meet social sustainability aims within development projects.

Urban planning objectives related to sustainable urbanism are merging with Rosen and Walks' concept of condo-ism (Rosen & Walks, 2013). Condominiums, while technically and legally a form of tenure (Harris, 2011), are increasingly being developed to meet urban sustainable development objective, such as densification (Bunce, 2004; Darchen & Poitras, 2018, 2020). Densification, in this sense, is not a neutral term and often means residential densification. As such, urban planning objectives indirectly promote condo-ism through a desired sustainable urban form that promotes dense, mixed-use, and compact urban development (Rosen, 2017; Rosen & Walks, 2013, 2015). This type of development is particular and usually leads to the development of a particular condominium form.

In summary, urban planners take an imbalanced approach in favour of environmental sustainability at the expense of social sustainability in the form of social mix in the initial conceptualization and development of projects in the Namur de la Savane sector by justifying sustainable urban forms, privatizing the 'green' public and neighbourhood and by making social mix invisible in neighbourhood design and branding. It is important to realize that if green condo-ism continues to be implemented in accordance to the *PMAD*'s TOD policy, there will be a metropolitan need to reconceptualize and plan the policy to ensure that that newly built units aimed at meeting social mix targets are a) built within the new urban redevelopment site b) viewed holistically which means that social mix should be planned at all levels of a plan (public space, commerce, amenities) and c) aimed at integrating new urban developments in the wider neighbourhood.

The findings of this research contribute to the condo-ism literature by connecting the sustainability aims of local governments, urban planners, and designers to their economic goals. Indeed, as mentioned in the *PMAD*, the sustainability and economic goals are the deeply intertwined in the planning of transit-oriented development projects in the metropolitan area of Montréal (Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012). While the condo-ism literature largely focuses on the city of Toronto, Ontario, the findings of this research point to similarities in municipal goals (densification, intensification) to urban development in Montréal (Filion et al., 2010, 2020; Rosen, 2017; Rosen & Walks, 2013; Searle & Filion, 2011). Thus, these findings also related to the Darchen and Poitras' findings on densification in inner cities in Montréal (Darchen & Poitras, 2018).

One of the limits of the research was that the research was completed while the developments were either under construction or in pre-development (as per the Namur-Hippodrome site). It would be important to analyze the progression of condominium developments in the sector along with the discourse of urban sustainable development of the City of Montréal. It would also be helpful to compare the discourse of urban sustainable development and condo-ism between the different jurisdictions within the Namur de la Savane. In addition, it would be helpful to analyze the socio-demographic changes with the 2021 Census to better understand the impacts of condo-ism in the area and compare the envision socio-demographic composition of the area versus the actual demography of the area.

This research also intervenes in current political and planning debates in Montréal. Indeed, there is an increasing number of condominium developments planned for green neighbourhoods in the Namur de la Savane sector (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). As this process continues, sustainability must not be implemented in an unbalanced way but must ensure that social sustainability is at the center of new urban developments. In other words, social sustainability must be prioritized by urban planners and municipal governments. One may ask, for whom are green neighbourhoods built and for whom are we revitalizing underused sectors? Sustainable urban development must be accessible to all, especially those who do not have the privilege or resources to access homeownership through condominium developments. It is important that we do not separate condo-ism and social sustainability but ensure that the two concepts are brought together - no matter how difficult it is to do so.

The re-centering of social sustainability is already taking place in a few ways in the Namur-Hippodrome. First, the concept of bureau partagé is in discussion to increase the participation of community organizations in the planning process (Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges, 2021; Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges & Rayside Labossière, 2020). Second, a second public consultation on the planning of the site is being planned in the near future (Goudreault, 2021). Thus, these two changes show that the City of Montréal is working on improving some social sustainability aspects of planning of the site.

Bibliography

4980 Buchan Development Inc. (n.d.). *Le Buchanan—Apartment Rentals Montreal*. Le Buchanan. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.lebuchanan.ca/>

Adamo, A. (2012). *Intensifying inequality in the “sustainable city”: A political ecology of “smart growth” in an era of neoliberal urban governance in the City of Ottawa, Canada* [Doctor of Philosophy, Carleton University]. <https://doi.org/10.22215/etd/2012-09673>

Adenot, F. J. (2019). *Rapport du groupe de travail Namur-De la Savane*. https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/3-5_rapport_du_gdtndls_et_recommandations.pdf

Agglomération de Montréal. (2015). *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement de l'agglomération de Montréal*. Agglomération de Montréal. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PROJ_URBAINS_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/Schema20170301.pdf

Ancell, S., & Thompson-Fawcett, M. (2008). The Social Sustainability of Medium Density Housing: A Conceptual Model and Christchurch Case Study. *Housing Studies*, 23(3), 423–442. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030802029990>

Anguelovski, I., Connolly, J. J., Garcia-Lamarca, M., Cole, H., & Pearsall, H. (2019). New scholarly pathways on green gentrification: What does the urban ‘green turn’ mean and where is it going? *Progress in Human Geography*, 43(6), 1064–1086. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132518803799>

Anhoury, M. (2019). Exclusive: C.D.N.-N.D.G. acquires building for a potential school in crowded Le Triangle. *Montreal Gazette*. <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/exclusive-c-d-n-n-d-g-buys-building-for-a-potential-school-in-crowded-le-triangle>

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (n.d.). *Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—Agendas and minutes. Agendas and Minutes.*
http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=7657,82941614&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2010). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement—Lundi 4 octobre 2010 à 19 h.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_ORDI_2010-10-04_19h00_FR.pdf

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2015). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du lundi 13 avril 2015.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LP_ORDI_2015-04-13_19h00_FR.pdf

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2016a). *Plan d'urbanisme de Montréal Arrondissement de Côte-des-Neiges—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce Partie II: Chapitre 4.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/161219_CHAPITRE_04_2.PDF

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2016b). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du lundi 8 août 2016.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LPP_ORDI_2016-08-08_19h00_FR.pdf

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2017). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du lundi 13 février 2017 à 19 h (p. 652).*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LPP_ORDI_2017-02-13_19h00_FR.pdf

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2017). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du lundi 5 juin 2017 à 19 h.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LPP_ORDI_2017-06-05_19h00_FR.pdf

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2019). *Plan Local De Développement Durable 2019-2022.*
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_CDN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/18714%20-%20VILLE%20MTL%20%20CDN-NDG-PLDD_BROCHURE_VF-REV.PDF

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020a). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du mercredi 11 mars 2020 à 19 h.* ville.montreal.qc.ca/sel/adi-public/afficherpdf/fichier.pdf?typeDoc=odj&doc=11353

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020b). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du lundi 6 avril 2020 à 19 h.* ville.montreal.qc.ca/sel/adi-public/afficherpdf/fichier.pdf?typeDoc=odj&doc=11425

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020c, July 6). *Assemblée Publique De Consultation—6 Juillet à 18h30.*
http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_CDN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/1203558005_5196_SAVANE_PPCMOI_CP%20.PDF

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020d, July 9). *Assemblée Publique De Consultation—9 juillet à 18h30.*
[http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_CDN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/1203558023_5010_PAR%C9_PPCMOI%20\(1\).PDF](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_CDN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/1203558023_5010_PAR%C9_PPCMOI%20(1).PDF)

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020e, August 5). *Assemblée Publique De Consultation—5 août à 18h30.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_CDN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/1203558015_5005_JEAN_TALON_O_PPCMOI_CP.PDF

Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. (2020f). *Séance ordinaire du conseil d'arrondissement du mardi 8 septembre 2020 à 19 h.* ville.montreal.qc.ca/sel/adi-public/afficherpdf/fichier.pdf?typeDoc=odj&doc=11925

Atelier Christian Thiffault. (2016). *Armstrong—Critères De Design* (pp. 647–703). https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LPP_ORDI_2017-02-13_19h00_FR.pdf

August, M. (2014). Negotiating Social Mix in Toronto's First Public Housing Redevelopment: Power, Space and Social Control in Don Mount Court: Social mix and control in Toronto's first public housing redevelopment. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1160–1180. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12127>

August, M. (2016a). "It's all about power and you have none:" The marginalization of tenant resistance to mixed-income social housing redevelopment in Toronto, Canada. *Cities*, 57, 25–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.12.004>

August, M. (2016b). Revitalisation gone wrong: Mixed-income public housing redevelopment in Toronto's Don Mount Court. *Urban Studies*, 53(16), 3405–3422. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015613207>

Bélanger, H., Frohn, W., & Panneton, A. (2013). *Revitalization, megaprojects and displacement in central Montreal: Facing the transformation of the residential environment.* 1–23.

Benson, E. M., & Bereitschaft, B. (2020). Are LEED-ND developments catalysts of neighborhood gentrification? *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 12(1), 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2019.1658588>

Berardi, U. (2013). Sustainability assessment of urban communities through rating systems. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 15(6), 1573–1591. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-013-9462-0>

BGLA Architecture et Design. (2009). *Namur – Jean-Talon Ouest: Concept et vision d'ensemble – Étude de design urbain – avril 2009*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/3a.pdf>

Bordeleau, S. (2019). *Quartier Namur-Hippodrome: Valérie Plante promet un milieu de vie écologique* | *Radio-Canada.ca*. Radio-Canada. <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1331603/quartier-namur-hippodrome-plante-ecologique>

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>

Bunce, S. (2004). The emergence of 'smart growth' intensification in Toronto: Environment and economy in the new official plan. *Local Environment*, 9(2), 177–191. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1354983042000199525>

Bunce, S. (2009). Developing sustainability: Sustainability policy and gentrification on Toronto's waterfront. *Local Environment*, 14(7), 651–667. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830903097740>

Buttel, F. H. (2000). Ecological modernization as social theory. *Geoforum*, 31(1), 57–65. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(99\)00044-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00044-5)

Campbell, S. (1996). Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities?: Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 62(3), 296–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369608975696>

Caprotti, F. (2014). Eco-urbanism and the Eco-city, or, Denying the Right to the City?: Eco-urbanism and the Eco-city. *Antipode*, 46(5), 1285–1303. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12087>

Caprotti, F., Springer, C., & Harmer, N. (2015). ‘Eco’ For Whom? Envisioning Eco-urbanism in the Sino-Singapore Tianjin Eco-city, China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(3), 495–517. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12233>

Cervero, R., & Sullivan, C. (2011). Green TODs: Marrying transit-oriented development and green urbanism. *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, 18(3), 210–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504509.2011.570801>

Chan, E., & Lee, G. K. L. (2007). Critical factors for improving social sustainability of urban renewal projects. *Social Indicators Research*, 85(2), 243–256. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-007-9089-3>

Checker, M. (2011). Wiped Out by the “Greenwave”: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability: Wiped Out by the “Greenwave.” *City & Society*, 23(2), 210–229. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-744X.2011.01063.x>

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (n.d.-a). *À propos—Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal—CMM*. Communauté Métropolitaine de Montréal - CMM. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://cmm.qc.ca/a-propos/>

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (n.d.-b). *Programme d’aide financière à la conception des aires TOD - Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal—CMM*. Retrieved December 3, 2021, from <https://cmm.qc.ca/programmes/programme-daide-financiere-a-la-conception-des-aires-tod/>

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (2008). *Plan d’action métropolitain pour le logement social et abordable, 2009-2013*. Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. <https://cmm.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/pamlsa-2009-2013.pdf>

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (2011). *Guide d'Aménagement pour les aires de TOD*.
https://cmm.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/20111004_guideAiresTOD.pdf

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (2012). *Plan métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement—Un Grand Montréal attractif, compétitif et durable*. https://cmm.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/pmad_plan_metropolitain_aménagement_developpement.pdf

Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal. (2015). *Plan d'action métropolitain pour le logement social et abordable, 2015-2020*. https://cmm.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/20150618_pamlsa-2015-2020.pdf

Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges. (2009). *Projet de réaménagement du secteur Jean-Talon / Namur*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/7a8.pdf>

Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges. (2021). *Concertation et animation: Atelier Namur—Hippodrome—Présentation de la démarche* (pp. 358–373).
https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/documents/Adi_Public/CA_Cdn/CA_Cdn_ODJ_LPP_ORDI_2021-04-06_19h00_FR.pdf

Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges, & Rayside Labossière. (2016). *Site de l'ancien hippodrome: Blue Bonnets—Orientations de développement issues de la communauté*.
<https://www.conseilcdn.qc.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Orientations-de-d%C3%A9veloppement-version-finale-fr.pdf>

Corporation de développement communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges, & Rayside Labossière. (2020). *Site de l'ancien hippodrome: Blue Bonnets—Volume II: Le développement du quartier Namur-Hippodrome*. https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/8-8-1_rayside.pdf

Cournoyer-Gendron, M. (2017). The Transit-Oriented Development Model in Montreal (Canada): Mobilizing a Concept and Negotiating Urban Development at the Local and Metropolitan Scale. *Environnement Urbain / Urban Environment*, 12. <https://journals.openedition.org/eue/1871>

Crabtree, L. (2005). Sustainable Housing Development in Urban Australia: Exploring obstacles to and opportunities for ecocity efforts. *Australian Geographer*, 36(3), 333–350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049180500325728>

Cuthill, M. (2010). Strengthening the ‘social’ in sustainable development: Developing a conceptual framework for social sustainability in a rapid urban growth region in Australia. *Sustainable Development*, 18(6), 362–373. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.397>

Darchen, S., & Poitras, C. (2018). Accommodating densification and social sustainability in the inner city. In *Compulsory property acquisition for urban densification* (pp. 67–80). Routledge.

Darchen, S., & Poitras, C. (2020). Delivering social sustainability in the inner-city: The transformation of South-West Montreal, Quebec (Canada). *Local Environment*, 25(4), 305–319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2020.1744117>

Davidson, M. (2009). Social sustainability: A potential for politics? *Local Environment*, 14(7), 607–619. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830903089291>

Davidson, M. (2010). Social Sustainability and the City: Social sustainability and city. *Geography Compass*, 4(7), 872–880. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00339.x>

Dempsey, N., Bramley, G., Power, S., & Brown, C. (2011). The social dimension of sustainable development: Defining urban social sustainability. *Sustainable Development*, 19(5), 289–300. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.417>

Desfor, G., Keil, R., Kipfer, S., & Wekerle, G. (2006). From Surf to Turf: No Limits to Growth in Toronto? *Studies in Political Economy*, 77(1), 131–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2006.11675115>

Design Montréal, Agence Relief Design, Christian Thiffault architecte, Vinci consultants, Catalyse Urbaine architecture et paysage, Groupe CHB-IBI inc., & Miguel Escobar Architecte + Urbaniste. (2011). *Development of the area surrounding Namur–Jean-Talon West: Le Triangle*. Design Montréal. <https://designmontreal.com/en/competitions/development-of-the-area-surrounding-namur-jean-talon-west-le-triangle?section=778>

Devmont. (n.d.-a). *Rouge Condominiums*. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from <https://www.rougecondominiums.com/en/neighbourhood>

Devmont. (n.d.-b). *Westbury Montréal*. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from <https://www.westburymontreal.com/en/westbury-montreal-neighbourhood/>

Eizenberg, E., & Jabareen, Y. (2017). Social Sustainability: A New Conceptual Framework. *Sustainability*, 9(1), 68. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su9010068>

Enclume. (2019). *Recherche documentaire de précédents en matière d'aménagement de quartiers durables*. Enclume. https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/3-8_precedents_amenagement_quartiers_durables.pdf

FECHIMM. (n.d.). *Fleur de l'île*. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from <https://fechimm.coop/fr/cooperatives/fleur-de-l-ile>

Filion, P., Bunting, T., Pavlic, D., & Langlois, P. (2010). Intensification and Sprawl: Residential Density Trajectories in Canada's Largest Metropolitan Regions. *Urban Geography*, 31(4), 541–569. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.31.4.541>

Filion, P., & Kramer, A. (2012). Transformative Metropolitan Development Models in Large Canadian Urban Areas: The Predominance of Nodes. *Urban Studies*, 49(10), 2237–2264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011423565>

Filion, P., Leanage, N., & Harun, R. (2020). Residential Intensification at the Interface of Market-Driven Development and Planning: Uneven Residential Intensification Outcomes in Toronto. *Urban Policy and Research*, 38(4), 307–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2020.1824906>

Ghahramanpouri, A., Lamit, H., & Sedaghatnia, S. (2013). Urban Social Sustainability Trends in Research Literature. *Asian Social Science*, 9(4), p185. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v9n4p185>

Goldenberg, J. (2020, July 22). *Triangle park to be named after Bronfman matriarch: Rotrand | City News | thesuburban.com*. The Suburban. https://www.thesuburban.com/news/city_news/triangle-park-to-be-named-after-bronfman-matriarch-rottrand/article_57b8cf1d-65b6-5d1c-b4c7-322be6bf1177.html

Google. (n.d.). *Google News*. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from <https://news.google.com/>

Goudreault, Z. (2021, November 27). *Montréal dans une course contre la montre pour conserver Blue Bonnets*. Le Devoir. <https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/650259/blue-bonnets-montreal-dans-une-course-contre-la-montre-pour-conserver-le-terrain>

Guerrero, D. (2014). *A Diversity of Stories: Making Sense of Montréal's Condo Boom* [McGill University]. <https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/papers/r781wg245>

Harris, D. C. (2011). Condominium and the City: The Rise of Property in Vancouver. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 36(03), 694–726. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2011.01247.x>

Holden, M. (2012). Urban Policy Engagement with Social Sustainability in Metro Vancouver. *Urban Studies*, 49(3), 527–542. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011403015>

Ibraeva, A., Correia, G. H. de A., Silva, C., & Antunes, A. P. (2020). Transit-oriented development: A review of research achievements and challenges. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 132, 110–130. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2019.10.018>

IMTL. (n.d.). *Ma Condos—Côte-des-Neiges—Montreal*. IMTL. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from https://www.imtl.org/edifices/ma_Condos.php?id=7512&im=2

IMTL. (2021a, March 28). *De La Savane Metro Station—Montreal*. De La Savane Metro Station. https://imtl.org/montreal/building/Station_de_metro_De_La_Savane.php

IMTL. (2021b, March 28). *Namur Metro Station—Montreal*. Namur Metro Station. https://imtl.org/montreal/building/Station_de_metro_Namur.php

Karel, M. (2018, December 10). *Montreal's collaborative model shows how cities can become climate leaders—David Suzuki Foundation*. <https://david Suzuki.org/expert-article/montreals-collaborative-model-shows-how-cities-can-become-climate-leaders/>

Karji, A., Woldesenbet, A., Khanzadi, M., & Tafazzoli, M. (2019). Assessment of Social Sustainability Indicators in Mass Housing Construction: A Case Study of Mehr Housing Project. *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 50, 101697. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2019.101697>

Kelly, S. (2013). The New Normal: The Figure of the Condo Owner in Toronto's Regent Park: The New Normal: The Figure of the Condo Owner in Toronto's Regent Park. *City & Society*, 25(2), 173–194. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12015>

Kern, L. (2007). Reshaping the Boundaries of Public and Private Life: Gender, Condominium Development, and the Neoliberalization of Urban Living. *Urban Geography*, 28(7), 657–681. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.28.7.657>

Kern, L. (2010a). *Sex and the revitalized city: Gender, condominium development, and urban citizenship*. UBC Press.

Kern, L. (2010b). Selling the 'scary city': Gendering freedom, fear and condominium development in the neoliberal city. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11(3), 209–230. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649361003637174>

Kern, L. (2010c). Gendering reurbanisation: Women and new-build gentrification in Toronto: Women and New-Build Gentrification in Toronto. *Population, Space and Place*, 16(5), 363–379. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.581>

Langhelle, O. (2000). Why ecological modernization and sustainable development should not be conflated. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 2(4), 303–322. <https://doi.org/10.1080/714038563>

Lehrer, U., & Wieditz, T. (2009). Condominium Development and Gentrification. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 18(1), 140–161.

Les immeubles Devmont. (2009). *Public consultation—Redevelopment of Namur – Jean-Talon Ouest Area*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/7a4.pdf>

Lippert, R. K. (2012). Governing Condominiums and Renters with Legal Knowledge Flows and External Institutions. *Law & Policy*, 34(3), 263–290. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9930.2012.00364.x>

Lippert, R. K. (2014). Neo-Liberalism, Police, and the Governance of Little Urban Things. *Foucault Studies*, 49–65. <https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i18.4651>

Lippert, R. K. (2019). *Condo Conquest: Urban Governance, Law, and Condoization in New York City and Toronto*. UBC Press.

Lippert, R. K., & Steckle, R. (2016). Conquering condos from within: Condo-isation as urban governance and knowledge. *Urban Studies*, 53(1), 132–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014562332>

McGill Oroboro Team. (2019). *Situational Report—Namur de la Savane*.
https://cotesaintluc.org/engage/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/02/2019-12_oroboro_report.pdf

McLean, S. (2016). *Le Namur adds rental units to Montreal's "Triangle" | REX - Real Estate News Exchange*. REX. <https://renx.ca/le-namur-adds-new-rental-units-montreals-triangle/>

Nethercote, M., & Horne, R. (2016). Ordinary vertical urbanisms: City apartments and the everyday geographies of high-rise families. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(8), 1581–1598.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X16645104>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009a). *Compte-rendu de la rencontre avec des représentants des groupes communautaires de CDN*.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/5c4.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009b). *Compte-rendu de la rencontre avec les citoyens du secteur Victoria*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/5c2.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009c). *Compte-rendu de la rencontre avec les résidents de la rue Mountains Sights*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/5c5.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009d). *Consultation Publique Sur Le Projet De Réaménagement Du Secteur Namur – Jean-talon Ouest—Partie 1—Volume 1* (p. 78).
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/6a.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009e). *Consultation publique sur le projet de Réaménagement du Secteur Namur – Jean-Talon Ouest—Partie 2—Volume 2* (p. 76).
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/6c.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009f). *Liste de documentation | Réaménagement du secteur Namur-Jean-Talon*. Office de Consultation Publique de Montréal.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/consultation-publique/reamenagement-secteur-namur-jean-talon/documentation>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009g). *Projet de réaménagement du secteur Namur—Jean-Talon Ouest Synthèse des rencontres avec les groupes ciblés*.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/5d1.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2009h). *Consultation Publique Réaménagement du Secteur Namur-Jean-Talon—2e Partie—Volume 1*.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/6b.pdf>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2019a). *Quartier Namur-Hippodrome | OCPM*.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/hippodrome>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2019b). *Consultation Publique Sur Le Quartier Namur-hippodrome: Deuxième Partie—Volume 1* (pp. 1–160).
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/6-1_ocpm_namur_soiree_dinfo_20_nov_19.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020a). *Forum Citoyen Quartier Innovant Et Durable—Compte-rendu de l'atelier sur l'aménagement du futur milieu de vie*.
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/7-3-6-3_cr-ateliers_creatifs_aménagement.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020b). *Liste de documentation | Quartier Namur-Hippodrome*. Office de Consultation Publique de Montréal.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/hippodrome/documentation>

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020c). *Consultation Publique Sur Le Quartier Namur-hippodrome: Deuxième Partie—Volume 2* (pp. 1–146).
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/6-3_namur-hippodrome_14_fevrier_ocpm.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020d). *Consultation publique sur le Quartier Namur-Hippodrome: Deuxième Partie—Volume 3* (pp. 1–143).
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/6-4_namur-hippodrome_17fevrier_pm.ocpm_.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020e). *Consultation publique sur le Quartier Namur-Hippodrome: Deuxième Partie—Volume 4* (pp. 1–143).
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/6-5_namur-hippodrome-17fevrier-soir.ocpm_.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020f). *Transcription de Kurt John*.
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/8-68-2_transcription_kurtjohn.pdf

Office de consultation publique de Montréal. (2020g). *Transcription de Projet Genève*.
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/8-11-1_transcription_projetgenese.pdf

Olakitan Atanda, J. (2019). Developing a social sustainability assessment framework. *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 44, 237–252. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2018.09.023>

Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges. (2020a). *Le Développement De L'Hippodrome: Une Occasion À Ne Pas Manquer Pour Les Locataires De Côte-Des-Neiges*.
https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/8-62_oeil.pdf

Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges. (2020b, October 28). *Logements sociaux et le projet de quartier Namur-Hippodrome*. Facebook.
https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=10158936061977020&id=150236932019

Organisation d'éducation et d'information logement de Côte-des-Neiges, & Dagneau, C. (2009). *Résidents de Côte-des-Neiges, vos élus sont en train de vous remplacer!* <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/7a16.pdf>

Oroboro Team. (2019). *Namur de la Savane—Envisioning change for the heart of the island—Coordinated concept plan* (pp. 1–47). https://cotesaintluc.org/engage/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/02/2019-12_oroboro_report.pdf

Paré, S. (2019). *Analyse de la composante sociale du développement durable à travers l'échelle de planification d'un quartier montréalais* [Université de Sherbrooke]. <https://savoirs.usherbrooke.ca/handle/11143/15797>

Patel, D. R. (2015). Negotiating Identities in the Designs for New Luxury Condominiums in Neo-Liberal India. *The International Journal Of Design In Society*, 9(4), 15–29.

Podmore, J. (1994). *Loft Conversions in a Local Context: The Case of Inner City Montreal* [McGill University]. <https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/theses/9z903192m>

Pow, C.-P. (2009). Public intervention, private aspiration: Gated communities and the condominisation of housing landscapes in Singapore. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 50(2), 215–227. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2009.01394.x>

Project Genesis. (2020). *Blue Bonnets: Une vision innovante et inclusive pour l'avenir de Côte-des-Neiges*. https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/8-11_projet_genese.pdf

Project Genesis, Inouye, C., & Djelidi, S. (2009). *Mémoire sur le Projet de Réaménagement du Secteur Namur-Jean-Talon*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/7a7.pdf>

Quastel, N., Moos, M., & Lynch, N. (2012). Sustainability-As-Density and the Return of the Social: The Case of Vancouver, British Columbia. *Urban Geography*, 33(7), 1055–1084. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.7.1055>

Rose, D. (2004). Discourses and Experiences of Social Mix in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods: A Montréal Case Study. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(2), 278–316.

Rose, D. (2010). Local state policy and ‘new-build gentrification’ in Montréal: The role of the ‘population factor’ in a fragmented governance context: New-Build Gentrification in Montréal. *Population, Space and Place*, 16(5), 413–428. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.592>

Rosen, G. (2016). Condo-ism and Urban Renewal: Insights from Toronto and Jerusalem. In A. Lehari (Ed.), *Private Communities and Urban Governance*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-33210-9>

Rosen, G. (2017). Toronto’s condo-builders: Development approaches and spatial preferences. *Urban Geography*, 38(4), 606–625. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1179426>

Rosen, G., & Walks, A. (2013). Rising cities: Condominium development and the private transformation of the metropolis. *Geoforum*, 49, 160–172. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.06.010>

Rosen, G., & Walks, A. (2015). Castles in Toronto’s Sky: Condo-ism as Urban Transformation. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 37(3), 289–310. <https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12140>

Salkind, N. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Research Design*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412961288>

Searle, G., & Fillion, P. (2011). Planning Context and Urban Intensification Outcomes: Sydney versus Toronto. *Urban Studies*, 48(7), 1419–1438. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010375995>

Shirazi, M. R., & Keivani, R. (2019). The triad of social sustainability: Defining and measuring social sustainability of urban neighbourhoods. *Urban Research & Practice*, 12(4), 448–471. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2018.1469039>

Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal. (n.d.-a). *À propos | Accès Condos*. Acces Condo. Retrieved January 1, 2022, from <https://acescondos.org/fr/a-propos/>

Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal. (n.d.-b). *Accès Condos*. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from <https://acescondos.org/en/program/>

Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal. (2008). *Côté Ouest 1—Accès Condos*. <https://acescondos.org/en/project/cote-ouest-1/>

Société d’habitation et de développement de Montréal. (2009). *Côté Ouest 2—Accès Condos*. <https://acescondos.org/en/project/cote-ouest-2/>

Statistics Canada. (2011). *Total number of private households by condominium status—2011 National Household Survey*. Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada. (2016). *Occupied private dwellings by condominium status—25% sample data (2016)—2016 Census*. Statistics Canada.

Summit Management. (n.d.-a). *Condo Vue*. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from <https://www.summitmanagement.ca/fr/apartments/vue-phase-5/>

Summit Management. (n.d.-b). *Vue Phase 7*. Retrieved October 22, 2021, from <https://www.vuephase7.com/en/>

Système de gestion des décisions des instances. (2009). *Sommaire Décisionnel.pdf*. <https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P41/1a.pdf>

Szibbo, N. (2016). Lessons for LEED® for Neighborhood Development, Social Equity, and Affordable Housing. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 82(1), 37–49.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2015.1110709>

Teelucksingh, C. (2010). Instant Gentrification: Social Inequality and Brownfield Redevelopment in Downtown Toronto. In L. E. Adkin (Ed.), *Environmental Conflict and Democracy in Canada* (pp. 262–278). UBC Press.

Vallance, S., Perkins, H. C., & Dixon, J. E. (2011). What is social sustainability? A clarification of concepts. *Geoforum*, 42(3), 342–348. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.002>

Ville de Montréal. (2004). *Plan d'Urbanisme de Montréal—Partie I - chapitre 2: Les orientations d'aménagement*.
http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/160125_2_1_1.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2005). *Stratégie d'inclusion de logements abordables dans les nouveaux projets résidentiels*.
http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/HABITATION_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/STRATEGIE_INCLUSION.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2013a). *Plan de fidélisation des familles 2014-2017: Des mesures pour soutenir les familles montréalaises tout au long de leur parcours résidentiel*.
http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=5798,42657625&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&id=21437

Ville de Montréal. (2013b). *Projet de Plan de développement de Montréal—Version révisée avril 2013*.
<https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P70/3a.pdf>

Ville de Montréal. (2016a). *Plan d'Urbanisme. Plan d'Urbanisme.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=2761,3096652&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Ville de Montréal. (2016b). *Plan d'urbanisme de Montréal—Partie I - chapitre 1: Le parti d'aménagement.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/200921_1.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2016c). *Plan d'Urbanisme de Montréal—Partie I - Les éléments pan-montréalais—Chapitre 2: Les orientations d'aménagement—2.7 Un environnement sain.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/160125_2_7.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2016d). *Plan d'urbanisme—2.1 Des milieux de vie de qualité, diversifiés et complets.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/160125_2_1_1.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2016e). *Plan d'Urbanisme—Chapitre 2.5 Un paysage urbain et une architecture de qualité.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/160125_2_5_1.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2016f). *Plan d'Urbanisme—Chapitre 4: La planification détaillée.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PLAN_URBANISME_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/160125_4.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2016g). *Plan Montréal durable 2016-2020.*

<https://res.cloudinary.com/villemontreal/image/upload/v1607020686/portail/p0uhvl9lsdsmlvmhs5qg.pdf>

Ville de Montréal. (2019a). *Programme habitations urbaines pour familles.*

http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/page/habitation_fr/media/documents/habitations_urbaines_familles_2019.pdf

Ville de Montréal. (2019b). *Quartier Namur-Hippodrome – document d’information – octobre 2019.*

https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/3-1_document_dinformation_quartier_namur-hippodrome_final_1.pdf

Ville de Montréal. (2019c). *Synthèse—Novembre 2019.*

https://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P107/3-1-1_synthese_fr_doc_info_namur_hippodrome.pdf

Ville de Montréal. (2020a). *Plan climat 2020-2030.*

<https://res.cloudinary.com/villemontreal/image/upload/v1608692024/portail/paqbtuqcmyqdwrxvfb5j.pdf>

Ville de Montréal. (2020b). *Plan climat Montréal: Objectif carboneutralité d’ici 2050.* Plan Climat Montréal : Objectif Carboneutralité d’ici 2050. <https://montreal.ca/articles/plan-climat-montreal-objectif-carboneutralite-dici-2050-7613>

Ville de Montréal. (2020c). *Règlement pour une métropole mixte.*

<https://res.cloudinary.com/villemontreal/image/upload/v1604590341/portail/sqxjknzs00vxdvsqd4uh.pdf>

Ville de Montréal. (2021). *By-law on GHG emissions disclosure and rating*. By-Law on GHG Emissions Disclosure and Rating. <https://montreal.ca/en/articles/law-ghg-emissions-disclosure-and-rating-20548>

Walks, R. A., & Maaranen, R. (2008). Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities. *Urban Geography*, 29(4), 293–326. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.29.4.293>

Westbury Montréal. (n.d.-a). *Project Features | Westbury Montréal*. Retrieved October 22, 2021, from <https://www.westburymontreal.com/en/features/>

Westbury Montréal. (n.d.-b). *Vast and Exceptionnal Common Areas*. Westbury Montréal. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from <https://www.westburymontreal.com/en/common-areas/>

Woodcraft, S. (2012). Social Sustainability and New Communities: Moving from Concept to Practice in the UK. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 68, 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.12.204>

Yiftachel, O., & Hedgcock, D. (1993). Urban social sustainability: The planning of an Australian city. *Cities*, 10(2), 19. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0264-2751\(93\)90045-K](https://doi.org/10.1016/0264-2751(93)90045-K)

Zwick, D., & Ozalp, Y. (2011). Flipping the Neighborhood: Biopolitical Marketing as Value Creation for Condos and Lofts. In D. Zwick & J. Cayla (Eds.), *Inside Marketing*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199576746.001.0001>

Appendix

Number of times a keyword was mentioned in City planning and policy documents analyzed (in French) – (Ranked by frequency)	Number of times a keyword was mentioned in OCPM public consultation reference documents (in French) - (Ranked by frequency)	Number of times a keyword was mentioned in OCPM documents on information sessions and opinion hearing sessions and public consultation for the Westbury site (in French and English) - (Ranked by frequency)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Logement (1523) 2. Social*/Sociaux (952) 3. Logement soci* (459) 4. Durable (610) 5. Densité (303) 6. TOD/T.O.D (241) 7. Propriété (203) 8. Unité (163) 9. Vert(s) (138) 10. Logement(s) abordable (106) 11. Verdissement (62) 12. Densification (48) 13. Mixité sociale (44) 14. Intensification (42) 15. Copropriété (32) 16. Équitable (29) 17. Densification résidentiel (23) 18. Abordabilité (22) 19. Dense (21) 20. Équité (18) 21. LEED (16) 22. Écoquartier* (15) 23. Condo (14) 24. Locative (14) 25. Durabilité (12) 26. Justice sociale, Durabilité social* (0) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Logement (32) 2. Social*/Sociaux (20) 3. Densité (18) 4. Durable (17) 5. Vert(s) (13) 6. Propriété (10) 7. TOD/T.O.D (9) 8. LEED (6) 9. Condo (5) 10. Dense, verdissement, Logement Social* (4) 11. Mixité sociale, intensification, Écoquartier* (3) 12. Logement(s) abordable (2) 13. Durable, Unité, Équitable, Densification, Copropriété, Durabilité, (1) 14. Abordabilité, justice sociale, Équité, locative, Durabilité social* (0) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Logement (844) 2. Social*/Sociaux (450) 3. Logement soci* (271) 4. Vert(s)/Green (126) 5. Unité (125) 6. Densité (105) 7. Condo (84) 8. Logement(s) abordable/Affordable housing (68) 9. Durable (67) 10. TOD/T.O.D (61) 11. Écoquartier (50) 12. Propriété/Homeownership (33) 13. Verdissement/Greening (41) 14. Dense (23) 15. Mixité sociale (22) 16. LEED (12) 17. Abordabilité/Affordability (9) 18. Équitable/Equitable (8) 19. Équité/Equity (6) 20. Durabilité, Justice sociale/Social justice, rental (2) 21. Copropriété (1) 22. Intensification, Durabilité social* (0)

<p>Sources: (Agglomération de Montréal, 2015; Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2019; Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, 2012, 2015; Ville de Montréal, 2005, 2016a, 2016g, 2020b, 2020c)</p>	<p>Sources: (Atelier Christian Thiffault, 2016; BGLA Architecture et Design, 2009; Ville de Montréal, 2019b)</p>	<p>Sources: (Arrondissement Côte-des-Neiges—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, 2017, pp. 577–589; Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2009d, 2009e, 2009h, 2019b, 2020c, 2020d, 2020e)</p>
--	---	--