Suburban Shopping Centres as Transit-Oriented Development: Policy Perspectives from Canadian Cities

Supervised Research Project

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Kyle Rouhani
School of Urban Planning
Faculty of Engineering
McGill University
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Abstract

Shopping centres in suburban districts are facing transformational changes in the retail landscape just as municipal governments are facing increasing pressure to add housing supply. The pursuit of high-density residential developments alongside high-frequency transit services – transit-oriented development, or TOD – at and around these suburban shopping centre sites represents a promising opportunity to diversify income streams for landowners while adding housing supply for municipal governments. Substantial research has been undertaken to identify necessary success factors for TOD, and interest in transit-oriented shopping centre redevelopment has been rising in Canada. Through six detailed case studies, this project aims to explore the state of this effort in Canadian CMAs to provide lessons for municipalities and shopping centre owners interested in this intervention. Results indicate that differences in outcomes for each shopping centre and its environs are due largely to the unique local political and financial contexts of each case, raising questions about the necessity for intervention by higher levels of government.

Resumé

Les centres commerciaux des banlieues sont confrontés à des changements transformationnels dans le paysage commercial, tout comme les gouvernements municipaux sont confrontés à une pression croissante pour ajouter des logements. La mise en place d'ensembles résidentiels à haute densité et de services de transport en commun à haute fréquence - le développement axé sur le transport en commun ou "TOD" - sur les sites de ces centres commerciaux de banlieue et autour de ceux-ci représente une occasion prometteuse pour diversifier les sources de revenus des propriétaires fonciers tout en augmentant l'offre de logements pour les gouvernements municipaux. D'importantes recherches ont été entreprises pour déterminer les facteurs de réussite nécessaires pour TOD, et l'intérêt du réaménagement des centres commerciaux axé sur le transport en commun est en hausse au Canada. Grâce à six études de cas détaillées, ce projet vise à explorer l'état de ces efforts dans les RMR canadiennes afin de fournir des leçons aux municipalités et aux propriétaires de centres commerciaux intéressés par cette intervention. Les résultats indiquent que les différences de résultats pour chaque centre commercial et ses environs sont dues en grande partie aux contextes politiques et financiers locaux uniques de chaque cas, ce qui soulève des questions sur la nécessité d'une intervention aux niveaux supérieurs gouvernementals.

Introduction

Canada is in a housing crisis. In municipalities across the country, housing prices are skyrocketing due to a convergence of factors which simultaneously fan the flames of demand while tamping down on the possibilities for the market to react by adding new supply. To tackle this issue, planning scholars have pointed to the need to direct more housing to the exclusionary suburban landscapes dominated by single-family dwellings (Manville et al. 2020; Whittemore 2020). Furthermore, the effort to change travel and consumption habits to reduce emissions and avoid the worst ravages of the climate crisis has led municipalities to increasingly pursue policies of transit-oriented development, where higher-density growth is directed towards areas of the city with reliable, high-frequency transit access and a fine-grained mix of land uses (Van Lierop et al. 2017; Padeiro et al. 2019). However, public opposition in suburban districts to additional land use diversity and density remains high (Hess et al. 2015; Smith Lea, et al. 2017), and despite prevailing narratives on the urbanization of this country's population, Canada on the whole remains a suburban, car-dependent nation (Gordon 2018). At the same time, the conventional enclosed shopping centres – which dominate much of the commercial suburban landscape in North America – are facing the crisis of the retail apocalypse, as retail consumption patterns shift towards ecommerce and away from bricks-and-mortar (Choi 2020). This problem is vividly illustrated by the large holes left where anchor tenants were located in many shopping centers in the aftermath of the Sears bankruptcy in 2017 (Ward 2018).

Could these crises for both municipalities and shopping centre operators be an opportunity to kill two birds with a single stone? In an era of persistently high vacancy rates and "dead malls" (Parlette & Cowan, 2010) the pursuit of transit-oriented development at 20th-century enclosed shopping centres in suburban landscapes has emerged as a strategy for shopping centre owners to diversify their revenue streams and remain competitive – and for municipalities to capitalize on the sunk cost of infrastructure investment at these sites (Commercial Real Estate Development Association, 2015). In Canada, Metro Vancouver is a hotbed for such activity, with Metropolis at Metrotown and Lougheed Town Centre (both in Burnaby, BC) and the ongoing redevelopment of Oakridge Town Centre (in Vancouver, BC) all serving as noteworthy examples of such transformations (Natrasony, 2009; Loas-Loo, 2019; Patterson, 2020). The City of Toronto has even developed its own "Mall Redevelopment Guide" to recommend good best for property owners seeking to pursue such transformations (City of Toronto, 2021).

But what is the state of this practice across the country? Do strategies differ from city to city, and what lessons can the pursuit of TOD at key enclosed shopping centres provide to municipalities and property owners considering the same strategies for their own assets? As will be discussed below in the State of the Debate section, TOD is often linked to the redevelopment of large sites in built-up urban and suburban areas, and shopping centres – especially those already nearby transit infrastructure – are a promising prospect for TOD. This project will investigate six cases of TOD redevelopment at super-regional enclosed shopping centres across Canada and attempt to answer these questions. It begins with a brief review of the state of the debate regarding scholarship on TOD, its achievement, and its assessment. This is followed by an explanation of methodologies and the six case studies. The case studies are followed by a synthesis of trends across the cases since 2001. Next, the Discussion section will draw upon prevailing scholarship on TOD policy to provide an understanding of the state of shopping centre TOD redevelopment in Canadian cities. The project concludes by asking what the insights of this project mean for the future of TOD at shopping centre sites given Canada's constitutional and political structure.

State of the Debate

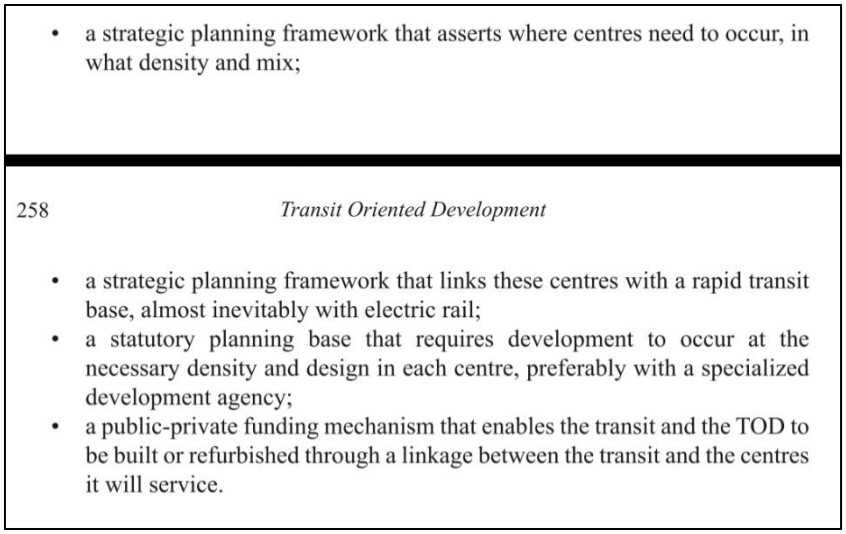
Transit-oriented development (TOD) refers to the presence of relatively high residential densities and mixed land uses centred upon high-frequency transit stops (Calthorpe, 1993). Although TOD is a relatively recent concept, the construction of fixed-guideway transit lines has been a catalyst for urban development and expansion since the early 20th century (Knowles, 2020). In the 21st century, urban policymakers tend to pursue TOD and associated forms of compact development as an alternative to conventional suburban development which necessitates automobility as a result of separated land uses (Kamruzzaman, 2015). Benefits include diversifying the number of transportation options available to users, improving public health, and increasing local economic activity (Noland et al 2014; Hui et al 2016; Forsyth 2018). Because most available urban land in North American cities is already built up, TOD efforts require thinking creatively about how to make the best of existing infrastructure and street network morphologies (Van Lierop et al. 2017). For transit systems, this means building systems and prioritizing modes which allow for high-frequency (15-minute or less) and/or reliable service for users (Kamruzzaman 2015; National Association of City Transportation Officials 2022). This can take the form of a range of transportation modes from fixed-guideway grade-separated

options such as light or heavy-rail subway systems to the more cost-effective option of dedicated-laneway bus-rapid transit (Cervero, 2014; Kamruzzaman, 2015).

Achieving TOD requires substantial coordination between the planning and construction of transit systems themselves and the policies and regulatory frameworks that shape land use around transit corridors (Carlton, 2019). Scholars identify varying number of land use and urban design "Ds" which help explain demand for transit services in a given area (Cervero & Kockelman 1997; Stevens 2017). The five most commonly identified variables are Density (in terms of population and/or jobs), Diversity (in terms of a land use mix), Design (in terms of street networks), Destination accessibility (in terms of number of jobs or services reachable by transit), and Distance to transit (in terms of household distance from a station) (Ewing & Cervero, 2010). Pursuing TOD based upon these principles has been associated with a reduction in vehicle-miles travelled (Stevens, 2017). The association between compact development principles and car use reduction is further improved when amenities – such as grocery stores, pharmacies, healthcare services, restaurants, and cafés, and retailers – are also included in the built environment of TOD projects (Ellder, 2018). Since conventional shopping centres, by their very design, tend to be concentrated nodes of such amenities in suburban contexts, the pursuit of TOD at these sites is a potentially fruitful means of reducing automobility.

TOD's potential to allow municipalities to add new commercial and residential development without adding additional traffic volume to existing infrastructure has made it one of the most closely researched topics in urban planning. As such, a rich trove of research can be drawn upon to understand the factors which contribute to successful implementation of TOD. In the broadest sense, the closing section of the 2009 edited collection *Transit-Oriented Development: Making it Happen* (Renne

2009b) review a set of ten case studies presented earlier in the book to identify common success strategies (Bertolini, 2009). These factors are summarized in Figure 1.



- a strategic planning framework that asserts where centres need to occur, in what density and mix;

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- a strategic planning framework that links these centres with a rapid transit base, almost inevitably with electric rail;
- a statutory planning base that requires development to occur at the necessary density and design in each centre, preferably with a specialized development agency;
- a public-private funding mechanism that enables the transit and the TOD to be built or refurbished through a linkage between the transit and the centres it will service.

Figure 1: Factors common to successful transit-oriented development projects. Source: Bertolini 2009

More practically, Loukaitou-Sideris (2010) provides a review of efforts to pursue TOD projects in Southern California and identifies several strategies, opportunities, and challenges in the pursuit of TOD (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2010). She begins by pointing to the presence of compatible external trends – such as development pressure owing to a housing supply shortage, worsening traffic congestion leading to a need for transit relief, and a heightened concern for environmental sustainability. She also highlights the importance of an enabling policy environment compatible with denser, mixed-use development. For municipalities, this means preparing plans and introducing bylaws which increase allowable densities and heights, lighten the burden of parking and setback requirements, and signal to developers that the municipality will be cooperative with TOD projects. For the transit agency, Loukaitou-Sideris recommends achieving effective coordination among different public entities and making transit as appealing as possible to a broad population. Among property developers and owners, Loukaitou-Sideris argues there must be a positive perception of TOD as a financial investment, requiring a clear and growing market for TOD projects to justify substantial upfront investment. And in terms of challenges, Loukaitou-Sideris distinguishes between procedural challenges (such as difficulty coordinating among multiple development companies, financial institutions, resident groups, or merchants' associations), economic challenges (such as the higher cost of mixed-use development and the high cost of land assembly), and cultural/perceptual challenges (such as negative community attitudes towards higher densities.

Schuetz (2017) elaborates on the principles identified by Renne, Bertolini, and Loukaitou-Sideris by revealing the symbiotic relationship between TOD-compatible regulatory frameworks – particularly

zoning and official plans – and favourable market conditions to produce new development at and around transit stations. Zoning bylaws and plans which encourage the construction of substantially higher densities in built-up areas and provide certainty to developers, allowing them to weigh the relative financial benefits of pursuing a TOD project over another. At the same time, creating favourable *legal* conditions does not by itself produce development, as favourable *market* conditions must also be present; Schuetz notes that "in the absence of rising property values, TOD-compatible zoning and land-use plans have not generated redevelopment" (Schuetz et al 2017, p. 10). Still, other research points to TOD and TOD-friendly policies themselves leading to upward pressure on nearby residential property values (Shishir & Ferrell, 2009; Duncan, 2011; Xu, 2015). Importantly, these studies all took place in contexts where baseline development pressure has been rising in recent years due to other factors: the San Diego and San Francisco Bay Area in California and Seattle's King County in Washington. This suggests that, at least in contexts where developer interest in intensification already exists, governments can use zoning and policy to direct that market pressure towards TOD station areas.

The wide breadth of research into TOD also means various observers have provided methods for assessing the success of TOD initiatives once they have been implemented. Of course, not every project can be assessed favourably, and one common critique of attempts to pursue TOD is that they produce not transit-oriented development, but transit-adjacent development (TAD). TAD refers to a similar phenomenon of residential development around high-frequency transit stations but characterized instead by homogenous, separated land use, a poorly connected road layout, and low residential densities (Kamruzzaman, 2015). John Renne provides a helpful set of assessment criteria for understanding whether a development should be considered TAD or TOD (Renne 2009a), seen in Figure 2**.** In the context of the case studies presented in this project, these criteria are also effective for determining whether efforts to redevelop shopping centres resulted in TOD or TAD, or if they result in a

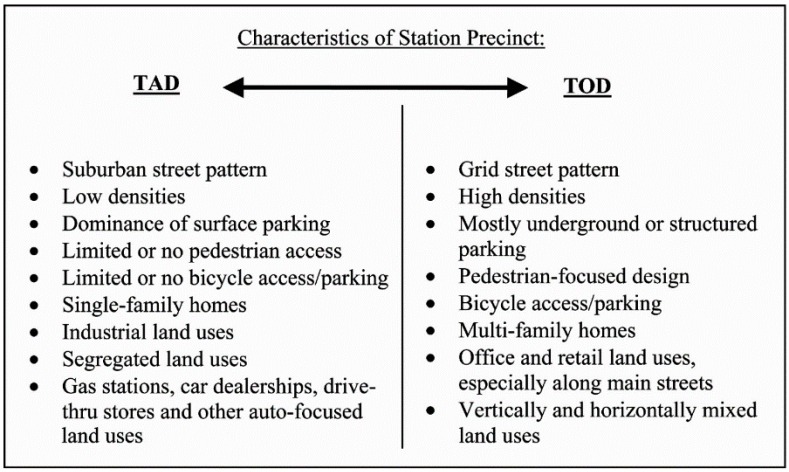


Figure 2: The TAD-TOD spectrum. Source: Renne 2009a

movement from the TAD column to the TOD column. And in a 2014 meta-analysis, Ren Thomas and Luca Bertolini provide a useful summary of the factors for successful TOD identified by other researchers (Thomas & Bertolini, 2014). This summary of critical success factors is shown in Appendix 1 and will form a basis for assessment in the discussion section. Rather than simply attempting to reproduce the results of the works described above, this study aims to investigate whether the principles of success identified by Loukaitou-Sideris, Schuetz, and Thomas & Bertolini are present in the cases examined.

To some extent, however, the assessment criteria and success factors for achieving TOD put forward by conventional transportation geographers and planning researchers leave out important considerations of place and local context. For an analytical framework more rooted in relational geography and the notion of place, Qviström et al. (2019) provide a useful starting point. They encourage planners and observers to "think outside the circle" and "identify asymmetries in current planning" (Qviström et al., 2019, p. 790), referring to the typical 10-minute walking distance circle around a station which dominates transit-planning documents about transit-oriented development. Qviström et al. encourage students of TOD to bring "place qualities to bear on TOD analysis" in order to yield "insights on interconnected and multilayered settings" (ibid., p. 790). While these directives are difficult to actualize in quantitative studies of neighbourhood change in TOD contexts, they lend themselves quite effectively for a more qualitatively-rooted endeavour such as this collection of case studies.

Finally, substantial literature already exists which explore the growing phenomenon of intensification around shopping centres in suburban Canadian districts. As early as 1991, Edward Relph identified these large suburban shopping malls as "suburban downtowns" intended to generate a sense of community and identity in suburban places through mixing commercial and civic land uses in pedestrian-friendly environments (Relph, 1991). By 2001, however, Pierre Fillion was declaring efforts to intensify and diversify land use around these shopping centres to create distinctive suburban downtowns a failure, pointing out that their levels of transit use and development patterns are not distinct enough from the surrounding areas (Fillion, 2001) and calling for a more node-based approach to intensification. This node-based strategy became widespread among Canadian metropolitan-level planning frameworks in the early 21st century, creating a promising pathway for suburban change (Fillion & Kramer, 2011). In his most recent article on the subject, Fillion points to

the unique challenges associated with pursuing intensification at conventional suburban shopping centres. He argues that the transportation and land-use path dependencies inherent to suburban development patterns lead to tension between the shopping centre's function as a commercial activity hub for the surrounding area – which entails a level of car-friendly design – and its function as a TOD node – which entails a level of pedestrian-friendly design (Fillion, 2019). Beyond the critical success factors identified by Thomas & Bertolini then, the task of transforming conventional suburban shopping centres into nodes for TOD presents *sui generis* challenges of its own.

Methodology

This project draws methodological inspiration from Williamson and Dunham-Jones' *"Case Studies in Retrofitting Suburbia: Urban Design Strategies for Urgent Challenges"* (2021). But rather than performing post-hoc analysis on successfully constructed TOD at shopping centre sites, the cases presented below demonstrate a variety of stages in the process. This mirrors methods discussed above and employed fruitfully by Bertolini in a synthesis piece published in *Transit-Oriented Development: Making it Happen* (Bertolini, 2009). The case studies therefore presented in order of least-complete to most-complete, with the cases in the middle constituting cases which have, for one reason or another, encountered a major obstacle in the attainment of TOD. This decision was made to maximize the lessons gleaned for property owners, municipalities, and transit agencies currently in the process of pursuing TOD at shopping centre sites.

To determine a list of case studies, a list of shopping centres in Canada was procured from Toronto Metropolitan University's Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity. This list identified every enclosed shopping centre in Canada categorized as a super-regional mall. According to the International Council of Shopping Centres, a super-regional mall is a type of conventional shopping centre with a gross leasable area over 74,322.432 m2 (800,000 square feet) and a "[deep] breadth and depth of stores and merchandise" (ICSC, 2010, p. 3). These shopping centres were selected because: 1) they are "often situated on mass transit lines […] and along major highway corridors" (ibid.), providing ready-made access to the transit component of TOD; 2) their ownership is usually consists of "large investment groups, pension funds, real estate trusts or similar entity" (ibid., p. 3), suggesting a substantial financial capacity to pursue residential development; and 3) because their size suggests a larger lot area on which to construct mixed-use development. This list was further narrowed down

to 30 by including only shopping centres located within Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) with a population of at least one million in 2016 (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, and Ottawa-Gatineau); this was done because these CMAs are facing the greatest population and housing pressures and are therefore most likely to have sufficient development pressure to warrant such a substantial investment as shopping centre redevelopment.

In order to exclude shopping centres which are not in suburban areas, the project employed the definition of "suburban" used by Gordon and Janzen in their 2013 article "Suburban Nation? Estimating the Size of Canada's Suburban Population". As such, shopping centres located in a Census tract (CT) with an active transportation commute modal share greater than 1.5 times the CMA average in 2001 were considered an "Active Core" and removed from the database. For the purposes of this project, "active transportation" refers to commutes in which walking or cycling was the main mode and "transit" refers to commutes in which public transit was the main mode (Gordon & Janzen, 2013). Where applicable, this project generally uses Census data from 2001, as most municipal TOD strategies in the study began in the early 21st century. Though commute modal share is a somewhat limited means of collecting travel data and does not capture trips made to drop children off to school or run daily errands (Hanson, 2010), it is nevertheless consistently collected by Statistics Canada in each quinquennial Canadian Census.

From a shortlist of 30 shopping centres (shown in Appendix 2), six case studies 20% of the were selected. Final selection of candidates for detailed case studies aimed to balance geographic diversity, a diversity of outcomes, and contextual diversity in surrounding neighbourhoods and historical trends. The final list includes one case study from the Vancouver CMA, one from the Calgary CMA, two from the Toronto CMA, and two from the Montreal CMA, loosely reflecting their relative populations. Satellite photographs of each case study site in 2021 at the same scale can be found in Appendix 3 The case studies are presented in a broadly consistent format to be explained in the following Case Study section. Research for each was conducted by investigating the transit system in which the shopping centre is situated, the regulatory environment, and the actions of property owners, developers, and other relevant stakeholders to either facilitate or impede the pursuit of TOD at shopping centre sites. This information was obtained through municipal resources, planning documents, legislative documents, government reports, and media analysis.

After the case studies are presented, the concluding discussion seeks to draw lessons and provide critiques of the strategies and outcomes explored. It begins with a summary evaluation for the case studies based on the critical success factors identified by Thomas and Bertolini and introduced in the State of the Debate section above. The discussion attempts to blend the perspectives of conventional commentators of TOD policy – exemplified by authors such as Renne, Cervero, and Loukaitou-Sideris – with the perspectives of Qviström et al. who call upon students of TOD to move beyond the confines of the typical two-dimensional analytical frameworks and investigate the qualitative role of place in successful policymaking. The structure of the discussion focuses on lessons the case studies hold for TOD stakeholders as well as how these lessons fit into the larger constellation of TOD policy scholarship. The project concludes with a brief consideration of what, under the Canadian constitutional structure, these lessons imply for political and business leaders seeking to meet the challenges of the triplet crises of housing, climate, and retail introduced above.

The Case Studies

The cases selected for study were chosen based on their ability to collectively demonstrate a varied breadth of processes and outcomes. This project is not concerned with the exact design outcomes of TOD projects, except insofar as they relate to changes made to improve transit accessibility and pedestrian-friendliness; even in these instances, transit accessibility and pedestrian-friendliness are not the focus of the cases. Instead, outcomes are understood in terms of "completeness" – that is, whether or not transit-oriented development was built. The cases below are therefore presented in order of completeness, with Calgary's Chinook Centre not yet having produced any substantive proposals for TOD redevelopment and West Vancouver's Park Royal having successfully completed TOD redevelopment onsite. Each case study begins with an overview describing the situation. This is followed by a brief discussion of the history, contemporary state and, if applicable, future plans for the transit component of the cases. The regulatory framework is then presented, followed by a discussion of the actions of property owners and stakeholders. Note that because this project is focused on the legal entailments of bylaws, plans and other policy documents, the conventional term 'land use' is used throughout to refer to legally-permitted activities on specific parcels of land.

Since modal shift and the addition of new housing are two oft-touted goals of TOD efforts (Renne, 2009; Stevens, 2017) an exploration of the case studies below would not be complete without investigating changes to these variables over time. As such, the case studies are followed by a

summary section reviewing how the CTs in which each shopping centre is located have changed since 2001. Changes are explored in terms of population, dwelling count, active transportation use, and transit use.

Important caveats must first be laid out regarding the nature of CTs. In the first place, the boundaries for CTs determined by Statistics Canada can leave out adjacent areas which may be just across the street from a shopping centre. In the case of Carrefour Angrignon for example, the bulk of recent TOD construction near the shopping centre has occurred across the street from the centre itself, outside the CT of the shopping centre. For that case, two CTs were analyzed, referred to in the data as Carrefour Angrignon A and Carrefour Angrignon B. In addition, some CTs experienced boundary changes between 2001 and 2021, including those containing Park Royal, Pickering Town Centre, and Scarborough Town Centre. In the latter two cases, the boundary changes resulted in two new CTs (created in 2006 and 2011 respectively) which when combined form the boundary of the 2001 CTs; therefore, the boundary for the old CT was used by collating data from the two CTs.

The case of Park Royal's CT is somewhat more complicated. Its initial 2001 boundary includes a large residential and commercial area of West Vancouver which is too distinct from Park Royal itself to be included. The 2006 boundaries are therefore used to determine change population and dwelling counts between 2001 and 2021, with 2001 data taken from the boundaries of the dissemination areas which in 2006 became a CT. Since the portion of Park Royal which received residential transit-oriented redevelopment is outside the 2006 CT boundaries, population and dwelling data from 2001 to 2021 was also supplemented with the dissemination area which does contain this development. For change in active transportation and transit use between 2001 and 2016 (the last year for which Statistics Canada data is available for this topic), the 2001 boundaries are used for 2001 and the 2006 boundaries are used for the following years; this is because – beyond population and dwelling counts – data at the level of the dissemination area is not available to the public. Consequently, these two variables should be approached with caution for Park Royal as there is a boundary change effect at play between 2001 and 2006.

The CT boundaries used for each shopping centre case study can be found in Appendix 4.

Chinook Centre (Calgary CMA): Iterative Strategies for TOD

TOD Project Status: Pre-Proposal

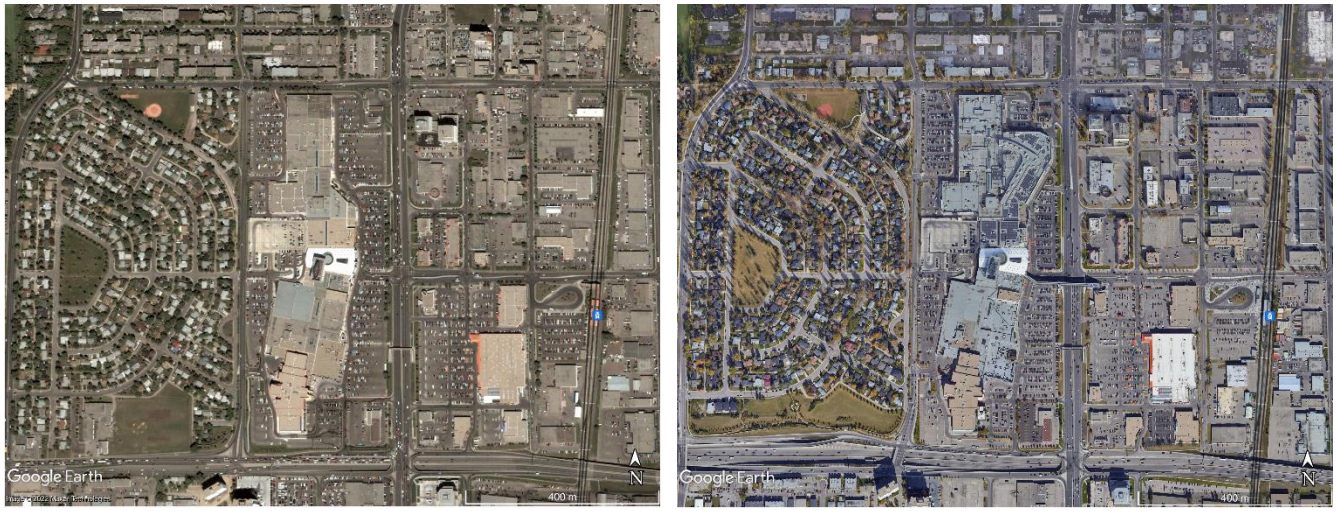


Figure 3: Chinook Centre is seen in the middle of the images above. The site is largely unchanged from 2002 (left) to 2021 (right). Source: Google Earth

Chinook Centre occupies a 21-ha site and was completed in 1960 with 45 stores anchored by Woolworth's and a branch of the Calgary Public Library and has since grown over several waves of retail-focused redevelopment to contain over 120,774 m^2 (1.3 million square feet) of gross leasable area in 2021 (Cadillac Fairview, 2020), becoming one of the most productive shopping centres in Canada (Toneguzzi, 2020). The shopping centre is located directly to the east of Calgary's Meadowlark Park neighbourhood, a small area of 679 residents in 2001, where 100% of the 290 dwellings are single family detached dwellings (City of Calgary, 2006). In the Census tract surrounding Chinook Centre (which includes all of Meadowlark Park and a portion of the Windsor Park neighbourhood to the north), 10.94% of the population used active transportation as their main commute mode in 2001 and 13.81% of residents used public transit, compared to Calgary CMA averages of 7.35% and 13.81% respectively (Statistics Canada, 2001). As such, the area was considered an "Auto Suburb" under the Gordon-Janzen system of categorization. The area has been served by the Chinook Station of Calgary Transit's CTrain since 1981. To the west of the mall lies the Manchester Industrial Area, a productive employment area home to over 33,000 jobs in 2019 which is zoned entirely as Industrial or Commercial (City of Calgary, 2018)

Despite the area's proximity to grade-separated, high-frequency rapid transit, the City of Calgary has been unsuccessful in spurring transit-oriented development at or near the Chinook Centre site since introducing its first Chinook Station Area Plan (CSAP) in 2008. As such, the City is revising its strategy and replacing the non-statutory 2008 CSAP with a statutory Chinook Station Area Redevelopment Plan (CSARP) presented to council in March of 2019. The CSARP is a form of policy plan enabled by the City's Municipal Development Plan which allows for comprehensive TOD planning at strategic locations (City of Calgary, 2019). Although final adoption of the 2019 CSARP has been postponed until higher level policy documents – including the Developed Areas Guidebook (DAG) and Established Area Growth and Change Strategy – are approved, the statutory nature of the anticipated CSARP appears to have resulted in several land-use redesignation applications in the vicinity of Chinook Centre and Chinook Station. This, alongside promising overtures from Cadillac Fairview regarding the construction of mixed-used residential developments at the shopping centre site, are early signs which suggest that this iteration of Calgary's TOD strategy for the area may be more successful than the last.

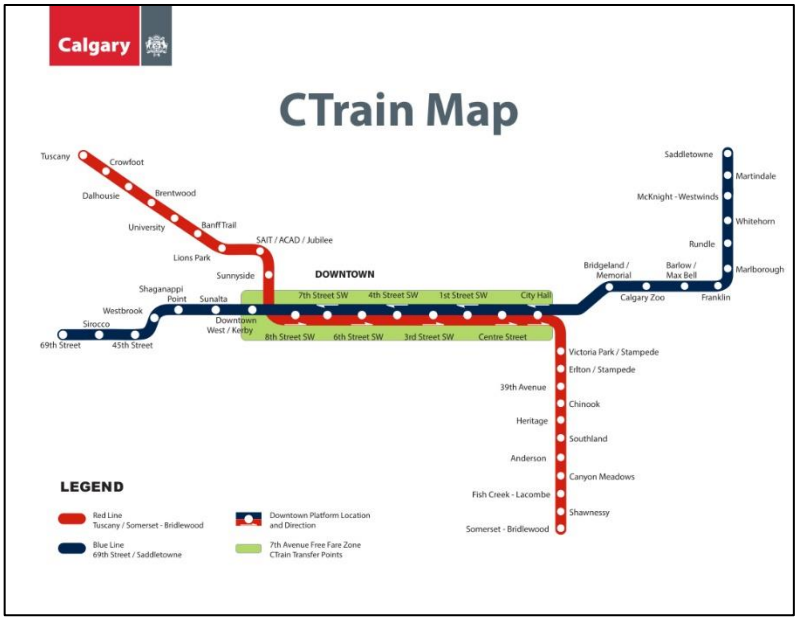


Figure 4: Map of the CTrain network. Source: City of Calgary

Developing Rapid Transit

The Chinook Station of the CTrain was one of the original stations of the line when it first opened in 1981 (Sanders, 2016). The train operates at six-minute headways during peak hours and fifteen-minute headways during off-peak hours. The station is also home to a major bus hub for the Calgary Transit system, with eleven passing routes. Although the number of transit options and the relatively high frequency of the train suggest a setting conducive to transit-oriented development, the area around the station is notably pedestrian-unfriendly. The bus hub and park-and-ride surface parking lot which surround the station sequester it from the surrounding area, and there are no mixed uses or public spaces onsite (City of Calgary, 2008).

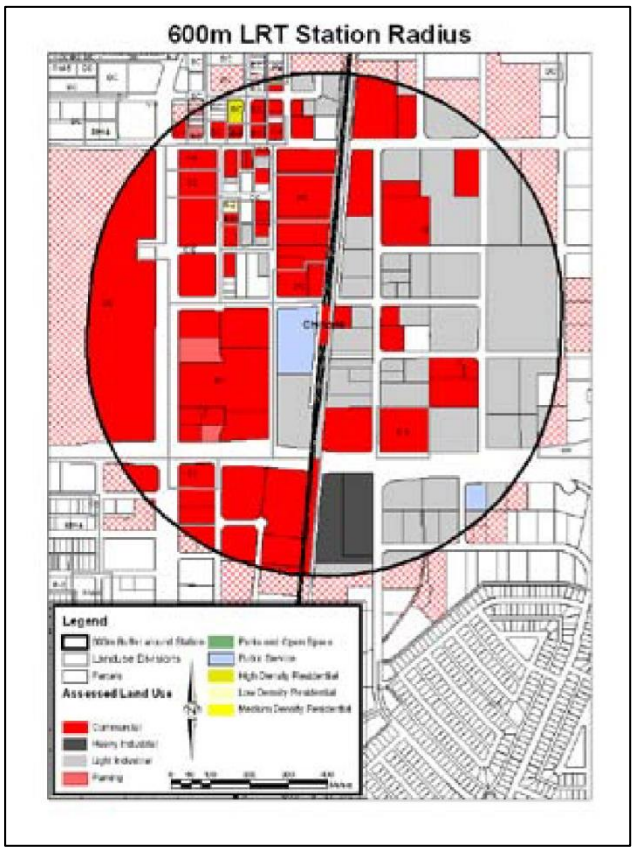


Figure 5: Calgary's 2005 Transit-Oriented Development Guide uses Chinook Centre as an exemplar. Source: City of Calgary

Regulatory Framework

The City of Calgary has had citywide TOD guidelines in effect since 2005. This policy builds upon past municipal efforts to encourage TOD, including its 1995 *Sustainable Suburbs Study* and a 1998 report on *Transit-Friendly Design Guidelines*. The 2005 guide directs planners to devise Station Area Plans (SAPs) for areas around existing and future LRT stations which should "ensure transit-supportive land uses, increase density around Transit Stations, [and] create pedestrian-oriented design" (City of Calgary 2005, p. 7). Interestingly, the document even uses the area around Chinook Centre as its example for determining a SAP area, seen in Figure 5 Following the direction of the 2005 TOD guide, the City of Calgary produced a Chinook Station Area Plan (CSAP) in 2008. Compared to other plans discussed below the CSAP is refreshingly detailed, containing specific design, land use, and policy guidelines to support a transition from strict land use separation and automobility to TOD and even includes a handy shopping bag icon to indicate the guidelines it specifically proposes for the Chinook Centre site (City of Calgary, 2008).

As recently as 2018, planners at the City of Calgary noted that the existing TOD strategies had "only seen limited success in a few locations" (City of Calgary, 2018; City of Calgary 2019, p. 2). In exploring recent policy documents, it seems the non-statutory nature of the SAPs called for by the 2005 TOD guide have something to do with this lack of success (City of Calgary, 2018). The Alberta Municipal Government Act defines statutory plans as "Intermunicipal development plan (IDP), a municipal development plan (MDP), an area structure plan (ASP) and an area redevelopment plan (ARP)" (Province of Alberta 2000, p. 387) – and the CSAP was none of these. For its part, the MDP has since its adoption in 2009 also called for multifamily residential development, horizontally- and vertically-mixed land uses, and design which is pedestrian- and cyclist-friendly around LRT and BRT

stations. The MDP also identifies the area surrounding Chinook Centre as a Major Activity Centre, indicating lower-level plans should aim for a "minimum intensity threshold of 200 jobs and population" per hectare and have a "broad range of medium and high-density housing opportunities" (City of Calgary 2009, s. 3.3.2).

In 2017 the City received an application for a land use amendment for the Chinook Centre site to redesignate the area as a Direct Control (DC) district to "equip the applicant, Cadillac Fairview to move forward with […] the redevelopment of the southeast corner of the site to a mixed-use hub that could include retail, office, residential, and hotel uses" (City of Calgary, 2017, p. 1). At that time, the City took the opportunity to rescind the non-statutory 2008 CSAP and replace it with the statutory CSARP and, in the process, examine "policy-related barriers to redevelopment" (ibid., p. 1). Like the 2008 CSAP, the new CSARP provides specific guidelines for the development of high-density residential housing alongside pedestrian oriented streets on the portion of Chinook Centre fronting the Macleod Trail, as seen in Figure 6 (City of Calgary, 2019). The CSARP was presented to council in 2019 but its full adoption is on hold pending the approval of several other related planning documents. The land use redesignation at Chinook Centre, meanwhile, was passed and is currently in force (City of Calgary, 2017).

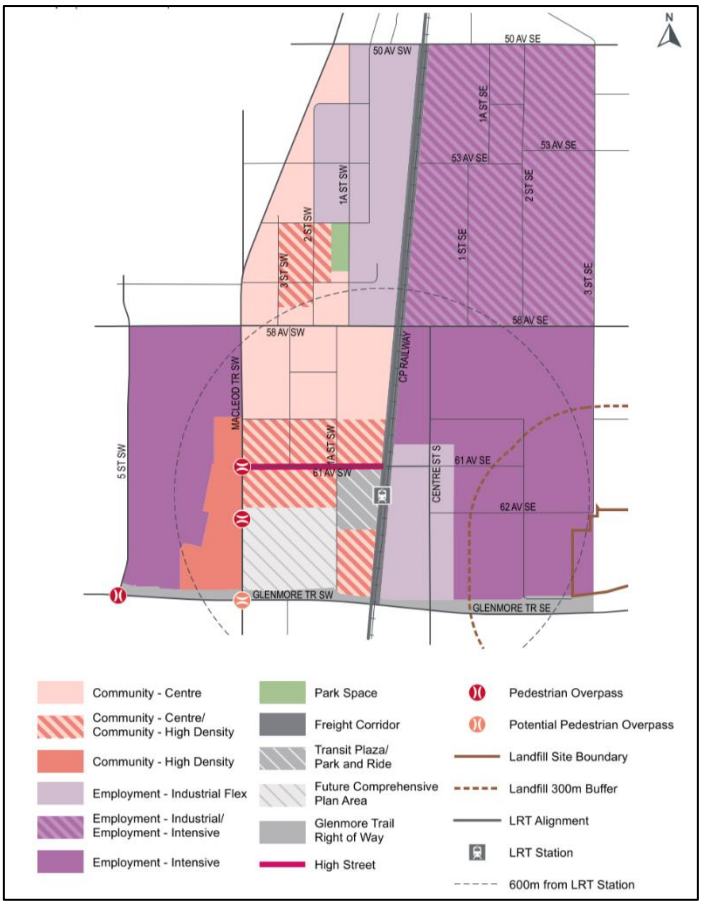


Figure 6: The CSARP's land use concept for the area surrounding Chinook Centre. Source: City of Calgary

Stakeholder Actions: Shopping Centre Owner and Nearby Landowners

Although no official development or ground-breaking has occurred since the drafting of the new 2019 CSARP, the process of devising the plan itself appears to have spurred at least some development interest in the area. In the first place, there is one ongoing application – seen in Figure 7 - for a land use redesignation to rezone three parcels of land near Chinook Centre from single-family zoning to

high-density multi-residential to allow for the construction of buildings up to 13 storeys (City of Calgary Development Map, 2021). What's more, Cadillac Fairview has, since its 2017 land use redesignation application, indicated its interest in developing high-density residential buildings with ground floor retail uses at the southeast corner of Chinook Centre. In 2020, the shopping centre's general manager Paige O'Neill indicated in an interview that "perhaps a condominium tower with retail and restaurants on the bottom" could be possible on Cadillac Fairview-owned properties, but emphasized that due to the uncertainty caused by the pandemic, "it probably won't happen in the very near future, but the plans never die" (Toneguzzi, 2020). Indeed, as the case of Fairview Pointe-Claire below demonstrates, Cadillac Fairview is a patient and visionary property owner with a bullish stance on transit-oriented development on its shopping centre sites; this is a property to watch.

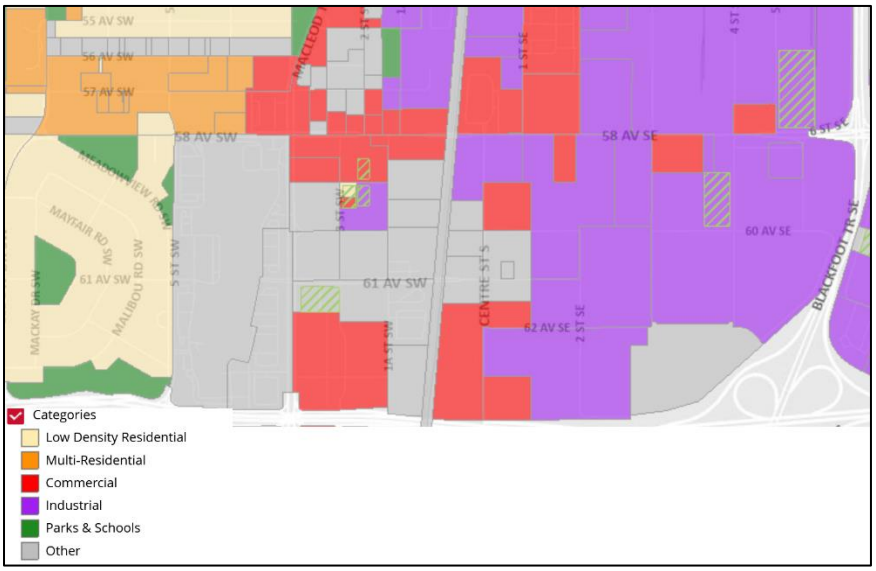


Figure 7: Current zoning and ongoing development applications around Chinook Centre; development applications are shown in hashed green. Source: City of Calgary Development Map.

Figure 8: Chinook Centre is seen on its western edge on the right. To the left is the district of Meadowlark Park. Source: Google Maps

Fairview Pointe-Claire (Montreal CMA): Not in My Forest

TOD Project Status: Pre-Approval

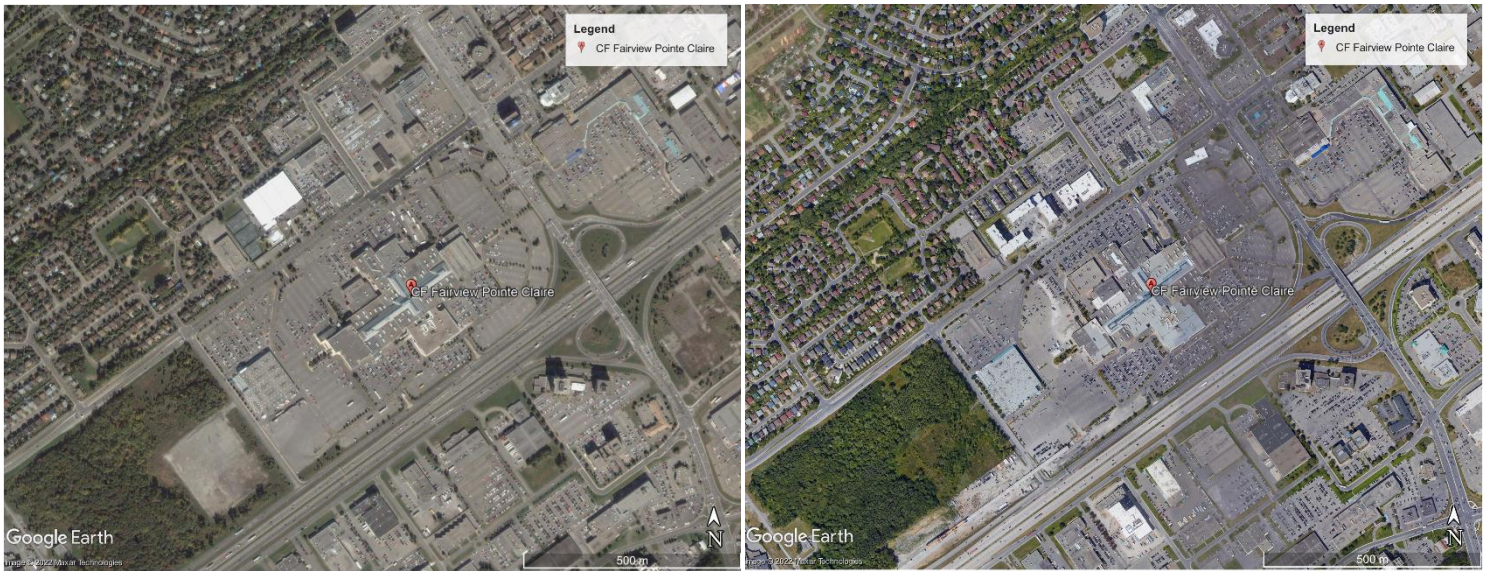


Figure 9: Fairview Pointe-Claire is seen at the centre of the images above; it is little changed between 2004 (left) and 2019 (right). Source: Google Earth

Recent efforts by Cadillac Fairview to build a high-density mixed-use residential and commercial complex at its Fairview Point-Claire (FPC) shopping centre have been met with stiff resistance from residents and municipal leaders of Pointe-Claire alike. FPC occupies a 30-ha site located in central Pointe-Claire, at the intersection of Quebec's Highway 40 and Boulevard Saint-Jean. Opened in 1965, FPC is one of the largest malls on the Island of Montreal and attracts 8 million visitors per year (Meagher, Fairview shopping centre unveils new District Gourmand food court , 2021). In 2001, the CT in which FPC is located counted 3.07% of residents using active transportation as their main commute mode and 14.62% using transit, compared to Montreal CMA rates of 7.18% and 14.62% respectively. In 2003 in Pointe-Claire more broadly, 5.5% of residents commuted by active transport and 8.3% used transit (City of Pointe-Claire, 2011). And in 2006, 70.7% of dwellings in Pointe-Claire were single-family or semi-detached houses compared to a CMA average of 40.1% (ibid.). The area around FPC – described by Pointe-Claire as its city centre – has experienced the municipality's greatest residential growth in recent years, with 1,559 units constructed between 2007 and 2017 (City of Pointe-Claire, 2017).

Cadillac Fairview unveiled its concept to develop a five-million square-foot (about 464 515 m^2) "downtown for the entire West Island" at the FPC site in October 2020. It proposed redeveloping a

former parking lot, a Sears department store site, and an adjacent 26-ha wooded area to construct an eight-storey hotel, a 21-storey seniors' residence, and several rental towers of 10 storeys each for a total of 5,000 residential units (Woodhouse, 2020). Although Pointe-Claire's in-force official plan (referred to by the municipality as its planning program) and its Special Planning Program for the City Centre (SPPCC) both explicitly envision FPC as a "medium- to high density area of development […] offering access to housing, employment, and local businesses and shops" (City of Pointe-Claire 2017, p. 14), the development of the adjacent 26-ha (or 60-acre) Fairview Forest site has raised the ire of local citizen groups who have lobbied both the City and the Province to prevent the development.

As a result of this opposition, on February 22nd, 2022, council tabled a notice of motion to adopt an Interim Control By-law (ICBL) which was eventually adopted in full on April 19th, 2022. In response, Cadillac Fairview has taken legal action against Pointe-Claire, claiming that it submitted a full application for its project – in compliance with the city's planning program – in August of 2021 and as such should be exempted from the ICBL (St-Pierre, 2022). Meanwhile, local residents opposed to the project have claimed a short-term victory. As Pointe-Claire moves to review its official plan over the two years that the ICBL is in force, mayor Tim Thomas has stated Cadillac Fairview will be "on equal bearing with all residents and other developers" (ibid.).

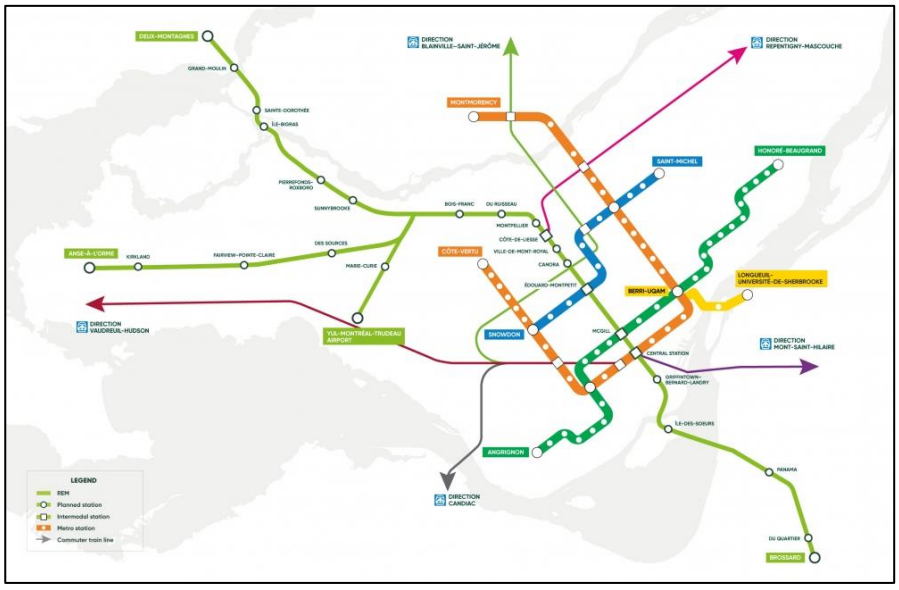


Figure 10: The network of the forthcoming REM. Source: REM website

Developing Rapid Transit

The Société de Transport de Montréal operates a major interchange for its West Island bus routes at its Terminus Fairview station on the FPC site, with five routes originating or ending at the station. The highest-frequency route – the 205 – operates at 20-minute headways during peak hours (STM 2022), which does not

qualify as high-frequency transit. This bus interchange is slated to become a major transit hub with the introduction of the REM.

Figure 11: Fairview Pointe-Claire is seen on the right from beneath the forthcoming Pointe-Clare REM station; the Fairview Forest can be seen on the left. Source: Google Maps

A train link to Montreal's West Island from central Montreal has been envisioned by planners and politicians for many years. This vision was brought to fruition with the announcement of the automated light-rail REM in 2015 (Delean, 2015). The 67-km project will connect the suburban West Island with Montreal's airport, downtown, and suburban South Shore and promises 2.5-minute headways during peak hours (REM , 2022). The Pointe-Claire station of the system will be located directly southwest of FPC (see Figure 10**)**, and the city's SPPCC identifies the arrival of the REM as an opportunity to create a "modern city centre buzzing with action" (City of Pointe-Claire 2017, p. 5).

The Société de Transport de Montréal operates a major interchange for its West Island bus routes at its Terminus Fairview station on the FPC site, with five routes originating or ending at the station. The highest frequency route – the 205 – operates at 20-minute headways during peak hours (STM 2022), which does not qualify as high-frequency transit. This bus interchange is slated to become a major multimodal transit hub with the introduction of the REM, and the SPPCC proposes mixed-use designations at and around this hub.

The hub also anchors Pointe-Claire's active transportation strategy, with the 10-minute pedestrian radius of the station defining the geographic focus of the city centre's development plan (see Figure 12). The City's bicycle path network plan also contains specific elements which increase connectivity for active transportation users in and around FPC, particularly for crossing the A40 expressway to access the main portion of the city to the south.

Regulatory Framework

At the highest level of planning on the Island of Montreal, the area surrounding FPC has been identified by the *Schéma d'aménagement* of the Montreal Urban Community as a major pole since at least 1987 (City of Pointe-Claire, 2017). Most recently, the *Schema d'Amenagement et de Développement de l'Agglomeration de Montréal* (SADAM) dating from 2015 directs lower levels of planning documents to "validate the potential for residential development" and "ensure access to transit and active transportation at shopping centres" at major poles" (Agglomération de Montréal 2015, p. 43). These goals are both reflected in Pointe-Claire's citywide planning program and SPPCC. At the same time, the 2015 SADAM also identifies the 26-ha lot west of FPC as one of the Island's key "*Mosaïques de milieux naturels*" and states that development at or nearby such territories must "take into account their ecological value", "maximize conservation", and "increase their biodiversity" (ibid., p. 21).

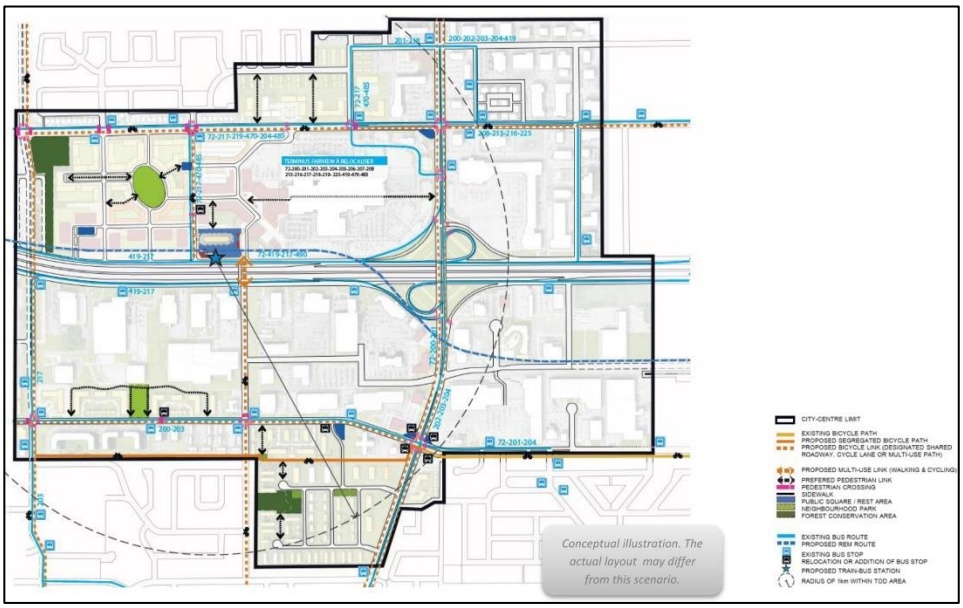


Figure 12: Pointe-Claire's transit-oriented development plan for FPC. Source: City of Pointe-Claire

Pointe-Clare's citywide planning program acknowledges that the "lack of available land for residential construction" has led to a decrease in the number of families in the municipality, threatening the "family character" of the living environment (City of Pointe-Claire 2011, p. 9). To remedy this situation and continue residential growth, the planning program proposes the introduction of new one-kilometre "TOD Areas" around "major public transit equipment" (City of Pointe-Claire 2011, p. 26), within which all new residential development must meet a minimum threshold of forty dwelling units per hectare (expressed hereafter as du/ha); as Cadillac Fairview's plans for FPC envision ninety dwellings per hectare (Save Fairview Forest, 2022), it would require a variance. For the area directly surrounding FPC, the planning program directs readers to its SPPCC.

The SPPCC acknowledges FPC as the "greatest regional attraction" of its planned city centre and aims to induce a "gradual modal shift from cars to public transport and active transportation" while "stimulat[ing] residential development" and a "diversification of housing type" (City of Pointe-Claire 2017, p. 3). Although the plan makes note of the 2015 SADAM's identification of the 26-ha site west of FPC as a *Mosaïque de milieux naturel*, its conceptual development plan for the city centre envisions a mix of commercial and residential uses occupying much of this portion of land (see Figure 13). Adding to the confusion, the plan states definitively that this "large wooded area and wetlands will be preserved in their natural state" (ibid., p. 18), but also that its ecological value shall merely be "taken into account" in detailed development planning (ibid., p. 18). While these two orientations were likely included to allow planners and developers some leeway in determining final site planning, the uncertainty created by the seemingly conflicting priorities is a likely contributor to the friction currently plaguing Cadillac Fairview's plans for FPC.

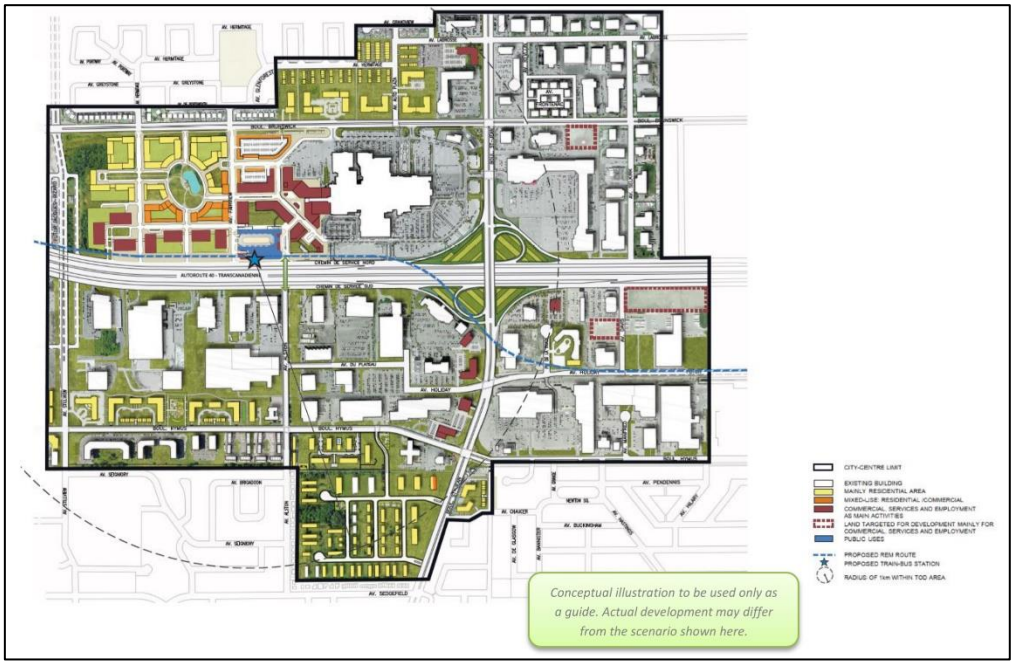


Figure 13: Conceptual diagram for FPC and surrounding area. Source: City of Pointe-Claire

Stakeholder Actions: Property Owner and Community Group

In an interview with the Montreal Gazette shortly after announcing the project in October 2020, Cadillac Fairview's Vice President of Development for Eastern Canada Jeroen Henrich described the development as "turning [FPC] into an urban environment" for an estimated 10,000 new residents by discouraging car use through mixed land uses and access to the REM (Meagher, 2020). He also notes

that Cadillac Fairview intends to preserve a "substantial piece" of the adjacent forested area, amounting to two to three hectares (or five to eight acres).

SAVE FAIRVIEW FOREST!

Cadillac Fairview Corporation, owner of the wooded area west of Fairview Shopping Centre in Pointe-Claire, has plans to cut down this 50-acre forest to make way for a massive development that will bring downtown to the West Island.

The forest is home to exceptional flora and fauna such as the brown snake, migrating birds and butterflies, a hemlock and beech grove and two vernal ponds.

Over 20 acres of the forest have trees that are more than 115 years old.

The forest also protects the area residents from air and noise pollution coming off Hwy 40.
With the development, an expected **10 000 people** will move into the area.

Who will protect us from the pollution then?
What about the extra traffic congestion?

A growing number of citizens from Pointe-Claire and other parts of this beautiful region say

NO! Preserve the forest AS IT IS.

We have banded together to form the Save Fairview Forest group and are asking Mayor Belvedere to **take a stand NOW.** Protect wildlife, protect trees and plants, and protect **OUR FUTURE!**

If you want to help the forest,

***Sign our petition:** go to change.org and look for SAVE FAIRVIEW FOREST

***Come** to our **Save Fairview Forest Saturday** protests from 11-1pm at the corner of Brunswick and Fairview. Bring your signs, noise makers, and masks!

***Write to:**

Mayor John Belvedere
john.belvedere@pointe-claire.ca

Your city councillor
full.name@pointe-claire.ca,

visit:www.pointe-claire.ca/en/members

John M. Sullivan, president and CEO of Cadillac Fairview Corp.
contactus@cadillacfairview.com

Mayor Valerie Plante
valerie.plante@montreal.ca

MNA Greg Kelley
Gregory.Kelley.JACA@assnat.qc.ca

Quebec environment minister Benoit Charette
ministre@environnement.gouv.qc.ca

and **federal minister Francis Scarpaleggia**
francis.scarpaleggia@parl.gc.ca

If you live in neighbouring cities, please write to you elected officials, too!

Follow us on Facebook and Instagram Save_Fairview_Forest

Our email:
foretfairviewforest@gmail.com

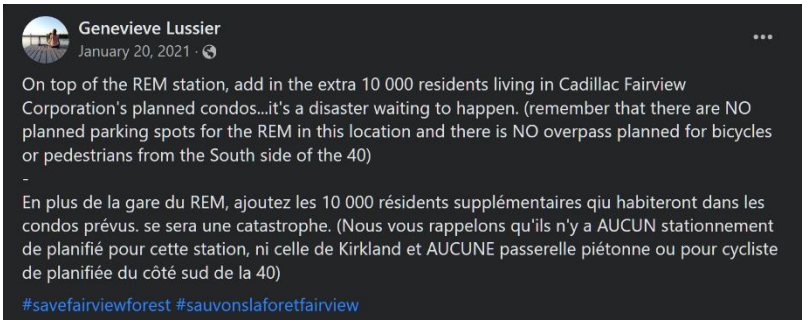
if you'd like help with writing a letter, become a volunteer or have questions.

Share this with friends and family!

We'd love to hear from you!

Figure 14: A pamphlet distributed by Save Fairview Forest in December 2020. Source: Save Fairview Forest Facebook group

For many residents of Pointe-Claire, however, this preservation was not substantial enough. In December 2020, a group of residents called Save Fairview Forest began circulating pamphlets that urge the city to "take a stand NOW" to "preserve the forest AS IT IS" (see Figure 14). By May 2021, the group had submitted a 2,000 signature petition to the City of Pointe-Claire demanding a moratorium on development and a change of zoning (Henriquez, 2021) and, as of April 2022, a Change.org petition from the group contained nearly 27,000 signatures (Save Fairview Forest, 2022). While most of the petition and internal discussions of Save Fairview Forest focus on ecological concerns, concerns around the addition of 10,000 residents to Pointe-Claire and the impact this would have on traffic levels are also raised (see Figure 15). As a result, it is difficult to extricate NIMBY or "Not In My Backyard" sentiments from this effort to preserve the forest adjacent to FPC. Save Fairview Forest claimed victory in February of 2022 when Pointe-Claire introduced its interim control resolution (CBC News, 2022).



Genevieve Lussier
January 20, 2021 ·

On top of the REM station, add in the extra 10 000 residents living in Cadillac Fairview Corporation's planned condos...it's a disaster waiting to happen. (remember that there are NO planned parking spots for the REM in this location and there is NO overpass planned for bicycles or pedestrians from the South side of the 40)

-

En plus de la gare du REM, ajoutez les 10 000 résidents supplémentaires qiu habiteront dans les condos prévus. se sera une catastrophe. (Nous vous rappelons qu'ils n'y a AUCUN stationnement de planifié pour cette station, ni celle de Kirkland et AUCUNE passerelle piétonne ou pour cycliste de planifiée du côté sud de la 40)

#savefairviewforest #sauvonslaforetfairview

Figure 15: A public post in the Save Fairview Forest Facebook group by spokesperson Genevieve Lussier. Source: Save Fairview Forest Facebook group.

For its part, Cadillac Fairview has vowed to take legal action "as a result of the city's decision to unreasonably and unfairly impose a freeze on our project" (St-Pierre, 2022). It remains to be seen whether this lawsuit will be

successful, but recent rulings from the Quebec Court of Appeal and Quebec Superior Court on similar cases provide insight on how the lawsuit may play out. In 2019, the Quebec Court of Appeal ruled on the case of Yale Properties Ltd. v. City of Beaconsfield, where the municipality had enacted an ICBL to prevent development on a privately held section of an ecologically sensitive forest which the Montreal Agglomeration Council intends to designate as a park (Greenaway, 2019). In a unanimous ruling upholding a lower-court's decision, the Court of Appeal reaffirmed the validity of ICBLs to protect sensitive environmental areas and rejected the argument that this constitutes "disguised expropriation" (Yale Properties Ltd. c. Ville de Beaconsfield, 2019). More recently, the Quebec Superior Court ruled in the case of Pillenière, Simoneau v. City of Saint-Bruno-de-Montarville, where the municipality enacted a bylaw banning all construction on wetlands within its jurisdiction and a property owner claimed, once again, that this constituted disguised expropriation. The Superior Court, again, noted that such regulation is well within the rights of municipalities in Quebec and that disguised expropriation only occurs when public uses are imposed upon private land, and that the protection of trees does not by itself indicate public uses (Pillenière, Simoneau c. Ville de Saint-Bruno-de-Montarville, 2021). In light of these two decisions, Cadillac Fairview is unlikely to be successful in its lawsuit against the City of Pointe-Claire.

The future remains uncertain for the FPC project; although existing plans indicate Cadillac Fairview's development would be largely in line with the City's intended transit-oriented development strategy around the new REM station, inconsistencies within the plan itself and resident opposition have spurred Pointe-Claire to commit to a public consultation process and potential review of its planning documents to take place over the coming two years.

Pickering Town Centre (Toronto CMA): Best Laid Plans Go Awry

TOD Project Status: Approved, Deferred Indefinitely

Figure 16: Pickering Town Centre is seen in the middle of these two images. Between 2002 (left) and 2021 (right), notable changes include a new pedestrian bridge across the 401 Highway leading to the Pickering GO station and the demolition of the Sears site. Source: Google Earth

Since 2013, the lower-tier Ontario municipality of Pickering has envisioned broad transformations for the area surrounding Pickering Town Centre (PTC), a 24-ha super-regional mall completed in 1972 which serves the upper-tier Durham Regional Municipality. Outside of major cities in Ontario, upper-tier municipalities are responsible for the provision of public transit and determine regional land use planning priorities, while lower-tier municipalities are responsible for local land use planning priorities.

Unlike the other Toronto CMA case discussed in this piece – Scarborough Town Centre – Pickering did not initially approach the area surrounding PTC with the goal of creating a civic centre. This began to change with the construction of the Pickering Recreation Complex in 1984, followed by the Pickering Civic Complex (which includes City Hall) in 1990 (Calis, 2015). Today, the area surrounding PTC is marked by a relative diversity of civic, commercial, and residential uses, albeit at a relatively coarse scale and with little vertical mixing of uses. Residential structures include a collection of three high-rise towers (ranging in height from 15 to 17 storeys), a six-storey midrise building, and a three-storey townhouse complex – all developed in the 1990s and comprising 1,099 units in total. Despite these and other multifamily housing units in the vicinity of both the Pickering GO train station – active since 1967 – and PTC, in 2001 the CT surrounding the shopping centre had

an active transportation modal split of 6.41% and a transit modal split of 13.93%, compared to 5.37% and 22.41% in the broader Greater Toronto Area (Statistics Canada, 2001), making it an Auto Suburb in the Gordon-Janzen (2013) categorization. This is likely due to the pedestrian-unfriendly environment surrounding these developments, including "many surface parking lots, unfriendly road crossings, limited public spaces and pedestrian routes" (Urban Strategies Inc. 2013, p. 13).

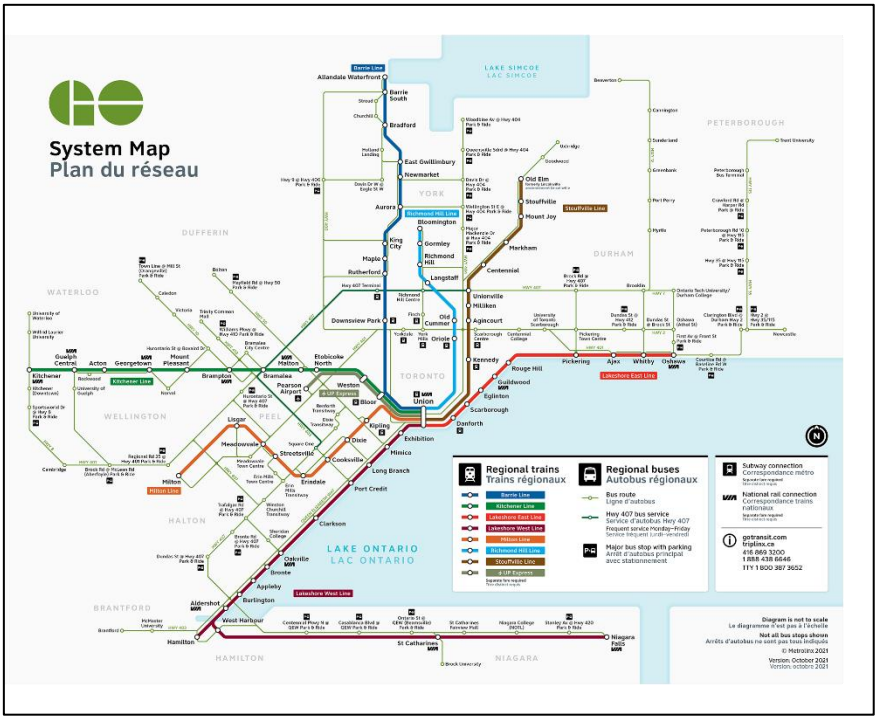


Figure 17: The GO Train network in 2022. Source: Metrolinx

Since the introduction of the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe in 2006 and subsequent policy documents from Metrolinx and the Durham Regional Municipality, the City of Pickering has made a concerted effort to transform the area surrounding PTC into a "distinct city centre" which is "compact and walkable" (ibid., p. iii). Most notably, in 2018 it entered into an agreement with OBP Realty and Cushman & Wakefield, respectively the owners and property managers of PTC, for a plan to transform a former Sears site and two large surface parking lots adjacent to Pickering Civic Centre to create "an entirely new City Centre […] complemented by new residential development" alongside new civic functions including a library, seniors and youth centre, performing arts centre, and public square (Prevedel, 2019). Unfortunately, the City's initial strategy to fund the $207.7-million public portion of the public-private partnership via revenues from a new casino has faced numerous difficulties due to the Covid-19 pandemic. At a special meeting on March 21, 2022, city council announced that all work pertaining to the City Centre project would be deferred "pending further council direction" and "in light of…updated financial projections" (City of Pickering, 2022).

This case history will explore the diligent work undertaken to draft a development-friendly regulatory framework by all relevant Ontario government levels in the area surrounding PTC between 2005 and

today. However, in the context of Metrolinx's commitment to the electrification of the GO Train's Lakeshore East line (which runs through Pickering, as seen above in Figure 17) to provide all-day 15-minute headways, and the City of Pickering's own high-frequency transit plans, the PTC site remains a strategic opportunity to pursue truly pedestrian-friendly transit-oriented development at a well-located 20th-century shopping centre site.

Developing Rapid Transit

Pickering's GO Train interurban commuter rail station opened in 1967 as part of the system's inaugural Lakeshore East line (GO Transit, 2017). The system has since expanded to include 68 stations stretching across the Greater Toronto Area. In recent years, Metrolinx – the Greater Toronto Area's interregional transit agency – has released plans to transform the system from a peak-hour commuter rail system into a high-frequency rail system for the entire region. Most recently, Metrolinx's 2041 Regional Transportation Plan commits to the introduction of two-way all-day 15-minute headways along the Lakeshore line, which would allow passengers departing from the Pickering GO station to reach Union Station in downtown Toronto within 40 minutes (Metrolinx, 2018). To complement this anticipated high-frequency interurban transit connection and cultivate a less hub-and-spoke-based transit system , Metrolinx is also working on a new Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) route which would provide five-minute peak hour headways between Scarborough Town Centre in Toronto and downtown Pickering near PTC, to be completed some time before 2041 (Metrolinx, 2022). Furthermore, the Durham Regional Official Plan calls for the development of both a Rapid Transit Spine – providing dedicated lanes on arterial roadways – and a High Frequency Transit Network – with

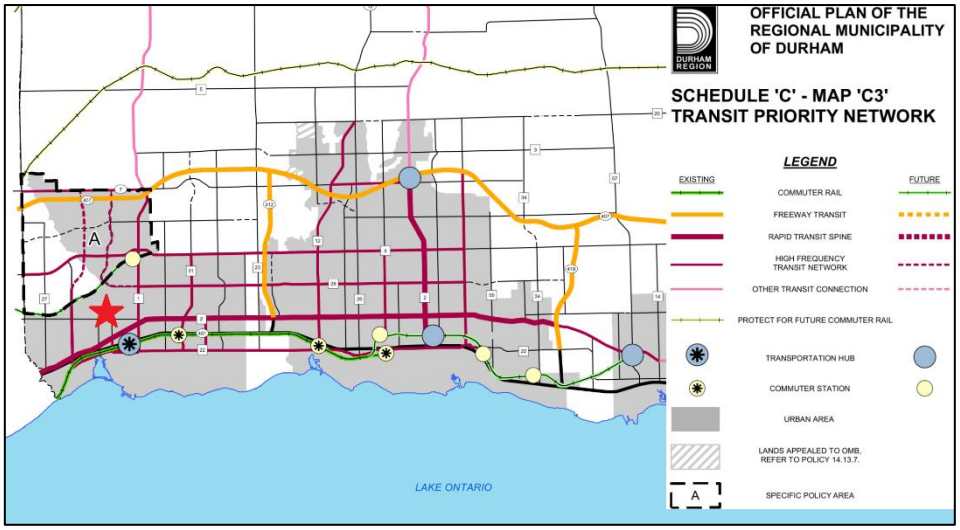


Figure 18: Existing and proposed transit options in the Durham Region. PTC can be seen as the existing "transit hub". Source: Durham Regional Municipality.

transit signal priority and high-occupancy vehicle lane usage – to provide a structural network for transit within its jurisdiction that creates legitimate alternatives to driving (Durham Region, 2009).

Regulatory Framework

Pickering's efforts to densify and intensify the area around PTC stem from the 2006 Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe Act introduced by the Ontario government. This provincial Act identifies several urban growth centres within the Greater Toronto Area, of which Downtown Pickering (PTC and its immediate environs) is one. For Pickering, the Act directs planners to develop strategies to meet minimum density targets of 200 residents and jobs combined per hectare by 2031 (Government of Ontario, 2006). In conformity with this target, the Durham Regional Official Plan (DROP) mandates a "compact urban form which promotes transit-supportive Urban Areas" alongside "a mixture of uses in appropriate locations" and "linkages for pedestrians and cyclists" (Durham Region, 2009, p. 48). Of particular relevance to this project, the DROP also states that "existing shopping centres shall be encouraged to redevelop with a full array of compatible uses, particularly residential uses" (ibid., p. 50). Though the verbiage in this phrasing is somewhat weak and certainly nonbinding, it demonstrates an interest among higher-level planners to see shopping centres diversify and intensify their land use.

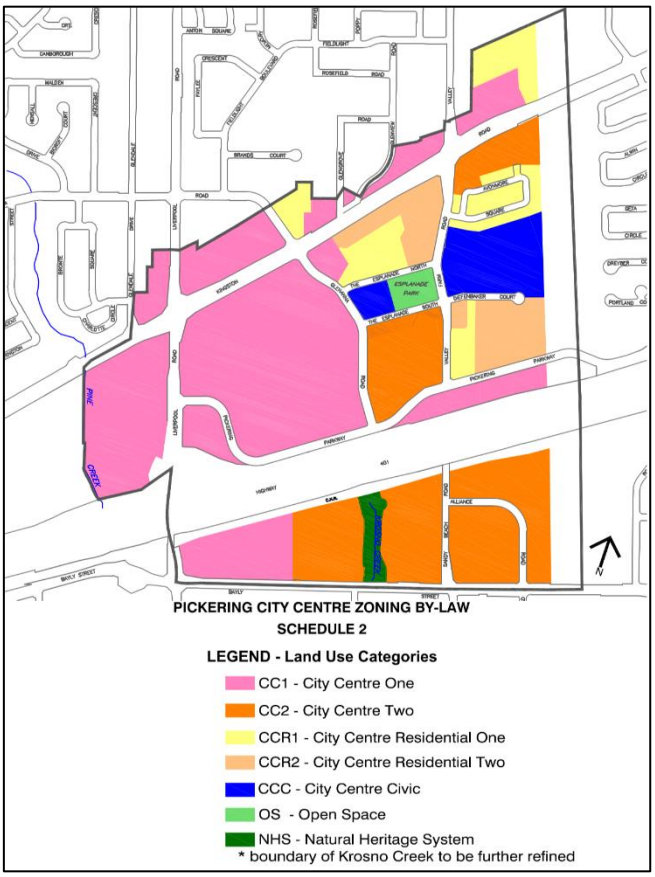


Figure 19: Current zoning at and around PTC. Source: City of Pickering

At the local level, the City of Pickering took up the mantle of transit-oriented development around its major shopping centre site of PTC in 2013 with its "Downtown Pickering: A Vision for Intensification and Framework for Investment" document. Although not a statutory plan, the document identifies PTC as "The Civic Precinct" – a "cultural and institutional hub with destinations and distinct public realm treatment" (Urban Strategies Inc. 2013, p. iv). The document also contains a

specific chapter for PTC, with recommendations including the creation of a pedestrian promenade, a festival market plaza, new institutional uses, and sidewalk and roadway greening; for residential development at and around PTC, it recommends densities of between 80 and 340 du/ha (ibid.). The recommendations in this document were given statutory life in 2019 with a Consolidated City Centre Zoning Bylaw. As shown in Figure 19 above, this bylaw zones the area around PTC as "City Centre One", which permits the highest residential densities and land use diversities in the sector (City of Pickering, 2017).

Stakeholder Activity: Public-Private Partnership and Municipal Funding Woes

Initially, the owners of PTC intended to retain their site as an exclusively commercial conventional shopping centre due to existing department store tenancies. At the time – in 2017 – the City of Pickering sought to move forward on the ambitious plans outlined above by pursuing a "Grande Esplanade Project" to build new community facilities on City-owned lands adjacent to PTC. Following closure of Sears, however, OPB Realty and Cushman & Wakefield reconsidered the "evolving market conditions and consumer demands" at PTC (Rose, 2022, p. 2) and entered into negotiations with the city for a residential redevelopment of the site. These discussions led the City to implement the Consolidated City Centre Zoning Bylaw discussed above and a draft plan of subdivision depicted in Figure 20**.** This partnership would see the City of Pickering allow OPB Realty to construct mixed-use high-density residential on city-owned land in exchange for allowing the City to construct public facilities on PTC-owned land (Rose, 2022). This 6.55-ha development would see the city pay for the construction of a community centre featuring "a full-sized gymnasium,

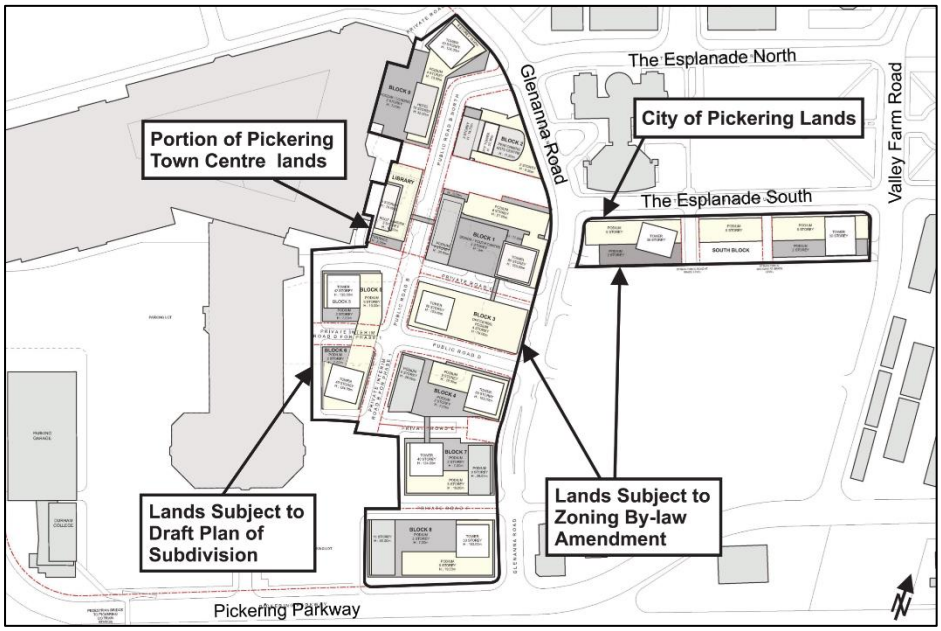


Figure 20: Draft plan of subdivision for parcels at and around PTC. Source: City of Pickering

meeting/program rooms, and youth and seniors spaces" (ibid., p. 4) alongside a 600-seat performing arts centre and central library space, while OPB Realty would construct several residential towers comprising at least 4,803 new dwelling units and 6,275 m^2 (approximately 67,543 ft^2) of new at-grade commercial space. This agreement was reached in 2018.

Figure 21: The Sears location at PTC is seen on the left with Pickering City Hall on the right. Source: Google Maps

Devising plans and negotiating agreements are one thing, however, and financing implementation is another entirely. Originally, the City had planned to finance the scheme through a mix of development charges and debt paid via revenues coming from a newly-constructed casino. This casino – Durham Live – has been planned since 2014 and is intended to bring four to six million tourists to the Durham Region each year as "the premier entertainment and tourism district east of Yonge Street", generating an expected $20 million per year in direct payments to Pickering as the host municipality (City of Pickering, 2021). As the Covid-19 pandemic delayed the opening of casinos in Ontario, however, the first revenues from Durham Live only materialized in October 2021 in a $2.4 million payment. At the same council meeting when this payment was acknowledged, Pickering treasurer Stan Karwowski presented his recommendations to council about the future of the City Centre project at the PTC site. He noted that Ontario law prevents municipalities from spending more than 25% of net operating revenues on debt servicing and stated that adequate casino revenue could allow Pickering to pursue the City Centre project. Karwowski also pointed out that given uncertainty surrounding casino revenues, the only option available to Pickering to pursue the City Centre project would be to defer two other major capital investments to prevent reaching the 25% threshold. Even under this scenario, he recommended in October 2021 that council not proceed with the project because of the small margin between Pickering's existing debt load and the amount it would need to take on to finance this project. Council did not take his recommendation but did accept a $204 million public contribution cap for the project, of which $110 million would be funded through development charges

and $94 million from new public debt, setting a deadline of April 2022 for a final decision on the project (City of Pickering, 2021). At this meeting, however, there were already signs that council was worried the public portion of project could not be financed, as an agreement was also struck to sell the City's shares in energy company Elexicon, "to offset the City share of the City Centre debt" (ibid., p. 6).

Figure 22: The Sears site at PTC is seen post-demolition; Pickering City Hall can be see in the background. Source: Toronto Star

On March 21, 2022, with the April 2022 deadline looming around the corner, council received a closed-door briefing from city staff which led to a decision to "defer any ongoing work on the City Centre project pending further Council direction" (City of Pickering, 2022). While demolition permits had already been issued and the former Sears site has already been razed (see Figure 22), the future of the project is now entirely uncertain.

Scarborough Town Centre (Toronto CMA): Adjacent to Onsite Residential Development

TOD Project Status: Completed; In Review

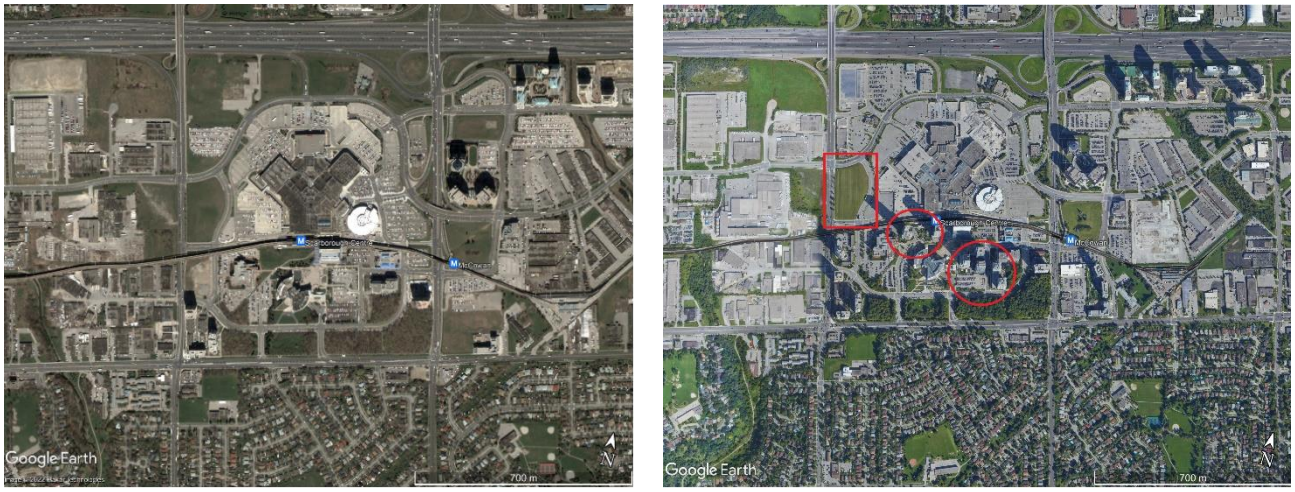


Figure 23: Scarborough Town Centre is seen in the middle of the two images above from 2002 (left) and 2019 (right). Note the new residential towers directly southwest of the Scarborough RT station; the red square indicates 25 Borough Drive.
Source: Google Earth

The 22-ha Scarborough Town Centre (STC) shopping centre was constructed in 1973 and is now owned by Oxford Properties, the real-estate development arm of the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System (OMERS) public pension fund (Bradley & George Group, 2022). The mall has undergone several waves of redevelopment – most recently in 2010 - to expand its gross leasable area to 148,645 m^2 (1.6 million square feet) comprising 250 stores (Oxford Properties, 2021). Strategically located adjacent to Ontario's route 401 expressway, the 69-ha district surrounding STC has been designated since 1968 for "Town Centre Uses" - a mix of institutional, cultural, and business uses (City of Toronto, 2005). By 1998 – when the lower-tier municipality of Scarborough was amalgamated into the City of Toronto– this district was home to the Scarborough Civic Centre, a YMCA community centre, and the Albert Campbell Square public plaza. The area is also home to the Scarborough Centre and McCowan stations of the Scarborough RT light rail system, constructed in 1985.

After the amalgamation of Scarborough into the City of Toronto in 1998, the new City Council initiated a review of the Scarborough Centre Secondary Plan which applies to the district surrounding STC. Following changes made to the Secondary Plan and alongside the new City of Toronto's 2002 Official Plan, the Scarborough City Centre neighbourhood has seen substantial real estate

development in the form of the Equinox project. This project consists of five towers – two completed in 2005, two completed in 2009, and a third completed in 2013 – comprising 1,728 units. In recent years – as a result of changes made to Toronto's Official Plan in 2015 and 2021 – Scarborough City Centre has been a hotbed of development applications, with commercial real estate firm Colliers identifying in late 2021 no fewer than 11 proposed developments comprising 836,127 m2 (or nearly nine million square feet) of mixed-use space (McLean, 2021). Of these, the development most relevant to this project is the 25 Borough Drive proposal advanced by Oxford Properties. This project proposes three towers of purpose-built rental units to be constructed on a vacant parcel of land owned by Oxford Properties which is immediately adjacent to STC.

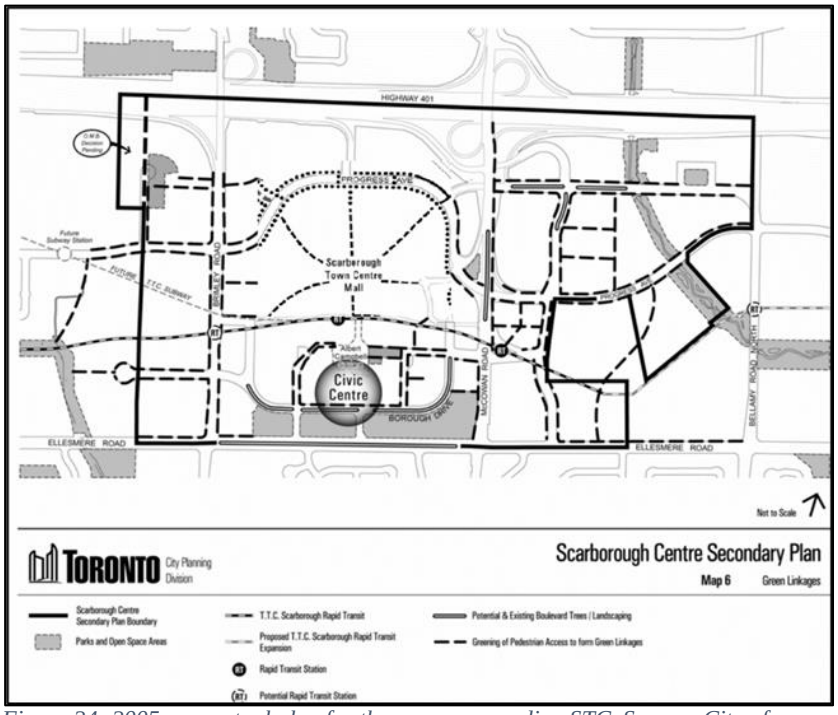


Figure 24: 2005 conceptual plan for the area surrounding STC. Source: City of Toronto

This case history will focus on two phases of residential development at and near the STC site. The first phase, from 2005 to 2013, will focus on the initial Equinox projects developed by Goldman Group and Monarch Group. The second phase will focus on the 25 Borough Drive proposal by Oxford Properties. As in other case histories, the regulatory framework, development of rapid transit services, and activity by the property owners and developers will be discussed in each phase in turn.

Shopping-Centre-Adjacent Residential Development: The Equinox Development

Developing Rapid Transit

The Scarborough RT is a curious piece of rapid transit infrastructure which was largely championed directly by the provincial government of Ontario when it was first opened in 1985. While it provided much-needed connection with the TTC's subway system, transferring to the subway requires that passengers make a cumbersome transfer at Kennedy station up four flights of stairs (Transit Toronto,

2022). Its unique technology is distinct from the rest of the TTC's subway system and the line itself was constructed only to accommodate a fleet of 28 intermediate-size vehicles measuring 12.7m (41'-8") in length; by 2003, the system was already at-capacity, carrying 42,000 passengers daily with 3.5-minute headways during peak hours (Toronto Transit Commission, 2006). At the time, the TTC forecast 20% ridership growth along the line by 2011 due to the policy directions outlined in Scarborough's 2002 Official Plan (Toronto Transit Comision , 2003). This capacity limit was reached despite the TTC having added a surface-route relief express bus between Kennedy station and STC in 2000 (Transit Toronto, 2022). When the first phase of residential development occurred at STC, the state of the Scarborough RT was already beyond its planned lifetime and its capacity – a state which would deteriorate further by the next phase discussed below.

Regulatory Framework

Figure 25: STC's southwestern parking lot is seen on the left, with the Equinox developments on the right. Source: Google Maps

The first Official Plan (OP) drafted by the newly amalgamated City of Toronto in 2002 is not an ambitious document. Perhaps reflecting the political concessions made to more suburban areas of the new megacity, the 2002 OP states that the three-quarters of Toronto's land area occupied by low-rise residential neighbourhoods "can expect to see little physical change" (City of Toronto, 2002, s. 2.2). Instead, it directs nearly all growth outside of downtown to its two "Centres" and "Avenues" area categories; STC is identified as one of the "Centres" (ibid.). In the main, the 2002 OP directs readers to the Scarborough City Centre Secondary Plan for specific policies, but notes that "improving the Centre's connectivity will be crucial to its success" (ibid., s. 2.2.2), while making no recommendations for the addition of complementary residential development. It does contain a brief section on the future of retailing which suggests that "major

shopping centres can continue to expand for retail purposes or develop as areas of mixed use" (ibid., s. 3.5.3) but provides no guidance to this end.

Figure 26: The Equinox development towers are seen from Albert Campbell Square. Source: Google Maps

The Scarborough City Centre Secondary Plan (SCCSP) does set goals for the addition of high-density residential development in the area making use of existing transit infrastructure but does not engage in any serious consideration of TOD around the STC site itself. The SCCSP refers to the area around STC as its "Town Centre Commercial Precinct", and states that, "residential development will not be a focus for this Precinct however, new residential development is not discouraged" (City of Toronto 2005, p. 37). This is nevertheless accompanied by policies to improve pedestrian infrastructure and bicycle paths – but only explicitly "for new retail and commercial development" (ibid., p. 38).

Stakeholder Actions: Nearby Property Owner and Developer

Despite the lack of a ringing policy endorsement for TOD at and around the STC site, developers The Goldman Group were highly motivated to challenge planners' outmoded conceptions of land-use separation and pursue TOD at the site, seeing the potential for profitability. The first step involved the acquisition of a landlocked parcel of land and assembling many adjacent parcels to access the nearest public roadway, then subdividing these parcels to accommodate development. This was followed by negotiations with the city to permit the developer to build at a density of 542 du/ha instead of the SCCSP's modest goal of 150 du/ha; in exchange for amending the SCCSP, the developer fulfilled what are officially called 'community amenity contribution' commitments in the form of a pedestrian bridge connecting the development with the Scarborough RT station and a $70,000 contribution for the construction of a playground and public park (Canada Mortgage and

Housing Corporation, 2009). Even considering these additional costs and the complexity of land assembly, the developer considered the collection of buildings constructed before 2009 to have "met their profit expectations" (ibid., p. 4), and it is possible these profits improved when the final phase was completed in 2013 as much of the financially draining aspects of the project had already been undertaken.

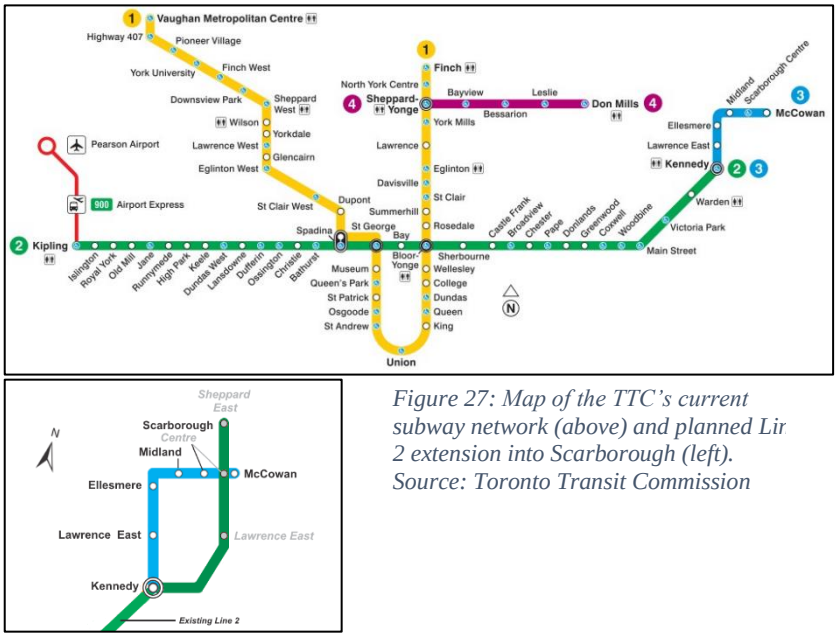


Figure 27: Map of the TTC's current subway network (above) and planned Lir 2 extension into Scarborough (left). Source: Toronto Transit Commission

Onsite Shopping Centre Residential Development: 25 Borough Drive

Developing Rapid Transit

At 37 years old in 2022, the Scarborough RT is over 10 years beyond its original design life. The province of Ontario committed in 2019 to an extension of the Line 2 subway through Scarborough Centre to be delivered by 2030 (See Figure 27**).** As the TTC intends to end service on the Scarborough RT in 2023, however, transit users in the interim period will be provided with a dedicated corridor bus rapid transit system – itself not slated to be complete until 2025 (Spurr 2022; Toronto Transit Commission 2022). At some point before 2041, the STC area will also be serviced by the Durham-Scarborough Bus Rapid Transit project discussed above (Metrolinx, 2022). Residents in the burgeoning district surrounding STC will therefore have to wait for good higher-order transit, despite the policy frameworks discussed in the following section explicitly pursuing TOD around transit systems which – at least for a time – will no longer exist.

Regulatory Framework

While the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe of 2006 identifies the area surrounding STC as an urban growth area, neither the Toronto OP nor the SCCSP in force as of April 2021 are greatly changed from their earlier iterations as they pertain to developments at and around STC. One

key recent policy development relevant to this project, however, is the City of Toronto's Mall Redevelopment guide published in 2021. While the guide does not have statutory weight, it does provide guiding principles to assist property owners and developers in the transformation of shopping centres into "complete communities that include a mix of uses [and] are compact, transit supportive" environments (City of Toronto 2021, p. 2). The guide states that suburban malls – explicitly citing STC – should "establish new public realm networks to facilitate pedestrian and cyclist connections" (ibid., p. 5) while constructing infill residential development at edges.

Figure 28: 25 Borough Drive is depicted in relation to STC and the Equinox development. Source: Urban Strategies

Stakeholder Actions: Shopping Centre Property Owner and Developer

In 2019, Oxford Properties group submitted a development application seeking to construct exactly the sort of shopping-centre-adjacent infill development the Mall Redevelopment Guide calls for. Their 2021 resubmission – which responded to concerns expressed by council and during consultations – includes 1,282 units of purpose-built rental housing spread across three towers ranging from 35 to 45 storeys – 5% of which are dedicated to affordable rental housing – and 2,041 m^2 of onsite parkland (Urban Strategies, 2021). The revised submission also reduces the amount of onsite parking from 748 to 558 spaces, for a ratio of 0.43 parking stalls per unit. For pedestrian connections to Brimley Road to the east, Oxford proposes the creation of a midblock privately-owned, publicly-accessible space.

Although Oxford's submission remains in review and would require amendments to both the OP, SCCSP, and zoning bylaws, the willingness of the developer to work productively with the city to provide well-designed transit-oriented development indicates that, once again, private developers are leading planners towards TOD in and around STC, rather than the other way around.

Carrefour Angrignon (Montreal CMA): Fertile Ground Bearing Fruit

TOD Project Status: Completed, Additional Proposal Forthcoming

Figure 29: Carrefour Angrignon is seen at the centre of the two images above in 2004 (left) and 2019 (right). Note the new residential developments directly east of Carrefour Angrignon; the red square indicates Place Angrignon. Source: Google Earth

Carrefour Angrignon, located in Montreal's LaSalle borough, occupies a 27-ha site and opened its doors in 1987, nine years after the opening of the Angrignon metro terminus of the Société de Transport de Montréal (STM)'s Green Line. An independent municipality until 2002, LaSalle has a distinctly suburban character defined by relatively strict land use separation for the Island of Montreal. This is reflected in the modal split found in the CT surrounding Carrefour Angrignon, where in 2001 5.83% of commuters used active transport to get to work and 9.36% used transit, compared to 7.18% and 21.73% respectively for the Montreal CMA overall (Statistics Canada, 2001).

However, since the implementation of higher-level plans introduced by the newly amalgamated City of Montreal in 2004, the area surrounding Carrefour Angrignon has been re-imagined and re-engineered to capitalize on the sector's access to high-frequency transit and the access to green space afforded by Parc Angrignon. The 2004 *Plan d'urbanisme de Montréal* identifies the Angrignon sector of LaSalle as one of its key detailed plan areas and identifies its underutilized vacant lots – adjacent to rapid transit, ample green space, and commercial centres – as bestowing a strong potential for land use diversification and residential intensification (Ville de Montréal, 2004). To benefit from these assets, the LaSalle-specific chapter of the 2004 plan calls for the construction of new multistorey

residential buildings along Boulevard Newman with ground-floor commercial spaces (Ville de Montréal, 2004).

The borough of LaSalle has taken a proactive stance in the pursuit of transit-oriented development around Carrefour Angrignon, modifying its zoning bylaws to allow higher-density residential development in the area and, in 2010, launching a website to promote four new such developments located in a newly inaugurated "Quartier Angrignon" (Arrondissement de LaSalle, 2013). This case study will first present the changes to LaSalle and Montreal's regulatory frameworks and zoning bylaws which have created a fertile environment for the pursuit of high-density residential development in this sector already well-served by high-frequency transit, followed by a discussion of efforts to bring more human-scale active transport infrastructure to a highly auto-oriented neighbourhood. It will conclude with an exploration of the projects which have occurred since the establishment of a development-friendly regulatory environment; of particular interest to this piece's thesis is the recent effort by the owner of Carrefour Angrignon – Westcliffe Group – to rezone one of its sites adjacent to the shopping centre for high-density residential development.

Figure 30: Map of the network of the STM's metro system. Source: Société de transport de Montréal

Linking Rapid Transit and Active Transport in LaSalle

In 2018, the Borough of LaSalle introduced a document called "*Planification stratégique: 2018 – 2024*" intended to guide policy and administration until 2024. The document contains a wide variety of interventions and orientations, including efforts to promote active transport, improving offroad cycle paths, and plant trees along major boulevards to improve walkability and sense of place (Arrondissement de LaSalle, 2018). While not comprehensive or large-scale, these policies represent

a shift away from the automobile-oriented design of the borough. In contrast, however, the Montreal 2008 Transportation Plan does not include any specific interventions to this end in LaSalle. For now, the Borough and City appear to be pursuing TOD in the sector surrounding Carrefour Angrignon by merely resting on the laurels of past transportation investments.

Regulatory Framework

As noted above, the sector surrounding Carrefour Angrignon has been identified as a site for increased residential development since Montreal's first post-merger official plan in 2004. The detailed plan section of the document specifically notes Boulevard Newman – which fronts Carrefour Angrignon – as an area with poor pedestrian-friendliness which should be improved with vegetation and additional infrastructure for pedestrians. It also notes that "commercial buildings, often more oriented towards exterior parking areas than to the street" contribute to pedestrian-unfriendliness, calling for an "intensification and diversification of activities" in this area (Ville de Montréal 2004b, p. 207). At the scale of the borough, the LaSalle section of the 2004 Montreal OP provides a more detailed vision for Boulevard Newman. It calls for a move away from the automobile-oriented design of the 1960s and towards a transit- and pedestrian-friendly design. To achieve this, it proposes to shift the regulatory environment to favour "the construction of new buildings fronting the street" and, at intersections, "the development of multistorey buildings with ground-floor commercial and offices or residences on upper floors" (Ville de Montréal, 2004a, p.23). The borough of LaSalle brought these plans into fruition in 2010 with its Quartier Angrignon project which authorized several large parcels of land at the intersection of boulevards Angrignon and Newman for the construction of multifamily residential buildings up to 16 storeys (Lambert-Chan, 2013). Current zoning for the area can be seen in Figure 31.

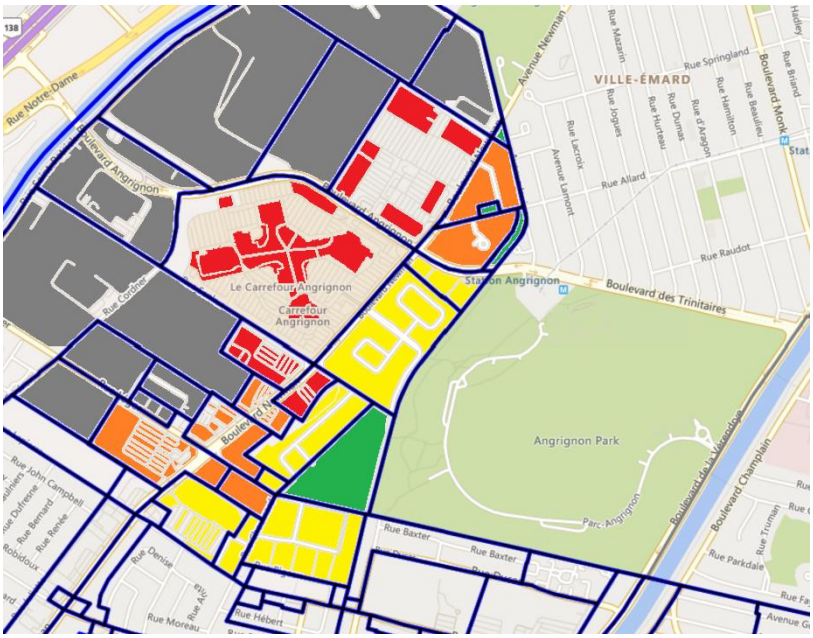


Figure 31: Current zoning at and around the Carrefour Angrignon site; Grey indicates industrial, Red indicates Commercial, Yellow indicates residential, Orang indicates mixed use, and Green indicates parkland. Source: Ville de Montréal

Stakeholder Actions: Developers and Nearby Property Owners

To actualize the plans and zoning changes described above, the Borough of LaSalle worked closely with several developers to showcase new residential buildings in the sector to the public with its now-defunct website Quartier Angrignon. The website outlines LaSalle's vision for the area, highlighting the family-friendly nature of the developments nearby Angrignon Park and promising that these developments will, over time, "completely change the scale of Boulevard Newman" to "build the LaSalle of the 21st century" (Arrondissement de LaSalle, 2011). The website appears to have been retired in 2017 as the projects it showcased neared completion. Four projects were highlighted on the website: the Tours Angrignon seniors' residences – 449 units spread across three buildings of seven storeys and one of eight (Selection Retraite, 2018); the Opus condominiums – 950 units spread across seven buildings of seven storeys each (Dubelle Development Ltd., 2018); the Quartier A condominiums – 361 units across three towers of 12 storeys each (Boulanger, 2012); and the developments by Groupe Cholette, eventually marketed as the EQ8 and Areve condominiums – 419 units between the two projects (BuzzBuzzHome 2022; McGill Immobilier 2022). More recently, the Le Newman project has launched, with 950 units across three buildings of 14 to 16 storeys which include purpose-built rental, condominiums, and an active retiree residence (DevMcGill, 2020).

Most importantly for this project, the Westcliff Group owners of Carrefour Angrignon have recently registered as lobbyists with the Quebec government to negotiate with the City of Montreal and Borough of LaSalle. This negotiation would seek to rezone the 2.3-ha lot southwest of Carrefour Angrignon from commercial to mixed-use to permit a development project consisting of 1600 apartment units in buildings as tall as 16 storeys (Registre des Lobbyistes, 2021). This site is dominated by a surface parking lot and is currently occupied by a Toys R Us location and seven other large-format retail tenants (Bergeron, 2021). This project it would accelerate the creation of TOD around Carrefour Angrignon and potentially bring new revenue streams to its owner.

Figure 32: Carrefour Angrignon is seen on the left, with new residential developments EQ8 and Quartier A at the centre and right. Source: Google Maps

Park Royal Shopping Centre (Vancouver CMA): Onsite Residential Redevelopment

TOD Project Status: Completed

Figure 33: Park Royal is seen in the images above in 2001 (left) and 2021 (right). Note the addition of the Village at the westernmost edge of the site, Village expansion at the centre, and Gateway residences at the eastern edge the site. Source: Google Earth

Occupying a 20-ha lot in the North Shore municipality of West Vancouver, Park Royal Shopping Centre first opened in 1950 as Canada's first enclosed mall (Park Royal , 2022). As seen in Figure 34 on the following page, Park Royal straddles West Vancouver's Marine Drive on two sites – one falling within the purview of the District of West Vancouver and the other on Squamish Nation land. This gives the shopping centre a unique jurisdictional context. All design and development changes made at Park Royal South are subject to approval by the Squamish Nation's band council. The District's zoning and approval powers do not apply to this land – save a small sliver near at the corner of Marine Drive and Taylor Way. It is this portion of the Park Royal South site – 752 Marine Drive or the Gateway Residences – with which this case study is primarily concerned.

Larco Investments made the first substantial move away from the traditional 20th-century suburban shopping centre design which had defined Park Royal since 1950 with the completion of its Village at Park Royal lifestyle centre in 2004. Located on a 7.2-ha parcel abutting the main Park Royal South shopping centre, early concept work for the Village began in the late 1990s and was completed in 2004. The Village is made up of nine separate buildings of various sizes and masses housing 35 shops

and restaurants across 22,761 m^2 (245,000 square feet) of gross leasable area. It also includes a new "Main Street" running through the middle of the site with a handsomely paved semipublic plaza at the centre (MCM Architects, 2020).

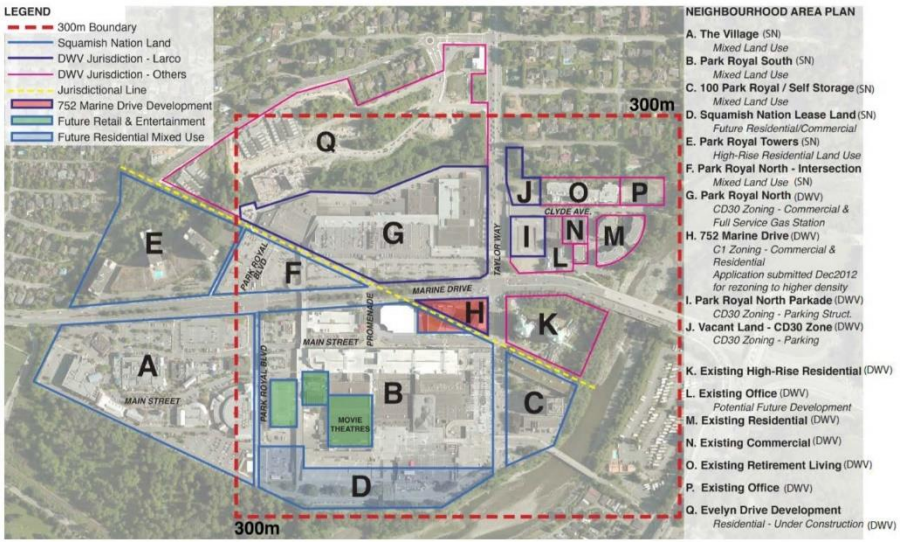


Figure 34: Site map of Park Royal showing jurisdictional boundaries. Source: District of West Vancouver

The next major stage in the renovation of Park Royal South came with the expansion of its "Village" concept eastward and northward on the southern portion of the site. The 238,000 (22,000 m^2) square-foot renovation, completed in 2015, involved the replacement of surface parking lots adjacent to Marine Drive with 11,148 m^2 (120,000 square feet) of new gross leasable area. This brought the shopping centre's outermost building facades much closer to the lot line abutting Marine Drive and the southbound TransLink bus stop – which is now the terminus of the R2 bus rapid transit line. This loss of surface parking was more than compensated for by the construction of new parkades, leading to a net increase of 300 parking spots.

In 2012, Larco Investments made its first submission to the District of West Vancouver to rezone the portion Park Royal South under municipal jurisdiction to accommodate residential development, citing the growing trend towards land use diversity at formerly retail-only zones as a means to "expand the availability and choice of housing types in the District of West Vancouver" (Park Royal Shopping Centre Holdings Ltd. 2012, p. 9). As part of this development, Larco Investments also proposed substantial public realm improvements and community benefits, including new public art and civic squares. Although the initial 2012 rezoning application was not approved, Larco Investments submitted a second rezoning and development application after the District introduced its Marine Drive Local Area Plan in 2017. This revised application proposed two towers of 11 and 14 storeys atop a three-storey commercial-oriented podium with dedicated daycare space and referred explicitly to the Local Area Plan in both built form design guidelines and public realm guidelines. This yielded 203 residential units, of which 49 would be market rental in perpetuity, with 50 that were

to be market rental for 20 years, 92 market rental units owned by the applicants, and 11 non-market rental units owned by the District. The proposal also included a public plaza, pedestrian connections, 232 underground parking stalls, 282 secured underground stalls for bicycle parking, and $21,314,460 in community amenity contributions. It was approved by council in May of 2018 and the developers broke ground in 2019 (District of West Vancouver, 2018).

In 2020, Larco Investments returned to the District with a third development proposal and rezoning application, this time for an additional five storeys for each of the two towers (for total building heights of 16 and 19 storeys each) comprising an additional 95 rental units. An additional 115 secure bicycle stalls were proposed, but no additional parking stalls, dropping the residential parking ratio to 0.7 per unit with 298 units and 232 spaces. This revised proposal also included an additional $10,000,000 in Community Amenity Contributions, bringing the total to $31,314,450 (Berg, 2020). After a contentious council meeting where opponents expressed their discontent with the added height and density – with traffic being a major sticking point – the revision was approved by a 4-3 vote. West Vancouver Mayor Mary-Ann Booth expressed her regret that she had "left density on the table" with the original 2018 development approval, and that the new proposal was an "opportunity to build housing for families, for young people, and seniors" in an area "which has the best bus connections in West Vancouver" (Chan, 2020).

Developing Rapid Transit

Park Royal has long been a transit interchange for the North Shore. In addition to the R2 line, the shopping centre is served by 16 bus routes, connecting passengers to destinations in Horseshoe Bay, North Vancouver, and downtown Vancouver.

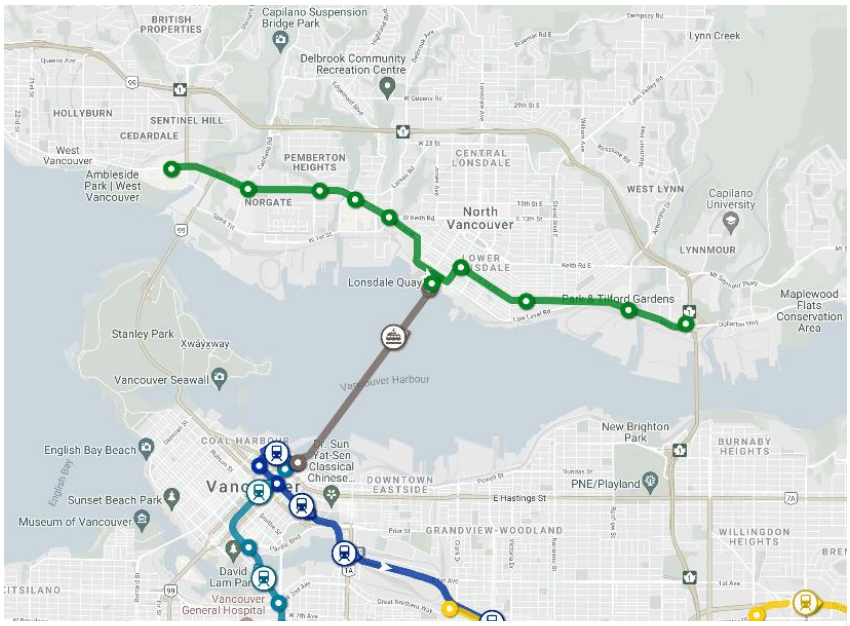


Figure 35: The R2 BRT line (in green) is shown alongside TransLink's SeaBus (in brown) and SkyTrain (in blue and yellow) rapid transit systems. Park Royal is the western terminus. Source: TransLink

In 2014, TransLink's Mayor's Council on Regional Transportation – a group of mayors convened by the provincial Minister of Transportation and Infrastructure – produced a report entitled "Regional

Transportation Investments: a Vision for Metro Vancouver", which in no uncertain terms identifies a North Shore bus rapid transit as a priority investment for the near future. This document was followed in 2017 by a 10-year regional transit investment plan produced by TransLink itself, providing clear funding sources for the implementation of "B-Line" service on Marine Drive by 2019, including enhanced service features and transit priority (TransLink, 2017). A key caveat to this goal, however, is that these priorities are "dependent on municipal collaboration with TransLink" (ibid., p. 11). This caveat is highly relevant because, despite TransLink and the Mayors' Council both having identified this transit corridor along Marine Drive and Dundarave as a priority, the plan to bring bus rapid transit into West Vancouver was received very poorly by area residents and merchants' associations. The loss of several parking stalls along Marine Drive in Ambleside triggered vocal protests and the District's mayor and council eventually rescinded their support for the line west of Park Royal, making the shopping centre the terminus for the new line. Trans-Link completed the work needed to implement the new line at the end of 2019, and the route was inaugurated in April 2020.

Municipal Policy Framework and Property Owner Activity

Figure 36: Gateway Residences at Park Royal in West Vancouver in 2021

Much of the work entailed in the transit-oriented redevelopment of Park Royal occurred while West Vancouver's 2004 Official Community Plan (OCP) was in force, though the District introduced a new OCP in 2018 which impacted a revised development and rezoning application for five additional storeys. Despite being drafted at the beginning of the 21st century, the 2004 OCP largely reflects 20th-century postwar conceptions of land use separation, particularly as it concerns the portions of Park Royal under its jurisdiction. Park Royal is notably absent from the housing policy section which aims to "encourage mixed use commercial and residential developments in the Ambleside, Dundarave, and Horseshoe Bay commercial centres" (District of West Vancouver 2004a, p. 53). The shopping centre

does receive its own section in the "Built Form and Neighbourhood Character" section of the 2004 OCP, which seeks to "recognize the role of the Park Royal Shopping Centre as the eastern 'gateway' to West Vancouver (District of West Vancouver 2004b, p. 72).

Given its corporate preferences for renewed design contexts, Larco Investments' proactive design innovations at Park Royal South appear to have been the impetus for the District's introduction in 2017 of a Marine Drive Local Area Plan (LAP), which includes the Park Royal site. In contrast to the 2004 OCP, the 2017 LAP envisions Park Royal as "mixed-use, transit-oriented, vibrant urban centre" (District of West Vancouver 2017, p. 33). It states that "land use within the District's jurisdiction should support the transition of the Park Royal mall from a regional shopping centre into a more complete community with housing and amenities" (ibid., p. 33). The LAP also calls for any development within the Park Royal – Clyde Avenue sub-area to make contributions to civic amenities, particularly in the form of supportive housing, childcare facilities, improved public trails, and heritage conservation. Although the 2017 Marine Drive LAP did not supplant the 2004 OCP, it did provide new, additional context to the interpretation of the OCP's conception of Park Royal as the "gateway" to West Vancouver. District staff referred to this new context in 2018 when recommending council approve Larco Invetments' development and rezoning application for 752 Marine Drive, noting that it would "contribute to: 1) greater housing diversity; 2) evolving Park Royal to a complete community; and 3) an enhanced public realm and pedestrian connections" while providing substantial cash and in-kind contributions to civic amenities – most notably in the form of supportive rental housing and childcare facilities (Berg, 2018). The approval of this development and rezoning application resulted in 752 Marine Drive being rezoned from C1 – Commercial 1 (permitting only commercial activity) to CD57 – a new comprehensive development zone permitting a range of mixed uses, taller building heights, and greater densities.

Unlike previous iterations, the third revised development and rezoning proposal from Larco Investments, submitted in 2020, was subject not to the 2004 OCP but the new OCP drafted in 2018. This OCP is far more supportive of TOD, listing Park Royal as among the destinations for higher residential densities alongside potential future rapid transit services (District of West Vancouver, 2018). As such, District staff noted in their recommendation to council that while an amendment would be required due to noncompliance with the 2018 OCP, the updated 2020 proposal is "generally consistent with the OCP in terms of providing rental housing [and] creating strong pedestrian

connections" (Berg 2020, p. 2). As such, the site was once again rezoned to allow greater densities and heights. As of April 2022, the project was nearing completion at heights of 16 and 19 storeys.

Case Study Synthesis

Tracing Change Since 2001

Taken together, the case studies presented above display some interesting patterns of change in their respective CTs since 2021. Tracing changes in population and number of dwellings reveals some interesting and expected patterns.

The three cases which were the most successful in constructing new high-density residential developments at or near shopping centre sites experienced the greatest and most consistent growth in number of dwellings and in population. STC's number of dwellings exploded by 80% between 2001 and 2006, when the first phase of the Equinox development was completed. The Carrefour Angrignon B CT also experienced growth, with a full decade of successively increasing dwelling counts. These two CTs – those of STC and Carrefour Angrignon B – also experienced the highest levels of population growth between 2001 and 2021, although STC did contract slightly between 2016 and 2021. Aside from Park Royal, the remaining CTs experienced anemic growth – and even decline – in population and dwelling counts between 2001 and 2021, perhaps underscoring the imperative to pursue effective TOD policies to add housing at these key sites.

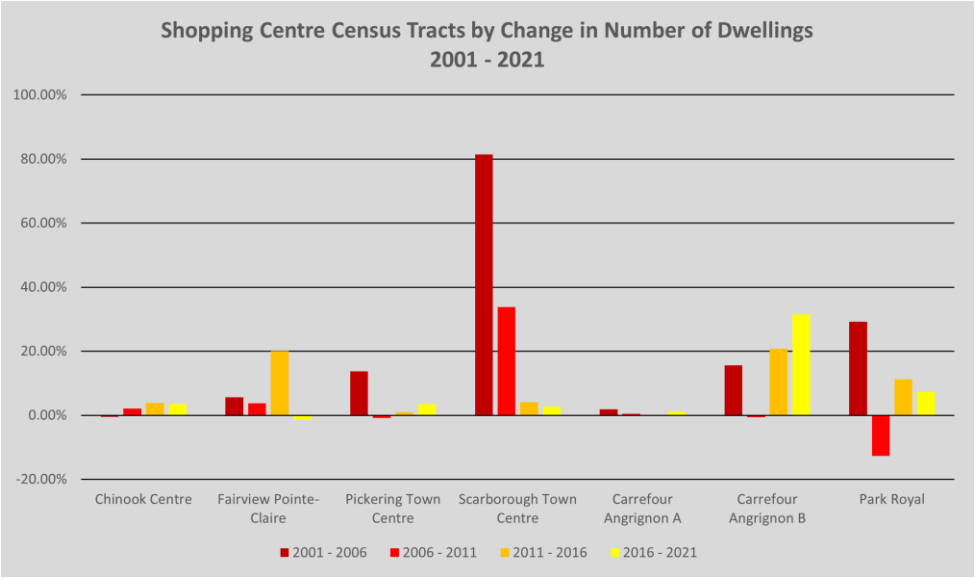


Figure 37: Change in number of dwellings between 2001 and 2021. Source: Statistics Canada

Park Royal – which, as a reminder, includes the dissemination area that contains the new Gateway Residences development – has also experienced several years of population growth, but as the Gateway Residences were completed after the 2021 Census this growth cannot be attributed to it alone. Instead, another nearby development – the Evelyn Complex, completed in 2019 – is likely the cause; while this development was out of the scope of the Park Royal case study above, its proximity to the shopping centre and transit hub mean it is likely a beneficiary of TOD policies as well. Still, the decline in the number of dwellings between 2006 and 2011 can at least in part be attributed to the demolition of housing which occurred to construct the Evelyn Complex and it remains to be seen – in the 2026 Census – whether the dwelling and population gains of the Gateway Residences will make up for this loss.

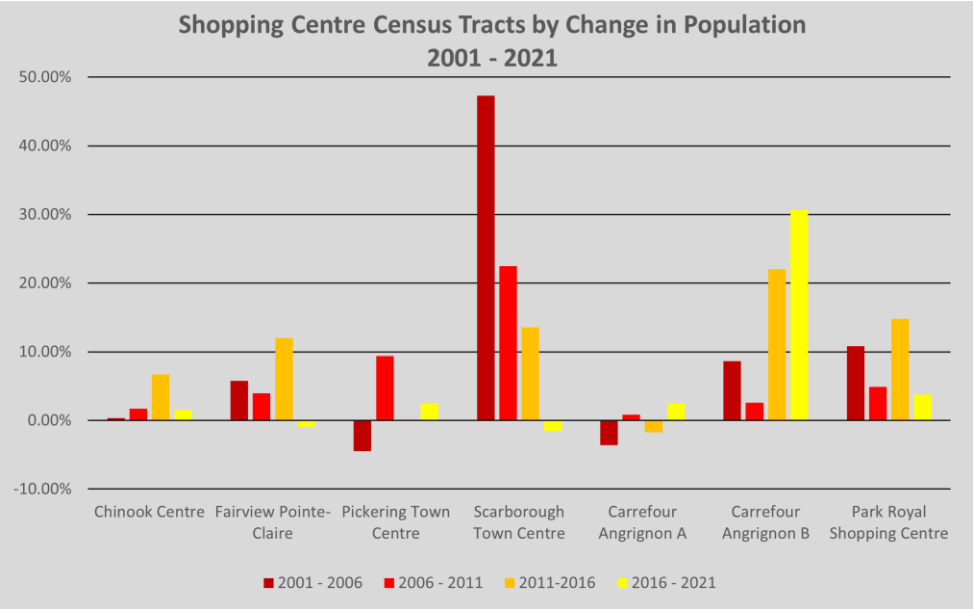


Figure 38: Change in population between 2001 and 2021. Source: Statistics Canada.

In investigating active transportation and transit mode share, the outliers tell as intriguing a story as the expected patterns. To begin with, Park Royal – our 'ideal' case of shopping centre TOD redevelopment – has experienced consistent growth in both transit and active transportation mode share since 2001, with just over 46% of residents in the area commuting to work by either mode in 2016. STC too has experienced consistent growth; despite the woes of the Scarborough RT, just over 49% of commuters in that area commuted by either active transportation or transit in 2016. Meanwhile, new residential buildings around Carrefour Angrignon do not seem to have resulted in a substantial shift towards either active transportation or transit, with little growth in either category for both CTs between 2001 and 2016, and even a slight decline in transit use and active transportation use in Carrefour Angrignon A and Carrefour Angrignon B respectively. This may be because the district had relatively high rates of transit mode share to begin with: in 2001 the two Carrefour Angrignon CTs had the highest rate of transit mode share among the case studies. For active

transportation, it may also be that the jobs surrounding Carrefour Angrignon are not the jobs held by residents of the new developments, meaning residents must travel elsewhere to work.

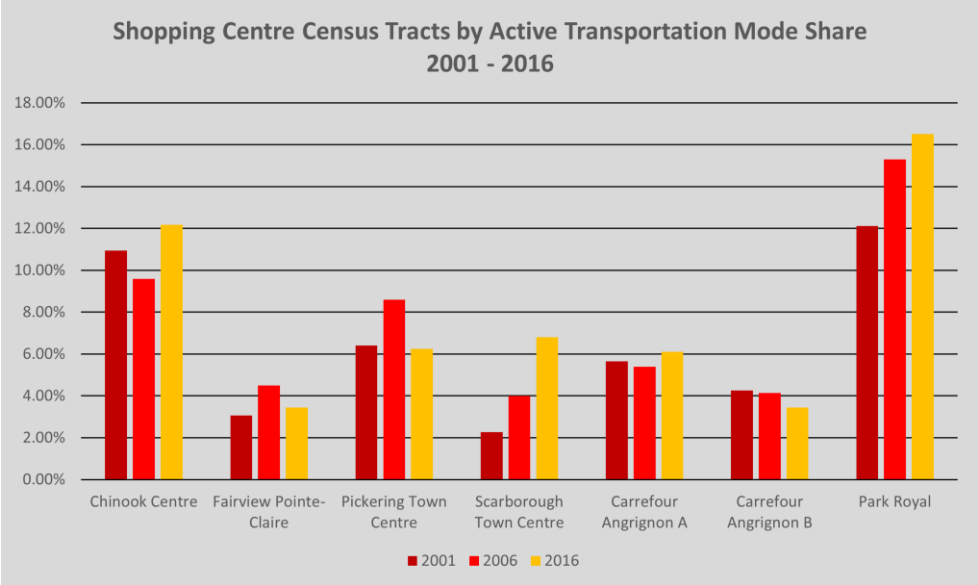


Figure 39: Change in active transportation mode share from 2001 to 2016. Source: Statistics Canada

On the other hand, proximity to employment may explain why Chinook Centre's CT displays such high rates of active transportation use in each year from 2001 to 2016; as stated above, the shopping centre is adjacent to a large industrial-zoned employment area home to 33,000 jobs. This already-high rate of active transportation use indicates that the City of Calgary would do well to ensure this round of TOD policy is more successful than the last to capitalize on existing employment and commuting patterns and bring more residents to the area. PTC, too, exhibits some interesting patterns. The sustained growth of transit mode share in that area suggests renewed interest in the GO Train as an alternative to Ontario's highway 401 to reach jobs in the City of Toronto – though without a more comprehensive origin-destination survey this link is hard to be sure of. PTC's relatively high active transportation mode share – though not consistently growing – may suggest the area's proximity to Pickering's civic centre

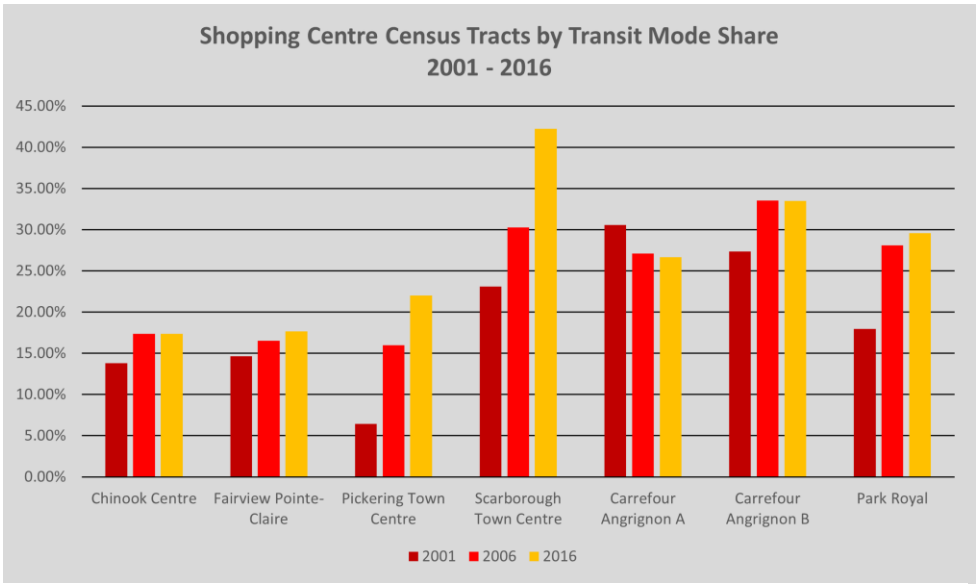


Figure 40: Change in transit mode share from 2001 to 2016. Source: Statistics Canada

is already bearing fruit; new residential transit-oriented development could help supercharge this asset. Finally, the CT in which FPC is located does not appear to demonstrate any substantial change towards either active transportation or transit mode share despite a small amount of growth in the latter between 2001 and 2016.

Evaluating TOD Policies

As discussed in the State of the Debate section above, the wealth of research already conducted on the necessary conditions for successful TOD have produced helpful guides for students and practitioners seeking to understand the phenomenon in different contexts. Among these, the critical success factors for transit-oriented development identified by Thomas and Bertolini (2014) provide a level of comprehensiveness that is not found in many other guides, touching on success factors at the level of plans and policies, actors, and implementation. Although imperfect, this guide serves as a helpful basis from which to assess TOD policy efforts in the case studies above. Each case study is assigned a score from one to five for each criterion, with one indicating status closest to the "Decreases Success" column, and five indicating status closest to the "Increases Success" column. Before analysis, four criteria were removed from the table as their assessment is out of scope for this project; these include national political stability, the relationship between municipal actors – including competition between them –

	Chinook Centre	Fairview Pointe-Claire	Pickering Town Centre	Scarborough Town Centre	Carrefour Angrignon	Park Royal
PLANS & POLICIES						
Policy Consistency	1	2	3	5	5	4
Vision Stability	3	2	4	5	5	4
Government Support	1	4	5	5	4	5
Political Stability (Local)	3	1	4	5	5	4
Total out of 20:	***8***	***9***	***16***	***20***	***19***	***17***
ACTORS						
Regional Land Use/Transportation Body	3	4	4	5	5	5
Public Participation	4	3	4	4	4	4
Public Acceptance	5	1	4	5	5	3
Key Visionaries	2	2	3	4	4	5
Total out of 20:	***14***	***10***	***15***	***18***	***18***	***17***
IMPLEMENTATION						
Site-Specific Planning Tools	3	2	5	5	4	5
Regional Level TOD Planning	4	5	3	5	4	5
Certainty for Developers	2	1	3	4	5	5
Willingness to Experiment	3	1	5	4	4	5
Total out of 20:	***12***	***9***	***16***	***18***	***17***	***20***
Total out of 60:	**34**	**28**	**47**	**56**	**54**	**54**

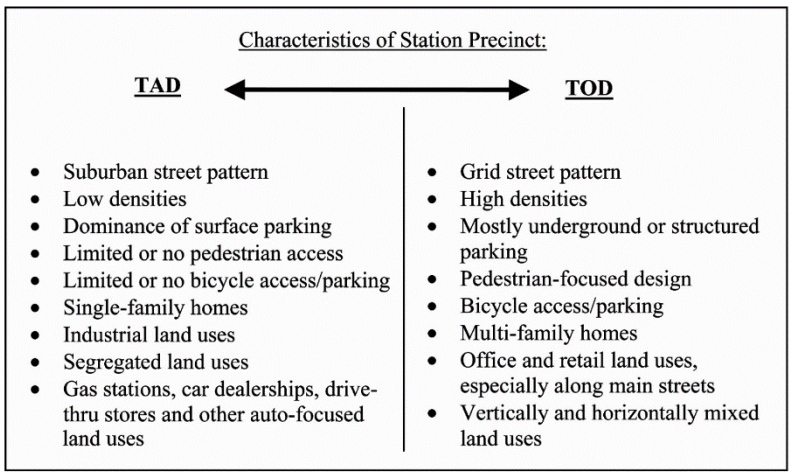
Figure 41: Evaluation of case studies based on Thomas and Bertolini (2014)

and the presence of multidisciplinary implementation teams. The full table of Thomas and Bertolini's criteria can be found in Appendix 1.

Unsurprisingly, the three cases which score highest on this evaluation are Park Royal, Carrefour Angrignon, and Scarborough Town Centre – all scoring above 50 out of 60 possible points. These cases exhibited excellent policy consistency, government support, and political stability at the local level combined with visionary and supportive leaders and regional bodies and effective use of planning tools to provide certainty for developers. In a context such as Park Royal's the willingness to experiment is particularly noteworthy given the relative unfamiliarity of both the developer and council in pursuing TOD at shopping centre sites. Just behind these three cases in scoring is Pickering Town Centre, with 47 out of 60 points. This is result is in part because of a relative lack in policy consistency, with Pickering's council initially offering full-throated support for the project only to demur at the latest deadline due to ballooning costs, leading also to uncertainty for developers. This equivocation, in turn, is perhaps the result of a lack of visionary leaders willing to advocate on the project's behalf when challenges arise, and the anemic language at the level of the Durham Regional Municipality in pursuing TOD at shopping centres.

Fairview Point Claire and Chinook Centre round out the list. In the case of Chinook Centre, it is notably the Plans and Policies section of the evaluation which falls short. This is due to the inconsistent and non-statutory nature of past TOD efforts creating an uncertain environment for developers. It is also no secret that successive provincial governments in Alberta have been unwilling to use fiscal policy tools to discourage fuel usage – a key criterion in Thomas and Bertolini's "Government Support" category. However, the City of Calgary has clearly done its homework on this iteration of TOD policy, consulting widely and engaging in comprehensive, long-range transportation planning with TOD at the centre. Fairview Pointe-Claire, on the other hand, scores below 10 out of 20 in nearly all categories due to its unstable political climate, unwillingness to experiment, lack of coordination with regional transportation bodies, and most importantly, lack of public acceptance for the project.

From TAD to TOD?



In assessing efforts to add residential development at or near shopping centres located next to transit facilities, it is useful to turn to the framework from Figure 2, reproduced to the right. Three of the case studies examined (Fairview Pointe-Claire, Chinook Centre, and Pickering Town Centre) have not yet completed their development projects, but the remaining three provide an interesting array of outcomes. At Scarborough Town Centre, the outsized scale of the site has been noted in planning documents since the 2005 SCCSP, contributing to the overall suburban street pattern of the area. The phases of development which have occurred in the 21st century thus far may have increased residential densities and reduced the dominance of surface parking, but they have done little to break up the large block pattern near STC. Additionally, interviews with residents undertaken for another report indicate that "for most respondents, their travel choices had not changed significantly since moving to this location" (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation 2009, p. 9). This suggests that the development – at least in it early stages in 2009 – has not demonstrated a sufficiently pedestrian-focused design to inspire change in behaviour; indeed, pedestrian-scale images taken from Google Maps (see Figure 25) do not contribute to a sense of walkability (Ewing & Handy, 2009). That said, it could also be the case that the residents interviewed for the study above engaged in self-selection when they relocated to nearby the STC site (Cervero, 2007). The changes pursued by the Borough of LaSalle nearby Carrefour Angrignon also leave much to be desired in terms of moving from TAD to TOD. The Borough's plans may encourage vertical land use diversification at the scale of the neighbourhood, but they do not permit horizontal mixing of uses except in two small clusters, as seen in Figure 31. Additionally, the plans retain large swathes of land for industrial and institutional uses on the north side of Carrefour Angrignon, resulting in a persistently TAD-inclined station precinct. At Park Royal, meanwhile, Larco Investments has gradually checked the boxes of TOD on its own site: replacing surface parking lots with a more walkable street pattern with pedestrian infrastructure, moving parking into structures, adding residential densities, bicycle parking, and mixed land uses. So, while lifestyle centre developments are often criticized for their

lack of authenticity – a "make-believe Main Street" not seriously contributing to the task of redesigning suburban space away from the automobile (Gillem, 2009) – the development of the Village at Park Royal can be understood as one step towards a broader TOD-focused strategy of shopping centre innovation. Without these earlier steps, it is unlikely the District would have revised its 2004 vision for the Park Royal area to promote residential development under the 201 Marine Drive LAP.

Concluding Discussion

The cases above reinforce the results of past research into the prerequisites for successful TOD. In the first place, while the public sector has the power to determine what is permissible in space, the role of the private sector as a make-or-break factor in transit-oriented development projects cannot be understated. In the first place, the presence of permissive regulatory environments is, by itself, woefully insufficient to induce development. Scholars studying cases in Los Angeles (Loukaitou Sideris 2014; Schuetz 2017), and Dallas (Van Lierop; 2017), make it clear that transit-oriented development – particularly redevelopment – cannot happen unless there is a market for it. The case of Chinook Centre underscores this reality. Despite the existence of a TOD-supportive regulatory environment in Calgary since the late 1990s, far longer than any of the other examples, the lack of success in achieving TOD at Chinook Centre may be a result of the lack of sustained development pressure in that city until relatively recently. Oil booms brought residential development to Calgary in the past, but previous waves of growth have been accommodated mostly through greenfield subdivision development (Han, 2019). Even now, as the country grapples with a historic housing crisis and a nearly-complete statutory TOD policy, Cadillac Fairview has not yet made a decision to redevelop its Chinook Centre property.

Therefore, as demonstrated in examples as disparate as Tokyo (Chorus, 2009), Brisbane (James, 2009), and Toronto, (White, 2017), the actions of an experienced, well-funded, politically-savvy developer are crucial in ensuring that TOD can be successfully constructed. In the cases explored above, this sort of developer is found in Park Royal's Larco Investment and Scarborough Town Centre's Goldman Group both of which submitted successive development applications which pushed the envelope for the regulatory frameworks established by municipal and regional governments. The developers present in the Carrefour Angrignon case, the developers Groupe Cholette, Dubelle Development, and DevMcGill also all have experience constructing high-density

transit-oriented residential developments for their particular market segments in the Montreal area. But experience isn't everything; as the case of Fairview Pointe-Claire shows, a developer such as Cadillac Fairview which takes an aggressive and bullish stance on TOD at shopping centre sites can create unnecessary obstacles in the form of public opposition to extravagant and large-scale proposals. Confidence in one's ability to build and market something profitable is one task, but shepherding a complex development proposal through council is another entirely.

This is why the most important success factor identified by previous researchers and reinforced by the cases above is the presence of favourable political conditions for TOD. Here, Fairview Pointe-Claire and Park Royal provide a useful study in contrast. In a situation of sustained, elevated development pressure, different geographic contexts are able to mount different levels and forms of opposition to neighbourhood change; this opposition is often greatest in higher income districts (Tapp, 2021). Fairview Pointe-Clare and Park Royal, then, provide a useful study in contrast. Though both West Vancouver and Pointe-Claire are relatively affluent suburban communities, Larco Developments and the District of West Vancouver were able to reach a mutually beneficially agreement at Park Royal while Cadillac Fairview's aggressive pursuit of TOD at FPC has raised the ire of residents, council, and mayor alike, spreading anti-development sentiment across the West Island of Montreal (Sargeant, 2022). Qviström et al. (2019, p. 791) have called for efforts to reveal the "dynamic quality of place" when analysing the pursuit of TOD, and this provides a helpful way to understand the differences between these two cases. In fact, their concern that if the "number of residents within the circle doubles, then civic assets in that area will no longer be the same" (ibid., p. 791) is almost exactly the sentiment expressed by opponents to the Fairview Pointe-Claire redevelopment project. Save Fairview Forest spokesperson Genevieve Lussier herself stated in an interview in May 2021 that "If they wanted to live downtown, they would live downtown", making reference to Pointe-Claire residents (Henriquez, 2021). Park Royal, on the other hand, already lies a mere four kilometres from downtown Vancouver – a 20-minute bus ride away. Of course, Larco Investments certainly faced its share of opposition against the Gateway Residences project (Richter, 2018), but ultimately a supportive mayor and council carried the day.

So, what makes for a successful project? Which TOD initiatives should planners and councils support, and which should they oppose? In his seminal 1978 piece, "Why Allow Planners to Do What They Do?", Terry Moore addresses just this question, concluding that planners should only intervene in the

market when the benefits of intervening leads to results which outweigh the costs of intervening in the first place (Moore, 1978). An excellent case in point for this maxim is found in Pickering Town Centre. Though council there has worked hard to create a strong vision for TOD at Pickering Town Centre, devising enabling legislation, rewriting bylaws, and engaging the public, the political damage that supporting a money-losing project would inflict on councillors likely weighed on them in their decision to defer the development. Indeed, the treasurer himself expressed reticence about this in the council meeting on October 21st, 2021, referenced above. So while the redevelopment of shopping centres as transit-oriented development may be receiving renewed political interest by municipal leaders and planners, it is important that this enthusiasm be guided – by those same leaders and planners – prudently. The plans currently before Pickering's council – and, for that matter, Pointe-Claire's – are extravagant and ambitious, but not every TOD shopping centre redevelopment needs to be so. As the borough of LaSalle demonstrated in the Carrefour Angrignon case, working closely with a number of developers on smaller parcels of land can yield fruitful results and even bring the property owner of the adjacent shopping centre onboard to do their own redevelopments.

This project has sought to explore the scope and status of Canadian efforts to build transit-oriented development at conventional enclosed suburban shopping centres. The case studies at Chinook Centre, Fairview Pointe-Claire, Pickering Town Centre, Scarborough Town Centre, and Park Royal were selected for their ability to demonstrate a wide range of processes and outcomes and provide perspectives that add to the richness of existing TOD-focused research. After analysis of policies, politics, developer negotiations, resident activism, and change in CTs over time, the shopping centre case studies reinforced the insights provided by previous observers that the private sector forces and public sector politics must be aligned to achieve TOD redevelopment at suburban shopping centre sites. This raises an important question: what is possible under Canada's constitutional division of powers – where municipal institutions are the exclusive jurisdiction of provincial governments – to encourage this alignment of public and private sector success factors?

The idiosyncrasies of municipal planning policy have been subject to increasing scrutiny from both provincial and federal legislators for the role these policies play in fuelling and sustaining the housing crisis. Politicians of all stripes and at all levels of government are proposing their own solutions to the crisis – from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's National Housing Strategy (Government of Canada, 2022) to Conservative leadership frontrunner Pierre Poilievre's call to tie federal transit infrastructure

funding to transit-oriented development (Poilievre, 2022). Indeed, from a North American perspective, one of the most remarkable developments in Canadian discourse on housing at the federal level is the seeming consensus among the Left and Right on the importance of transit-oriented development as an alternative to sprawl (Fumano, 2021). The same enthusiasm for transit-oriented development exists at the provincial level, with Ontario's Progressive Conservative government (Ontario Housing Affordability Task Force, 2022) and the left-wing New Democratic Party government of British Columbia (Government of British Columbia, 2022) both proposing using TOD as a means to tackle the housing crisis.

Still, past incursions of provincial authority into municipal affairs have not been well received in Canada. Despite the fact that municipalities are so-called "creatures of the province", common law established by the Supreme Court of Canada has increasingly affirmed the importance of subsidiarity, deferring to municipal councils in their ability to make policy owing to their proximity to the public (Nanaimo (City) v. Rascal Trucking Ltd., 2000). As such, federal incursions – such as trying infrastructure funding to policy actions, as Poilievre is suggesting – are likely to be challenged in court as well. And while TOD is enjoying a certain level of unanimity in Canadian politics at the federal and provincial level, the nitty-gritty of actualizing this policy falls to municipal governments and local developers. This project, then, concludes with a question for future research: what must be done to bridge the enthusiasm gap between higher and lower levels of government to harness the market forces – a transforming retail sector and an under-supplied housing market – into achieving TOD redevelopments at and around suburban shopping centre sites in Canada?

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Appendix 1: Critical Success Factors for TOD (Thomas & Bertolini 2014)

	CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTOR	INCREASES SUCCESS	DECREASES SUCCESS
	PLANS & POLICIES		
1	**Policy Consistency**	Very consistent over time in planning policy supporting TOD, e.g. specific station areas, transit corridors, and other transit-supportive and non-motorised-supportive land use planning	Very inconsistent planning policy supporting TOD, major changes over time
2	**Vision Stability**	Very stable vision, e.g. city-regional vision for land use–transport planning or urban sustainability	Very unstable vision, major changes over time
3	**Government Support**	Very good support of higher levels of government, e.g. provincial tax on gasoline to support public transit, national station location or regeneration policy, provincial funding for cycling infrastructure	No support of higher levels of government, no policies or funding
4	**Political Stability (National)**	Very stable national political agenda supporting TOD	Very unstable national political agenda supporting TOD, major changes over time
5	**Political Stability (Local)**	Very stable local (municipal or regional) political agenda supporting TOD	Very unstable local (municipal or regional) political agenda supporting TOD, major changes over time
	ACTORS		
6	**Actor Relationships**	Very good relationships between municipal actors at a regional scale, e.g. communication, overlap in goals and vision, roles	Poor or no relationships between municipal actors at a regional scale
7	**Regional Land Use–Transportation Body**	Presence of a regulatory regional land use–transport planning body	No regional land use–transport planning body (advisory or regulatory)
8	**Inter-municipal Competition**	No competition among municipalities for new developments/funding	Very intense competition among municipalities for new developments/funding
9	**Multidisciplinary Implementation Teams**	Widespread presence of multidisciplinary teams implementing TOD	Sector-specific teams (e.g. solely planners or engineers) implementing TOD
10	**Public Participation**	Very high public participation in land use–transport planning processes	No public participation, public not engaged or interested
11	**Public Acceptance**	Very high public acceptance of high densities and public transit	No public acceptance of high densities and public transit
12	**Key Visionaries**	Many influential key visionaries over time, e.g. elected, citizen or business leaders	No key visionaries over time
	IMPLEMENTATION		
13	**Site-Specific Planning Tools**	Widespread use of site-specific planning tools, e.g. FAR bonuses, leasing of air rights, density targets	No use of site-specific tools
14	**Regional Level TOD Planning**	Corridor-level planning, e.g. coordination of land use and transport in widespread transit corridors	No corridor-level or station area planning
15	**Certainty for Developers**	High degree of certainty for developers, e.g. plans and policies supporting higher densities, tools to enable mixed uses at station areas, designation of areas for development/transit corridors	Uncertainty; developers are unaware of policies, tools and sites encouraging TOD
16	**Willingness to Experiment**	Actors are very willing to experiment with new policies, practices and tools	Actors are unwilling to experiment with new policies, practices and tools

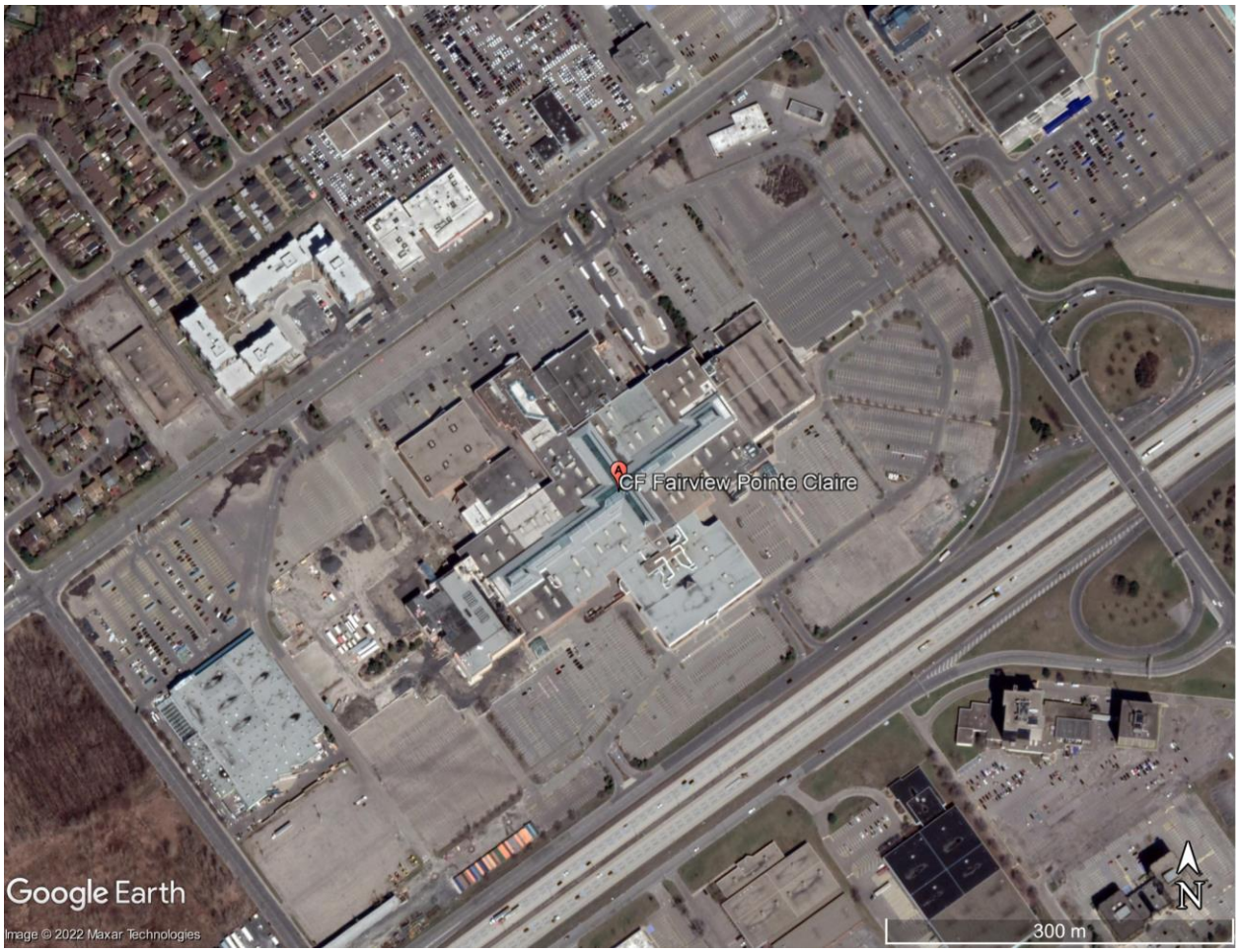
Appendix 2: Shortlist of Shopping Centres

Shopping Centre Name	Estimated Size (Square Feet)	Street Address	CSD Name	CMA Name	Province	Gordon and Janzen CT Type 2001	Gordon and Janzen CT Type 2006	Gordon and Janzen CT Type 2016
CF CHINOOK CENTRE	**1377791**	**6455 MACLEOD TRAIL SOUTH**	**CALGARY**	**CALGARY**	**ALBERTA**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**	**Active Core**
PLACE VERSAILLES	1100000	7275 SHERBROOKE STREET EAST	MONTRÉAL	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb
ST. LAURENT CENTRE	880736	1200 ST LAURENT BOULEVARD	OTTAWA	OTTAWA - GATINEAU	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
GUILDFORD TOWN CENTRE	1196451	10355 152 STREET	SURREY	VANCOUVER	BRITISH COLUMBIA	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
CF SHERWAY GARDENS	1291545	25 THE WEST MALL	TORONTO	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Transit Suburb	Auto Suburb	Transit Suburb
CF CARREFOUR LAVAL	1186168	3003 BOULEVARD LE CARREFOUR	LAVAL	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
CARREFOUR ANGRIGNON	**850000**	**7077 BOULEVARD NEWMAN**	**MONTRÉAL**	**MONTRÉAL**	**QUÉBEC**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**
CF GALERIES D'ANJOU	923779	7999 BOULEVARD LES GALERIES D'ANJOU	MONTRÉAL	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Transit Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
BRAMALEA CITY CENTRE	1490349	25 PEEL CENTRE DRIVE	BRAMPTON	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
PICKERING TOWN CENTRE	**924554**	**1355 KINGSTON ROAD**	**PICKERING**	**TORONTO**	**ONTARIO**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**
SOUTHCENTRE MALL	1100000	100 ANDERSON ROAD SOUTH EAST	CALGARY	CALGARY	ALBERTA	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Active Core
SQUARE ONE SHOPPING CENTRE	2000000	100 CITY CENTRE DRIVE	MISSISSAUGA	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
UPPER CANADA MALL	996183	17600 YONGE STREET	NEWMARKET	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
CF FAIRVIEW MALL	875459	1800 SHEPPARD AVENUE EAST	TORONTO	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb
CF PROMENADES ST-BRUNO	792502	1 BOULEVARD DES PROMENADES	SAINT-BRUNO-DE-MONTARVILLE	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
BAYSHORE SHOPPING CENTRE	881739	100 BAYSHORE DRIVE	OTTAWA	OTTAWA - GATINEAU	ONTARIO	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb	Transit Suburb
COQUITLAM CENTRE	935160	2929 BARNET HIGHWAY	COQUITLAM	VANCOUVER	BRITISH COLUMBIA	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
SCARBOROUGH TOWN CENTRE	**1600000**	**300 BOROUGH DRIVE**	**TORONTO**	**TORONTO**	**ONTARIO**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**	**Transit Suburb**
METROPOLIS AT METROTOWN	1573600	4720 KINGSWAY	BURNABY	VANCOUVER	BRITISH COLUMBIA	Transit Suburb	Active Core	Active Core
CF FAIRVIEW POINTE-CLAIRE	**1045178**	**6801 TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY**	**POINTE-CLAIRE**	**MONTRÉAL**	**QUÉBEC**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**	**Auto Suburb**
SUNRIDGE MALL	830000	2525 36TH STREET NORTH EAST	CALGARY	CALGARY	ALBERTA	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
WEST EDMONTON MALL	3800000	8882 170TH STREET NORTH WEST	EDMONTON	EDMONTON	ALBERTA	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Active Core
ERIN MILLS TOWN CENTRE	847532	5100 ERIN MILLS PARKWAY	MISSISSAUGA	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
YORKDALE SHOPPING CENTRE	2000000	3401 DUFFERIN STREET	TORONTO	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Transit Suburb	Active Core	Transit Suburb
LES PROMENADES GATINEAU	837368	1100 BOUL MALONEY OUEST	GATINEAU	OTTAWA - GATINEAU	QUÉBEC	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
CF MARKVILLE	941758	5000 HIGHWAY 7 EAST	MARKHAM	TORONTO	ONTARIO	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
PLACE ROSEMERE	891344	401 BOULEVARD LABELLE	ROSEMÈRE	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
PLACE VERTU	838039	3131 BOULEVARD DE LA COTE-VERTU	MONTRÉAL	MONTRÉAL	QUÉBEC	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb	Auto Suburb
CF MARKET MALL	971000	3625 SHAGANAPPI TRAIL NORTH WEST	CALGARY	CALGARY	ALBERTA	Auto Suburb	Active Core	Auto Suburb
PARK ROYAL NORTH AND SOUTH	**947958**	**2002 PARK ROYAL SOUTH**	**CAPILANO 5**	**VANCOUVER**	**BRITISH COLUMBIA**	**Transit Suburb**	**Active Core**	**Active Core**

Appendix 3: Satellite Photographs of Case Study Site Contexts

Chinook Centre

Fairview Pointe-Claire



Pickering Town Centre

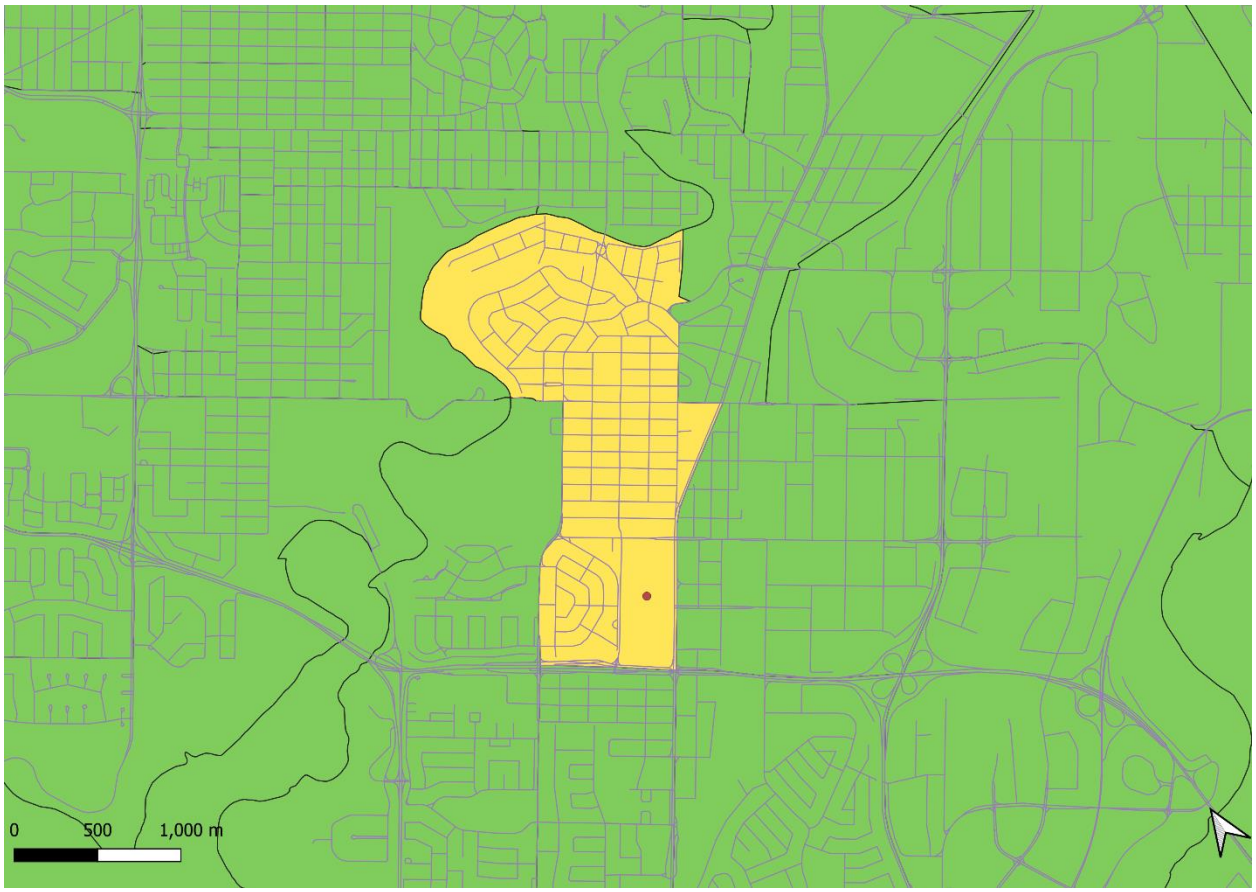
Scarborough Town Centre

Carrefour Angrignon

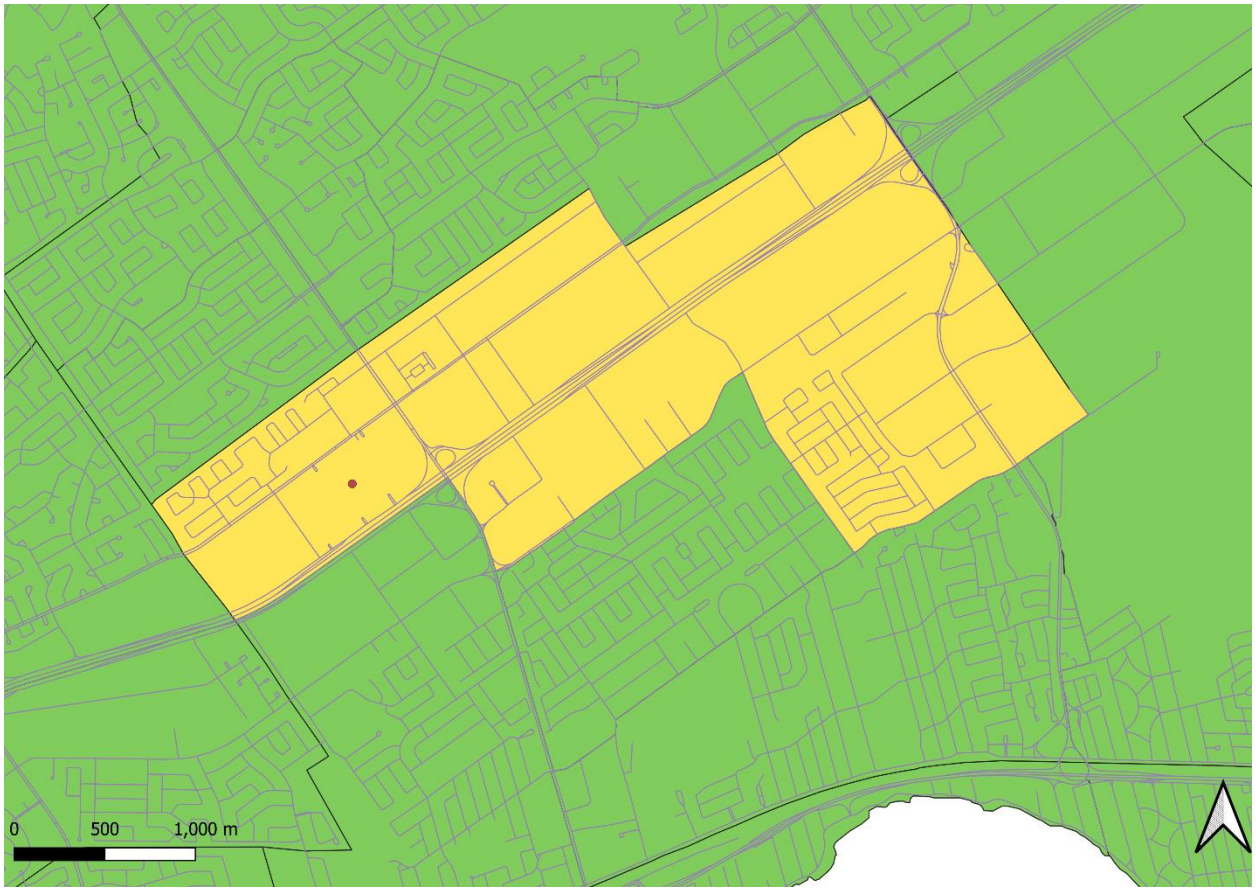
Park Royal

Appendix 4: Census Tract Boundaries Used for Synthesis

Chinook Centre

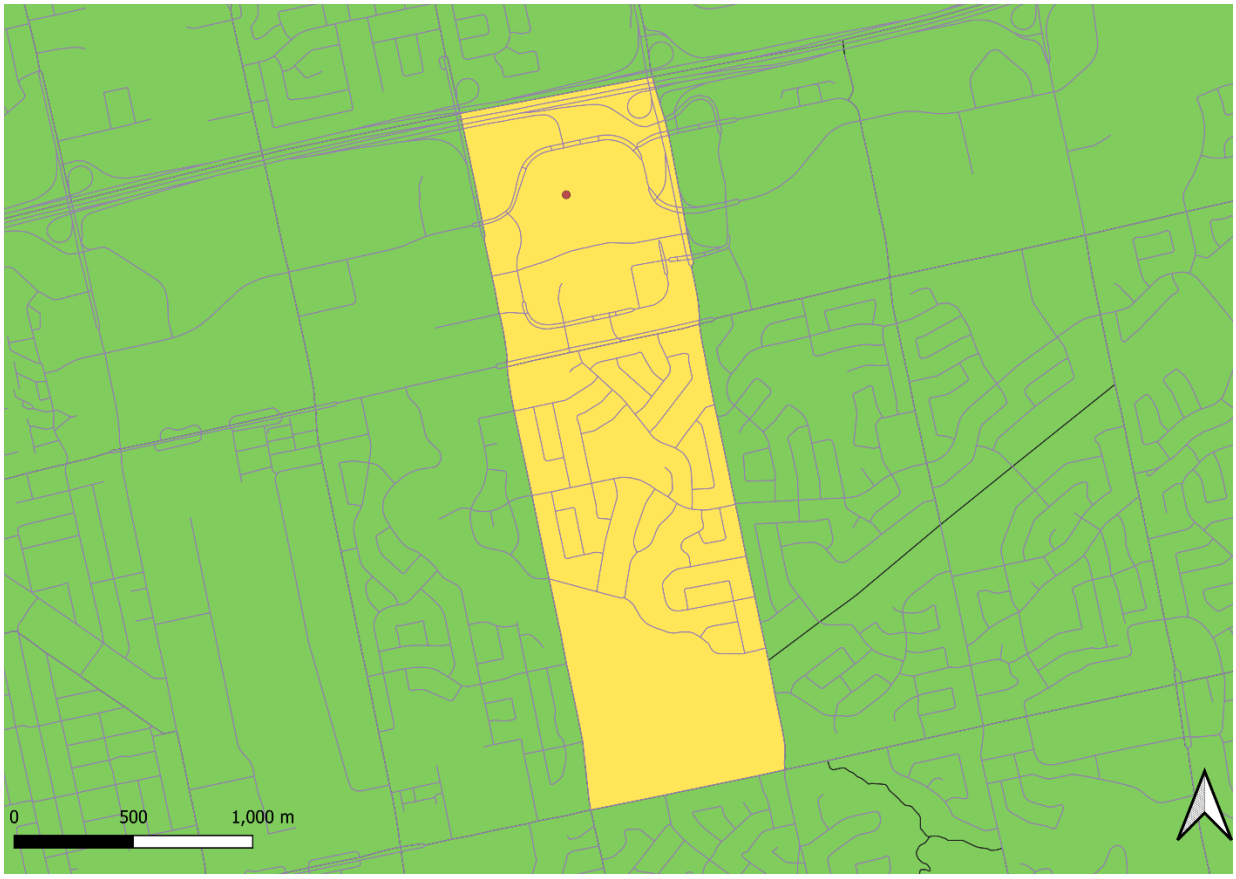


Fairview Pointe-Claire

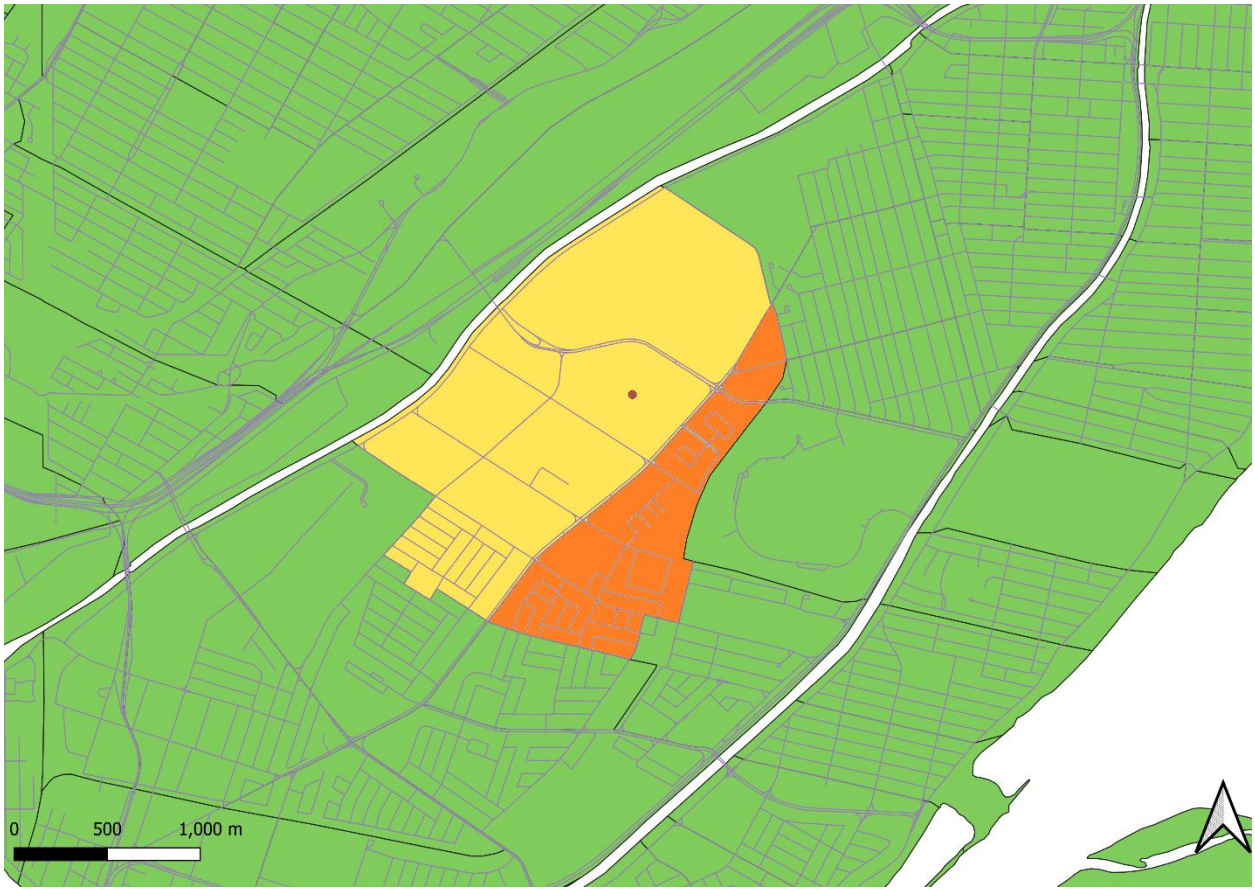


Pickering Town Centre

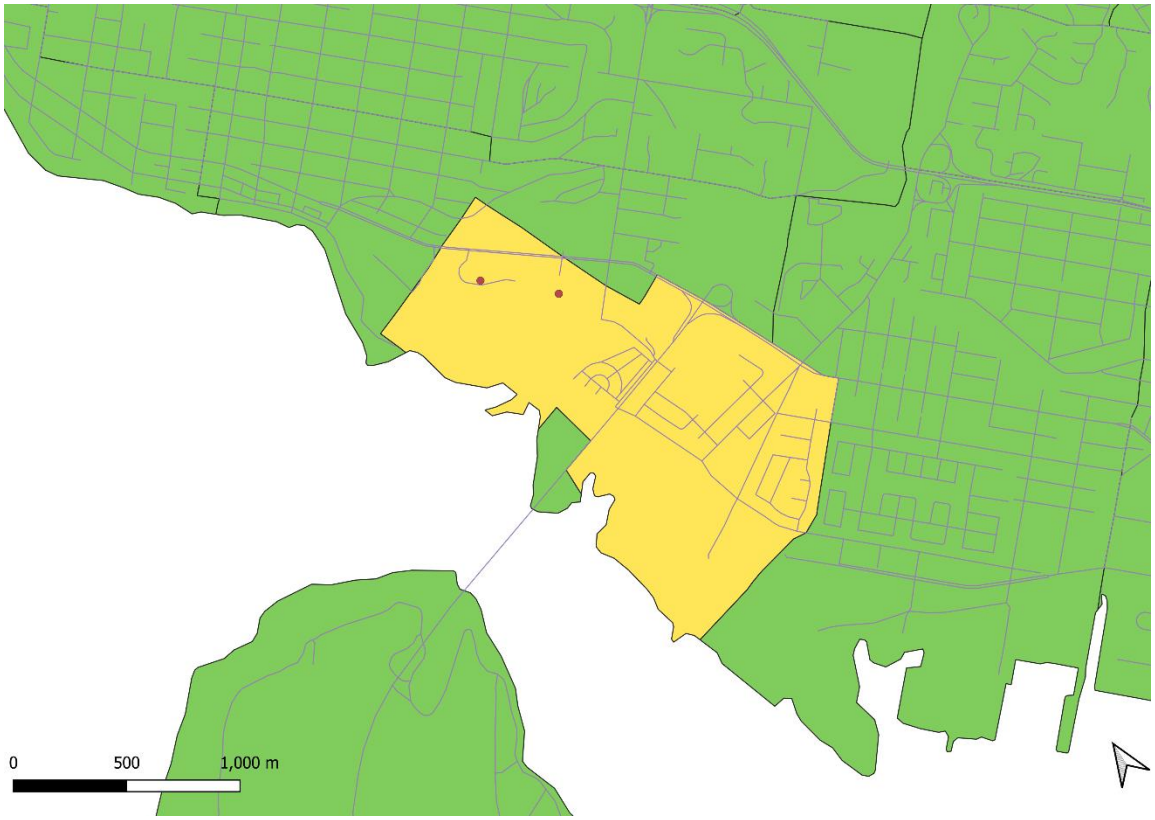
Scarborough Town Centre



Carrefour Angrignon A (in yellow) and B (in orange)



Park Royal



Park Royal Dissemination Area (Source: CensusMapper)