Planning New Urban Neighbourhoods:
Lessons from Toronto's
St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

J.David Hulchanski

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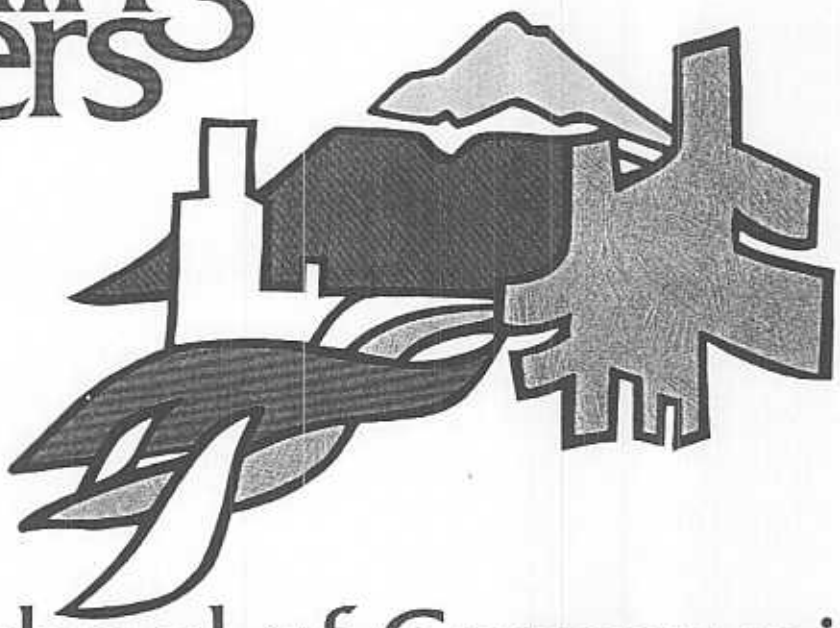

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Learning from St. Lawrence"

Planning New Urban Neighbourhoods:

Lessons from Toronto's St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

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Ten years ago people began moving into a new municipally developed residential district adjacent to downtown Toronto. The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, with its 3,500 housing units on 44 acres of previously industrial and under utilized land, continues to attract a great deal of attention from citizens and professional planners.[1]

When the decision was made to acquire the site, the City of Toronto identified four basic development goals: to create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate income; to provide housing in the central city; to ensure that redevelopment occurred in accordance with sound planning goals rather than ad hoc market forces; and to create a neighbourhood which would benefit from the historic buildings in the area and, in turn, revitalize what was once the Town of York.[2] In the first planning study for the St. Lawrence site, the planners felt that if the "social and physical considerations are handled with sensitivity and with imagination," St. Lawrence would "become a vital, dynamic and attractive new community on the edge of downtown Toronto."[3]

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1. See: J.D. Hulchanski (1984) *St. Lawrence and False Creek: A Review of the Planning and Development of Two New Inner City Neighbourhoods*, U.B.C. Planning Papers, Canadian Planning Issues #10, Vancouver: The University of British Columbia; C. Gray (1980) *The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood in Toronto: An Analysis of Municipal Housing Policy*, Papers on Planning and Design, Paper No. 22, Toronto: University of Toronto; and City of Toronto Housing Department (1979) *St. Lawrence 1974-1979*, Toronto.

2. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) *St. Lawrence*, May, pp. 7,9.

3. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) *St. Lawrence*, p. 9.

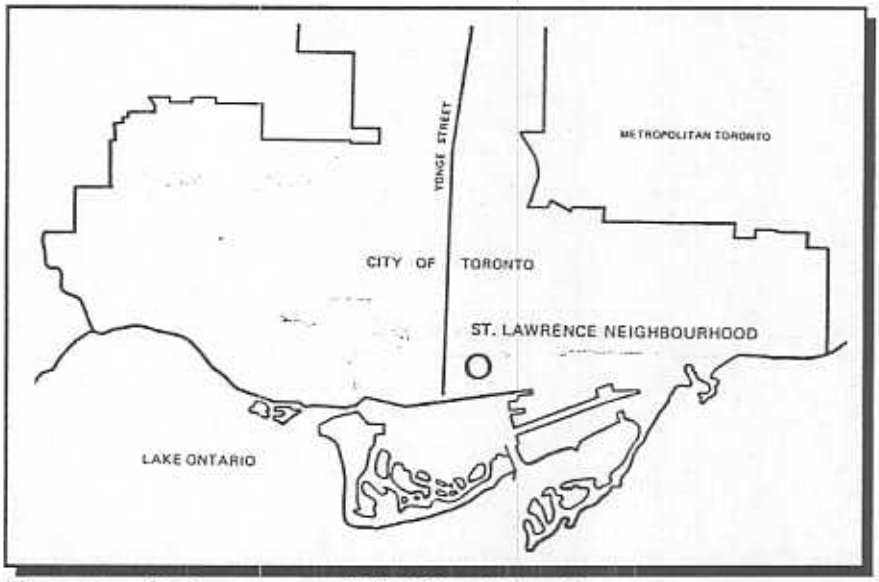

Figure 1 St. Lawrence and the City of Toronto

There are many large housing developments in Toronto. Some are much larger than St. Lawrence. Some are even called "neighbourhoods" rather than "housing projects." Is there something special about the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood? What has been achieved by the planners? Is St. Lawrence a "successful" example of community planning? What do we mean by "success"? What is St. Lawrence's contribution to the planning and design of new urban neighbourhoods? In short, what can we learn from the planning of St. Lawrence?

These are questions which can only be answered with the passage of time. Ten years is enough time to at least begin the process of learning from St. Lawrence.

1. The "Planners" of St. Lawrence: Who Were They?

Any review of the planning of St. Lawrence must start by identifying who these planners were. Rather than a small group of "experts," St. Lawrence had three groups of planners: the professional planners; the decision makers; and the citizens and community based organizations.

The group of *professional planners* included the usual team of urban planners, architects, and engineers -- the professionals paid to do the actual work in planning and designing the new neighbourhood. The *decision makers* included members of City Council as well as the senior municipal staff who gave the team of professional planners their orders. Rather than passively reviewing final development proposals, this group was actively involved in all important decisions relating to the nature of the new neighbourhood. City Council decided, even before selecting the site, to create a municipal Housing Department to implement its housing policy in order for Council and municipal staff to maintain full control over all decisions.[4]

4. For a discussion of the various reasons for creating the Housing Department, see C. Gray (1980).

Citizens and community-based organizations included the active and articulate individuals and groups who influenced the politicians and senior staff.

It is important, therefore, to recognize that references to the "planners" of St. Lawrence must include more than the first group -- the professional hired staff.

The fact that there were so many planners, especially so many from the third group, is critical. It permitted the development of a unique large project which violated many of the traditional approaches professional planners were using at the time to plan large scale residential projects. The St. Lawrence planning process was different. As a result, the product was different compared to most new neighbourhoods developed prior to the 1970s.

There is another positive feature of the St. Lawrence planning process. Some individuals were key members of more than one group. A number of professionals were elected to City Council in 1972 and 1974 when the important decisions on the nature of St. Lawrence were made. Some of the professionals who ended up planning and designing the new neighbourhood were active in the community and with the organizations which were in part responsible for helping elect some of the new members of City Council.

St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

Site acquisition approved: May 1974
Part I Official Plan approved: September 1975
Zoning for Phase A: October 1976
Construction of first building: November 1977
Occupancy of first units: June 1979

Site area: 44 acres
Total units: 3,520
Net Density: 123 units/acre
Gross Density: 78 units/acre
Maximum building density: 307 units/acre
Minimum building density: 53 units/acre
Social housing (non-market): 57%

Acquisition and development cost: $42 million
- Acquisition of site: $28.5 mil. (68%)
- Site preparation: $5.2 mil. (12%)
- Planning, design, legal consultants: $1.6 mil. (4%)
- Administration: $1 mil. (2%)
- Carrying costs: $5.8 mil. (14%)

Total Project Investment: $200 million (apporx.)
- Housing: $172.3 mil.
- Commercial space: $16 mil.
- Public garage: $6.5 mil.
- Parks: $1.5 mil.
- Roads and servicing: $3.7 mil.

The political context of the times is also an important factor to keep in mind in any review of the planning of St. Lawrence. Until the early 1970s, few professionals listened to "ordinary"

citizens. Few politicians paid close attention to the details of new projects. The "citizen participation in planning" movement began in the late 1960s and early 1970s and St. Lawrence is one of the earliest products of the close democratic interaction of community organizations, elected municipal officials, and professional planners.

2. What is "St. Lawrence"?

How can we "define" what St. Lawrence is? If we are dealing with something unique or different, we need to distinguish it from other large scale residential developments. One possible descriptive definition is the following: St. Lawrence is a new, municipally planned and developed, inner city, high density, socially mixed neighbourhood.

St. Lawrence is a new, municipally planned and developed, inner city, high density, socially mixed neighbourhood

(a) **New.** St. Lawrence is "new," in the sense of starting completely from scratch. There was no rehabilitation of existing residential units involved. There were no residential units or residential streets on the site.

(b) **Municipally Planned and Developed.** St. Lawrence is not a private sector project. It was not even developed as a unit by a private firm on behalf of the City of Toronto. St. Lawrence was initiated, planned and implemented by municipal government, in co-operation with all other levels of government, the private sector and community organizations (housing co-operatives, non-profit societies, and so on).

(c) **Inner City.** St. Lawrence is very close to downtown. It is on expensive land. It had few neighbouring residential amenities when the project was conceived. Its planners and the municipal decision makers decided to buck the North American trend of abandoning the inner city area as a potentially desirable residential environment. People living in downtown Toronto became one of the important central area planning objectives of the City. Social mix and housing for families with children in the central area were also objectives. Up to that time most large scale inner city residential projects were public housing urban renewal sites limited to the very poor.

(d) **High Density.** St. Lawrence is very high density. It is a large development in the number of units, rather than the size of the site. About 3,500 housing units have been put on 44 acres. This is an average gross density of 78 units/acre and a net density of 123 units/acre (individual buildings range from 307 to 53 units/acre).

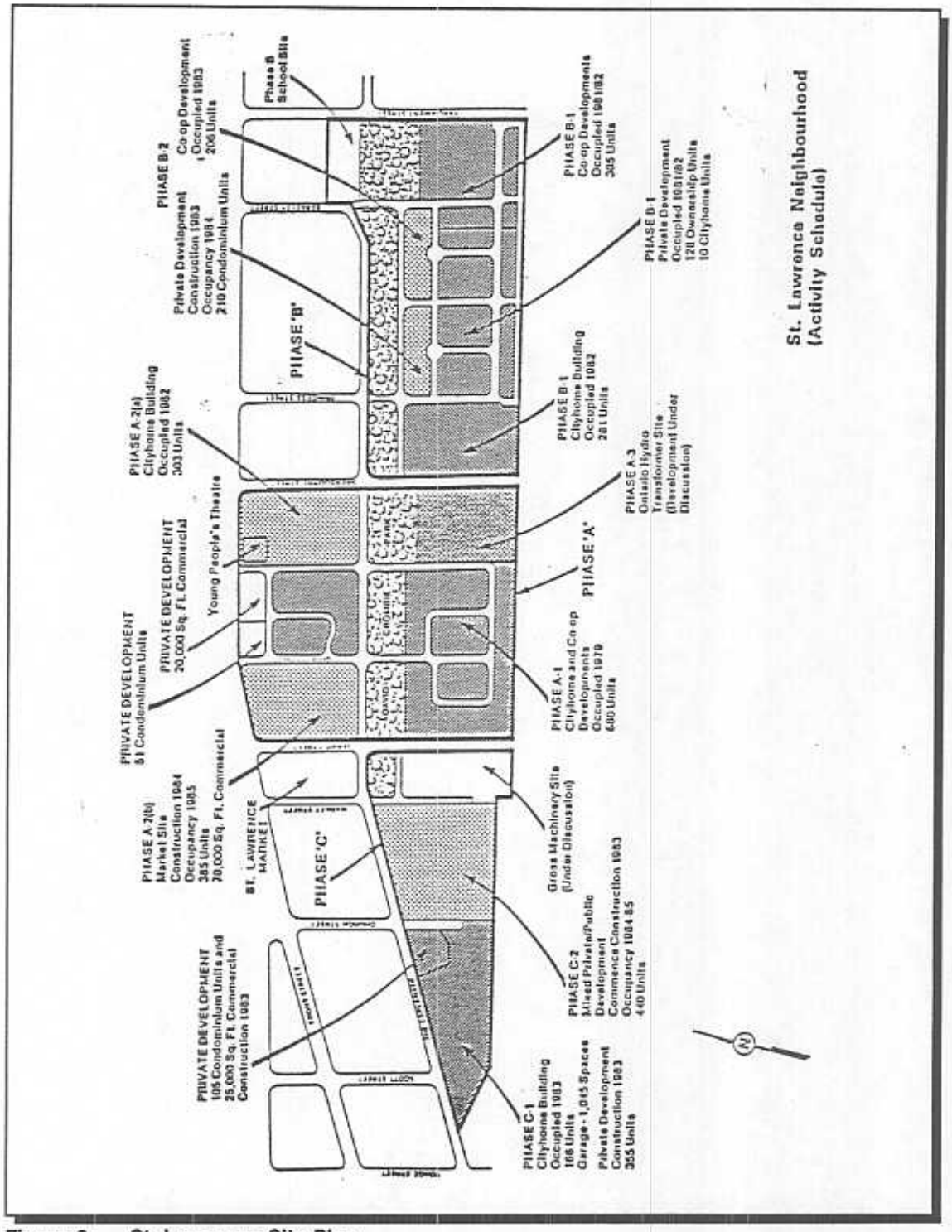

Figure 2 St. Lawrence Site Plan

(e) **Socially Mixed.** St. Lawrence is "democratic": it is open and accessible to all groups. It is not the exclusive residential domain of any one socio-economic group, whether rich or poor. Unlike most public and private sector housing projects before, and many since, St. Lawrence is not a socially homogeneous residential development.

(f) **Neighbourhood.** The intention of the St. Lawrence planners was to produce more than just a large housing project. They wanted to produce a "neighbourhood." This raises the question: what is a neighbourhood -- how do we know one when we see it? There is no objective way to answer this question. What makes a "project" a "neighbourhood" is similar to what makes a "house" a "home." It is largely up to the people who live there to make it one or the other. Whether a residential project is truly a neighbourhood in the social and community sense of the term is a personal, subjective call which can only be made by people who live there, visit there, or study it.

This six-part definition helps separate St. Lawrence from many other large scale residential developments. There are three main categories of "lessons" that the planning of St. Lawrence has to offer:

* the physical site plan and building form;
* the social planning decisions, especially the social mix; and
* the planning process itself.

Each of these was a departure from past methods and each is critical to the success of St. Lawrence as a new neighbourhood.

3. The Site Plan for St. Lawrence: It's Both New and Old

What is particularly unique about the St. Lawrence site plan is the decision to dogmatically impose a traditional grid street plan and to avoid the use of high rise point towers to achieve the very high density objective. Toronto's nineteenth century street pattern and streetscape

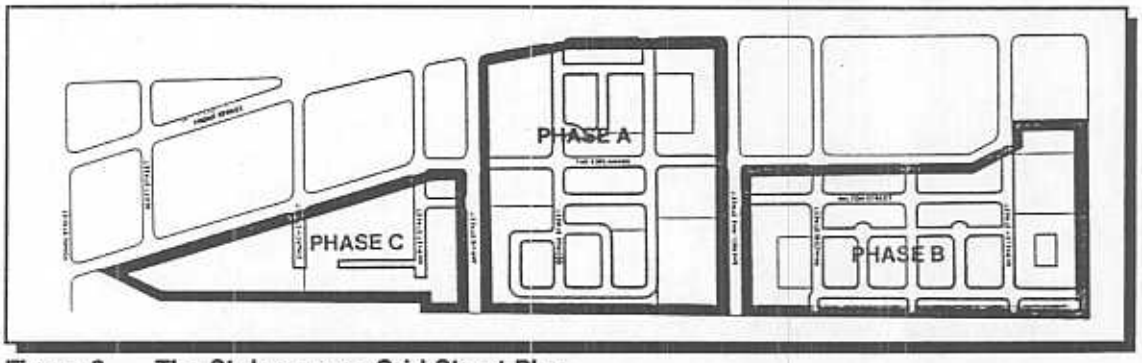

Figure 3 The St. Lawrence Grid Street Plan

served as the basic design guidelines. Buildings were to be street-related. The plan resulted in a pattern based on the City's original streets, a central linear park with adjacent playgrounds, three-storey row houses on the site's interior roads and buffered from the main traffic arteries by higher density, eight to ten storey apartment buildings.

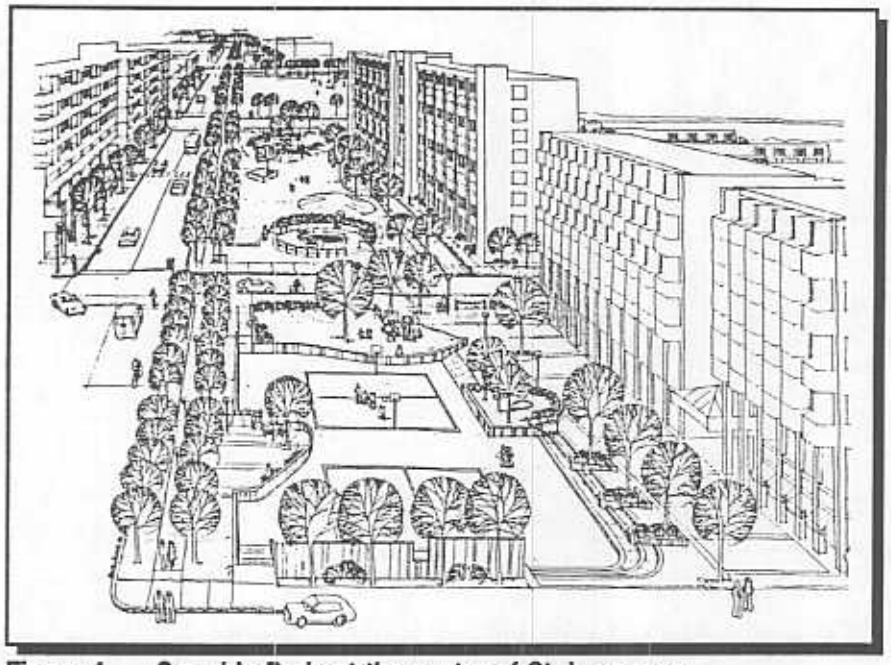

Figure 4 Crombie Park, at the centre of St. Lawrence

This was a break with much of modern planning history. Throughout the twentieth century planners have been trying to move developers of subdivisions away from the grid -- the cheapest, quickest, most efficient way of dividing up land for development purposes. Planning regulations for post-war suburbs, as a result, generally require curved road systems. As more redevelopment of existing urban areas began to occur, planners and architects usually succeeded in having the existing streets eliminated and replaced with "superblocks" -- buildings surrounded with open space and no longer street-related.

At the very start of the site planning process in 1974, decisions were made to retain the existing streets running through the site with their "existing uses, character and scale." More minor existing streets and older buildings were to be "respected." The movement system was to be designed to resemble other Toronto neighbourhoods and prevent St. Lawrence from becoming an "isolated neighbourhood." In short, the project was to be designed in keeping with the most favoured characteristics of Toronto's inner city residential neighbourhoods. There was to be one exception: it was proposed that the design provide a site with a "major neighbourhood focus" such as a city square, something not commonly found in Toronto neighbourhoods.[5] The result is an eight-acre six block long park (18% of the site) located at the centre of the neighbourhood.

This design concept of street-related development had been proposed earlier in the new City

5. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) *St. Lawrence Status Report*, Nov., pp. 114-115, 120.

Council's first statement of its housing policy as a means of integrating public projects with their surroundings.[6] Throughout the planning of St. Lawrence, this emphasis appeared to be more concerned with avoiding the traditional image of public housing than with any real positive attributes associated with a grid street pattern. The grid was seen as having some practical positive attributes given the location of the St. Lawrence site. The planners felt that respecting the city's traditional street grid would "achieve two important planning goals."

> "First, it 'blurs' the interface between the new development and the older City fabric, thus avoiding gross physical demarcation. Second, it provides a recognizable street pattern (an hierarchy) which is understood by those who live in the City."[7]

The decision to maintain the grid street system was one of the most fundamental site plan decisions made and affected the entire design of the project. It was a decision which was made almost naturally, that is, without much debate or consideration. It was simply assumed to be the best approach, an assumption shared by all three groups of planners (the professionals, the influential politicians, and the influential citizens). Underlining this decision was a clear philosophical rejection of "modernist" approaches to urban design and architecture. This rejection was a common theme in the early 1970s of the urban reform movement in general. Almost all urban renewal projects and all the public housing projects of the 1950s and 1960s used the "superblock" design concept, obliterating existing street patterns and buildings in favour of a strict separation of vehicles and pedestrians and imposing a new non-grid layout for traffic, pedestrians and buildings.

Other municipally planned and developed large scale residential projects of the 1970s tend to be based on the superblock and the separation of pedestrians and traffic. For example, the Bijlmermeer district of Amsterdam was designed to incorporate all the desirable site planning and design features -- according to the conventional planning wisdom of the day -- in order to be attractive to the middle class (see Figure 1). The middle class was to be attracted out of Amsterdam's older neighbourhoods into this new highly desirable neighbourhood, thereby freeing up the older -- and prior to the gentrification trend -- cheaper apartments. The new neighbourhood for 100,000 people (ten times the size of St. Lawrence) has ninety percent of its residential units in similar looking high rise blocks laid out in a honeycomb pattern. Traffic and pedestrians are strictly separated. The buildings were designed in part to suit industrial construction methods (making it possible to build about 2,500 flats at a time).[8] For a variety of reasons, which start with the site plan and building form decisions, the Bijlmermeer

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6. City of Toronto Housing Work Group (1973) *Living Room: An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking for the City of Toronto*, Dec.

7. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) *St. Lawrence Status Report*, p. 110.

8. Amsterdam Physical Planning Department (1983) *Amsterdam: Planning and Development*, City of Amsterdam, pp. 71-73.

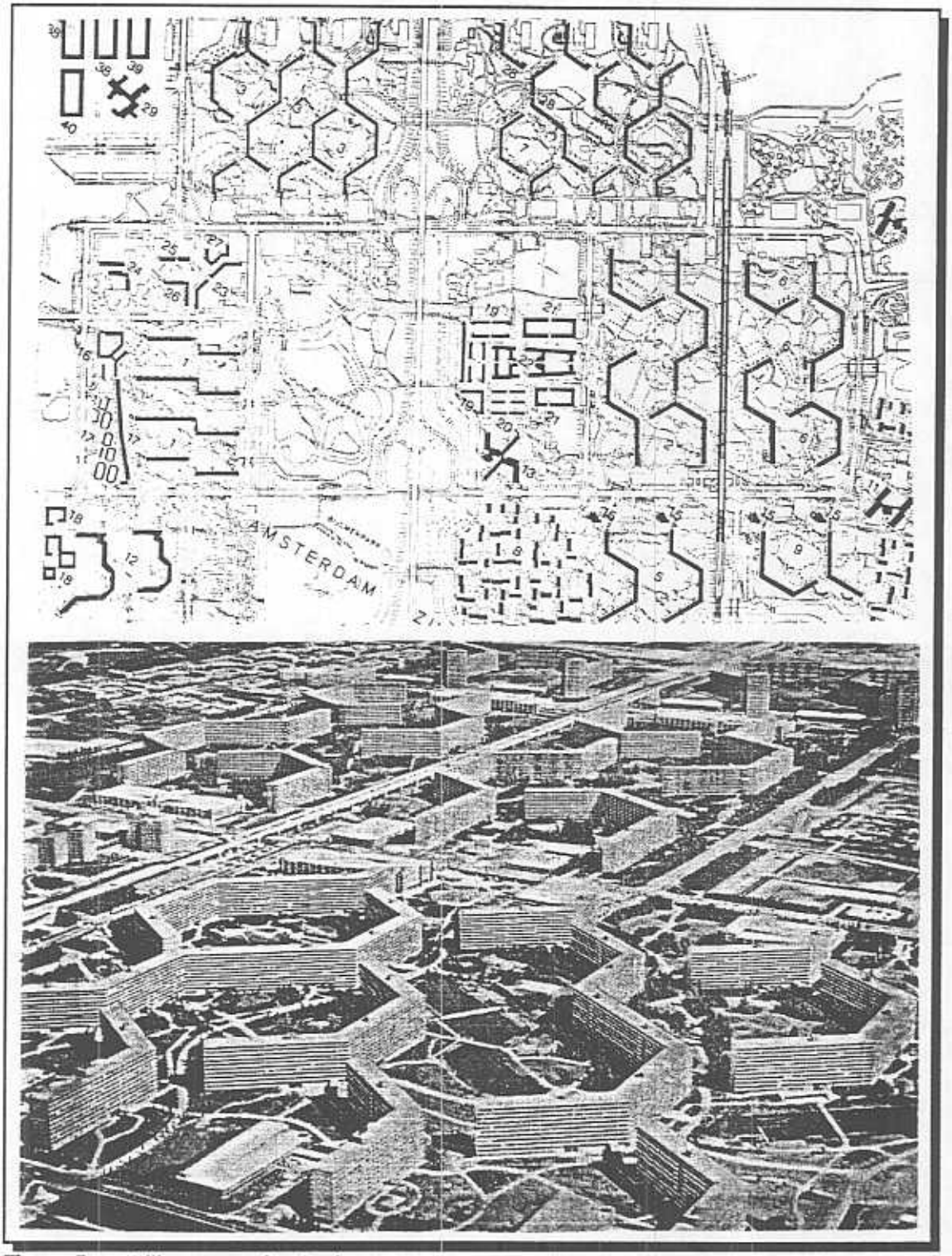

Figure 5 *Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam*

is considered to be one of the great neighbourhood planning disasters of the 1970s. Many people only live in the district as a last resort.

Failures such as the Bijlmermeer are often attributed to the need to accommodate high density development. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, some might argue, to develop a new neighbourhood at a very high density, especially one which will have a great deal of assisted housing. St. Lawrence demonstrates, however, that there is a way to successfully achieve high densities.

In Osaka, where densities higher than Toronto are expected, the decision by the municipality to redevelop an inner city area like the St. Lawrence site has resulted in a residential density which is about half that of St. Lawrence. The Yodogawa Riverside District Project (see Figure 2), planned at about the same time as St. Lawrence by the Osaka City Government, and now in its final implementation stage, will contain almost as many housing units as St. Lawrence (3,230 units) but on twice the site (88 acres). "The aim of the project," according to city planning authorities, "is to construct a comfortable residential area with a population of roughly 10,000 by...constructing 3,200 good quality dwellings proximate to the workplace and comprehensively providing public facilities, such as roads, parks and school."[9] As Table 1 indicates, the different density is related to the different land use distribution. Only 46% of the Osaka site is residential. Roads occupy almost twice as much space in the Osaka project even though a grid street pattern was not used and the "park" land use category in the Osaka project refers to the open space around the highrise slabs as well as the actual dedicated parks. The net density is only 80 units per

	St. Lawrence	Yodogawa
Housing Units	3,519	3,230
Site Area	44 acres	88 acres
Gross Density	78 u/a	37 u/a
Net Density	123 u/a	80 u/a
Land Use		
Residential	70 %	46 %
Parks	18 %	26 %
Roads	12 %	21 %
Other	—	7 %

Figure 6 Comparison: St. Lawrence and Yodogawa

9. Osaka City Government (1984) *Redevelopment Project for Yodogawa Riverside District*, Osaka.

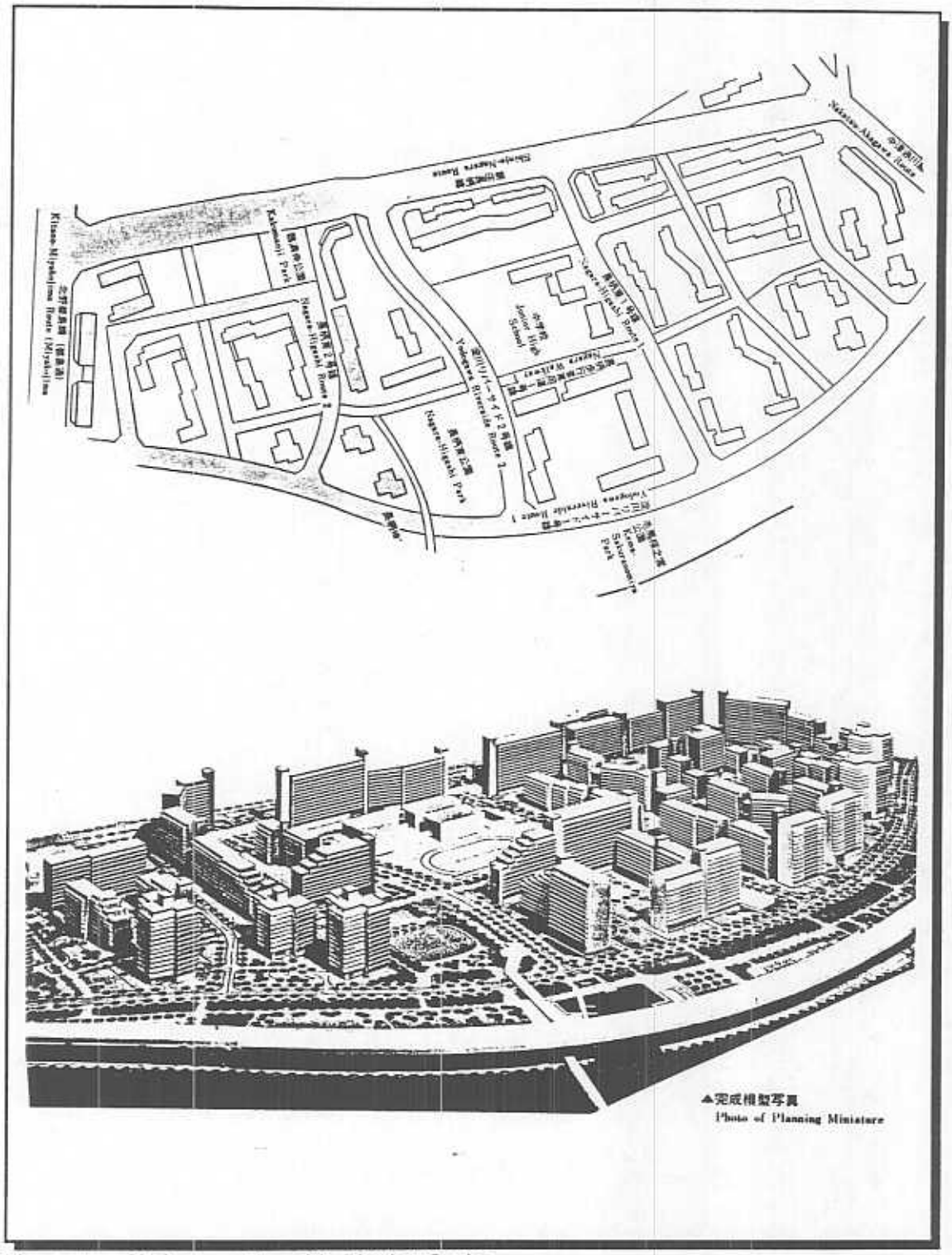

Figure 7 Yodogawa Riverside District, Osaka

acre, compared to the St. Lawrence net density of 123 units per acre, even though all the housing is in 12 to 15 storey high rise blocks. It can be argued that the Osaka site does not use the land as efficiently as St. Lawrence. It can also be argued that St. Lawrence is a much more desirable neighbourhood than Yodogawa, even though the overall density is double. St. Lawrence proves that two basic precepts of modern planning are myths: (1) that the grid is less efficient than the curvilinear street pattern; and (2) that high-rise development is necessary to produce high density.

The decision in Toronto to go back to the traditional 19th century urban development pattern seems to be a product unique to Toronto at that time. While this point about using the grid, bringing back the street and the sidewalk, may seem rather natural and obvious to many Canadian planners today, the St. Lawrence planners were charting a new course back in the 1970s. They almost totally rejected the conventional post-war approaches to planning large scale residential districts. They threw away much of what was being taught in planning, architecture and urban design courses about large residential projects. If they had not, a project like Yodogawa may have resulted. At the time this was a dramatic, bold, high risk decision. Having thrown away the textbooks, they had to write their own new textbook. But it was not all that new. They were rediscouvering the old text which had been trashed by modern planners and architects. This is one of the unique contributions of the planning of St. Lawrence.

The St. Lawrence planners threw away much of what was being taught in planning, architecture and urban design courses about large scale residential projects. If they had not, a project like Yodogawa may have resulted.

While physical site planning decisions are very important, they are not sufficient. Many projects of the 1950s and 1960s failed to do more than physical planning. The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is significant because of its attention to social planning considerations.

4. Social Planning for St. Lawrence: A Rejection of the Past

St. Lawrence is a socially mixed neighbourhood. Few neighbourhoods, new or old, are socially mixed. "Residential differentiation," the academic term for social segregation, is the norm. The majority of neighbourhoods tend to have one predominant housing type and tenure with one predominant socio-economic class of resident. There are always a few totally mixed neighbourhoods in most cities and a few undergoing transition at any time. Most, however, are socially segregated.

The St. Lawrence social mix objective incorporated many elements: age; income; tenure; household size; household type; families with children. Social mix was a major goal. St. Lawrence's social mix decisions amount to a total rejection of the conventional 1950s and 1960s practice whereby public sector urban residential projects were the segregated enclaves of the very poor and private sector urban residential projects were the segregated enclaves of higher income households.

'Social mix' is a planning principle which addresses fundamental justice and equity considerations. The issue is one of democracy: equal access to a basic necessity (housing) in a good quality living environment (neighbourhood). The goal is to be inclusive, not exclusive.

There is much discussion about and a great deal of literature on what is meant by "social mix" and why it is or is not desirable. My approach to this is very simple: "social mix" is a planning principle which addresses fundamental justice and equity considerations. To develop a large residential project, whether it is by a public or private sector developer, that creates a segregated district based on income, age, tenure, or household status is just as bad as creating racially or religiously segregated districts. The issue is one of democracy: equal access to a basic necessity (housing) in a good quality living environment (neighbourhood). The goal is to be inclusive, not exclusive. Most private sector residential projects pride themselves on being "exclusive" and use it as a marketing feature. The St. Lawrence planners sought to achieve the opposite. The first of the four goals for St. Lawrence focused explicitly on the development of housing for all groups: "to create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate incomes."[10]

By creatively mixing tenures, market and non-market housing, and house types, the St. Lawrence social mix objectives have been successfully achieved. This begs the question: What is a "good" social mix? There is, and can be, no quantitative answer to what is a "good" or appropriate social mix for a large new neighbourhood. An attempt to replicate the age, income and household size and type distribution in the city or region, with some emphasis on special needs groups, is as good as any formula.[11]

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10. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) *St. Lawrence*, p. 7.

11. The False Creek South neighbourhood, a 1,700 unit new neighbourhood very similar to St. Lawrence in terms of municipal planning objectives, used the region's demographic profile as the social mix target. This target was achieved. See: City of Vancouver Planning Department (1989) *Evaluation of False Creek South Social Objectives*, July.

The reason "social mix" has become a popular planning principle in these days of widespread citizen participation in planning issues, is that the real estate market is not "democratic:" it is not accessible and does not even try to be accessible to all. The unregulated market produces "exclusive" districts based on the ability to pay. The early public housing projects did the same in the opposite direction: based on the inability to pay. Separate segregated worlds were being created. In expensive urban areas such as the St. Lawrence site a public policy choice had to be made: will the logic of the market be allowed to prevail; or will another logic be adopted?

If allowed to continue without any intervention in the form of regulations and non-market housing supply programs, the logic of the market means the eventual locational segregation of the population based on income. This is something the St. Lawrence planners rejected. This was one of the fears in the early 1970s which led to St. Lawrence's social planning objectives.

Finally, in any discussion of social mix, it is important to distinguish between physical and actual social integration. Physical integration exists when heterogeneous groups of people occupy adjacent physical space. This creates the potential for actual social integration.

St. Lawrence was planned so as to achieve the former. Broader social engineering was not part of the concept in the establishment of social mix criteria. The objective was the more modest, realistic and appropriate one of: a) permitting the full range of social groups to have an opportunity to live in the neighbourhood; and (b) avoiding the creation of a project atmosphere, which could occur if the neighbourhood was designed for one socio-economic group. The social and tenure mix objectives, therefore, stem from a planning philosophy which argues that residential areas, especially those being designed from scratch, should reflect, within

St. Lawrence achieved its social mix by carefully planning the range of housing types and tenures.
In spite of the high land values, a significant proportion of family units with grade access was achieved: 16%, approximately 575 units.
There is a thorough mix of tenure types: 39% condominium apartments; 30% non-profit co-operatives and private non-profit rental; 27% municipal non-profit, non-market rental; 4% ownership townhouses.
Almost sixty percent of the units are various forms of non-market, non-profit housing, ensuring long term affordability for low and moderate income households.

themselves and in their immediate surroundings, the variety and mix of the wider physical and social world. A mix of housing types, sizes, costs and tenures can accommodate changing life styles and life cycles. Residents have a choice of staying within their area as their requirements change. Large projects like Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer and Osaka's Yodogawa do not provide this mix and these options.

St. Lawrence achieved its social mix by carefully planning the range of housing types and tenures. In spite of the high central area land values, a significant proportion of family units with grade access was achieved: 16%, approximately 575 units. There is a thorough mix of tenure types: 39% condominium apartments; 30% non-profit co-operatives and private non-profit rental; 27% municipal non-profit rental; 4% ownership townhouses. Almost sixty percent of the units are various forms of non-market, non-profit housing, ensuring long term affordability for low and moderate income households. The unit allocation regulations governing the municipal, private and co-op non-profit units further ensures that lower income households and families with children will continue to live in St. Lawrence. Displacement by gentrification is impossible in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

It is, therefore, the non-profit and co-op housing programs which enabled the St. Lawrence planners to achieve their social mix objectives. The income mix within the individual non-profits and co-ops in St. Lawrence helps ensure that there is not a huge gap between a very poor group of residents receiving housing assistance and a very wealthy group able to buy condominiums and townhouses in the central area.

Open democratic processes are loaded with difficulties and inefficiencies and real or perceived injustices by one group or another. We have much to learn from a careful review of the St. Lawrence planning process: what to do and what not to do the next time. It is the three groups of planners acting in this sometimes 'messy' and 'inefficient' process that helped make St. Lawrence what it is today.

5. The Planning Process: Open and Democratic

The third of the three key aspects of planning a new neighbourhood is the process by which the planning is done. Here St. Lawrence is also a departure from the past. St. Lawrence is not the product of a small group of professionals working in their offices and then delivering a final design for implementation. Nor were the decision makers, the elected officials and the senior municipal staff, involved in a passive way merely at the approval stage. As noted earlier, three

groups of "planners" were involved. St. Lawrence was planned by a broad range of people for a broad range of people. A very different process, leading to very different outcomes.

This can be seen when we contrast St. Lawrence with other large scale residential projects.

Question: Were Regent Park North or South, Moss Park, Alexandra Park -- or any of the large urban renewal public housing projects which preceded St. Lawrence -- the result of a planning process like St. Lawrence?

Question: What kind of planning process created St. Jamestown -- or similar very large scale private sector high rise projects? [12]

Question: Do any of the planners and decision makers involved in producing the Regent Parks and St. Jamestown's live in these projects? Did any of them ever intend to live in them, or to hope to have any of their family or friends ever live in them? Would they want to move there now?

It was because the planning process was open and democratic that good decisions were made: the more humane approach to the site plan and building form; and the democratic nature of the target population (the social mix). It was a process that helped produce something which is not a Regent Park, a St. Jamestown, a Bijlmermeer or a Yodogawa. St. Lawrence is a place where some of the planners would want to live and some, in fact, do live.

Could St. Lawrence have been produced without this planning process? My answer is no. A number of special interests or old attitudes or simple incompetence could have risen up through the

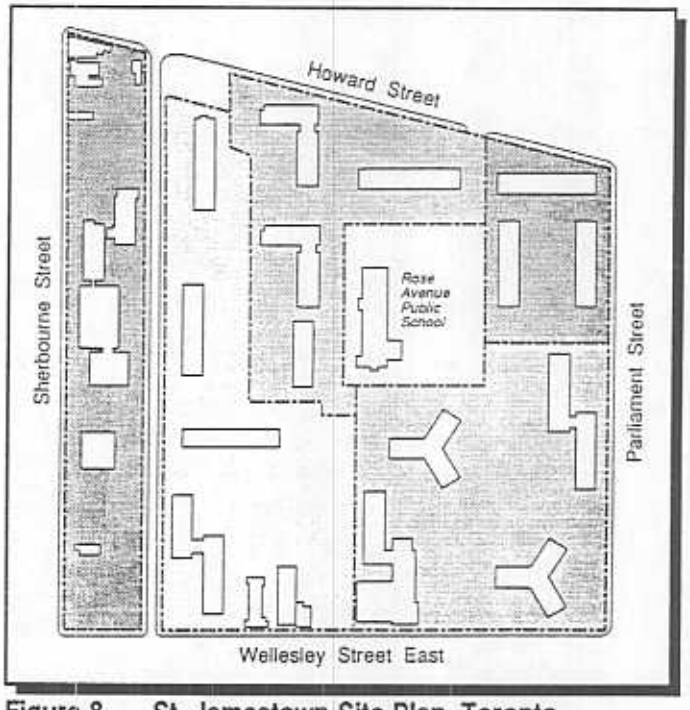

Figure 8 St. Jamestown Site Plan, Toronto

12. St. Jamestown, a private sector project designed and developed during the 1960's, consists of 18 high-rise apartment towers with 7,000 units housing about 12,000 people on 32.1 acres. At a gross density of 374 people per acre (218 units per acre) it is one the most densely populated residential areas in Canada. See: Barbara Sanford (1988) *St. Jamestown Revitalization: Social Analysis*, Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

various stages of the decision making process, leading to compromises or serious errors we would now be complaining about. This is not to imply that the planning process was perfect and free from conflicts and difficulties. Open democratic processes are loaded with difficulties and inefficiencies and real or perceived injustices by one group or another. We have much to learn from a careful review of the St. Lawrence planning process: what to do and what not to do next time. It is the three groups of planners acting in this sometimes "messy" and "inefficient" process that helped make St. Lawrence what it is today, and not another St. Jamestown, Regent Park, Bijlmermeer or Yodogawa.

6. Summary

St. Lawrence is a neighbourhood planned by an open public process, developed by a public authority, the City of Toronto, and achieved important public policy objectives relating to housing needs. The planners -- all three groups of planners -- have succeeded in developing a successful new high density inner city neighbourhood.

There is much we can learn from more detailed studies of the various aspects of the planning of St. Lawrence. The neighbourhood does have many important lessons to offer other planners of other large scale residential developments. As is the case with much of our built environment, there are rarely any follow-up studies once people move in. Some effort is now being made to learn from the achievements and mistakes of St. Lawrence, but there should be much more follow-up.

St. Lawrence demonstrates that public planning of large development projects in an open democratic fashion can be successful and that desirable high density socially mixed neighbourhoods can be developed by a municipality.

At a general level, this paper has identified the importance of the physical site plan and building form, the social planning decisions, especially the social mix, and the planning process itself. Each of these was a significant departure from past methods of planning large scale residential developments. St. Lawrence demonstrates that public planning of large development projects in an open democratic fashion can be successful and that desirable high density socially mixed neighbourhoods can be developed by a municipality.

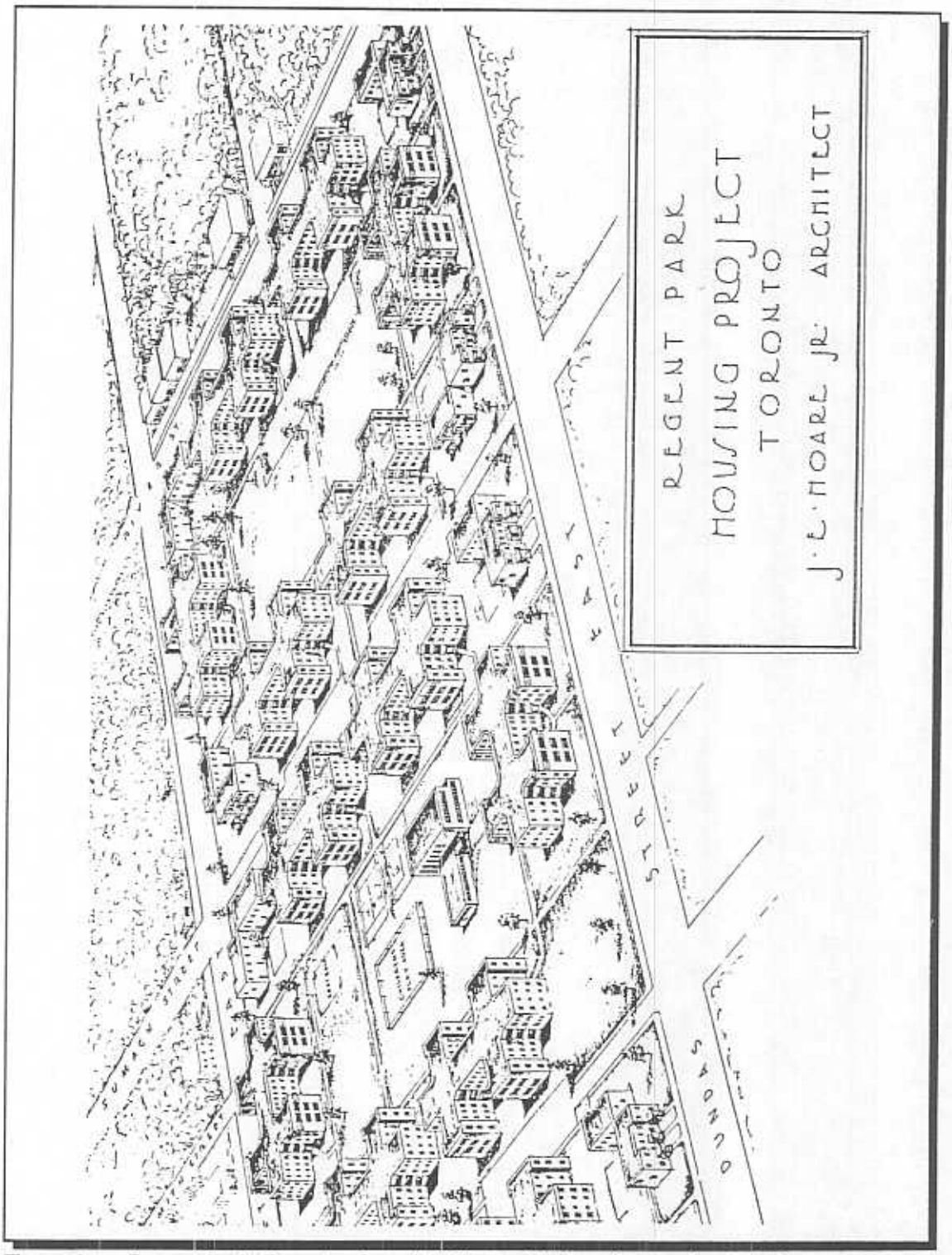

Figure 9 Regent Park, Toronto, Canada's first public housing project (1948)