Social mixing strategies in Montreal

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Information

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Summary

The central metropolitan region of Montreal has adopted its first regional plan in December 2012. This 'Plan Métropolitain d'Aménagement et de Développement' describes the desire of the metropolitan region to transform into an attractive, competitive and sustainable region by the year of 2031. The main goal of the urban development is to create a sustainable living environment for all its inhabitants with a high quality of life standard. This goal has to be achieved through the implementation of multiple strategies, of which one will be looked at in this research: Social mixing. Social mixing simply means that an environment is created where all residents are included, ultimately leading to more social equity. With the ongoing gentrification of the inner city neighbourhoods (the replacement of the lower income class by the middle and higher income class) this social equity is impoverishing. The pressure on the social and affordable housing market is becoming bigger by rising property values and rent prices, leading to the exclusion of residents from their living environment. Social mixing strategies could play an important role in preventing this exclusion.

The main goal of the research is therefore to see if social mixing strategies should be stimulated and if so, if the local government should regulate mixing strategies or if it regulates itself through the market, meaning that private developers develop sufficient appropriate housing units for all residents in inner city neighbourhoods. This leads to the following research question:

To what extend should social mixing be stimulated and should this be done through government regulation or through market principle?

To answer this question a literature and an empirical study were done. But before the results of these two parts are discussed it is important to look at the government structure in Montreal. The conclusion from the policy analysis is that all five government levels create a policy frame, but that the boroughs do the actual implementation of these policies. Resulting in different approaches between boroughs.

In the literature study the main concepts that are of importance to this research were discussed. Quality of life is an essential concept in the sense that it should measure the success of applied social mixing strategies. Quality of life is in this research defined as: *a notion of human welfare (well-being) measured by social indicators and by quantitative measures of income and production*. Four different types of social mixing strategies can be identified in the literature. The first is socio economic mixing, which looks solely at the income level of residents. The second, tenure mixing, is a mix based on housing units for sale and units for rent. The third, household mixing, is a mix based on different types of households such as families, aged people, single person households etc. The fourth and last, ethno cultural

mixing, is mixing based on a person's ethnicity. To help achieve the desired social mix, inclusionary policies can be used. The main goal of inclusionary policies is to create social inclusion, through which a higher social equity can then be achieved.

The empirical analysis was done through a comparative case study in two boroughs, Sud Ouest and Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Both boroughs are located close to the city center of Montreal. First, a statistical analysis of the 2006 Canada census tract data was performed; the results are visualized in 10 thematic maps. Second, a round of semi-structured interviews with 11 actors was performed. The results of the empirical section are now briefly discussed. From the statistical analysis it became evident that:

- The areas are quite similar in population density, housing density, household types, total number of children and age groups and have a rather large concentration of low-income residents. The similarity between boroughs is interesting since both boroughs have a different approach to social mixing.
- Two big differences between Sud Ouest and CDN-NDG are found. First the ethno cultural mix, with 25% immigrants in Sud Ouest versus 50% immigrants in CDN. Second the tenure mix. Not between buying versus renting units, but within the renting segment. Sud Ouest is the borough with the highest % social and affordable housing units in the city of Montreal and is 4 times as high as the percentage in CDN-NDG.

From the interviews it became evident that:

- Social mixing is desired, since housing prices have skyrocketed. It is also problematic that access to services in new residential developments is lacking.
- That social mixing strategies should be applied on borough scale over project basis and that especially socio economic, tenure and household mixing should be stimulated. It also became apparent that social mixing does not have a direct positive impact on polarization.
- A better-regulated inclusionary policy is necessary since the current form is ineffective in providing sufficient social and affordable housing. This policy has to be regulated on city level, but implemented by the several boroughs.
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The conclusion of this research is that it is necessary to stimulate social mixing, not to directly improve the quality of life but to prevent social exclusion and create a better social equity. It is especially necessary to socially mix on socio economic, tenure and household types (retaining and attracting families). Social mixing should be done by private developers, through the market principle, with the help of a better-defined inclusionary policy frame. This frame should be regulated on city level, creating more uniformity and transparency for all boroughs. The implementation should be done by the different boroughs. They have a better view on the composition, social tissue and identity of a neighbourhood.

Preface

This research report is the result of the final part of my master's degree program in Urban and Regional planning (Planologie) at the University of Utrecht. The research was performed in combination with an internship at Rayside Labossière, an architecture, design and urban design company based in Montreal Canada. The goal of the research is to analyze social mixing strategies in inner city neighbourhoods; this was done by performing two case studies in the city of Montreal, in the Côte-des-Neiges and in the Sud Ouest boroughs.

Hereby I would like to thank a few people that made it possible for me to complete this research. First I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Stan Geertman for all the useful feedback on my writing. Second I would like to thank Rayside Labossière for offering me the opportunity to do a 6-month internship in Montreal and especially Christelle Proulx-Cormier as my internship supervisor and Philipe Cossette for the endless help with QGIS. Finally I would like to thank all the people that participated in the empirical part of the research for their willingness and time to give me relevant information during the interviews.

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List of abbreviations

During this research several abbreviations were used. To give a clear overview of these abbreviations and to make the read easier they are listed here with their definition.

CDC-CDN	Corporation de Développement Communautaire de Côte-des-Neige
CDN	Côte-des-Neiges
CDN-NDG	Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce
CMA	Central Metropolitan Area
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CMM	Communauté Métropolitain de Montréal
CSDM	Commission scolaire de Montréal
FECHIMM	Fédération des coopératives d'habitation intermunicipale du Montréal métropolitain
FRAPRU	Front d'Action Populaire en Réaménagement Urbain
GIS	Geographical Information System
OMHM	Office Municipal d'Habitation de Montréal
PAMLSA	Plan d'Action Métropolitain pour le Logement Social et Abordable
PMAD	Plan Métropolitain d'Aménagement et de Développement
POPIR	Projet d'Organisation Populaire, d'Information et de Regroupement
PSMAD	Schéma Métropolitain d'Aménagement et de Développement
PU	Plan d'Urbanisme
RESO	Regroupement économique et social du Sud Ouest
SHQ	Société d'Habitation Québec
TACS	Tous pour l'Aménamegemt du Centre-Sud
TOD	Transport Oriented Developement

1. Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In Montreal regional planning is a rather new discipline, much so that there hadn't been an official regional committee for the metropolitan area of Montreal until the creation of the 'Communauté Métropolitain de Montréal' (CMM) in 2001 (CMM & STM, 2001). A first attempt at making a regional plan for the metropolitan area of Montreal in 2005 resulted in the creation of the 'Schéma métropolitain d'aménagement et de développement' (PSMAD), this plan was never put in to action. There was too much criticism on the content of the plan by certain municipalities of the metropolitan area of Montreal, especially the municipalities to the North and South of Montreal criticized the PSMAD because in their eyes the CMM was going to limit their powers regarding urban planning, but they also contested the idea that to stimulate the economy of the metropolitan area a concentration of activities would take place in the centre of the agglomeration. This impasse between the CMM and the municipalities lead to the creation of a new law in which it is stated that to develop a regional plan skills and knowledge should be shared between all stakeholders, in this case being the CMM and all affected municipalities (Arcand & Collin, 2012, p. 3); (Senécal, 2012).

In the period after the failed adoption of the PSMAD the CMM managed to successfully implement individual plans covering the topics: Economical development, waste management, social and affordable housing, and blue and green spaces. At the same time the CMM did not stop the development of a new regional plan, resulting in the adoption of the 'Plan Métropolitain d'Aménagement et de Développement' (PMAD) in December 2012.

In this PMAD the CMM defines the three most import themes (urban development, transport and environment) that have to transform the metropolitan area of Montreal to an attractive, competitive and sustainable region by the year 2031. The first theme, urban development, is the main theme that will be investigated in this thesis. The main goal of the urban development in Montreal is to create a sustainable living environment for its inhabitants with a high quality of life standard. Sustainability is defined according to the 'Brundtland' report published in 1987 by the United Nations (United Nations, 1987). This report states that sustainable development is based on three so-called pillars of sustainable development: environmental protection, economic efficiency and social equity. The latter, has to be generated through the principle of social mixing. The reason why this research on social mixing is performed is closely related to my internship at 'Rayside Labossière architecture design urban development'. The company attended the congress where the PMAD was launched and is highly implicated in the affordable housing debate in the city

center of Montreal. They are part of a coalition of mainly public actors called 'Habiter Montreal' that try to safeguard a good living environment for lower income classes in the city center. To do this, they started a research together with the University of Quebec at Montreal to find out about the best applied social mixing strategies all throughout North America and the rest of the world, to be able to apply these in future developments in the city of Montreal.

The city of Montreal projected that in 2031 the metropolitan area will have expanded from 3.8 million to 4.3 million inhabitants, the total amount of households will have expanded with 320.000 and that 150.000 new jobs will be created. To coordinate this expansion properly, it will have to be planned carefully, especially with sustainable urban development in mind. But what does this mean to the urban form?

To be able to facilitate the projected vision sketched in the PMAD the city of Montreal is going to have to change certain aspects of its politics. One of these aspects is that the city of Montreal is going to prioritize the utilization of public transport and wants to start developing the urban area according to the, already in other places successfully implemented, Transport Oriented Development principle (TOD). The TOD principle is a way of developing the urban form so that public transport is favoured (Vivre en Ville, 2013). Cars can still be a part of the urban form but inhabitants of TOD neighbourhoods should be more inclined or stimulated to use other forms of transport to get to their final destination, such as busses, trams, trains, metro's, bikes or by foot.

Transit Oriented Development is, within the literature, often linked to social mixing in the sense that it is supposed to stimulate a higher social mix (Vivre en Ville, 2013, p. 83);(Pendall et al., 2002);(Cervero & Day, 2008);(Grant, 2002). But what does social mixing exactly mean? Social mixing basically means that an environment is created where households of all income groups are able to fit in (ultimately creating a more sustainable community), this can be within a city as a whole but can also, which is more preferred in Montreal, be within a neighbourhood or even a building. It also means that the different social groups have equal access to basic necessities such as food, education, health services and work (Marchand, 2012). Social mixing ensures the vitality of a neighbourhood and prevents the deterioration of the living conditions for its residents, it aims to diminish the negative effects of segregation and allows all inhabitants to reach their full potential (CMM & STM, 2012, p. 82).

But a problem also occurs regarding social mixing. Including medium and high income class groups within an inner city neighbourhood is not so much of a problem for cities (Lees, 2008); (Germain & Rose, 2010). A constructor builds some nice apartments, creates a nice direct living environment and makes sure it is located in the close surrounding area of cafes, restaurants and/or a shopping area and the

middle and higher income classes will be more than willing to settle themselves in these places, a process that is described as gentrification. The problem lies more in the possibility of retaining and/or attracting the lower income classes within inner city neighbourhoods. Having a broad supply in housing variety (both in types and costs) contributes to social mixing within a neighbourhood and should be a goal for every city, but unfortunately in most inner city neighbourhoods this variety in housing supply is not present, and worse, it is shrinking more and more.

1.2 Problem definition

With the ongoing gentrification of Montreal's inner city neighbourhoods, the pressure on the social and affordable housing market is becoming bigger (Rose, 2004). More and more low-income families have no choice but to leave their homes and seek residence in neighbourhoods further away from the city center and their jobs leading to a lower quality of life of the lower income class of Montreal. In this thesis the subject of social mixing will be further investigated. The main goal of the research is to see if social mixing strategies should be stimulated and if so, if the local government should regulate mixing strategies or if social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods is something that will and should regulate itself through the market.

This leads to the following research question:

To what extend should social mixing be stimulated and should this be done through government regulation or through market principle?

To help answer this question it is further broken down in four sub questions, each tackling a different part of the main research question. The sub questions are the following:

1. Should social mixing be stimulated?
2. What is a good social mix in an inner city neighbourhood?
3. What are inclusionary policies and how can they contribute to social mixing strategies?
4. How does the market principle regulate social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods?

1.3 Scientific relevance

The debate on social mixing is not a new one; there are many scholars that have researched the concept of social mixing before. But the focal point of these researches has been on European cities. Social mixing is a rather new concept in

North American cities. It is a concept that was introduced together with sustainable development, New Urbanism and Smart Growth, all urban sprawl countering concepts that are trending in the North-American urban planning world at the moment. This research is scientifically relevant in the sense that it ads an empirical case study of social mixing strategies to the North-American side of the scientific debate.

1.4 Societal relevance

In recent years the Montreal inner city neighbourhoods have been experiencing a change in population composition, mostly caused by the construction of large amounts of expensive condominiums. At the same time the metropolitan area of Montreal has launched it's first regional plan in which it states the need to develop the metropolitan region more sustainable. One of the goals is to attain a certain social equity within the city territory, something that can be achieved through the implementation of social mixing strategies. This research is societally relevant in the sense that it will focus on if, and if so, which social mixing strategies are most efficient and how they should be implemented to achieve the best possible social equity, therefore making the sustainable development of the city more efficient.

1.5 Reading guide

The research will be done through a comparative case study between an inner city borough in Montreal that maintains a more regulated approach to social mixing and a inner city borough that is less active with social mixing strategies and thus lets the market principle do the work.

In chapter 2 a policy analysis will take place in which the different government levels that play a role in the social mixing process are discussed. The main policy of that government level will be elaborated and a link to the higher and/or lower government level will be made. In Chapter 3 an in depth literature review will be performed. Four different topics will be discussed: Quality of life, sustainable development, inclusionary policies and social mixing. The chapter will be concluded with the formulation of 10 hypotheses that will function as the basis for the empirical part of this research. Chapter 4 will describe the methodology of the empirical part of the analysis. The research set up will be discussed, the chosen methodology will be justified and the different actors that partook in the research will be briefly introduced. Chapter 5 is the first part of the empirical research. Here the two chosen case studies will be introduced, a brief history of the two researched areas will be given, and a policy analysis on borough scale will be done. The chapter will be concluded with a statistical analysis of the boroughs compositions, which is done based on the

2006 Statistics Canada census tract. Chapter 6 shows the results of the empirical part of the analysis that was done through the interviews with several actors active in the two researched areas. The chapter concludes with the justification or rejection of the different hypothesis formulated in the theoretical frame. The final chapter of this thesis, chapter 7, is the conclusion of the research where first the four sub questions will be answered before the main research question will be answered.

2. Policy analysis

2. Policy Analysis

There are five different government scales that apply to social and affordable housing policies in Montreal: Federal, provincial, regional, city and borough. In this chapter a policy analysis will be performed in which the most important policies and strategies regarding social mixing, inclusionary policies and social and affordable housing will be elaborated. First the federal government will be discussed and after that the lower scales will be discussed one by one.

Figure 2.1 Quebec's government structure
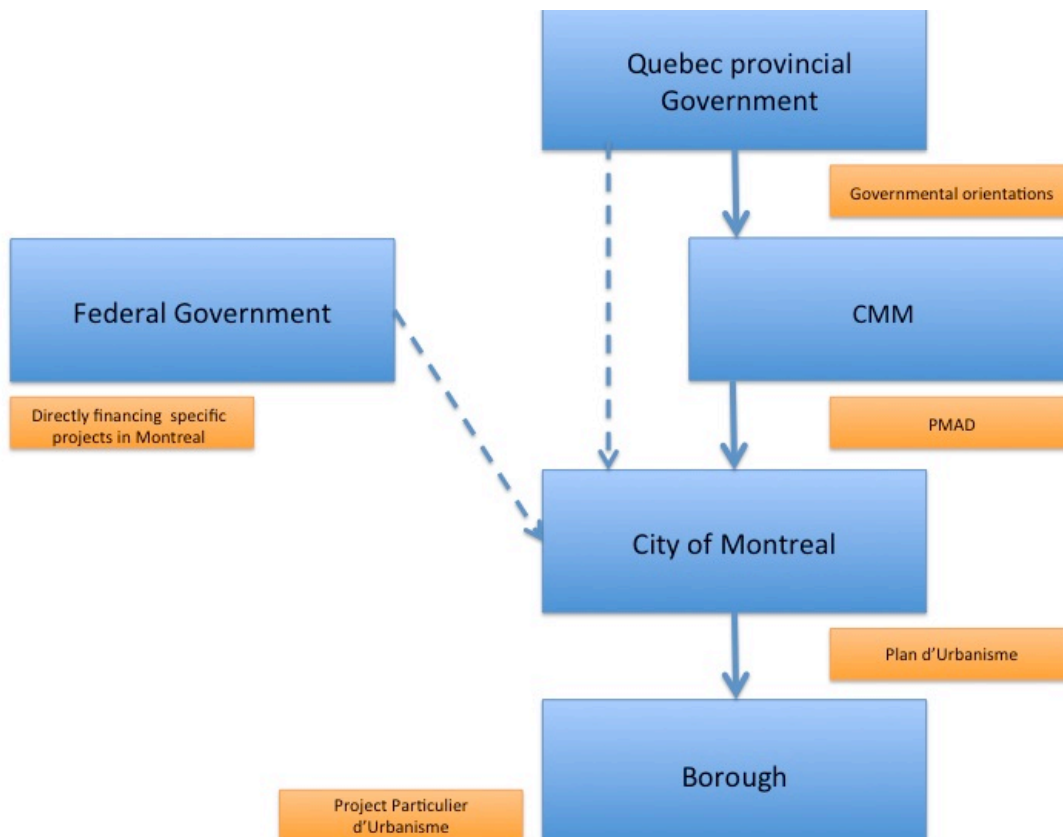
2.1 Federal

The Canadian federal government is not actively involved in the creation of strategies and/or policies regarding social and affordable housing projects. This does not mean that the federal government plays no roll at all. On the contrary, the department that deals with housing in Canada is the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC or SCHL in Quebec). The CMHC plays a roll in the sense that they allocate financial resources to projects regarding social and affordable housing. The CMHC further mainly supervises the provinces' housing strategies. To do so, the CMHC has outlined an affordable housing strategy called the: 'Affordable Housing Framework

(2011-2014) (CMHC, 2011). In the rest of this paragraph the most important parts of this strategy that apply to this research will be outlined.

The main objective of the affordable housing strategy is to: "*improve the living conditions of Canadians in need by improving access to affordable, sound, suitable and sustainable housing*" (CMHC, 2011, p. A–2). The intended outcome of the strategy is to reduce the amount of Canadians that are in need of housing. This has to be achieved through improving the access to sound, suitable and sustainable housing. A Canadian citizen has the right to economic and social independence. Good housing is a necessity for achievement of this independence. The vision set out in the strategy promotes "*healthier people, stronger neighbourhoods, a greener environment, and safe, quality, affordable housing*" (CMHC, 2011, p. A–1). In this strategy the federal government recognizes that:

1. A multitude of programs is needed to successfully respond to the changing needs of the different existing households during their life course.
2. A sustainable attitude towards housing has to be developed, not just to preserve the environment but also to improve housing affordability on the long run.

Based on these recognitions the federal government has defined four priorities: the increase of supply of affordable housing in all Canadian provinces and territories, the improvement of the affordability of housing for vulnerable Canadians, improve and or preserve the quality of affordable housing and to foster safe independent living for all Canadians. To make the implementation of the social and affordable housing strategy as efficient as possible, the federal government has, together with provinces and territories, set up nine principles which are leading in the social and affordable housing policy (CMHC, 2011, p. A–2,3). Four of these principles have a direct or indirect effect on social mixing strategies:

1. The provinces and territories themselves are responsible for the design and delivery of affordable housing programs, so that they can address their own specific needs and priorities.
2. The provinces and territories have to be flexible to be able to cope with fast changes within the social and affordable housing market. This also applies for funding
3. Federal contributions, regarding funding, have to be matched by the provinces and territories.
4. The funded housing has to remain affordable for a period of 10 years

The analysis of the federal governments policy towards social and affordable housing shows that the Canadian government is actively involved within actual social and

affordable housing projects, but only regarding the financing of certain projects as can be seen at principle 3 where it is stated that federal contributions have to be matched by the provinces and territories. But besides the financing of certain projects, the federal government can be seen more as an overarching organization that controls the provincial governments, doing so with the strategy outlined in their Affordable Housing framework (2011-2014) in mind.

2.2 Provincial

The provincial department that deals with social and affordable housing in Quebec is called the 'Société d'habitation Québec' (SHQ) and falls under the jurisdiction of the Quebec Government. The main tasks for the SHQ are advising the minister about the needs, priorities and objectives regarding housing, stimulating public and private initiatives regarding housing, offer affordable housing to the citizens of Quebec, promote the development and implantation of programs for the construction, acquisition, development, restoration and administration of housing, facilitate the accessibility of house ownership for the Quebec citizens and to promote the improvement of the housing sector overall (SHQ, 2011).

One of the main goals of social mixing strategies is to attain a better quality of life for all citizens of a city. According to the SHQ a better quality of life can be achieved by (SHQ, 2011, p. 6):

1. Households having better access to adequate housing, contributing to a more dynamic urban and rural environment and to revitalize areas that are in decline. Adequate housing is seen by the SHQ as follows: the cost of housing does not exceed 30% of the total pre-taxed income for the household, its size corresponds to the composition of the household and the housing does not require major repairs.

2. Collaborating on the implementation of other governmental strategies to help make the environment more favourable for social and communal interventions.
3. Developing strong partnerships, actively consult with these partners and by promoting the interaction between the government, social and communal organizations and the private sector.
4. Participating in the development and acquisition of knowledge to make the housing market function better according to the sustainable development principles.

To be able to facilitate and achieve a better quality of life for the Quebec citizens the SHQ has outlined a social and affordable housing strategy for the 2011-2016-time

period called the 'Plan Stratégique 2011-2016'. This plan is not a binding policy, but is designed as a guiding framework for lower forms of government, leaving them the freedom to design their own policy within this frame. In the 'Plan Stratégique 2011-2016' (SHQ, 2011) the SHQ outlines four major orientations. The two that apply to social mixing strategies are briefly discussed here.

Orientation 1: Ensure the availability and sustainability of public and private housing.

It is the SHQ's duty that the standards of modern day society are passed on to future generation. This has to be done through the increase of the affordable housing supply, through the improvement of the quality of the existing social and affordable housing units and by delivering financial support to low-income households.

Orientation 2: Governance and cooperation

This orientation gives voice to the subsidiarity principle, through the delegation of power and responsibilities to lower government levels that are more qualified to deal with local issues. It also takes into account that partnerships and intergovernmental cooperation are essential when it comes to community support, health and education. This can be implemented by bringing certain services closer to citizens, by strengthening the complementary activities of the SHQ and its partners and by increasing the interdepartmental cooperation.

These two orientations combined form the core on which social mixing strategies have to be built on. They are in compliance with the strategy outlined by the federal government and will form the core of the lower governments policies.

2.3 Regional

The regional scale is a relatively new scale for the metropolitan area of Montreal. Up until 2001 there was no official planning committee that dealt with the city of Montreal and it's surroundings area. In that year the Communauté Métropolitain de Montréal' (CMM) was established. The CMM is a planning, coordinating and funding body that serves the 82 municipalities of the region (CMM, 2013). This region consists of 3.7 million people spread out over 4360 squared kilometers. And has jurisdiction in the following fields: Land planning, economic development, art and culture promotion, social and affordable housing, facilities, infrastructure, services and activities of metropolitan importance, public transit and metropolitan arterial road network, waste management planning, air quality and wastewater. The main goal for this committee is to bring more economic prosperity to the region through establishing an integrative planning approach, which is done in the PMAD.

2.3.1 PMAD

The CMM published it's second attempt at a regional integrative plan in 2012, the Plan Métropolitain d'Aménagement et de Développement' (PMAD) (CMM & STM, 2012), which describes the vision for the region for the coming 10-20 years. The PMAD consists out of three main themes: Urban and regional planning, transport, and environment. The last two themes, transport and environment, are of less interest to this research and will therefore not be discussed.

The slogan for the urban and regional planning part of the PMAD is: 'A greater Montreal with sustainable living environments'. The foundations of this part of the plan are five planning concepts that are well discussed in recent academic literature: Smart Growth, New Urbanism, Transit-Oriented Development, LEED, EcoDensity (CMM & STM, 2012, p. 52). What these concepts mean will be further elaborated in the next chapter. Planning according to these 5 principles leads to the creation of more sustainable neighbourhoods, and more sustainable neighbourhoods have a higher quality of life. The main goal of the third part of the PMAD is to improve the quality of life within the metropolitan area. To do so neighbourhoods have to be developed more sustainably. To be able to develop a sustainable neighbourhood, the CMM has come up with six objectives. Three of these objectives have a direct impact on the Montreal inner city area and are therefore briefly discussed (CMM & STM, 2012).

Objective 1: Orientate 40% of all new households to a public transportation access point

The restructuring of the metropolitan transit system across the territory is the first objective that the CMM sets in its regional plan. By improving the access to and the efficiency of the public transportation network in Montreal the CMM responses to one of the principles of sustainable development set out by the inhabitants of the Montreal region. The first goal is to give at least 40% of all new households the access to a 'fast' public transportation network, meaning that a household has to have a public transportation stop accessible by foot (max. 500 metres). A stop being a train, metro, light rail station or a high frequency bus line stop. This objective is mostly based on the transport oriented development concept.

Objective 2: Identifying current and projected important service centers

It is important to identify the current existing service centers and look at the distance between these centers and the residential areas, since it is essential that all residents have equal access to these services. It is also important to look at the future projected service centers to see if a change in service center access can be

found. This objective battles urban sprawl by preventing the ongoing outward expansion of the city by focusing the cities developments around certain poles and is based on the New Urbanism and Smart Growth principle.

Objective 3: Limiting the expansion of the urban area according to the sustainable planning principle.

The expansion of the residential areas of the region has to be limited to avoid further urban sprawl from taking place. The current residential territory has to be able to accommodate all population groups and complies with the Smart Growth and New Urbanism concepts.

The main goal of the PMAD is thus to improve the quality of life for the inhabitants of the whole metropolitan region. The report goes into detail about access to public transport, density regulation and access to services. One thing it does not describe, which is essential to this research, is how it is going to make sure a high quality of life is guaranteed for the lower income class living in, or close to, the Montreal city center. Especially when it comes to social and affordable housing the PMAD is not clear on what its strategy is. It mentions social and affordable housing only by referring to their 'Plan d'action métropolitain pour le logement social et abordable, 2009-2013' (PAMLSA) a plan that, as the title states, covers the 2009 to 2013 timespan whereas the PMAD spans all the way until 2031.

2.3.2 PAMLSA

Data released by Statistics Canada in May 2008 showed that 270,000 tenants with a low income (making less than $24.008 per year) that live in the CMA, spent more than 30% of their gross income on rent (CMM, 2008, p. III). Of these 270.000 tenants half spends more than 50% of their gross income on rent, leaving them very few resources to access other basic necessities such as; food, clothing or education (CMM, 2008, p. 19). In the CMA there are a total of 64,972 social and affordable housing units, which present 9.4% of all occupied rental units (CMM & STM, 2012, p. 16). A number that is too low to tend to the housing needs of the whole lower income class living in the CMA; the result is a waiting list of 28,000 households with the Montreal Housing association (OMHM).

The main goal of the PAMLSA is to underline the importance the city of Montreal attaches to the question of social and affordable housing. This is done for two reasons, the first being to be able to help the part of the population most in need and second being, more in line with the PMAD, the perspective of economic development. Having a sufficient social and affordable housing stock is an essential element when it comes to ensuring the attractiveness and competitiveness of a city.

To cater to these two main reasons the CMM set three objectives that have to be met over the period of 2009-2013 (CMM, 2008):

Objective 1: Continue funding programs of residential projects, which fit in the framework of medium term planning.

These funding programs apply to current ongoing interventions within the community and to interventions that help to safeguard the housing stock.

Objective 2: Invest in the quality of existing social and affordable housing.

The quality of life for residents of existing social and affordable housing highly correlates with the quality of their housing. Impoverishment of the existing housing stock stigmatizes social and affordable housing and makes it an even more NIMBY process. If the architectural quality of the social and affordable housing stock is high, people will be less repulsed by the idea of having social and affordable housing around their homes.

Objective 3: Reply to the needs of tenants that belong to the lowest income groups.

When investigating the poorest income groups living in the CMA, the outcome was that these groups are becoming more and more fragile. This fragility is linked to the aging and impoverishment of the lower income groups, resulting in the decline of both their economic and social situation and thus directly affecting their quality of life. This trend is not only seen in the social housing sector but is also more and more visible within affordable housing projects.

The conclusion that can be drawn after the analysis of the PMAD (and PAMLSA is that it gives a clear idea of what the CMM's point of view is on social and affordable housing on the time frame 2009-2013. The question that remains unclear is how the CMM thinks this vision can be achieved, meaning: who will implement it?

2.4 City of Montreal

The city of Montreal has also outlined a strategy for social and affordable housing, the: 'Strategy for the inclusion of affordable housing in new residential projects'. The department that occupies itself with this task is 'Habiter Montreal' and does this based on three reasons (Habiter Montreal, 2006). The first reason is that affordable housing is an important social asset. Montreal sees adequate housing as a fundamental need. Affordable housing, and especially social and community housing (housing for people with specific needs) is essential when it comes to fighting poverty and increasing social cohesion within the city. The second reason is that affordable

housing helps to slow down the exodus of the young to the suburbs. The majority of people living in Montreal, compared to the whole CMA, are tenants (75% of all tenants in the CMA live in Montreal) (Habiter Montreal, 2006, p. 4). This high percentage causes a problem; it leaves very little space for home ownership within the city, something that young families often seek and thus leads to an exodus of families to the outskirts of the CMA. The third reason is that affordable housing contributes to Montreal's economic vitality, a vision shared with the CMM and which is also described in the PAMLSA. The supply of affordable housing influences the efficiency of firms and housing prices can make a business decide to locate in a specific area.

The strategy outlined by Habiter Montreal is mostly based on the principle of social mixing. Social mixing is, according to Habiter Montreal, a condition of sustainable development that ensures a variety of available housing types, and is necessary to accommodate inhabitants of all income brackets. Social mixing is also seen as a way to avoid social segregation and to break the cycle of poverty. Research in other cities has proven that large concentrations of poverty in one area can diminish the opportunities of improving the situation of those residents. Social mixing is finally also a way to enable people to stay in their neighbourhoods, creating a sustainable community. It is important that it is possible for households that change, for example through a divorce or job loss that they have the possibility to remain within the same neighbourhood, not altering their social tissue. Habiter Montreal has done intensive research on the situation of social and affordable housing within its territory and has come to the conclusion that: There is a great need for affordable housing, property prices in Montreal are rising dramatically, affordable housing is distributed unevenly throughout Montreal and social and affordable housing suffers from a NIMBY phenomenon.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the policy analysis on city level is that it leaves the actual implication of social mixing strategies to the borough governments. The city designed a framework for the inclusion of affordable housing in new residential projects, which gives the boroughs a guiding frame when (re) developing residential areas. It identifies the most important and urgent issues, but it doesn't tell the boroughs how to deal with these issues.

2.5 Conclusion

The overall conclusion of the policy analysis is that the lowest possible government, the borough, play a leading role when it comes to the implementation of strategies. All discussed government levels leave the actual implication of social mixing, inclusionary and social and affordable housing policies to the government scale below them. They all design a framework that has a guiding function, which the lower

government can then implement, as they deem appropriate. Because of this freedom all boroughs have their own approach to social mixing. In this research we will be looking at two specific boroughs in two separate case studies, it is chosen not to have the policy analysis on borough scale in this chapter but rather implement this in the actual case study of chapter.

3. Theoretical framework

3. Theoretical Framework

In this theoretical framework the most important terms related to this research will be discussed. For every term an intensive literature review will be performed. After this literature research a link between the found academic literature and the Montreal case study will be made, as a step up to the empirical research that will be performed later. The terms discussed in this framework will be in chronologic order: Quality of life, sustainable development, social mixing and inclusionary policies. The chapter will be concluded with the formulation of hypothesis that will be further researched in the empirical part of this research.
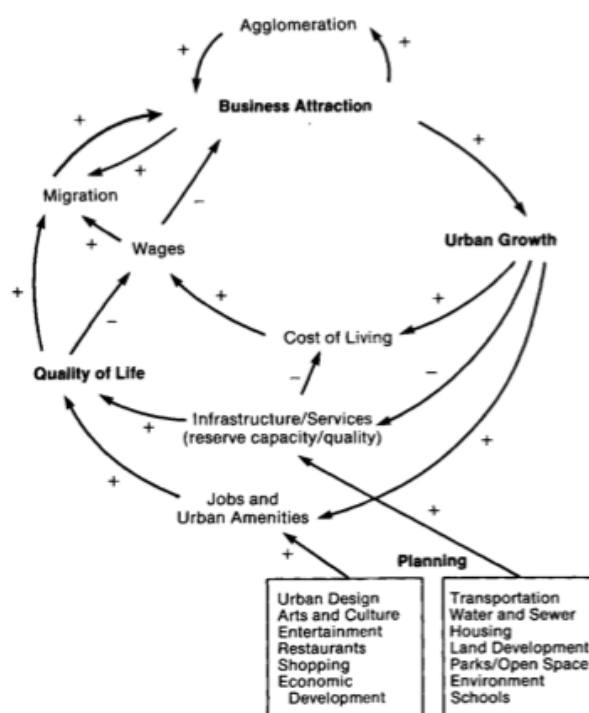
3.1 Quality of life

Strategic urban planning has been a hot item on the urban planning agenda for the past 20 years. These strategic plans aim to improve a cities performance and want to assure that future developments are planned responsive, which is done through the adoption of a strategic urban development plan (Khalil, 2012, p. 77). Within these plans often a link is made with quality of life, which in the case of Montreal and its metropolitan area development plan is no different. In the PMAD the region of Montreal describes its goal to attain one of the highest quality of life standards in the world (CMM & STM, 2012, p. 18). The term Quality of life is used to describe how a better living environment for its residents can be achieved. The only problem with 'quality of life' is that is somewhat of a vague term. No one really knows what it exactly means and there are different ways to interpret it. In this paragraph a brief literature overview will be given concerning quality of life. To finish the paragraph off the academic findings will be combined with the way the policy makers look at quality of life, this so it is clear how a better quality of life can be achieved.

3.1.1 what is Quality of life?

To the United Nations it is essential that human needs and general well being such as education, health, clean air and water and the protection of the natural beauty have to be regarded. The United Nations states that even though goods and services are available very often people can still not satisfy their needs and live in poverty. It is therefore important to look at non-economic indicators through the concept of Quality of life (United Nations, 1987, p. 43). Quality of life as a concept is often used by politicians to describe the satisfaction of citizens within different neighbourhoods *(Myers, 1988, p. 347).* This neighbourhood satisfaction can be measured in many different ways, but often include the subjects of traffic, job opportunities, crime, housing, green spaces, cultural amenities and the built environment and is highly linked to aspects of daily life as can be seen in figure 3.1 *(Myers, 1988, p. 347);*

(OCDE, 2004, p. 153). The majority of these subjects are closely related to the urban planning field. Achieving a better quality of life is a goal that planners share with residents, workers, and business managers. Being able to fall back on this term when trying to negotiate with these citizens and businesses makes it easier for planners to make the other parties realize that the proposed measures by the planners are necessary to accommodate this better quality of life (Blomquist et al., 1988). With the identification of the Quality of life measurement in cities, policy makers can identify the current societal trends and see what the social positions are of certain groups within this society (Delmelle, et al., 2013) or as Delmelle et al. state (Delmelle et al., 2012, p. 924): "*quality of life indicators present alluring metrics for monitoring neighbourhood conditions over time in general and for developing targeted action plans in particular*". Up until today planners have mostly tried to achieve a better quality of life through the separate government facets, such as: transportation, housing, environment and other government elements but have failed to apply an integrative and comprehensive planning approach, which Myers *(Myers, 1988)* states is necessary to make improving the quality of life most effective.

Figure 3.1 Influences on quality of life

Source: *Myers, 1988*

3.1.1.1 Subjective and objective quality of life

Quality of life can be defined in two different ways. The first one being in objective terms, through the utilisation of quantitative social indicators. But it can also be measured in subjective terms, such as through self reported life satisfaction and

other subjective self reported measurements *(Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2011, p. 337)*. The first form of quality of life, objective quality of life has some resemblances with the term liveability. One of the resemblances is that they can both be fairly accurately measured through quantitative indicators. Liveability itself means: "*quality of life, standard of living or general well-being of a population in some area such as a city*" *(Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2011, p. 433)* and is a rather big but also vague concept. The same problem occurs with quality of life,, it means something else depending on the person asked. Nonetheless, both terms are happily adopted by city officials to describe the well-being or quality of their city. After all, people that live in 'livable cities' are supposed to be generally happier and with more happy people around the chances are bigger that you end up happy too. Objective quality of life differs from liveability in the sense that it does not measure through financial or materialistic indicators. Objective quality of life is measured through social indicators "*that reflect people's objective circumstances in a given cultural or geographic unit. The hallmark of social indicators is that they are based on objective, quantitative statistics rather than on individuals' subjective perceptions of their social environment*" (Diener & Suh, 1997, p. 192). Social indicators fall under categories such as public safety, ecology, human rights, welfare and education. Objective quality of life has three strengths (Diener & Suh, 1997): Firstly these indicators can be relatively easy defined and quantified without having to rely on the perception of individuals. Because of this these indicators can be measured with great precision and with little measurement error, making them quite reliable. A second strength is that these indicators often reflect the normative ideals of a society as a whole, and lastly because it measures over various domains objective quality of life is able to "*capture important aspects of society that are not sufficiently reflected in purely economic yardsticks*" (Diener & Suh, 1997, p. 194), in which it differs from the term liveability which fully relies on these indicators.

But objective quality of life is a rather narrow concept of quality of life according to many scholars. It has been widely recognized that measuring in social indicators is not sufficient (Khalil, 2012, p. 77); (Florida, Mellander, & Rentfrow, 2013) and that people adapt their quality of life to their income level and financial stability. Graham (2009) describes this as the "*Happy peasant and the miserable millionaire*". Subjective quality of life measures the satisfaction of a specific person with his or her city or neighbourhood and is quite often measured through survey items *(Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2011, p. 443)* or as Diener and Suh (1997, p. 200) state through measuring three interrelated components: Life satisfaction, pleasant affect and unpleasant affect. The great advantage of subjective indicators over the objective indicators is that they measure the experiences that are important to the residents of a city.

3.1.1.2 Perception Quality of life

The difference between objective and subjective quality of life is one of perception and dates back to the works of Soja (1996), who explained that the same space was experienced differently by different people, and Lefebvre (1974), who talked about the production of social space. Politicians, the media and the public works often use quality of life for city marketing or branding. It is an easy way to quantify a city's strong and weak points, to then place that city on the list with overall liveability scores. It is therefore generally accepted that the main task of policy makers through urban governance is to create conditions that can attract potential capital into the cities territory and make a city more "liveable". So the economic success of a town, in the policy maker's eyes, depends on the height of the quality of life score (Rogerson, 1999). This policy maker's 'hard' perception of quality of life clashes with the 'soft' perception of a resident, who sees quality of life more as how they experience their life, measured as described in the above paragraph through subjective quality of life. Myers (1988, p. 352) says that the only way to close the gap between the different perceptions of quality of life is to negotiate knowledge about local quality of life, meaning that all parties have to be heard and to agree on one perception of quality of life to creating a certain threshold.

But this difference in perception of quality of life is not one that exists just between policy makers and residents, it also exists in the academic world (Mitchell et al., 2000); (Pennings, 1982); (Rogerson, 1999, p. 10). Rogerson compared seven studies that measured the key city ratings for quality of life. Out of the 21 measures used in the different studies, none was used in all studies at the same time. Illustrating the difficulty of defining an accurate definition of quality of life.

The conclusion that can be drawn when talking about different perceptions of quality of life is that it does not necessarily mean that one person's perception is better or worse then the others', it only means that quality of life means a different thing, depending on what you are trying to measure and whom you are measuring it through. This difference in perception can be problematic in the sense that because the definitions of quality of life can be different, different goals are being set and therefore not all different measured quality of life forms will experience an increase, causing more polarization and an actual decrease in quality of life.

3.1.2 Defining Quality of life

For this research it is important to have a clear definition of Quality of Life since there is a big divide between people advocating the objective concept of quality of life (Van Kamp et al., 2003); (Ülengin et al., 2001), and on the other hand the subjective component of quality of life (Morais et al., 2011, p. 189). In this paragraph the three

definitions that are used in this research will be described. The paragraph will conclude with a working definition that will be used during this research.

Quality of life is described by the United Nations (2013) as the: "*notion of human welfare (well-being) measured by social indicators rather than by "quantitative" measures of income and production*". This is a rather vague definition that does not give clarity regarding the actual social indicators that are used to measure the quality of life and is therefore more or less left open to interpretation. According to Khalil (2012) the most ideal form to measure quality of life is by combining both objective and subjective measures and can be done through multiple types of data gathering such as for example the 'Economist Intelligence Unit's quality-of-life index' which links the results of subjective life satisfaction surveys to the objective determinants of quality of life across countries. A third definition that resembles both the definitions described above as well as the definition applied by the Quebec government, is: "*the overall level of wellbeing and fulfillment that people enjoy from a combination of their social, economic and community environment and their physical and material conditions*" (Morais et al., 2011, p. 189). This definition is in compliance with the idea of Khalil that states that the opinion and feelings of people should be related to the quantitative data measured.

The definition of quality of life used in this research is an alteration of the definition given by the United Nations and follows the principle of the definitions of Khalil and Morais that recognize the importance of not just picking subjective or objective measures of quality of life. This is because when objective measures measure a certain thing, for example that there is not a lot of crime in a particular neighbourhood. But the subjective measure measures the opposite, for example that the people do not feel safe in that neighbourhood, a problem still exists, a problem that most likely would not have been recognized if only one side of the story had been told. This leads to the following definition: *Quality of life is a notion of human welfare (well-being) measured by social indicators and by quantitative measures of income and production.*

3.1.3 How to achieve a better Quality of life?

After having looked at what quality of life means and what two forms can be distinguished, it is important to have a closer look at how a better quality of life can be achieved by policy makers. To be able to do so it is important to have a well defined working definition of Quality of life. In this research it is chosen to work with an altered version of the definition given by the United Nations, which defines that quality of life is not measured through only quantitative measures such as income and production. It states that beside the basic needs such as: education, health clean air and water and the protection of the environment, quality of life is mostly measured

through certain non-economic indicators such as traffic, job opportunities, crime, housing, green spaces, cultural amenities and the built environment.

Delmelle et al. (2013, p. 114) came up with four points that can improve these non-economic indicators of quality of life. These are the urban form, the density of a neighbourhood, the urban centrality and certain transport related indicators. These transport related indicators relate especially to the time spent commuting. The conclusion that can be drawn from their research is that social interactions are a critical aspect in the shaping of quality of life, and especially that it is very important where people reside, not just in the city but also compared to their work place. The latter is also a major aspect to policy makers in the region of Montreal, considering that one of the visions of the strategic plan (PMAD) is that 60% of all its new developments should be constructed according to the transport oriented development (TOD) principle meaning that the people living in TOD's should have access to a high quality public transportation network, making it easier to commute to work without having to lose a lot of time or even without having to use the car.

The Quebec Housing Association, which is in charge of all housing related issues in the province of Quebec, has outlined four main points of how they think they can contribute to a better quality of life and which function as a guideline to all regions in Quebec. These four main points are the following (SHQ, 2011, p. 6):

1. Households having better access to adequate housing, contributing to a more dynamic urban and rural environment and to revitalize areas that are in decline.
2. Collaborating on the implementation of other governmental strategies to help make the environment more favourable for social and communal interventions.
3. Developing strong partnerships, actively consult with these partners and promoting the interaction between the government, social and communal organizations and the private sector.
4. Participating in the development and acquisition of knowledge to make the housing market function better according to the sustainable development principles.

The conclusion that can be drawn after looking at these four points is that quality of life is indeed a very broad and complicated concept that touches more than just one field. Not only does it mean that the housing situation and environment of the residents needs to be of a high quality, but it also means governance plays a central role in the development of the urban area. It is important for the government to collaborate with lower forms of government, but also to work with organisations that stand close to the citizens. In this way it becomes not only easier for the government

to apply the necessary changes, but at the same time they create a larger threshold amongst the population, this way the citizens voice will also be heard.

3.2 Sustainable development

The principle of quality of life, and especially in the case of Montreal and the PMAD, is closely related to the term sustainable development. Sustainable development is quite a broad and vague term as well. It is therefore important to take a closer look at what sustainable development in the case of Montreal exactly means.

But before this is done it is useful to first define sustainable development. As mentioned in the introduction of this research it is not a principle that is new to the world of urban planning. The United Nations defined sustainable development in the Brundtland report published in 1987 as: "*Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (United Nations, 1987, p. 37). The United Nations also defined two key concepts that are captured within this definition (United Nations, 1987, p. 37):

1. *The concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and*

2. *The idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.*

What becomes evident from the Brundtland report is that the United Nations prioritizes the poorer population of this world as well as the ecological systems that are being threatened. But this does not mean that sustainable development does not touch the topic of the development of wealthy western cities such as Montreal. On the contrary, the United Nations acknowledge that: "*the goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries - developed or developing, market-oriented or centrally planned. Interpretations will vary, but must share certain general features and must flow from a consensus on the basic concept of sustainable development and on a broad strategic framework for achieving it*" (United Nations, 1987, p. 37). To the city of Montreal this '*consensus on the basic concept of sustainable development*' is defined in as what they see as a sustainable living environment, which will be further elaborated in the next paragraph. The definition of sustainable development used in this research differs slightly from the definition given by the United Nations and the city of Montreal and is the following: *Sustainable development means that the needs of the present are met, ecologically, economically and socially for all income classes living in the city, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*.

3.2.1 Sustainable living environment

In the PMAD a description is given of how sustainable living environments are created, this is also briefly summarized in paragraph 2.3.1 of the policy. It is mentioned there that the sustainable living environments in Montreal are based on five concepts. Two concepts, New Urbanism and Smart Growth, are Urban Planning concepts and are of importance to this research.

3.2.1.1 New Urbanism

The simplest way to define New Urbanism is as a concept that reforms conventional planning and real estate development (Sitkowski & Ohm, 2002). New Urbanism is an umbrella term that encompasses neo-traditional development and traditional neighbourhood design (Talen, 1999, p. 1361) and was first introduced in the 1990's as a concept that mainly battles urban sprawl. The main way of doing so is through developing liveable and sustainable places, based on the best functional and aesthetic qualities of cities (Brain, 2005, p. 217). The New Urbanism movement connects environmental, social, economic and aesthetic focal points in the hope of being able to construct 'good' neighbourhoods, towns or even cities. It has to be mentioned that the New Urbanism movement started off by mostly focusing on matters of design. The traditional form of streets, squares and neighbourhoods play a significant role in the revival of centrally located and decayed areas. But more and more concerns regarding the growth of a city or even a region as a whole also started to become part of the New Urbanism movement. The creation of the first regional plan for the metropolitan area of Montreal is a good reflection of this growing concern. The PMAD recognizes that it is no longer possible to solve problems on a smaller scale, but that is important to coordinate this from a higher scale and follow a more integrative approach for the whole region.

The New Urbanism movement is described by Brain (2005, p. 220) as "*building new towns in the old way*". It focuses on learning from strong points of the past and implementing these experiences into a 'new' way of designing and planning a city or a region. Brain gives a good short summary of how best to describe the New Urbanism movement: "*new urbanism has moved in a dramatic way from an initial and relatively narrow concern with the design of pedestrian-oriented, human-scaled places, to a social movement that has had to confront the need to change not only the professional practices of architects and planners, but the standards and routines of traffic engineers, developers, banks and lending institutions, real estate marketing, and even ideas about retail*" (Brain, 2005, p. 226). The conclusion that can be drawn from this paragraph about New Urbanism is that the concept can be seen as a shift in planning approach of cities where there is a rather large focus on the lessons learned from the past and that the main goal is to counter the urban sprawl, making cities more sustainable and liveable, especially through design oriented measures

such as pedestrian oriented development, transport oriented development and densification of neighbourhoods in which environmental, social, economic and aesthetic components are combined to construct sustainable neighbourhoods.

3.2.1.2 Smart Growth

Smart growth is a concept that is closely related to the New Urbanism movement (Echenique, et al., 2012, p. 125). It is an approach to planning that counters urban sprawl by looking at the regional aspect of planning. In North America urban sprawl can take three forms (Daniels, 2001, p. 271):

1. The expansion of (sub) urban areas into the countryside, leading to a significantly increased residential density per square mile. A remark has to be made here, this significant increase of density does not mean that the countryside's density goes up to the same level as densities in urban areas, but it does mean that people are spreading out more and more.

2. Very long commercial strips along the main roads leading to and from the city and suburbs.

3. Scattered residential sprawl outside of villages, which quickly takes over the green open spaces around the city.

These three forms of urban sprawl led to the fact that in North American cities, the inner city and its surrounding suburbs were struggling with "a *stagnant population growth, a deteriorating public infrastructure, and disinvestment by the private sector*" (Rusk, 1999) making the city centre less attractive to people with money. The urban sprawl has lead to the changing of many communities, but not in a good way. The way cities or towns were being developed and planned were not socially, economically or environmentally sustainable. Smart growth is a form of planning that was first introduced in the state of Maryland in 1997. The primary goal of smart growth in Maryland was to: "*limit the sprawling patterns of low-density residential development and arterial strip commercial development, spilling outside of existing cities and villages*" (Daniels, 2001, p. 274). Smart growth is not necessarily about stopping the growth of cities, or even the slowing down of this process, but it is a concept that focuses growth in certain places. These places, mostly Brownfields over of Greenfields, can properly accommodate the cities' growth (Ewing, et. al., 2002). Shifting the focus from expansion to infilling, this way the city is obliged to maximize its current territory by utilizing vacant or abandoned areas instead of always choosing a new site at the edge of the city.

To accommodate this growth it focuses on "*high density mixed-use and pedestrian oriented development that promotes efficient land use and increases transit ridership*" (Maryland Department of Planning, 1997, p. 31) and also states the importance of a regional approach where the state, county, city and villages all have to work together implementing the new planning frame (Daniels, 2001). A final remark has to be made when it comes to the concept of Smart Growth. From the

literature it became apparent that there is no 'blue print' for Smart Growth, meaning that there is no right or wrong way to implement Smart Growth.

There is also criticism on the concept of Smart Growth. Weitz (2012, p. 396) points out that Smart Growth needs to focus more on land preservation, that the process of '*deteriotating inner-ring suburbs*' needs to be reversed to make it more effective on the metropolitan scale and that existing smart growth principles are more difficult to implement in the smaller towns or the rural areas. More help should go to these areas so that Smart Growth can also be successfully implemented in the outskirts of the metropolitan area. Another criticism from Weitz (2012, p. 402) is that Smart Growth excludes the individual. It neglects race, community and schooling even though these factors played a major role in the urban sprawl to begin with. This is problematic especially in this research because when it comes to social mixing the race, community and schooling play an important role.

3.3 Social mixing

To improve the overall quality of life within a city it is essential to include all people in the everyday life. The inclusion of these people can be achieved through implementation of inclusionary policies, which as a main goal have improving the social equity within a city. A strategy that can lead to a higher social equity is social mixing. Before further elaborating what at inclusionary policies are it is important to define what social mixing exactly means to see how inclusionary policies can help with social mixing strategies. The problem with social mixing is that it has many different forms and that it possible to achieve different types of social mixes within a city. In this paragraph the different existing types of social mixing will be defined. To finish the paragraph off, social mixing will be linked to the situation in Montreal.

3.3.1 Why social mixing?

Before we look at all the different forms of social mixing that are described in recent academic literature, it is important to look at the reasons of why social mixing is such a hot item in Montreal. Montreal, but also many other cities around the world, has had to deal with the decline of its inner city neighbourhoods in the twentieth century (Massey & Denton, 1988). The decline either being economically, socioeconomically, or demographically, or possibly even a combination of these three. It was mostly caused by the decentralization of economic functions and higher income classes, and later also the middle income classes, who massively sought refuge in the suburbs. Leaving behind the poorer, less mobile part of the population, resulting in a more socioeconomically and ethno culturally homogeneous population in inner city neighbourhoods (Massey & Denton, 1988).

As of the late twentieth century a new process started to occur, the re-urbanization of the city center. The middle class started to get fed up with the relatively 'boring' suburbs where everything had to be accessed by car and started moving back towards the city center where the life was vibrant, highly dynamic and everything was accessible by foot, bike or public transport (Florida, 2005). Meaning that the car, which is essential in the suburb life, now is only needed when trips are undertaken that cover a larger spatial distance. The moving back to the center by the middle class has huge impacts on the lower income classes that were left in the city center. This negative impact can be best described as the process of gentrification and was first observed in the '60 in the London area. In the '70 it was first observed in multiple North-American cities too (Glass, 1989). People that belonged to the middle-income class started slowly to take over the poorer inner city neighbourhoods. These middle-income class residents did not necessarily have the money to buy their dream house in the more expensive parts of the city, so instead they sought out property in the poorer neighbourhoods that could be acquired cheaply and then be renovated according to their wishes. This combined with the fact that these people have a very different lifestyle from the poorer people started to really change not only the neighbourhood's socioeconomic composition but also the primary functions of the neighbourhood, such as for example commerce (Lees, 2000, p. 390), which first were oriented towards the daily needs of the lower income class residents but soon started to change towards the, for the commerce more profitable, wants and needs of the newcomers who are also described by Lees as the '*Starbucks coffee crowd'*. Policymakers see in this process a positive public policy tool that can help not only the economic situation, but also social goals for the inner city (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Now that it has become clear that gentrification lead to big neighbourhood composition changes it is important to look at social mixing strategies to see how they can help sustain a desired neighbourhood composition, not excluding any residents. According to Belanger (2014) four big positives effects can occur from social mixing strategies:
- A better access to infrastructure and services for all inhabitants
- The availability of role models for the deprived part of the population
- Controlling the process of gentrification within a neighbourhood
- Creating a greater social cohesion within a neighbourhood

The first positive effect, better access to infrastructure and services, is not so much an objective of social mixing but more an ideal (Launay, 2010); (Avenel, 2005). This ideal being that people off all different groups have equal access to basic goods and infrastructure such as public transport, housing and political, social and economical space (Launay, 2010)(Duke, 2009).

The second positive effect mentioned by Belanger (2014) is that the presence of citizens of higher income classes can function as a role model for people that are in a

less fortunate situation (Uitermark, 2003). People that are in a more deprived situation look up to these 'more successful' people. By seeing them on a daily base the less successful people will 'learn' from these people, resulting in those people climbing the social ladder and ending up in a better situation themselves. A problem that comes along with this role model principle is that people that belong to the middle or high-income class don't necessarily want to situate themselves in a 'poor' neighbourhood (Bacqué & Fol, 2005). Ideally a solution for this problem has to be found, especially because research has indicated that where a person lives influences the chances of success in the society (Baum et al., 2009).

The third effect is that the process of gentrification can be controlled. Gentrification can be controlled in the sense that it can either be used as a process to obtain a desired social mix or on the contrary that it can be a justified as a result of creating a social mix within a neighbourhood, all bearing in mind that social mixing promotes a greater equality and greater social cohesion amongst the neighbourhoods inhabitants (Belanger, 2014). But this 'controlled form' of gentrification is also a very criticized effect of social mixing, especially because there is a lot of research that indicates that the gentrification of a neighbourhood leads to more polarization and segregation within that neighbourhood or the city as a whole. But this will be further elaborated in the paragraph 3.3.3.

The final positive effect, greater social cohesion, is often used by policy makers to justify social mixing strategies. The streets are very busy and there is always something to do in the neighbourhood community. This highly dynamic principle has been picked up by planners all over the world, and has translated into the fact that planners and policy makers now try to create these highly dynamic communities within neighbourhoods through the process of 'diversifying' the population (Duke, 2009). Social cohesion also has a direct link with the quality of life of an individual. According to Berger-Schmitt (2000), although social cohesion represents a societal quality, it also affects the individual quality of life of a person. This because the elements that make up the social cohesion are experienced and perceived by the different members of the society. Meaning that: "*the social cohesion of a society can be conceived as an aspect relevant to the individual life situation, and in this sense, it represents a part of the individual quality of life*" (Berger-Schmitt, 2000, p. 28). This means that the better the social cohesion, the better the individual life situation and the better the overall quality of life experienced by a person.

From a policymakers perspective social mixing policies are very interesting because a more mixed neighbourhood will facilitate: "*social inclusion, promote greater social interaction and inter group understanding, raise local levels of social capital, and at the same time reduce social problems and other neighbourhood effects stemming from concentrated poverty*" (Walks & Maaranen, 2008, p. 294). From the policy makers point of view this process is triggered through the attraction and settlement of middle-income group residents in deprived inner city neighbourhoods. These policymakers see this process as a good thing for their city. However this same

process is also criticized by many in the academic world, as it is not yet proven that gentrification actually leads to greater levels of social mix at the neighbourhood scale (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

After having analyzed if social mixing is desired within the city center, it can be concluded that the main reason to be in favour of social mixing is because it creates or stimulates an environment that is open to all different population groups, ultimately leading to a greater equity amongst citizens. But there is also criticism on social mixing in the sense that it is seen as a policy maker's justification of gentrification in a neighbourhood.

3.3.2 Different types of social mixing

As said earlier there are several ways through which social mixing can be measured. Each type is different in the sense that the composition of the social mix can vary, but also the effects that a type has on a neighbourhood (Graham et al., 2009). Because of these varying effects it is hard to say which form of social mixing is most favourable, or which combination of types is most wanted. It is thus essential to first look at all forms separately to really understand the difference between the types.

3.3.2.1 Household mix

The first category is the most complicated form of mixing and exists out of multiple subgroups. These subgroups being: household size, age groups and people in needs of special services (Walks & Maaranen, 2008, p. 294). The idea is that a healthy balance has to be created within a neighbourhood where all these subgroups coexist in a desired ratio defined by the cities policymakers. This healthy balance then promotes a better quality of life for all citizens.

3.3.2.2 Socio economic mix

The most known type of social mixing is the socioeconomic mix. This type is based on purely the income level of a person or household. According to Lees the whole principle of social mixing is based on the idea that there is such a thing as an ideal socioeconomic composition within a neighbourhood (Lees, 2008). Which when attained generates an optimal quality of life for the citizens of the neighbourhood, but also for the community as a whole. Because of this it is frequently suggested by planners and politicians that a policy that promotes social mixing can improve the quality of life within a disadvantaged neighbourhood (Uitermark, 2003, p. 531). Improving this quality of life saves the inhabitants of this neighbourhood from living in an environment that limits social and economical integration in the cities community. But Uitermark (2003) states that the explanation of planners and politicians of why social mixing is done or should be considered necessary lacks fundamental proof.

He even interprets this as policy makers having chosen to pursue a policy that is not supported by empirical evidence.

Davidson (2010, p.532) draws three conclusions when it comes to socioeconomic mixing of the middle class and the lower income class, or as he calls them 'the working class'. His first conclusion is that within a neighbourhood there is little mixing between middle class developments and working class residents, meaning that even if the neighbourhood is 'socially mixed' there is still some sort of segregation between the two groups within the neighbourhood. The second conclusion is that the middle-class residents have a strong sense of community, but not when it comes to supporting the working class that resides in the neighbourhood. So it is questionable to what extend their sense of community is actually a sense of community, or if maybe it is more a sense of class community. Davidson's third and last conclusion is that there is no consistent level of neighbourhood social mixing. He concludes that it varies significantly across neighbourhoods and their contexts. His final overall conclusion is that there is an increase of social interaction over time between the two different classes, just not so much on the short term (being 1-3 years).

Having a higher socioeconomic mix is also, in the academic literature, very often linked to the process of local economical development (Joseph et al., 2007); (Duke, 2009). Bringing in people of higher income levels triggers the local economy in the sense that they, if possible, are willing to spend more money in local businesses.

But trying to attract people of higher income levels to a neighbourhood can also have a negative effect. The arrival of higher income level groups puts pressure on the private housing market, leading to higher housing prices, with the exception of the social housing market where rent prices are fairly regulated (Belanger, 2014). These rapidly augmenting house prices can make people that currently own a house in a neighbourhood not be able to afford it anymore, forcing them to move to other more affordable neighbourhoods. This process of dislocation of lower income classes is one of the infamous effects described by the process of gentrification.

3.3.2.3 Ethno cultural mix

An ethno cultural mix is very different from a socioeconomic mix, a neighbourhood can be very mixed in the sense that is has people from all income groups, socioeconomic mix, but yet be very poorly ethnically mixed. Meaning that within the neighbourhood it is one ethnic group that is most present. Causing segregation between cultural groups within the city (Kempen & Bolt, 2009)

This form of social mixing is also very often linked to the principle of social cohesion, meaning that when there is a higher percentage of an ethno cultural mix in a neighbourhood there automatically also is a higher social cohesion (Duke, 2009). Amin and Parkinson talk about this social cohesion (Amin & Parkinson, 2002, p. 17). They don't use the term social cohesion, but instead they use community cohesion. Community cohesion to them is a combination of '*individual commitment to common*

norms and values, interdependence arising from shared interests, and individual identification with a wider community'. To succeed integrating other ethnicities in a greater whole there are five shared domains that have to be created (Amin & Parkinson, 2002, p. 17):

1. Common values and a civic culture, based in common moral principles and codes of behaviour
2. Social networks and social capital, based on a high degree of social interaction within communities and families, voluntary and associational activity and civic engagement
3. Place attachment and an inter-twining of personal and place identity
4. Social order and social control, based in absence of general conflict, effective informal social control, tolerance and respect for differences
5. Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, based in equal access to services and welfare benefits, redistribution of public finances and opportunities, and ready acknowledgement of social obligations

Amin and Parkinson find that if one (or more) of these 5 domains is lacking in a neighbourhood, the chance of dis-functionality and lack of interaction between ethnicities in a neighbourhood rises. In the cases they researched, Bradford, Oldham and Burnley all located in the UK, it even went further than a lack of interaction and it came to racial riots. Which in the end only caused more polarization between the different ethnicities living in those cities. Van Velzen (1998, p. 50) concludes that ethnic segregation is not necessarily a negative thing and that countering segregation should not be a goal in itself. He says that as long as the negative effects of segregation can be countered there is no need to counter segregation as a whole. So as long as the quality of life within the neighbourhood is not affected, there is not really a need to take action.

3.3.2.4 Tenure mix

A fourth form of social mixing can be found in tenure mixing. The tenure mix is a mix based on different types of tenures that are present in a neighbourhood. This mix consists out of two main types, being homeowners versus renters. A recurring debate in the academic world is whether housing should be a goal in itself or if it should be the result of tackling social polarization and deprivation. But because most housing policies are based on the assumption that there is a correlation between the tenure mix of a neighbourhood and the deprivation of the area (Ostendorf et al, 2001) it is important to take a closer look at what an ideal tenure mix within a neighbourhood actually is.

Arbaci and Rae (2013, p. 457) have created an optimal tenure mix within neighbourhoods that they applied to their research in the greater area of London in the UK. Their optimal mix consists out of a minimum of 40 percent social-rented, a

minimum of 40 percent owner-occupied and a minimum of 15 percent privately rented households. They came to this optimal mix because with these percentages there is not one sector that is clearly more dominating than the other (social rent vs. owner occupied). The private rent sector is much smaller than the other two sectors; this because of the total housing units in the city of London there is only 15 percent that belongs to the private rent sector. The London research results from Arbaci and Rae showed that all but one neighbourhoods that consisted out of their optimal tenure mix showed significant improvement in education, skills and deprivation scores (Arbaci & Rae, 2013, p. 466).

But there are also a few rather large criticisms when it comes to tenure mixing. One of the major criticisms is that there is little evidence that it tackles the issue of deprivation, especially when it comes to tenants living in social housing (Darcy, 2010). Evidence from U.S. based research even shows that having a more tenure mixed neighbourhood, especially if there are social housing units in a neighbourhood, leads to greater social polarization between the people that belong to the middle and high income groups and the people that live in the social housing units. This polarization increases over time when the social housing residents remain in the neighbourhood after all the lower income group residents that did not live in the social housing units have been displaced by rising house prices (Walks & Maaranen, 2008, p. 295). The people that live in the social housing units cannot be displaced due to their fixed rent prices. This criticism goes even further when the objective of increasing educational and labour market improvement through tenure mixing is criticized. It is said by Arbaci and Rae (2013, p. 453) that mixed tenure policies have actually caused more economic transformations of cities, caused more social polarization and finally have caused state-led gentrification. This last result, state-led gentrification, is a process where the state cooperates with developers to regenerate and stimulate a larger middle class homeowner market through the realization of new-built developments (Davidson & Lees, 2005), resulting in a larger polarization between the middle and low income classes. They reason that why Arbaci and Rae do not want to have a dominant sector in their neighbourhood, and especially not a dominate social housing sector, is because if the neighbourhood has a much higher percentage of social housing it quickly turns into a neighbourhood that is very socially deprived.

To conclude this paragraph about tenure mixing a final statement has to be made. From the literature is seems that mixed tenure neighbourhoods do not always work. It is a complex situation where every case needs to be interpreted according to the specificities of the city and/or the regional and national context (Musterd, 2005).

3.3.2.5 Scale social mixing

In the majority of the Western world there is a debate going on focusing on whether the state should intervene in an economical manner to improve the situation of the

poor, at the same time a debate occurs on how the state should address the growing rates of social dislocation (Pitts & Hope, 1997, p. 37). With the main goal of social mixing being to improve the quality of life and social equity, these two debates also apply to social mixing. When it comes to social mixing principles, there are two main trains of thoughts. On the one hand there is the paradigm that believes that social mixing should be regulated through the market mechanism, which is a liberal way of thinking, and on the other hand there is the paradigm that believes that it is the state's duty to improve social mixing in neighbourhoods, which is a more social way of thinking.

Generally speaking the European train of thought is more socially oriented (welfare state) and the North-American thought is more liberal (Pitts & Hope, 1997, p. 42). Canada is by origin less liberally oriented than the United States, which is shown by the mere fact that there is free healthcare for all Canadian residents. Yet there is still a rather large difference in the way the Canadian government functions compared to its European counterparts and it is therefore seen as more liberal. But there is an exception: The province of Quebec. The province of Quebec has since it's quiet revolution in the 1960's, when it obtained more autonomy (Durocher, 2013), turned into the most social province of Canada starting to resemble the European train of thought more.

It is not very common that one of the two paradigms is followed, but it is more common that a middle ground is found combining both Paradigms into a new less extreme train of thought. An example of such a less extreme middle ground is found in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands the market mechanism was introduced in practically all public institutions, leading to what Uitermark (2003, p. 545) calls a 'liberal welfare state'. It has to be mentioned that in the Netherlands the market mechanism has not simply replaced the welfare state when it comes to social relations. Instead certain aspects of this welfare state have been eroded, opening up opportunities for policy makers to perform their role as "*righters of wrong*". Making the Netherlands an example of an 'inbetweener', not belonging to the full socialistic welfare state side nor the fully liberal market mechanism side. The main goal of this research is to find out which train of thought functions best for social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods in Montreal.

3.3.3 Criticism on social mixing

A criticism on the concept of social mixing coming from the academic world is that policymakers socially mix for the wrong reasons (R. Atkinson, 2005); (Graham et al., 2009). These scholars say that policymakers promote social mixing within neighbourhoods without proofing that it is successful, but also and maybe more importantly they state that policymakers use social mixing to improve the quality of

space and not the quality of the people living in this space. Neglecting to solve the social problems that play in the neighbourhoods they want to socially mix.

Another huge criticism on social mixing is that even though there is a spatial proximity between different groups of people, which can be groups fitting into any of the earlier discussed categories, there will be no interaction between them (Lees, 2008); (Rose, 2004); (Bretherton & Pleace, 2011); (R. Atkinson, 2005). And social interaction is considered a key factor when it comes to implementing successful social mixing.

But there are also scholars that say the contrary when it comes to social cohesion (Behar et al., 2004). These scholars say that forcefully mixing people is against nature and that people look for a place to live where other people that resemble their lifestyle live as well. Or as Davidson states in his essay about social mixing in gentrified neighbourhoods: "*the absence of social mixing cannot be viewed simply as another policy failure. Rather, it demands an understanding which posits how social class continues to operate and be structured in the neighbourhood context*" (Davidson, 2010, p. 526). Social mixing is thus a complex process where putting different people together in a neighbourhood is not sufficient to make it a successful policy for countering segregation and social polarization within the city. There is even evidence that certain groups of people can benefit from living with people that are of the same ethnic background or are in the same socioeconomic status (Uitermark, 2003, p. 534).

3.3.4 Social mixing in Montreal

When it comes to social mixing in Montreal there are two scholars that have done important research. Germain and Rose (2010) their research mainly focussed on trying to find out if social mixing strategies employed by the city of Montreal were not just a justification for achieving a more acceptable form of gentrification through the attraction of the middle class. Lees (2008) also states that even though gentrification is often an (partial) objective to policymakers, it is actually hardly ever mentioned within the social mixing strategies. Instead, they use terms that are not as criticized such as 'urban renaissance', 'regeneration', revitalization or sustainable urban development.

Montreal can be seen as a special case when it comes to social mixing through the process of gentrification. Walks and Maaranen (2008, p. 321) did research in Canada's three biggest cities: Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Their findings showed that the longer a neighbourhood is gentrified, the more obvious the polarization between income groups becomes. Montreal differs from Vancouver and Toronto in the sense that the Montreal inner city neighbourhoods did not exhibit the

same amounts of gentrification. Montreal's inner city neighbourhoods also did not lose their function as immigrant areas, unlike Toronto and Vancouver, meaning that the percentage of immigrants in the city centre has not been affected much by the process of gentrification in the past decennia. This according to Walks and Maaranen is the result of a higher concentration of Allophones (people that do not speak French or English) and Anglophones (people that have English as their primary language) amongst the immigrant population of Montreal. Immigrants have a tendency to locate themselves in neighbourhoods where English is more spoken and accepted. Gentrified inner city neighbourhoods in Montreal have the highest percentages of English speaking people outside the West Island (which is the west part of the island of Montreal where the highest percentage of English speakers are located). The conclusion from Walks & Maaranen's and Rose & Germain's articles is that gentrification does not promote or improve an ethno cultural mix within neighbourhoods and that if the city wants to maintain or improve this mix gentrification has to be stopped or slowed down drastically.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this paragraph on social mixing is that, if done right, social mixing can help positively change the image of a neighbourhood. And by doing so it also improves the quality of life of all residents (Graham et al., 2009); (Camina & Wood, 2009). But cautiousness is required. Social mixing can, or will, lead to the gentrification of a neighbourhood. A process that based on the academic literature does not improve the quality of life within a city or neighbourhood on the long term. It can even be stated that if gentrification takes place in a neighbourhood, more polarization between the socioeconomic or ethno cultural groups will take place. The question therefore still remains, should social mixing be stimulated by the government yes or no?

3.4 Inclusionary policies

Now that it is clear what social mixing means and how it contributes to improving the overall quality of life it is important to look at what inclusionary policies do and what their main goals are to be able to determine how inclusionary policies can best influence social mixing strategies. This paragraph will first discuss social equity; there will be discussed why social equity is an issue and how inclusionary policies can help improve it. The second part will discuss the in North-America most popular inclusionary policy, inclusionary zoning. In the final part of the paragraph a link between inclusionary policies and social mixing strategies will be made.

3.4.1 Social equity

In the past three decades there has been a rather large pressure on the internal distribution of income, wealth and opportunities within urban areas (Pitts & Hope, 1997, p. 38). This pressure has caused a greater polarization of income and wealth at the local level, creating areas that are seen as 'poor areas' and 'better-off areas' and excludes a rather large group of people from the social life of the city. Two main reasons can be found for this increasing polarization, firstly economic disinvestment and secondly cultural disinvestment (Pitts & Hope, 1997, p. 41). A consequence of this increasing polarization and social exclusion is that it affects the ability of a city to be competitive. Cities that are known for their socioeconomic inequalities are less attractive to investors and can thus attract fewer investments (Sharp, Pollock, & Paddison, 2005, p. 1005).

Inclusionary policies have two main goals (Sharp et al., 2005, p. 1011). The first one is to improve the social inclusion. Social inclusion is described as the process of successfully integrating people into the active society and can be measured through seven indicators (Atkinson, 2002, p. 6): "*Distribution of income (ratio of share of top 20% to share of bottom 20%); Share of population below the poverty line before and after social transfers (defined as 60% of national median equivalized income); Persistence of poverty (share of population below the poverty line for three consecutive years); Proportion of jobless households; Regional disparities (coefficient of variation of regional unemployment rates); Low education (proportion of people aged 18–24 who are not in education or training and have only lower secondary education) and finally long-term unemployment rate*". The main goal of social inclusion is to create more diversified communities, which do not exclude certain people or groups. This can be done through the implication of the different social mixing strategies such as diversifying the household compositions, household types and the dispersion of low-income concentrations (Duke, 2009); (Galster, Andersson, & Musterd, 2010). The second goal is that inclusionary policies aid with the improvement of the projected image of a city.

The two principles discussed in paragraph 3.2, New Urbanism and Smart Growth, both support the creation of more diversified communities, a prerequisite to creating more social equity within a city. It is very important that equal opportunities exist, for all people living in and around a city. If these equal opportunities are not present, it will mean that there is less social equity and thus the living environment is less sustainable and the overall quality of life of the city lower. It is therefore important to look at how these two principles influence social equity separately.
New Urbanism, unlike Smart Growth, does not directly address social equity. This is not a problem, especially because New Urbanism is a more overarching concept that describes a new way of thinking within the North-American planning world. It does

not address specifically how cities have to be planned and how this impacts social equity directly, but it does steer away from the typical North-American suburban development that was causing more and more social inequity. Through connecting the focal environmental, social, economic and aesthetic points New Urbanism tries to create a better city in which social equity is one of the important aspects (Brain, 2005).

The second concept, Smart Growth, does address social equity directly. Smart growth describes that for a city to be sustainable it is important to make the available services easily accessible. This requires so called '*high density mixed-use'* and '*pedestrian oriented development'* (Maryland Department of Planning, 1997). By developing the city according to these two principles the access to housing and services within the city should be better, improving the social equity. But there is one problem with Smart Growth, it neglects the individual (Weitz, 2012). So even though Smart Growth improves the social equity overall, because it neglects the individual it can also cause less social equity for people from a certain race, community or schooling. It is therefore important to include the individual as much as possible.

The conclusion when it comes to social equity is that it is essential to have diversified communities where equal opportunities exist. This should be done by stopping the urban sprawl, which creates more social inequality, and making services more accessible, through for example high-density mixed use and pedestrian oriented development. It is also very important to not forget the individual, to not exclude certain groups.

3.4.2 Inclusionary zoning

To attain the two main goals described above inclusionary policies have moved from arranging redistribution of wealth and public services across the whole society to the improving of relations and interactions between individuals within selected places (Arbaci & Rae, 2013, p. 454), giving the local governments a more important role, also known as the shift from a redistributive discourse to a relational one (van Beckhoven & van Kempen, 2003). The most 'famous' inclusionary policy in North America is inclusionary zoning. Inclusionary zoning is a policy through which planners can require developers of residential developments to provide affordable housing in order to gain the approval for their development (Balfour, 2010). The affordable housing requirement mandated by inclusionary zoning can be through three different types: The first one, and also the most efficient one, being through the inclusion of a certain percentage of units within the development, that when constructed are sold below market rates as an affordable ownership unit. A second form is through the provision of land for the development of affordable housing units elsewhere, a form which is seen as weaker inclusionary zoning policy. This form makes it possible for municipalities to acquire land cheaply, which can be reserved

for future affordable housing developments. The third and final form is inclusionary zoning through a contribution to an affordable housing fund, which in reality is similar to other forms of taxes or development fees.

Inclusionary zoning was first introduced in 1986 in the city of Vancouver after the World Exposition on Transportation and Communication and was first applied to the Li Ka Shing deal. Li Ka Shing, a very rich Hong Kong based Chinese businessman, bought 67 hectares of ground from the provincial government in the Vancouver downtown area. Before the deal was done there was an agreement signed stating that within the 67 hectares a total of 17 hectares of park, a waterfront promenade, a community centre, eight daycares, and a fifth of the constructed units devoted to social housing had to be developed, and all this paid by the developer (Jessa, 2009, p. 12). The New Urbanism movement in North America gladly adopted this inclusionary policy as a way to include affordable housing in new inner city residential developments. Resulting in the sizeable production of affordable housing units in large US cities such as Chicago and Boston and 20% of all newly built residential developments in Vancouver and Toronto being sold below market price (Balfour, 2010, p. 3).

But there is a problem as well. When it comes to inclusionary zoning a divide can be found in the existing scientific literature. On one side there are researchers that find inclusionary zoning an inferior form of affordable housing provision. They do not understand why new homeowners, rather than the entire society, have to subsidize the housing of low income classes (Beer et Al., 2007). And on the other side researchers argue that inclusionary zoning can play an essential role in securing affordable housing units for low-income groups within rapidly gentrifying neighbourhoods (Newman & Wyly, 2006). In Quebec they decided not to allow inclusionary zoning to 'discriminate' against certain population groups. Zoning can therefore only deal with physical characteristics of the environment and not the socioeconomic (Belanger, 2014).

3.4.3 Inclusionary policies, social mixing and social equity

To conclude this paragraph it is important to briefly summarize how inclusionary policies and social mixing are related to social equity. Inclusionary policies have two main goals, improving the social inclusion and improving the projected image of a city. This research focuses on the first goal of inclusionary policies, that of social inclusion. Inclusionary policies can contribute to the social inclusion of people by creating or maintaining a certain social mix within a neighbourhood. This appropriate social mix differs between neighbourhoods since the situation of the neighbourhood itself can vary. For example, a neighbourhood can be overly gentrified and have lost too much of its low-income class, or a neighbourhood has an extremely low

percentage of immigrants, families or renting households. Social mixing strategies can make sure an appropriate diversified community is created, improving the overall quality of life of the neighbourhood residents and ultimately generating a better social equity amongst residents.

3.5 Hypothesis

Now that an extensive literature review has been done, it is important to create certain hypotheses that will have to be tested in the empirical part of this research. The hypothesis will be categorized per sub-question, as these hypotheses will be used to answer the sub questions:

Should social mixing be stimulated?

1. Social mixing by integrating higher income households in the neighbourhood puts negative pressure on the private housing market by triggering the process of gentrification.
2. Tenure mixing does not tackle deprivation and thus does not improve the quality of life.
3. Social mixing strategies lead to better access to infrastructure and services for all inhabitants, thus directly improving the quality of life.

What is a good social mix in an inner city neighbourhood?

4. Policy makers experience quality of life more as objective quality of life whereas citizens experience it more as subjective quality of life, which leads to different goals between policy makers and residents.
5. A higher percentage of an ethno cultural mix in a neighbourhood means higher social cohesion and thus a higher perception of quality of life.

What are inclusionary policies and how can they contribute to social mixing strategies?

6. Policies that neglect the individual lead to very homogenous neighbourhoods.
7. Inclusionary policies have a direct positive impact on social mixing, creating diversified neighbourhoods.
8. Inclusionary zoning functions as a highly efficient tool to develop a certain percentage of affordable housing units within the city center.

How does the market principle regulate social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods?

9. Social mixing cannot be regulated centrally as every neighbourhood has a different composition and thus different needs.
10. The longer a neighbourhood is gentrified, the higher the polarization and the more homogenous the population.

4. Empirical frame

4. Empirical frame

In this chapter the setup will be done for the empirical part of this thesis. This will be done in three parts: The first part is a brief outline of the empirical research part, in which the two phases will be elaborated. The second part of this chapter will focus on the methodology of the research, in which made decisions will be justified. The final part of this chapter will focus on the actual data gathering discussing the several actors that participated in this research.

4.1 Research set up

The data gathering for this thesis will take part in two phases. The first phase is an extensive statistical analysis of both boroughs based on the most recent census data collected by the Canadian government in 2006 and 2011 (the 2011 census has been completed but the data for that census has not yet been fully released by the government). The boroughs will be analysed according to the different social mixing types discussed in the theoretical frame, being: Household mix, tenure mix, socioeconomic mix and ethno cultural mix. But there will also be looked at general information such as deprivation, density and rent. The goal of this analysis, which will be visualized with the aid of a GIS, is to have a clear image of both boroughs, regarding social mix, but also regarding the problematic area's of the neighbourhoods before going more in depth with the second part of the data gathering, the interviews.

The second phase of the empirical data gathering constitutes of semi-structured interviews with specific stakeholders in the two different boroughs. A part of these interviews will be face-to-face, but due to limited time in Canada the majority of these interviews will be done by Skype or telephone.

4.2 Methodology

In this paragraph an elaborate justification for the chosen research methods will be given. There will be explained what type of research is performed and why certain methods are chosen over others. The first part of this paragraph tries to justify the chosen methods and describes how this relates to the theoretical frame. The last part of the paragraph will offer a detailed time frame.

4.2.1 Chosen methods

The focus will lie on five different aspects of methodology: theory and research, research design, research methods, geographical information systems and semi-structured interviews.

4.2.1.1 Theory and research

There are two possible ways of relating theory and research in social research, deductive and inductive theory. The first form, deduction, consists out of six steps (Bryman, 2012, p. 24): Theory, hypothesis, data collection, findings, confirming/rejecting the hypothesis and conclusion. What has to be said is that, in reality deduction will not follow these six steps perfectly but the process will overall appear very linear, where one step will follow another in a logical sequence. Deductive theories are also very often linked to Merton's so called 'theories of the middle range', which are theories that are "*principally used in sociology to guide empirical inquiries*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 24). The final remark about the deductive approach is that it is very often associated with quantitative forms of research.

Induction on the other hand, walks a different path. With induction, unlike with deduction, theory is the result of research (also known as grounded theory). This means that generalizable inferences are drawn out of observations. These observations are then the basis upon which the theory will be created. Step six from deduction is similar to induction. In this step theory will be created/altered based upon the observations done in step three.

In this research deduction is chosen as a research method for one specific reason. The topic being researched is quite new in the central metropolitan area of Montreal but is not new in its scientific field. On the contrary, the concepts being applied in Montreal are some of the most popular planning concepts in recent academic literature. These concepts have been successful in other parts of North America and Europe and will now have to prove if they can be successful in the case of Montreal too. It is therefore interesting to see what the theories are, and see how they apply to the two neighbourhoods researched in Montreal.

4.2.1.2 Research design

The main goal of this research is to find out what the differences are between neighbourhoods if the local government maintains a more regulated approach versus when the local government lets the market do its work. This will be looked at through a comparative research design, a design that can include quantitative as well as qualitative research methods (Bryman, 2012, p. 72). A comparative research design is simply put the studying of two or more contrasting cases while using the same methods to research them. In this case two contrasting cases will be researched in

the city of Montreal. The city of Montreal was chosen as a case study because of four reasons. First, Montreal has a rather unique position within the North American continent. It is located in the province of Quebec, which is seen as the most socially oriented province of Canada, which is reflected in the city of Montreal's more pro active stance to social policy making (Compared to other North American cities). Second, The percentage of immigrants (People residing in Canada but born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas (Statistics Canada, 2010)), is very high. This is caused by the cities bilingual status with both French and English being accepted languages. It is an interesting city for immigrants that do not speak the English language and are therefore more limited in the rest of the North American continent, but master the French language to locate them selves in Montreal. Third, because Montreal has just launched its first regional-metropolitan plan which focuses on sustainable development and improving the quality of life. And fourth, because within the city of Montreal there are different social policy approaches between different boroughs, making it interesting to research the outcomes between boroughs that apply a regulated approach versus boroughs that don't.

Figure 4.1 City of Montreal
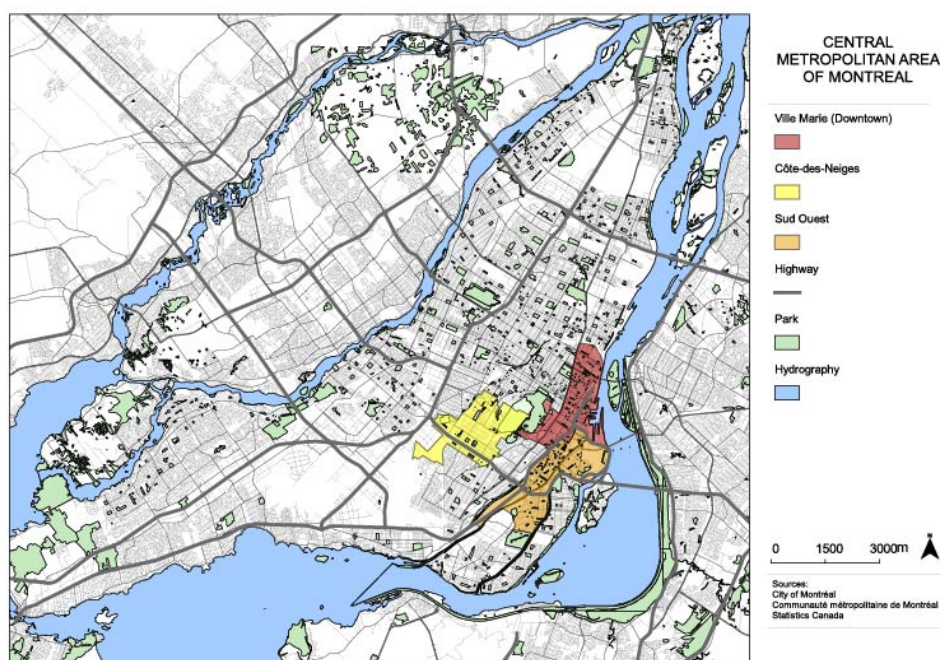
Before an introduction of the two different boroughs is done a short explanation will be given of how a borough functions and operates within the city of Montreal. It is important to clarify what a borough is, what they do and how it relates to other government scales. The city of Montreal consists out of 19 boroughs. Each borough has its own mayor and council. The mayor is elected by the borough's residents in

the municipal elections that are held every 4 years; the borough council consists out of a combination of city council officials and borough council officials that are elected in these same elections. The composition of the council depends on the size of the borough and the total population living in it. The borough councils have power over 12 matters (Ville de Montreal, 2014): urban planning, waste collection, culture, recreation, social and community development, parks, roads, housing, human resources, fire prevention, non taxation fees and financial management. The several borough governments are under the direct supervision of the Montreal city council, which supervises, standardizes and/or approves certain decisions made by the borough governments.

The first case study, the Sud Ouest, is a rather large borough located right next to the cities central business district. Certain parts of this district such as 'Griffin town' and 'Little Burgundy' have experienced large amounts of gentrification, but there are also parts where the process of gentrification has been less present as of yet. This first case study is interesting because the borough of Centre Sud maintains a pro-active approach when it comes to social housing and inclusionary policies. They want to make sure that even if certain parts of the borough are gentrified, or will be in the future, there is always space for people belonging to the lower income classes. Especially because large parts of the Centre Sud borough are historically seen as working class neighbourhoods.

The second case study that will be looked at is the neighbourhood of Côte-des-Neiges located in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce borough. This neighbourhood lies a little bit further away from the city centre but is very interesting nonetheless. There are two main reasons why this borough is so interesting to research: the first is because it is a very multi cultural neighbourhood with a lot of immigrants, which demand different types of housing than the average middle income class Canadian citizen and secondly because in certain parts of the neighbourhood a process of gentrification has just been discovered. This process of gentrification is quite probably going to be sped up by the redevelopment of an old horse race track (Hippodrome) into a new sustainable and eco friendly neighbourhood, which the city of Montreal will see as its flagship for future Montreal residential developments. For this currently vacant space an international design contest was launched in September 2013 by the city of Montreal. The idea that the city of Montreal has for this neighbourhood is similar to some very popular recent residential developments in the United States (Seattle) and Germany (Vauban) which all promote social mixing and more sustainable building principles.

It will be interesting to see if there is a difference in outcome between the two boroughs and if so what that difference is and what it is caused by. According to Bryman (2012) there are three main arguments of why a comparative research

design is of value. The first reason is that it improves theory building, "*By comparing two or more cases, the researcher is in a better position to establish the circumstances in which a theory will or will not hold*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 74). The second reason is that multiple case studies play a crucial role in the understanding of causality. The third and final reason is its "*ability to allow the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 75). Especially the third, but also the second reason, apply to this research perfectly because the research aims not just on finding out what the difference of outcome is but also what exactly caused this difference.

4.2.1.3 Research methods: Qualitative vs. Quantitative

In this research these two types of research methods will play a role in the empirical part. The first part of the case study will be an analysis based on a cross-sectional design format, the Canadian 2006 and 2011 census tracts. This quantitative form of data gathering emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data, but in this case the data is already collected, so the main focus lies on the analysis part, which is done with a Geographical Information System. The second part of the case study, where certain areas of the two boroughs will be further investigated, is closely related to the results of the first part of the case study. With the help of a qualitative research method, in this case semi-structured interviews, the questions sparked in the theoretical frame and statistical analysis will be answered.

The empirical research is therefore a mixed methods research. There are researchers that are not in favour of this research approach because of two reasons (Bryman, 2012, p. 629), in their eyes research methods carry epistemological commitments (which Bryman in his book calls "*very hard to sustain*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 629)) and because they believe that quantitative and qualitative research methods are separate paradigms (which Bryman argues is not provable for social research (Bryman, 2012, p. 630)). But there are also scientists that believe that mixed method research is so called "*mutually illuminating*", meaning that combination of the two methods will give new insight which could not have been found if one of the two research methods would have been excluded. There are three reasons why in this research a mixed methods approach is deemed fit. The first reason is that of triangulation, which is also known as greater validity. In this research this will be done by first analyzing the neighbourhoods statistical data, which is the quantitative research part, to then further investigate the interesting points that came out of the quantitative part in semi-structured interviews, which is considered a qualitative research method. This way the findings may be mutually corroborated. The second reason is that of completeness. The main thought here is that a more comprehensive account of the researched area can be given, and the third and final reason, which applies best to this research, that of explanation. One of the two research methods is

used to help and explain the generated findings of the other. In the remainder of this paragraph the two methods chosen in the first and second phase of the empirical research will be elaborated and justified.

4.2.1.4 Geographical Information Systems

A very important part of the case studies is the cartographic analysis of the two boroughs of Montreal. In this cartographic analysis the obtained statistical data is brought to visualization through the creation of cmaps, which is done with a Geographical Information System called QGIS. But what is a GIS, and why does it add value to this research? GIS' are designed to answer certain generic questions, regarding location, patterns, trends and conditions (Heywood et Al., 1998, p. 3). There is not a generic definition of GIS. Every definition differs based on the person who is giving it and the research background of that person. But the different researchers agree on one thing, the fact that all definitions of GIS touch three main components (Heywood et al., 1998, p. 12). They all state that GIS is a computer system, that it uses spatially referenced or geographical data and that it can run certain management and analysis tasks on this data. The advantages of a GIS can be found in three areas (Heywood et al., 1998, p. 12):

1. *Quick and easy access to large volumes of data*
2. *The ability to: select detail by area or theme; link or merge one data set with another; analyse spatial characteristics of data; search for particular characteristics or features in an area; update data quickly and cheaply; and model data and assess alternatives.*
3. *Output capabilities tailored to meet particular needs*

The conclusion is that a GIS is a handy tool to add value to spatial data, or as Heywood et Al. (1998, p. 12) state: "*By allowing data to be organized and viewed efficiently, by integrating them with other data, by analysis and by the creation of new data that can be operated, GIS creates information to help decision making*".

In this research large quantities of data, stemming from the Canadian census tracts of 2006 and 2011 together with data collected by the local or regional governments, have to be analyzed per relevant theme (Land use, density of the population, deprivation, total amount of children, average income, % of gross income spent on rent, average gross rent, housing density, % of tenants and % of immigrants). With the aid of QGIS a spatial analysis on a small scale can be made, in this case per dissemination area. The advantage of this analysis through a GIS is that it is rather easy to identify the most interesting areas of the two boroughs. It is relatively easy to see which dissemination areas are experiencing the biggest change and/or which areas are the most problematic. After having identified these 'interesting' areas, is it

possible to further investigate them in the next phase of the case study, being the interviews.

4.2.1.5 Semi-structured Interviews

The final part of the empirical research will take place through several interviews with stakeholders in the two boroughs. There are several types of interviews possible: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. In this paragraph there will be justified why semi-structured interviews were chosen for the second part of the empirical analysis. First the reason why qualitative interviews are chosen over quantitative interviews is explained. Quantitative interviews are very structured to maximize reliability and validity of the concepts that are being measured, but for this part of the research it is not so important to test concepts, as this was already done in the first part, but it more important to focus on the perspective of the interviewee on certain topics. The concerns of the researcher are of less importance than the concern of the interviewee. If an interesting fact pops up in an interview it is necessary to depart from the interview guide or schedule. With a quantitative form this would not be possible. In this part of the research rich and detailed answers are preferred, these answers can then be coded and used in the formulation or alteration of theory later on in the research. The last reason for why qualitative interviews are chosen over quantitative interviews is because it has to be possible, if necessary, to interview an interviewee multiple times.

Now that is clear why a qualitative interviews are chosen over a quantitative interviews it is important to elaborate why semi-structured interviews are chosen over unstructured interviews. There are two reasons why semi-structured interviews are a better fit for the second phase of the empirical research. The first reason is that the second part of the research will have a fairly clear focus, rather than a general notion. The interesting issues found in the quantitative analysis have to be further investigated, to do so a clear interviews guide is necessary. The second reason is that some structure is needed when doing cross case comparability. It is difficult to compare and generalize from two separate cases; having a certain structure within the interviews will help with doing so.

4.3 Data gathering

The final paragraph focuses on the several actors that were interviewed for this research. Every actor will be introduced briefly by explaining who they are, what they do and when they were founded. The final part of the paragraph focuses on the tools that are necessary to successfully gather and process the obtained data.

4.3.1 stakeholders

A list of the different stakeholders that are approached will be given in this paragraph. The stakeholders are divided into four different categories: Policy makers, public organizations, community organizations and private organizations. A short description describing who they are, who finances them, what their main goals are and when they were founded will be given.

Table 4.1 Overview interviewed stakeholders

Name Interviewee	Organization	Borough	Function
Pierre Morrissette	RESO	Sud Ouest	Public organisation
Benoit Ferland	Batir son Quartier	Sud Ouest	Housing corporation
Grégory Brasseur	FECHIMM	Sud Ouest	Housing corporation
Antoine Morneau-Sénéchal	POPIR	Sud Ouest	Community organisation
Isabelle Lépine	Collectif Quartier	CDN	Public organisation
Jennifer Auchinleck	CDC-CDN	CDN	Community organisation
Marie-Josée Corriveau	FRAPRU	CDN	Community organisation
Denis Houle	SAMCON	Montreal	Private development company
Luc Poirier	Investissement Luc Poirier	Montreal	Private investment company
Christelle Proulx-Cormier	TACS	Montreal	Community organisation
Multiple persons	Demain Montreal	Montreal	Community organisation

4.3.1.1 Policy makers

The departments in charge of urban planning in the borough of Sud Ouest and CDN-NDG were contacted for this research. These departments are in charge of the implementation and supervision of the policies created on city level, but also have a certain freedom to create their own policies regarding the 12 government tasks described in paragraph 4.1.2.2. The local borough government is free to design its own urban planning strategy, as long as it complies with the strategic vision of the city of Montreal. It is the task of the borough council (who's members are often also implied in the city council) to communicate the boroughs vision to city, which can then decide to accept or reject the outlined strategy.

Unfortunately both the borough governments of Sud Ouest and CDN-NDG did not want to take part in this research. A lack of time and the current ongoing elections at

the time the interviews were being done made it impossible for them to find the time to participate.

4.3.1.2 Public organizations

RESO (Sud Ouest)
RESO (Regroupement économique et social du Sud Ouest) is a public organisation consisting out of several social and economical actors from the Sud Ouest who together seek to achieve a better living and working environment for the boroughs population. RESO can be categorized as a social security institution that tries to stimulate local employment and business and get's its funding from the federal government (Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions program), the provincial government (Emploi Quebec program) and the Sud Ouest borough. The main mission for the RESO is to help local residents find jobs, help local businesses start up and communicate with community organizations and social institutions making sure there is an ongoing dialogue between all different actors in the borough (RESO, 2013). RESO was founded in 1989 after the adoption of the economical program for Pointe-Saint Charles to commonly mobilize the Sud Ouest's main socioeconomic stakeholders. The organization operates in the Sud Ouest borough and especially in the Saint-Henri, Little Burgundy, Pointe-Sainte-Charles, Saint-Paul-Émerald and Griffintown neighbourhoods.

Batir Son Quartier (Sud Ouest)
Batir Son Quartier is a non-profit socioeconomic organization that develops community housing projects, comparable to a public housing corporation in the Netherlands. The organization get's its funding mostly from provincial and federal programs for social and community housing. Programs meant to manage and guide the development of community housing projects in Montreal. The main goal for Batir Son Quartier is to create a good living environment for residents that belong to the low- and middle-income groups within the city of Montreal (Batir son Quartier, 2013). Batir Son Quartier also guides private developers with the development of social, affordable and community housing, contributes to the development of more sustainable forms of real estate and also works hard to make sure rent prices are affordable for all citizens in Montreal, not just on the short but especially on the long term. Batir Son Quartier is part of the provincial association called 'Association des Groupes de Ressources Techniques du Québec and was founded in 1994 when four major community-housing organizations joined forces to be able to work on a larger scale. The four organizations that merged were: Service d'aménagement populaire, les Services à l'habitation d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, le Service d'aide à la rénovation de Pointe Saint-Charles et la Société populaire d'habitation de Rosemont'.

FECHIMM (Sud Ouest)
FECHIMM (Fédération des coopératives d'habitation intermunicipale du Montréal métropolitain) is a joint venture of self-governed collective businesses active in the real estate sector. It resembles a public housing corporation, but instead of focussing on social housing it instead focuses solely on 'coop housing'. Coop housing is when a group of individuals are seeking suitable housing at a reasonable cost. When this accommodation is found they register it as a business that is jointly owned. FECHIMM is financed (mostly) by its members, who pay an annual membership fee. This membership fee gives them the right to attend the yearly assembly where the direction the FECHIMM will move towards will be decided. The FECHIMM has more then 440 cooperatives under its wings with approximately 11.000 households spread over the island of Montreal, representing about two thirds of all cooperatives on the island with a estimated value of 500 million dollars. FECHIMM was founded in 1983 when around twenty housing cooperatives in Montreal wanted: '*a collective tool to develop services for their particular needs, to defend their interests and to see that new housing cooperatives would see the light of day*' (FECHIMM, 2013).

Collectif Quartier (Côte-des-Neiges)
Collectif Quartier is a public organisation, resembling a taskforce consisting out of actors from several domains, financed and founded (in 2008) by the city of Montreal. The idea was to bring together stakeholders with different backgrounds and perspectives (and their knowledge on certain topics) to encourage local development. The main goal for Collectif Quartier is that the community has to become the leading actor in change and that it has to be acknowledged that certain factors (geographical, urban, environmental, social, cultural, economical and political) influence the quality of life of a certain area (Collectif Quartier, 2013).

4.3.1.3 Community organizations

Commiteé logement POPIR (Sud Ouest)
POPIR (Comité Logement, pour 'Projet d'Organisation Populaire, d'Information et de Regroupement') is a community organization consisting out of borough residents who are committed to improving the housing situation of the borough. The organization resembles a neighbourhood residents association in the Netherlands. POPIR gets it's funding mostly from the provincial government. The members only have to pay a symbolic contribution on 2$. The organization has two main goals: first to help residents who have difficulties staying in the private housing market and second to battle for the right of social housing and against the further gentrification of the Sud Ouest Neighbourhoods (POPIR, 2013). POPIR was established in 1969 to fight for the most deprived part of the population in Montreal. As of 1989 the focus shifted fully on the right to housing in the neighbourhoods of Saint-Henri, Little Burgundy, Côte-Saint-Paul and Ville-Émard.

CDC-CDN (Côte-des-Neiges)

The CDC-CDN (Corporation de Développement Communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges) is a community organization representing around fifty small local community organizations from the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood. The CDC-CDN is part of the federal CDC organization and gets it's funding from the federal government. The main goals for the CDC are promoting solidarity and the consultation of the actors within Côte-des-Neiges, improving the quality of life and the living conditions for the entire population of Côte-des-Neiges and to fight poverty, discrimination and all forms of exclusion. The CDC initiates or supports initiatives that help to improve the communities' social and/or economical conditions. In 2010 the CDC adopted the following priorities during their congress: Fighting poverty and social exclusion, employment, children in CDN and "*Sauveurs du Monde à CDN'*. They also integrate three overarching themes into these priorities: eco-responsibility, women's issues and inter-culturalism. The CDC plays a very active role in making sure that a large amount of social housing will be constructed in the 'Hippodrome' development, the old horserace track that will be developed into one of Montreal's showcase sustainable residential area's (CDC CDN, 2013).

FRAPRU (Côte-des-Neiges)

FRAPRU (Front d'action populaire en réaménagement urbain) is a national organization that fights for the right on housing and consists out of around 155 members (mostly community organizations) and is financed fully by donations. FRAPRU is active in the planning of the urban environment; the fight against poverty and the promotion of social rights. FRAPRU has three major viewpoints. First, it sees housing as a fundamental right, to which everyone should have equal access to disregarding their income, sex, social status, ethnicity, etc. Second, FRAPRU sees a major role for the state when it comes to the regulation of housing. They find that companies that thrive on making profit are not capable of realizing equal access to housing and thus find that the state should play a leading role. Not just in the development of social and affordable housing but also in the control of the private housing sector. Third, that citizens have to play a larger role when it comes to regulating the housing conditions within their neighbourhood, but also the quality of life in general (FRAPRU, 2013). FRAPRU was founded in October 1978 following a conference on how several organizations in Quebec were going to deal with urban renewal programs.

TACS (Montreal)

TACS (Tous pour l'Aménamegemt du Centre-Sud) is a non-profit organisation consisting out of a group of 6 organisations from the public, private and community sector, which are active in the Montreal city center. The main goal of the organisation is to preserve the city center for all residents and keep the quality of life at an

acceptable level. They do so by making their vision for the city centre and communicating this with the local government.

Demain Montreal (Montreal)
Demain Montreal is a group of around 20 actors, consisting out of community organizations and residents, that come together on a regular basis to discuss the plans created by the CMM and the city of Montreal. During these meetings they discuss the implications of these plans and see what should be altered according to them and communicate this with the CMM or the local government.

4.3.1.4 Private organizations

As many private developing companies as possible will be contacted. A short open survey will be handed out to them asking if they already develop social and affordable housing, if they would be willing to develop social and affordable housing, what they think of the current regulations regarding social and affordable housing developments and what they think should change to make the developing of social and affordable housing more attractive.

SAMCON
SAMCON is a private developing company that does not develop any social or affordable housing units, but does conform to the city's 15% inclusionary policy by selling terrains below market price that can be used for social or affordable housing developments or by contributing to the social and affordable housing fund. SAMCON fulfills a certain need within Montreal by catering to the so-called 'first-buyers'. Meaning that they develop relatively cheap houses for first time buyers. 85% of all developed units fall under this category, which in Montreal is known as 'Programme d'accession à la proprieté de la Ville de Montreal, a program to stimulate homeownership in Montreal. SAMCON develops medium sized residential developments (24-60 units) in both Sud Ouest and CDN.

Investissement Luc Poirier
Investissement Luc Poirier is an investment company that currently invests in housing projects. The housing projects in which Investissement Luc Poirier invests contain affordable housing units, but no social housing units. The company's philosophy is to sell at the lowest price possible to generate a faster flow, therefore half of the housing units developed by Investissement Luc Poirier can be categorized as affordable. Investissement Luc Poirier is currently active in the Sud Ouest borough, with a large condo project (around 200 units on 20 floors).

4.3.2 Data gathering tools

To gather and analyse the data throughout the two phases of the empirical research a few tools are necessary. For the first phase, the spatial analysis, the only thing needed is a GIS. In this case the program QGIS will be used to process and analyse the obtained statistical data. For the second phase there are two tools necessary. The first tool is a recording device, to record the interviews. The second tool is a data processing program, such as NVivo, which makes it possible to code the qualitative data.

5. Case studies
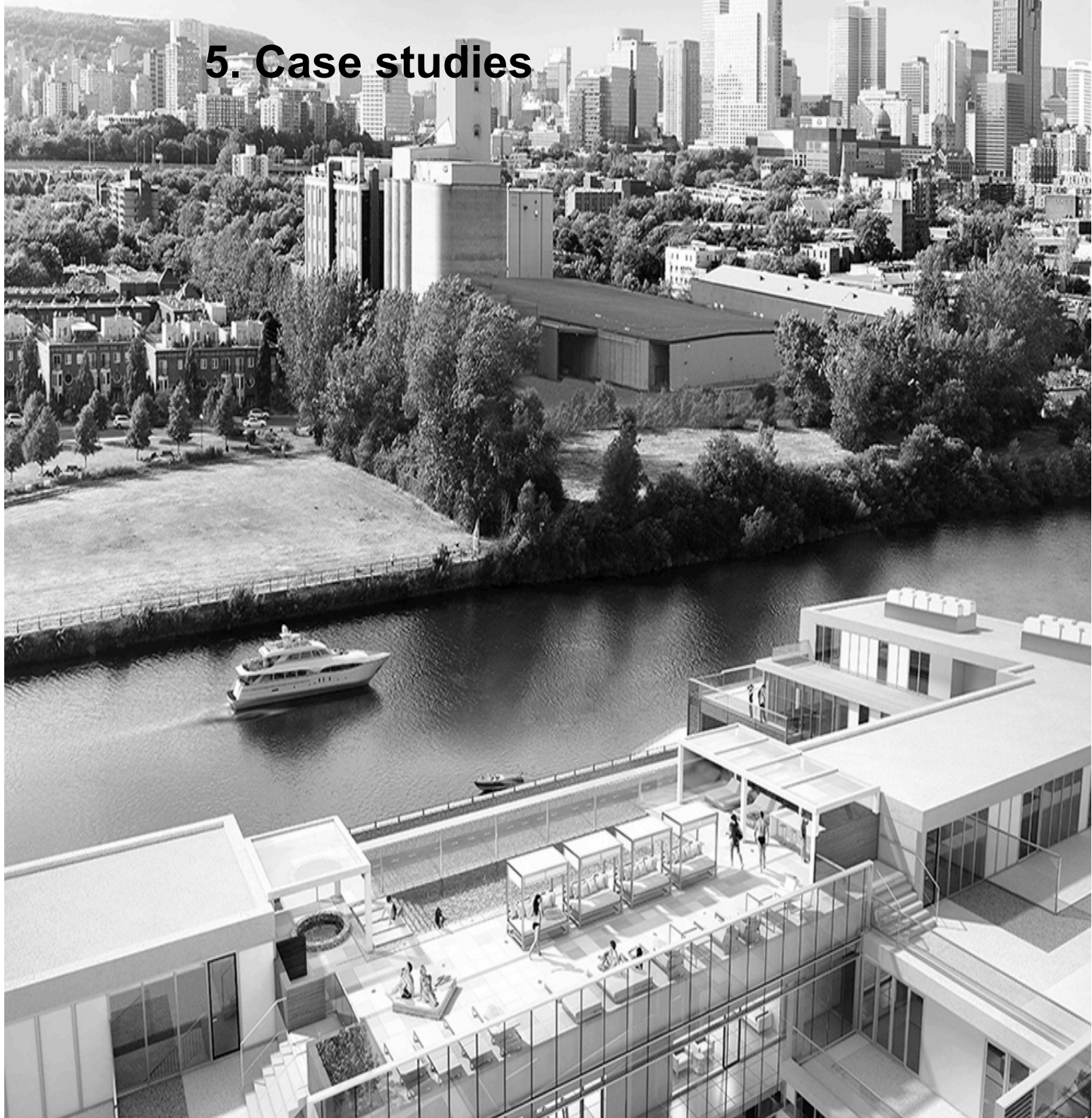
5. Case studies

In this chapter the two case studies will be performed. This is done in three parts: the first part is a general description of the neighbourhood in which interesting passed, present or future events are discussed. The second part is a policy analysis on borough level; this is done so the boroughs strategy's regarding social mixing can be compared. The last part is a spatial analysis of the two researched areas. This is done through the analysis of the Canadian 2006 and 2011 census tract data. The results of this analysis will be visualized in several maps. The last paragraph of this chapter will compare the two cases and will highlight the most important conclusions.

5.1 Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce

The borough of Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce is situated west of the Montreal city center next to the Mont-Royal Mountain. The borough has ten metro stops, three major highways running over its territory and 4 universities located on its territory giving it a '*strategic importance unique in Montreal*' (CDEC CDN-NDG, 2013). The two neighbourhoods (CDN vs. NDG) have very different identities and since only the CDN part of the borough is researched this paragraph will focus only on part of the borough. CDN was established in 1850 next to the Mount-Royal creek. The neighbourhood differs from the rest of Montreal in the sense that the orientation of the streets is not from north to south but from east to west, stemming back from the path of the creek. The area surrounding CDN was mostly used for recreational purposes and it was annexed in phases by the city of Montreal between 1908-1910.

In the present CDN has the identity of a high density, very multicultural neighbourhood. A lot of immigrants from all over the world live in the many big apartment buildings located in the central, north and northwest part of the neighbourhood. The southwest part of the neighbourhood can be identified as the educational area of the neighbourhood with several universities and the Notre Dame College, located at the bottom of the Mont-Royal Mountain. Figure 5.2 gives an impression of how the neighbourhood currently is.

The neighbourhood of CDN has recently started to show slow signs of gentrification. This, for example, is happening in the area called 'le triangle' where more expensive condos are being built, thus changing the neighbourhood population composition.

Figure 5.1 Côte-des-Neiges Notre-dame-de-Grâce Territory

Figure 5.2 Impression Côte-des-Neiges

Another interesting development will be the transformation of an old horse race track (Hippodrome) into Montreal's first sustainable neighbourhood, both ecologically and socially. The city of Montreal launched an international design challenge in September 2013; the winning design will be chosen and developed on this terrain. Montreal wants this development to function as the flagship of the city regarding future residential developments and wants to create international attention as a sustainably developed city (CDEC CDN-NDG, 2009).

The fact that CDN is showing first signs of gentrification combined with the fact that the city of Montreal is subscribing an international design challenge for the large vacant terrain makes the neighbourhood a very interesting case to research regarding social mixing. In the next paragraph the boroughs policy regarding social mixing will be discussed.

5.1.1 Borough Policy Analysis

In Montreal, boroughs work with a 'Plan d'Urbanisme' (PU) in which the boroughs urban planning strategy is outlined. When looking at the CDN-NDG's urban planning strategy it can be concluded that social mixing is not only not a goal on its own but more importantly, that it does not apply social mixing strategies to improve the quality of life within the borough to begin with. A total of 7 stakes are formulated in the PU, of which the majority focuses on the built environment and economy of the neighbourhood (Ville de Montreal, 2012b). Only two stakes touch a topic that could improve the quality of life the residents. The first topic is the improvement of the quality of the living environment, which is not the same as improving the quality of life of residents directly. The second topic is the improvement of the transportation network. Both stakes are further subdivided in several objectives.

The first topic is subdivided in three objectives, being: The assuring of good housing quality (physically), the constructing of a variety of housing units and limiting any type of nuisance caused by the urban environment and assuring security within the living environment. Aside from the second objective, none of the objectives directly help with achieving a better quality of life as described in the theoretical frame of this research, and furthermore all objectives neglect the individual. The second topic is subdivided in two objectives: the improvement of mobility regarding public transport and bicycles. The first objective is based on the cities transport oriented development concept and should directly improve the quality of life of the residents as it gives them more freedom to access jobs and services. But this second topic also does not have much to do with social mixing.

The conclusion after having analyzed the boroughs approach to social mixing is that social mixing strategies are absent in the boroughs policy frame. Therefore it is interesting to analyze this neighbourhood and see how the quality of life in the neighbourhood is experienced, giving a good example of how the market principle influences social mixing.

5.2 Sud Ouest

Figure 5.3 Sud Ouest Territory
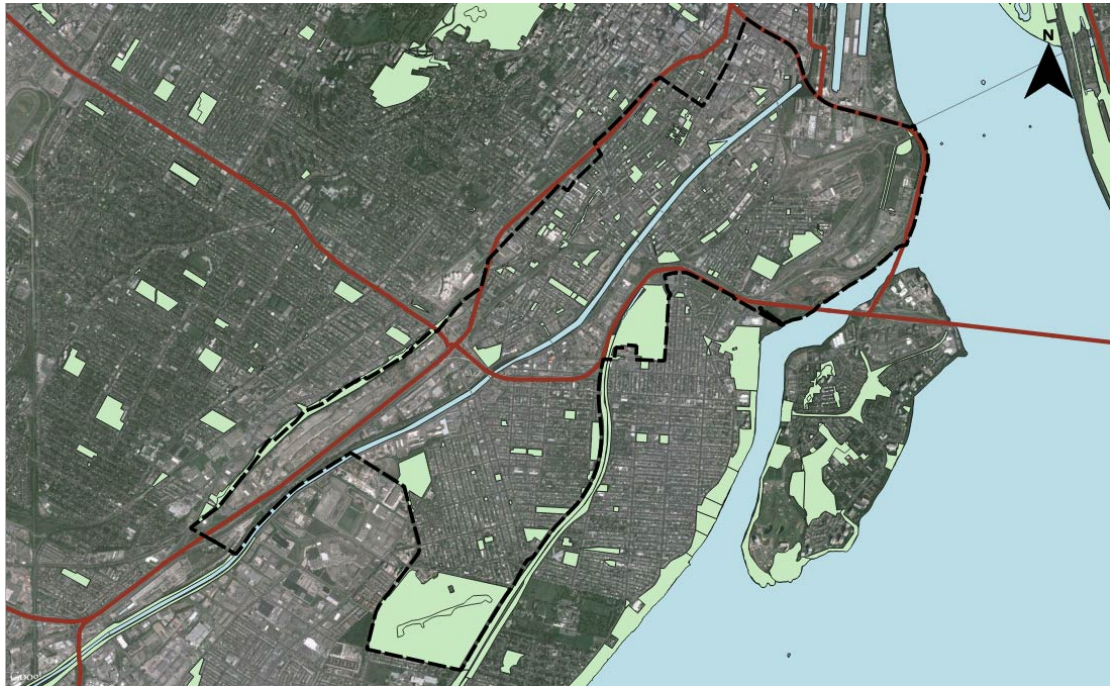
The Sud Ouest borough is located directly south west of the Montreal city center (hence it's name) and is divided into two parts by the Lachine Canal. To the north of the Canal the neighbourhoods of Saint-Henri, Little Burgundy and Griffintown are located, to the south Ville-Émard, Côte-Saint-Paul and Pointe-Saint-Charles can be found. The borough can be best described as a working class borough with low and medium height residential buildings.

The Sud Ouest borough industrialized rapidly in the 19th century after the opening of the Lachine Canal, becoming the focal point of the Canadian industry. After the arrival of the two railway companies 'Canadian National Railway' and 'Grand Trunk highway' the area attracted a large working class that situated itself in the borough under harsh living conditions. All neighbourhoods had strong identities, the most western neighbourhoods (Saint-Henri, Ville-Émard and Côte-Saint-Paul) were mostly populated by French speaking Canadians, Pointe-Sainte-Charles and Griffin town harboured the English speaking Canadians and Little Burgundy obtained a large English speaking black community in the late 19th century. The borough kept growing and growing until it finally exceeded the capacity of the Lachine Canal. This together with the opening of the 'Saint Lawrence Seaway' in 1956 lead to the closure of the Lachine Canal in 1970. This automatically meant the end of the prosperous industry and lead to a sharp decline in population making the already harsh living conditions only harsher.

Figure 5.4 Impression Sud Ouest

In the 21st century the borough of Sud Ouest started to transform due to its close proximity to the Montreal city center and the recreational usage of the Lachine Canal. Griffintown, off all neighbourhoods, has been transformed most. Nowadays Griffintown's primary function is no longer residential. A lot of companies have taken residence in the renovated old industrial buildings. The city of Montreal has made plans to reinstate the residential function of the neighbourhood by planning future residential developments on vacant terrains. The neighbourhood also has a large English speaking population. Little Burgundy has also been significantly transformed in recent years. The once so large English speaking black community has greatly diminished. The borough attracted more high-income class people through new residential developments along the Lachine Canal and the majority of residents are now French speaking. This does not mean there are no people belonging to the lower income classes in the neighbourhood anymore. There is still a significant amount of social and community housing units in the neighbourhood. The situation in Saint-Henri is very similar to the situation of Little Burgundy. People from different ethnicities and income classes have replaced the old population, European blue-collar workers. The remaining three neighbourhoods, Pointe-Saint-Charles, Côte-

Saint-Paul and Ville Émard, have a quite similar identity nowadays. All three neighbourhoods have experienced gentrification along the Lachine Canal, but also still harbour a strong French speaking working class population that mobilizes itself to prevent further changes to the neighbourhoods.

The transformation of the borough has caused a certain social pressure. With the rising of property taxes and the cost of living it is becoming more difficult for the low-income class residents to remain in the neighbourhoods. To prevent the exclusion of these people the borough of Sud Ouest has maintained a rather pro-active policy towards social mixing, as will be shown in the next paragraph.

(Ville de Montreal arrondissement Sud Ouest, 2013)

Figure 5.5 Neighbourhoods Sud Ouest borough

Source: Cathedralebazar.org, 2014

5.2.1 Borough policy analysis

The borough of Sud Ouest, unlike CDN-NDG, has a more active approach regarding social mixing on their territory. Sud Ouest has outlined three stakes in their PU of which one fully focuses on improving the conditions of quality of life for the boroughs residents (Ville de Montreal, 2012a). This stake is defined as follows: *To improve the living conditions of the boroughs residents*. To do this the borough has defined 5 objectives. Three of these objectives are shared with the CDN-NDG borough and are therefore less interesting. The two objectives that differ from the approach in CDN-NDG are the following: the proximity of services, and to this research most important, housing.

The borough aims to develop to its max capacity and therefore sees the need to attract new residents, but doing so without excluding the current borough population. The borough has outlined 7 actions that are necessary to lead to the desired result (Ville de Montreal, 2012a, p. 17):

1. Continue the process of consultation with stakeholders
2. Implement inclusionary policies regarding affordable housing. This has to be done by altering the regulations and by specific targeted programs

3. Develop certain municipal terrains into residential areas
4. Ensure the diversity in available housing in the different neighbourhoods to meet the needs of the population and to promote social mixing
5. Ensure the implementation of housing strategies that promote a 'partnership' as the preferred mode.
6. Inform home owners of the various financial assistance programs for the improvement and maintenance of their houses provided by the city, the government of Quebec and Canada
7. Develop a local policy and an action plan for vacant buildings

The conclusion of the Sud Ouest policy analysis is that the borough maintains a very active approach when it comes to improving the quality of life of its residents. They focus not only on urban form and economy but also want to ensure diversity within the boroughs population. To do this they have adopted several inclusionary policies, of which social mixing is one strategy. The fact that they have been implementing this approach since 2005 makes it a very interesting case to research and compare with CDN where such an active approach does not exist.

5.3 Spatial analysis

Before the two neighbourhoods can be compared it is important to justify why in this research only the CDN part of the CDN-NDG borough will be investigated. The first reason is because CDN-NDG is a very large borough (the largest borough population wise in the city of Montreal), and second because the two neighbourhoods differ a lot in identity. The neighbourhood of CDN covers almost the same amount of territory as the whole borough of Sud Ouest (11.6 vs. 13.5 squared kilometers) and also has more inhabitants (98.160 vs. 71.546). In the rest of this paragraph the two neighbourhoods will be compared regarding two themes: general info and social mix.

5.3.1 General info

*Figure 5.6 Land Use in CDN and Sud Ouest*
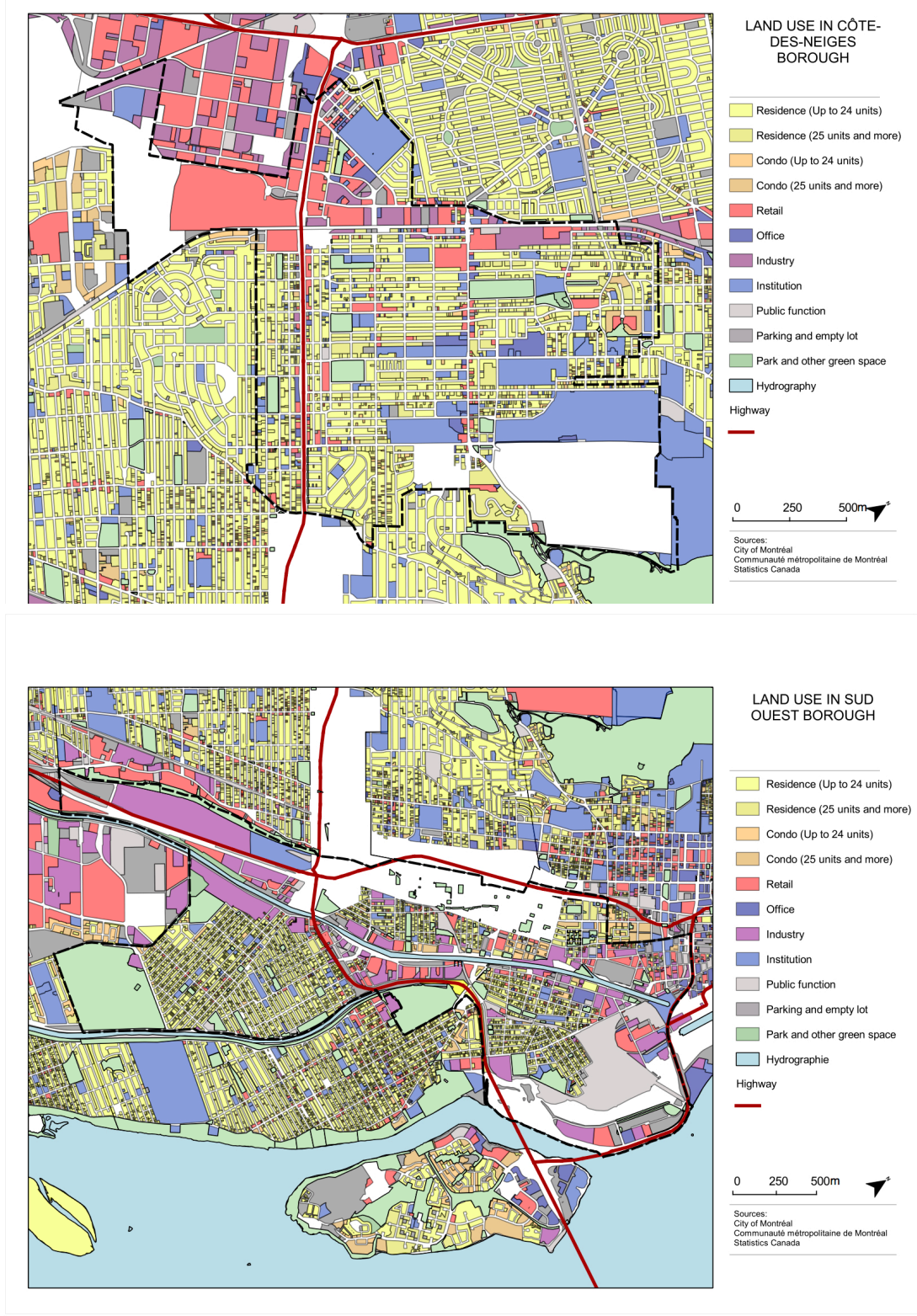
Land use: When looking at the land use in figure 5.6 it is evident that the main land use in both CDN, as Sud Ouest is residential. In CDN this is mostly located centrally in the neighbourhood with a significant amount of retail and industry along the northern border of borough. But there is also some smaller retail found along the two main infrastructural axes, the Décarie Highway and Côte-des-Neiges Street. In Sud Ouest the situation is a little bit different. Where in CDN condos as a residential form are almost absent, in Sud Ouest you can see a significant amount of condos already built by 2006, especially in the Griffintown district and along the Lachine Canal (The two areas within the Sud Ouest who have experienced most gentrification over the years). Another difference between the two cases is that retail is more present in CDN and that in Sud Ouest the focus lies more on industry (located along the Lachine Canal and the two highways that cross the borough). A remark has to be made regarding both areas. In both CDN and Sud Ouest there are some white areas on the map. These areas are white because the data regarding these areas is missing. As experienced by the researcher, these areas are open green spaces or vacant terrains and are mostly located next to highways and do not have a specific land use as of yet.

Figure 5.7 Densities in CDN and Sud Ouest
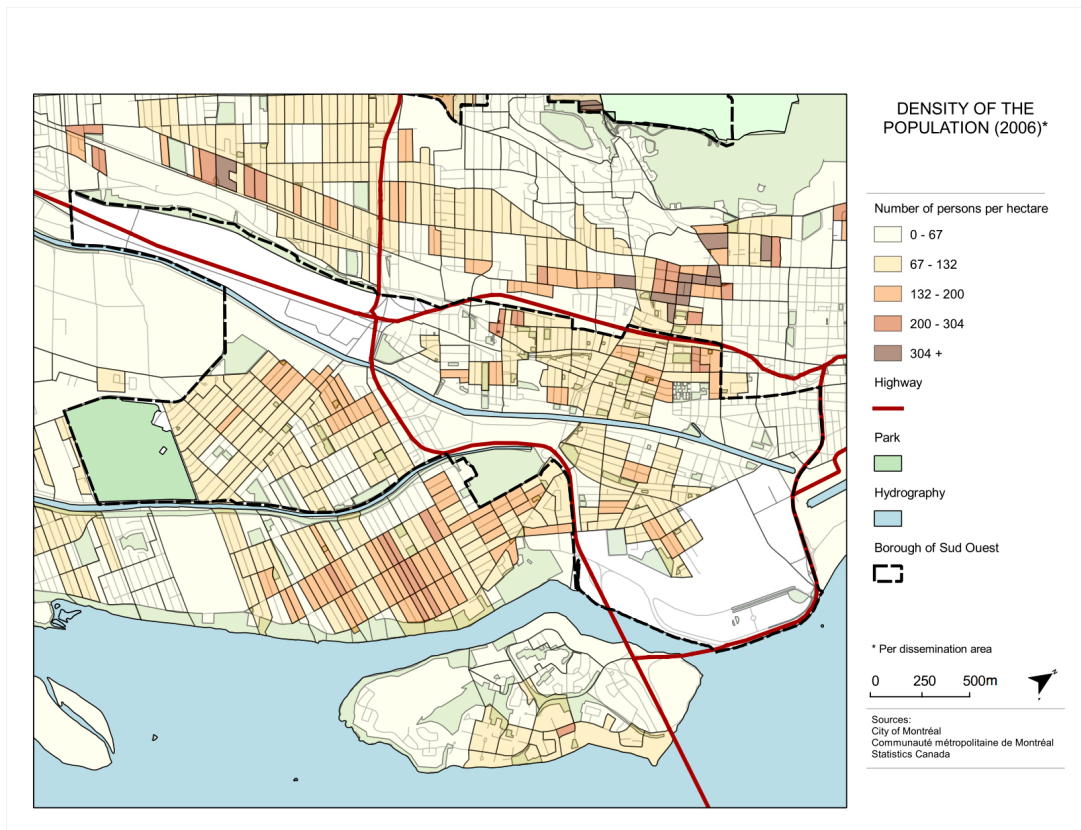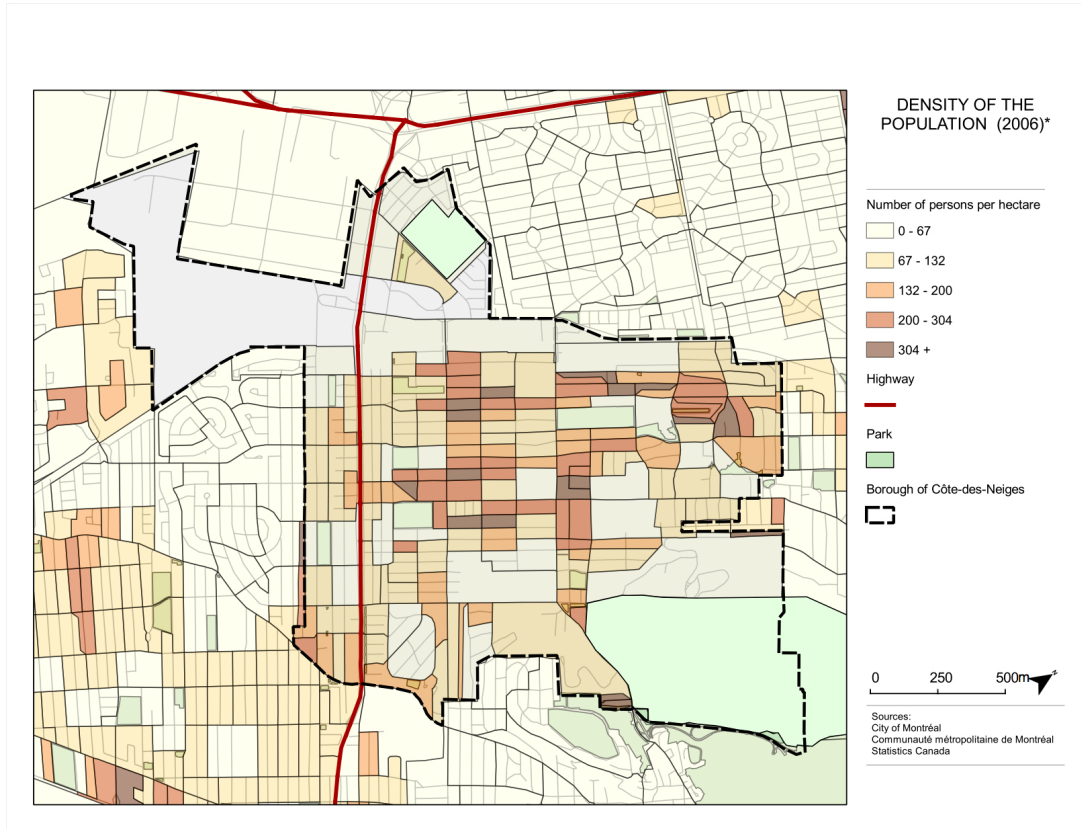
Density: When looking at the density of the population in figure 5.7 it becomes evident that the density in CDN is much higher than in Sud Ouest. In Sud Ouest the majority of the territory has a 67-132 person per hectare density with an occasional 132-200 people per hectare. There are actually no dissemination areas that belong to the highest category of density and only 3 that belong to the second highest in Sud Ouest. This situation is completely different in the CDN neighbourhood where numerous dissemination areas, especially centrally located, belong to the highest and second highest population density categories. The question then is if these differences in population density are also reflected in the housing density.

Figure 5.8 Housing densities in CDN and Sud Ouest
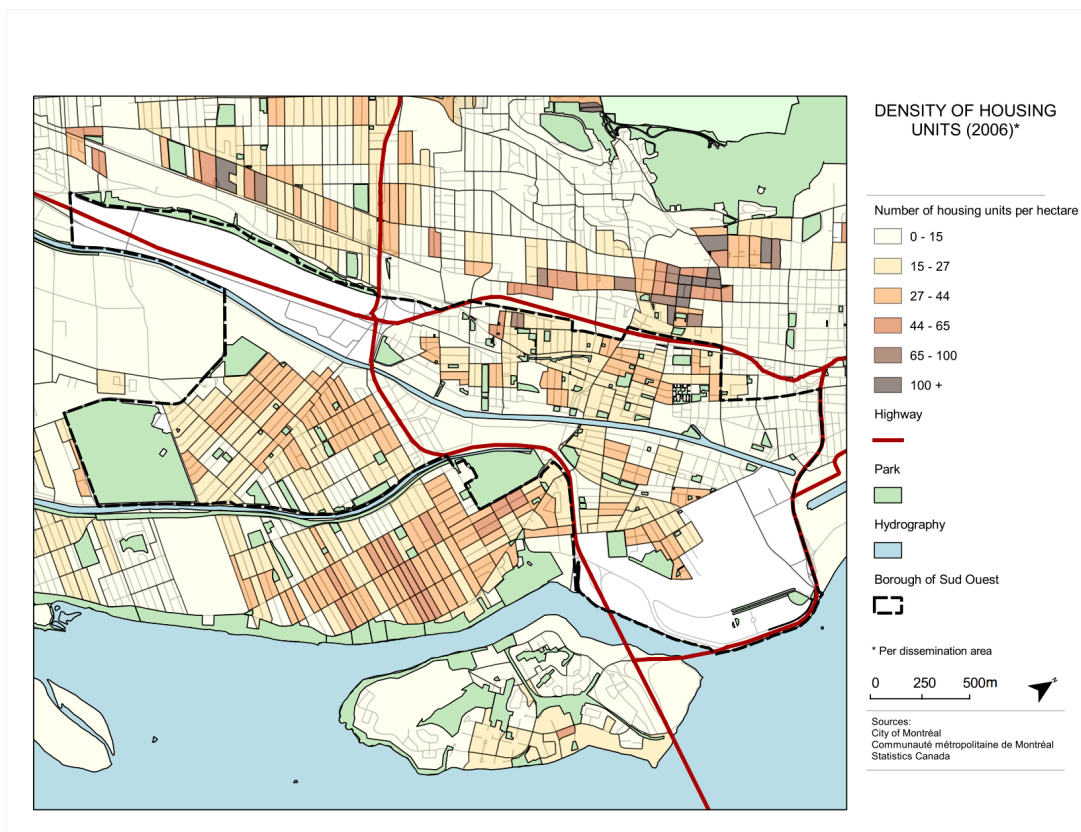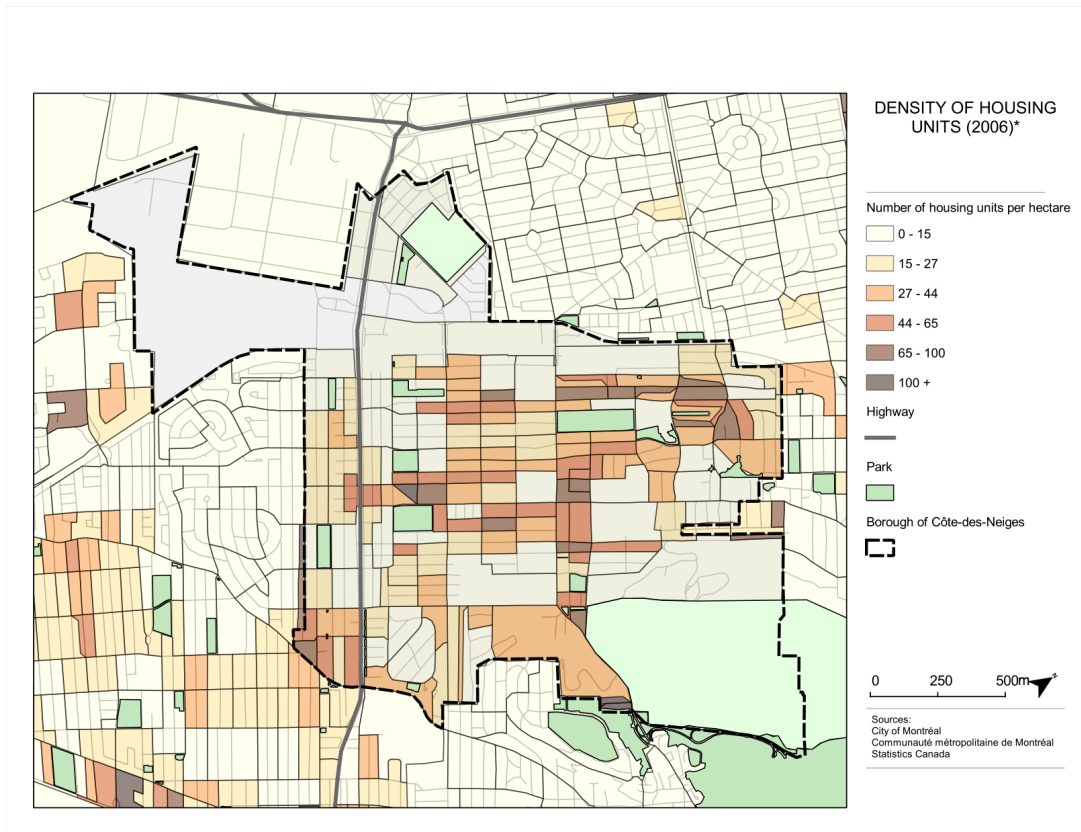
Housing density: When looking at the housing density in figure 5.8 it becomes evident that, just as expected after having analyzed the population density, there is a significant difference in housing density between CDN and Sud Ouest as well. But the difference in housing unit density between the two areas is not as high as expected. This means that the total amount of people per household has to be higher in CDN. This can be caused by a multitude of reasons: it can be that there is a shortage in housing, that there are a lot of immigrants who tend to have larger families or that there are more families with children living in the CDN neighbourhood. Which of these reasons is the cause of this difference will be researched further in the next paragraph about the social mix in the two areas and also in the interviews.

Figure 5.9 Average gross rents in CDN and Sud Ouest
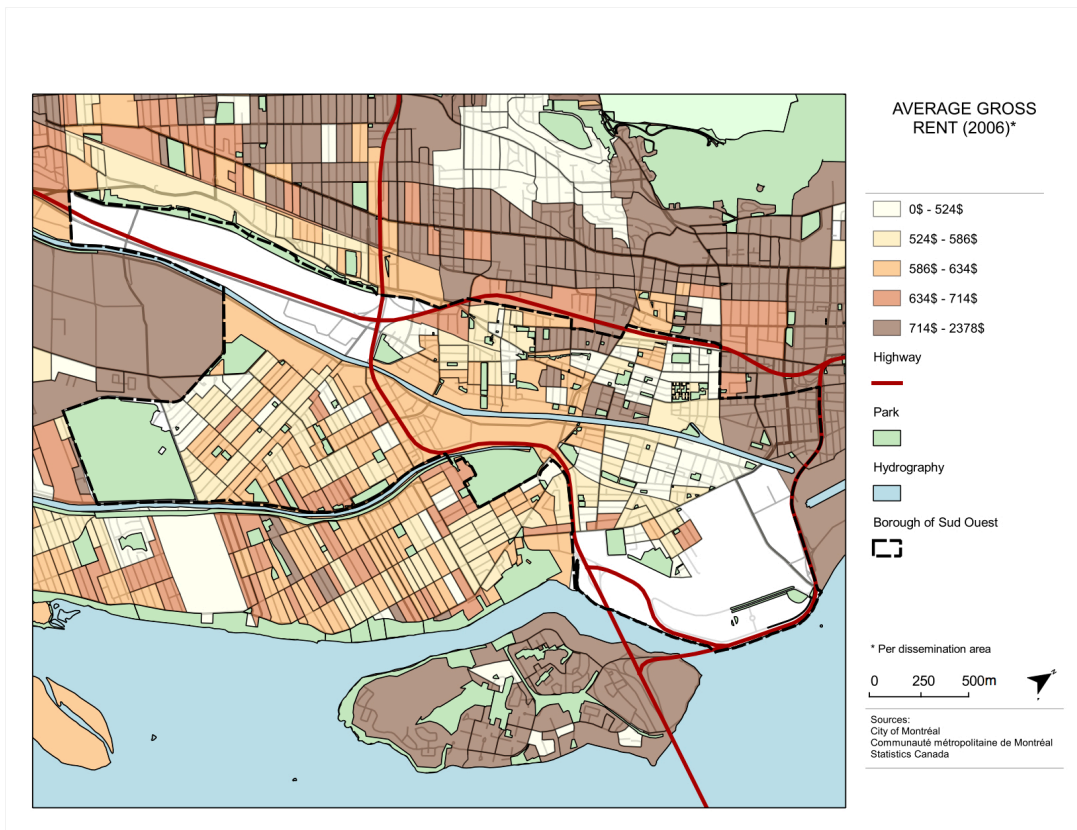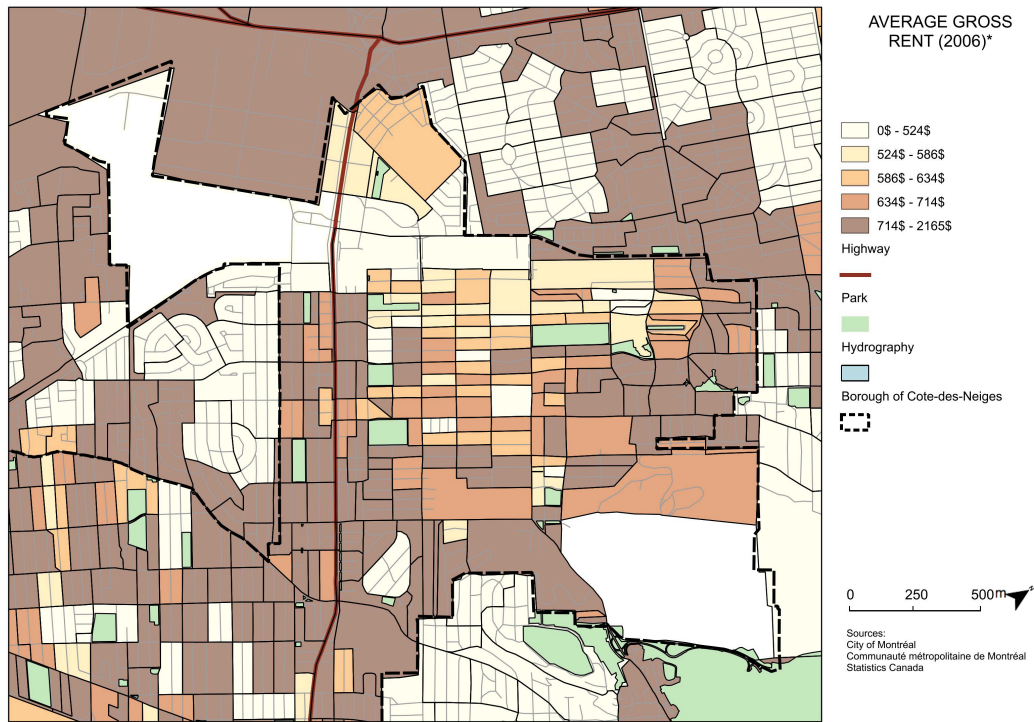
Average rent: A very clear difference in average gross rent between the two cases can be distinguished in figure 5.9. In CDN the average gross rent falls mostly in the highest category of more then 714$ per month and the lowest average gross rent categories are almost not present, meaning that rent is rather expensive in CDN compared to in Sud Ouest. In Sud Ouest the majority of average gross rent falls in the middle category of 586-634, but two interesting observations can be made. Firstly the closer to the city center the more expensive the average gross rent becomes and secondly a more elevated average gross rent can be observed along the Lachine Canal. This observation is not surprising as these dissemination areas mostly fall in or around the Griffintown neighbourhood, which has experienced a significant amount of gentrification over the past decade. To complete the analysis it would be interesting to look at homeowner prices as well. Unfortunately these statistics were not available to the researcher. The ratio renting-households versus homeowners will be further discussed in paragraph 5.3.2 about social mix.

Figure 5.10 Households spending 30% or more of gross income on rent
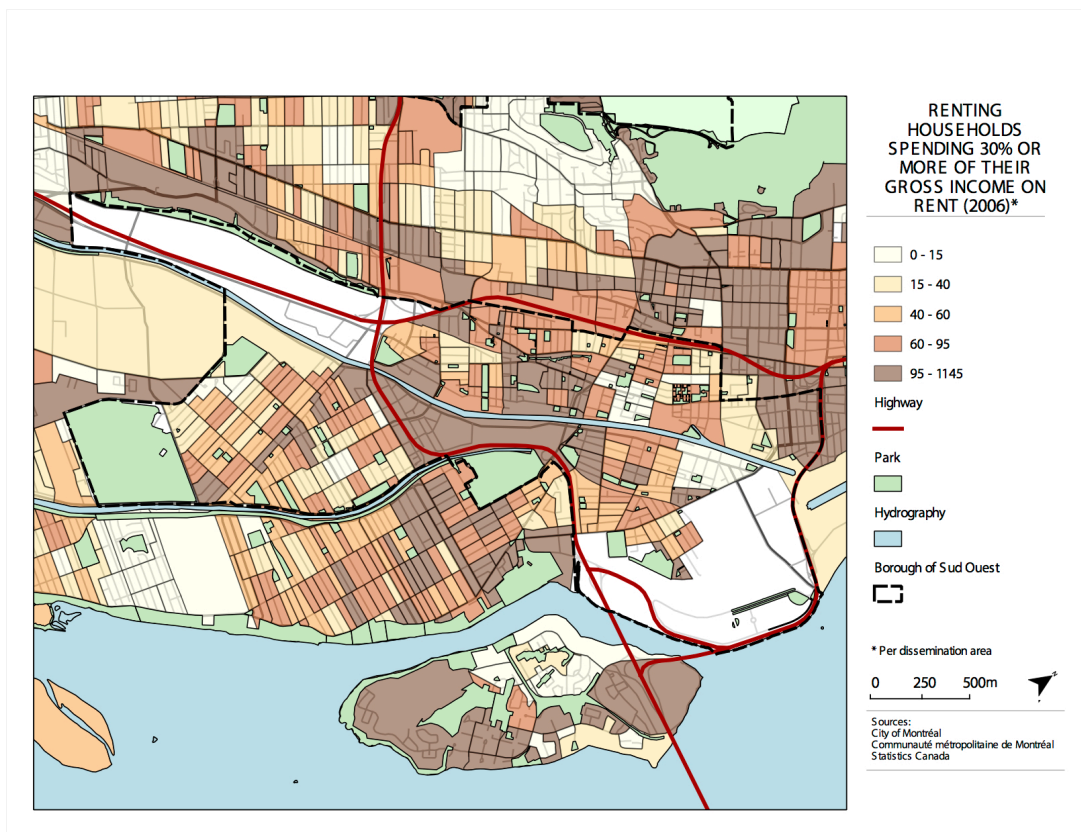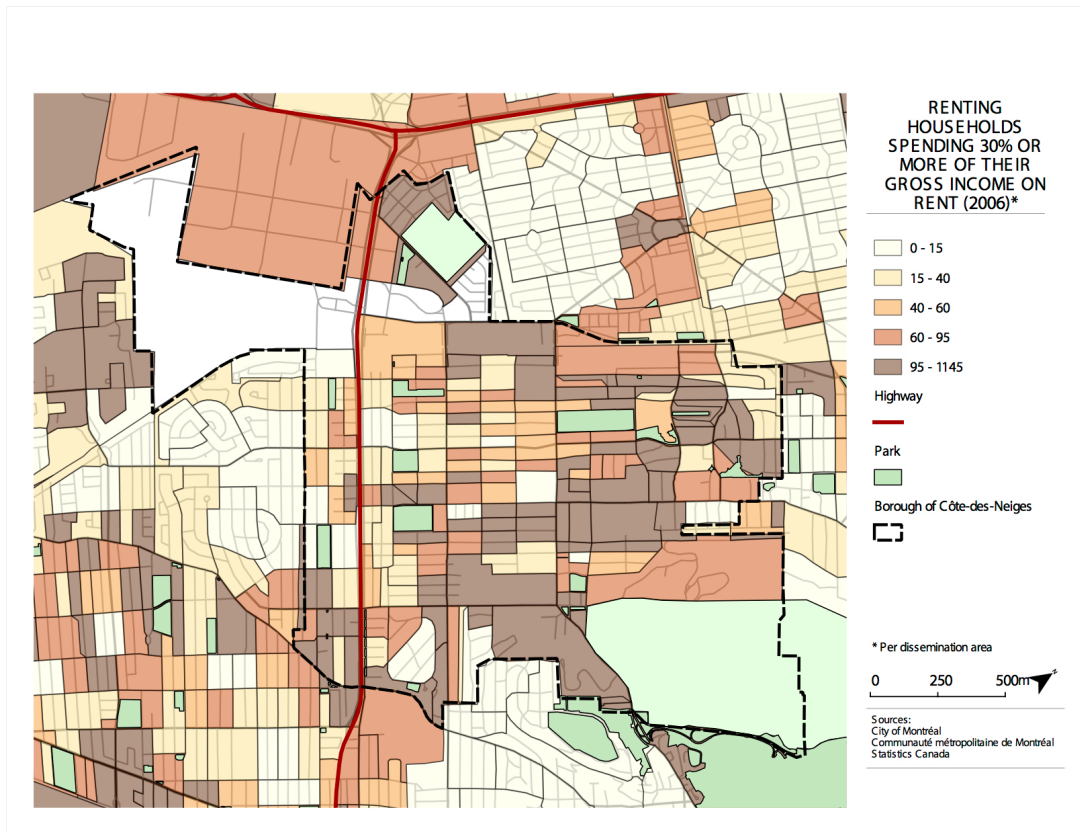
More then 30% of income spent on rent: The last part of this general analysis will look at the experienced poverty within the two territories. As described in the policy analysis, the city of Montreal aims on people making less than $24.008 per year to spend less then 30% of their gross income on rent (Guidelines set by the provincial government institution SHQ). When a household spends more then 30% of their gross income on rent, they will not have the financial means to attain other basic necessities such as food and clothing and will be considered as living under the poverty line. Since this 30% goal is so clearly defined by the city's government, it is chosen in this research to follow this definition and look at the total amount of households that do not meet this standard in the two researched areas. When comparing the two cases in figure 5.10 it becomes evident that there is a relatively equal distribution of people spending 30% or more of their gross income on rent between the two areas. In CDN the most problematic area is the central part and from there eastwards towards the borough border. In Sud Ouest the problematic areas are the entire neighbourhood of Saint-Henri and the Northern part of Côte-Saint-Paul bordering the Lachine Canal. Since there is a similar amount of households that spend 30% or more of their gross income on rent in the two researched areas it is also interesting to look at the social and material deprivation experienced in the two areas.

Figure 5.11 Social and Material deprivation in CDN and Sud Ouest

DEPRIVATION INDEX
(2006)*

Social deprivation

- 0 Least deprived
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Most deprived

Material deprivation

- 0 Least deprived
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Most deprived

Highway

Park

Borough of CDN-NDG

0   250   500m

Sources:
City of Montréal
Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal
Statistics Canada

* Per dissemination area

DEPRIVATION INDEX
(2006)*

Social deprivation

- 0 Least deprived
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Most deprived

Material deprivation

- 0 Least deprived
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Most deprived

Highway

Park

Borough of Sud Ouest

0   250   500m

Sources:
City of Montréal
Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal
Statistics Canada

* Per dissemination area

Deprivation: There are two types of deprivation measured by the government of Quebec: Social and Material (Atlas Sante Montreal, 2013). Social deprivation is measured through the proportion of people living alone in a household, the proportion of people separated, divorced or widowed and finally the proportion of single parent families. This is a rather broad concept of social deprivation, but since the local boroughs and the city government (but also the several interviewed actors) both use this definition to measure social deprivation, it is chosen in this research to work with the same definition. Material deprivation on the other hand is based on the proportion of people without a high school degree, the proportion of people employed and the average income of a person. The first observation that can be made is that there is not a lot of social deprivation in the CDN neighbourhood, but that it scores higher on material deprivation especially along the northern border of the neighbourhood. Another interesting observation is that in the whole CDN neighbourhood only 4 dissemination areas are most deprived materially as socially. These four areas are also spread out over the whole neighbourhood meaning that the problem is really local. The social and material deprivation in the Sud Ouest borough is relatively high compared to the CDN neighbourhood, another observation is that, very often, the dissemination areas that are most socially deprived also score high on material deprivation. The higher amounts of deprivation are also more clustered in Sud Ouest making it not only a local problem, like in CDN. A final remark that has to be made is that the areas that score high on the deprivation scale are also the areas where the households spend 30% or more of their gross income on rent.

5.3.2 Social mix

Figure 5.12 Socio-economic mix in CDN and Sud Ouest
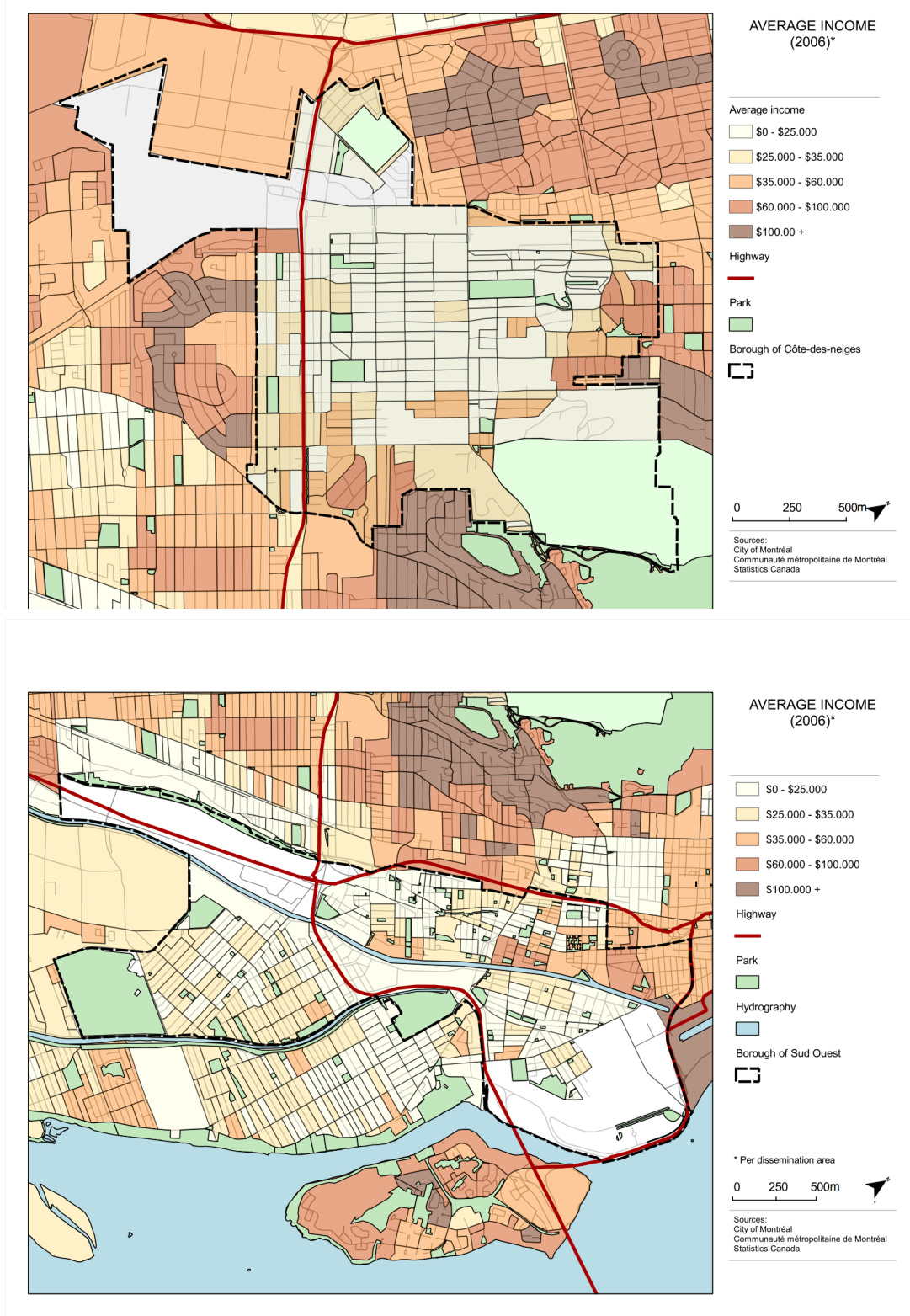
Socio economic mix: Both neighbourhoods are very similar when looking at the socio economic mix. The majority of the dissemination areas fall in the two lowest income categories. In CDN there are a few areas along the east and south border of the neighbourhood that score on the second highest income category, but no dissemination area that scores in the highest income category can be found in CDN. In Sud Ouest there are some dissemination areas along the Lachine Canal that score in the higher income categories, but also the closer to the city center the higher the average income gets. Not surprisingly these areas are also the areas that have experienced the highest amounts of gentrification. But also in the whole Sud Ouest territory there is not a single dissemination area that scores in the highest income category. The conclusion when looking at both areas is that there is not a very high socio economic mix, with the majority of dissemination areas belonging to the lowest two income categories.

Figure 5.13 Children in CDN and Sud Ouest
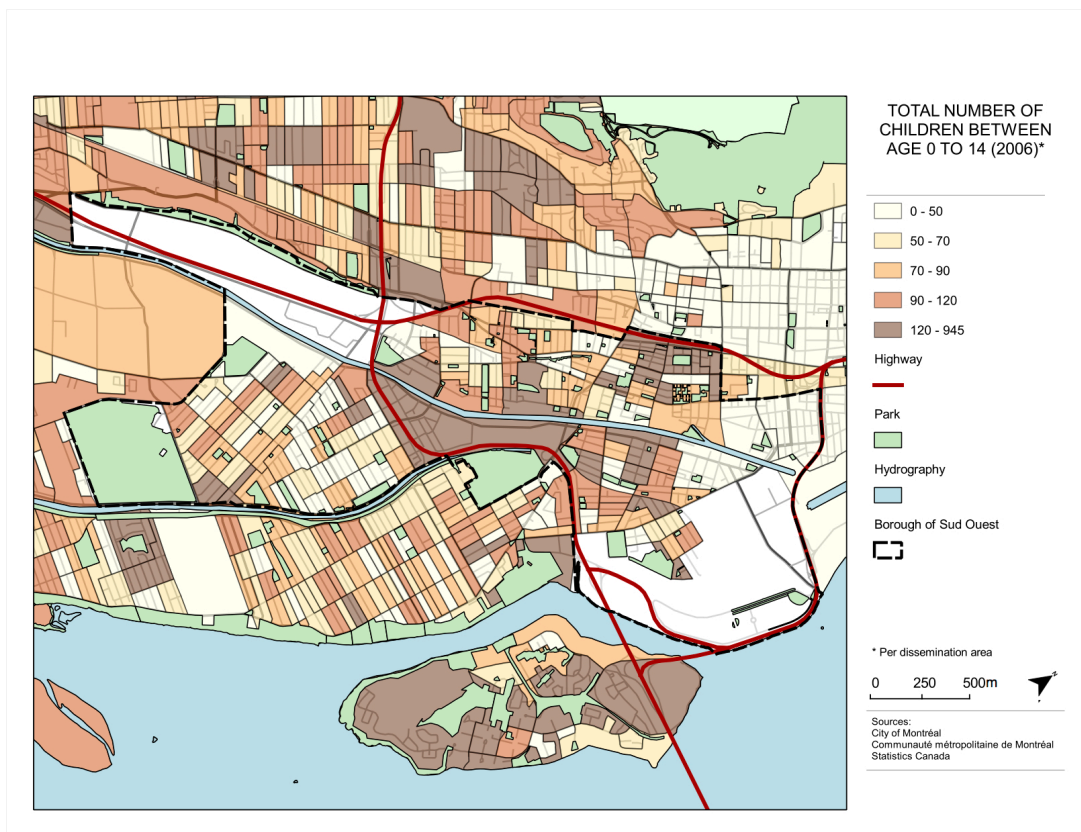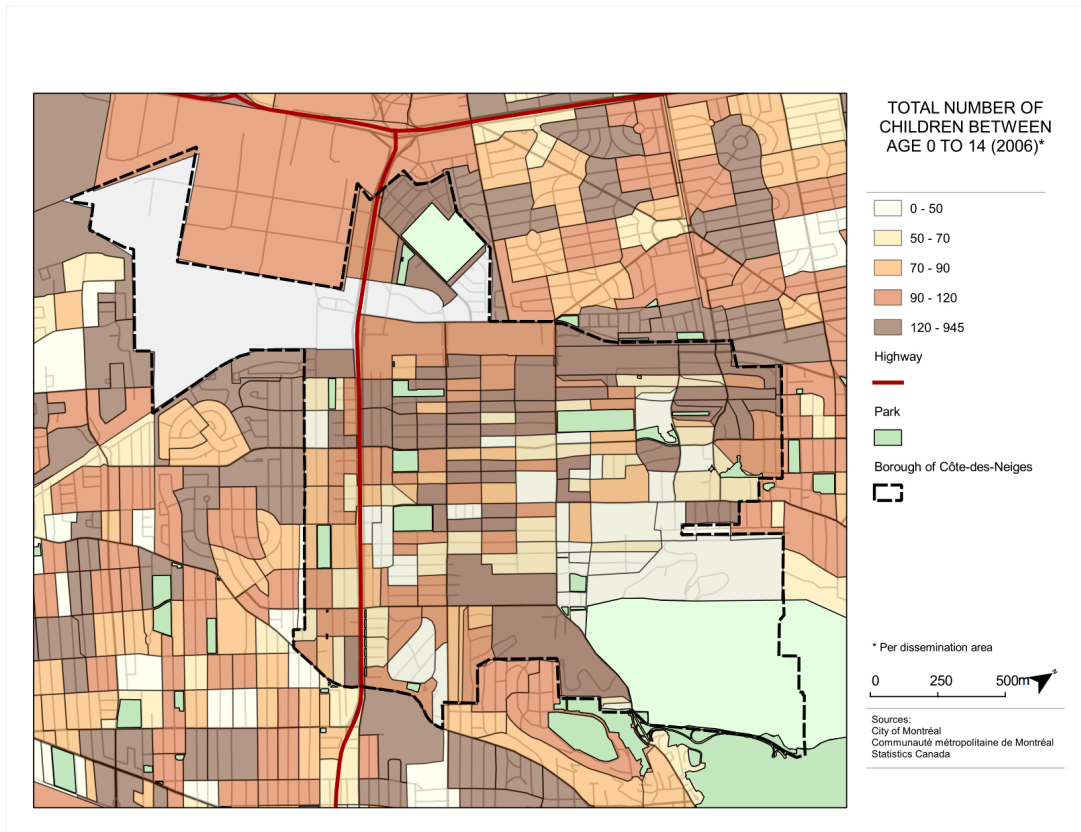
Figure 5.14 Age groups in CDN vs. Sud Ouest in percentages
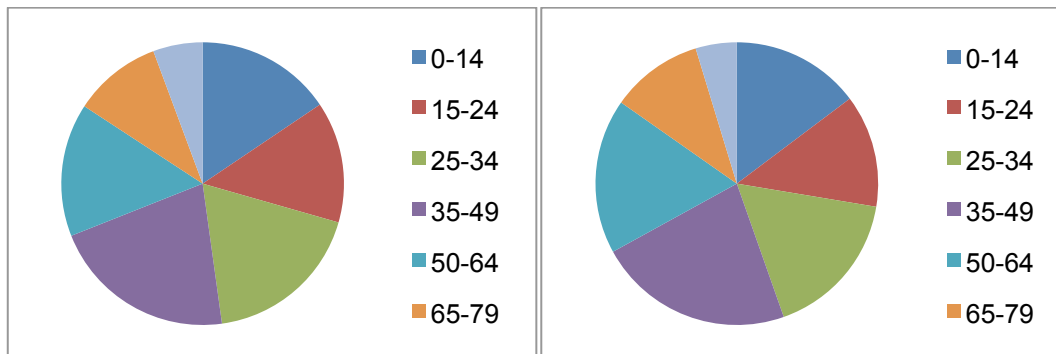
Source: Statistics Canada, 2013

Household mix: To determine the household mix within the two researched areas several different statistics have to be regarded. In this case there will be looked at the total number of children per dissemination area and the different age groups present in the two researched areas.

CDN scores very high on total amount of children with almost half of the dissemination areas scoring in the highest category. Although dissemination areas with the highest children scores can be found all throughout the neighbourhood the biggest concentration of children is in the central part and all along the northern part of the neighbourhood border. Sud Ouest scores lower on the total amount of children per dissemination area then CDN, the children also seem to be more concentrated along the Lachine Canal and the northern part of Little Burgundy. The conclusion is that there is a higher total amount of children in the CDN neighbourhood then in the Sud Ouest borough. This means that there are more families in CDN, something that the city of Montreal is trying to achieve in all its boroughs.

When looking at the different age groups in figure 5.14 almost no difference can be found, as the pie charts look extremely similar. The only category for which very minor difference can be found is the 50 - 64 age category, which seems to be slightly larger in the Sud Ouest then in CDN. But overall the conclusion is that the age category mix is quite equal in both areas and that there is a very balanced mix between age groups in both boroughs.

Figure 5.15 Immigrants in CDN and Sud Ouest
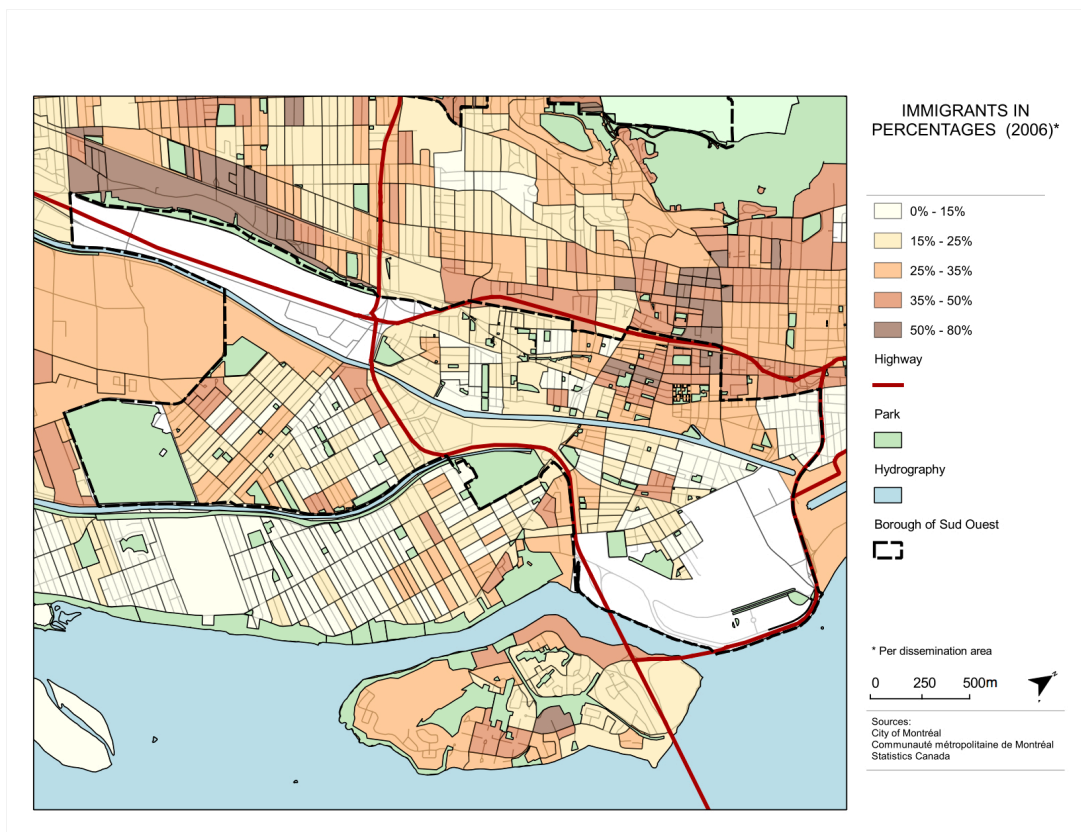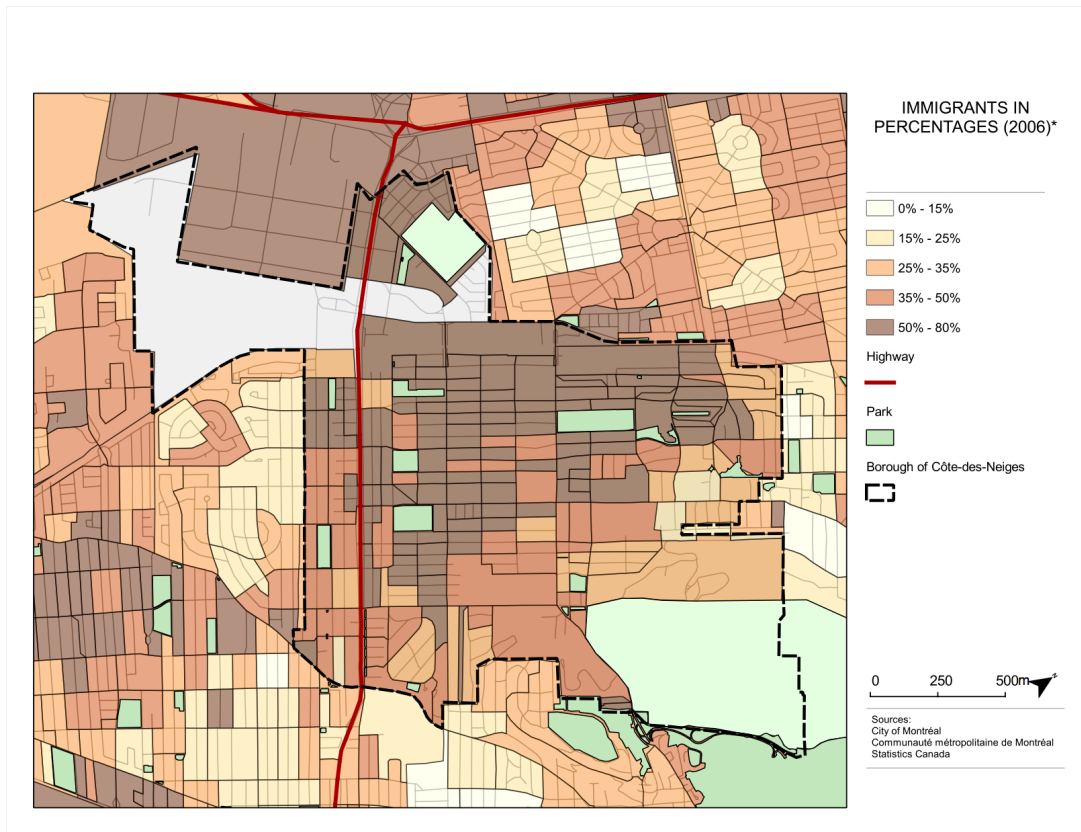
Figure 5.16 Percentage Immigrants in CDN vs. Sud Ouest
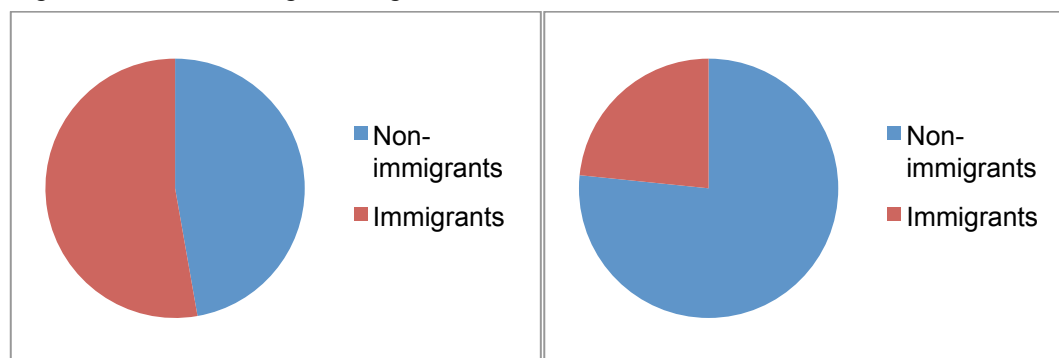
Source: Statistics Canada, 2013

Figure 5.17 Origins immigrants CDN vs. Sud Ouest
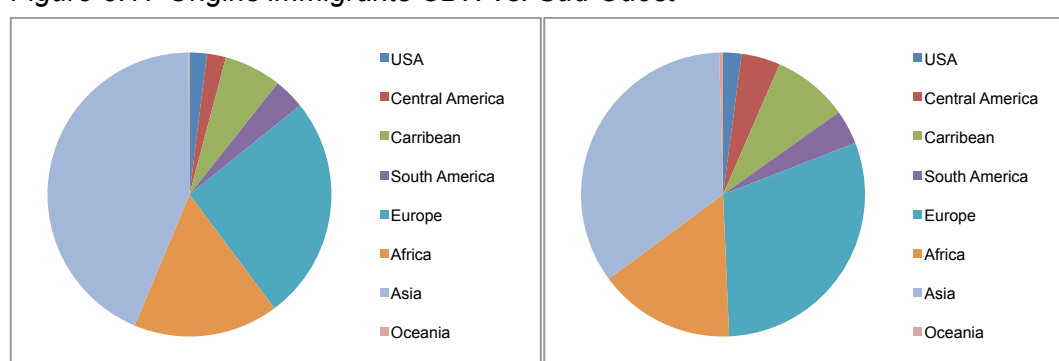
Source: Statistics Canada, 2013

Ethno cultural mix: When comparing the two neighbourhoods regarding percentages of immigrants the first big difference in social mix is found. When looking at figure 5.15 it becomes evident that in CDN there is a very high percentage of immigrants, where in Sud Ouest there are significantly less immigrants with only 3 dissemination areas scoring in the highest percentage immigrant category. In CDN at least half of the disseminations areas score in the highest category. When looking at the percentages of total immigrants in Figure 5.16 this observation is confirmed, with more then 50% of the CDN neighbourhood population being immigrant versus less then 25% in the Sud Ouest. A few differences can also be found when looking at origin of the immigrants in the two researched areas. In Sud Ouest double the percentage of immigrants from Central America are found, a higher percentage of immigrants from the Caribbean and a significantly higher percentage of people originating from Europe are also found. In CDN on the other hand, the percentage of immigrants from Asia is significantly higher and also a slightly higher percentage of African immigrants can be found. The conclusion is that CDN is overall, when looking at total amounts of immigrants, more ethno culturally mixed. When looking at the actual mix of immigrants, based on origin, a slightly lower mix can be found, with a stronger Asian community who hold up almost 50% of all immigrants in CDN.

Figure 5.18 Tenure mix in CDN and Sud Ouest
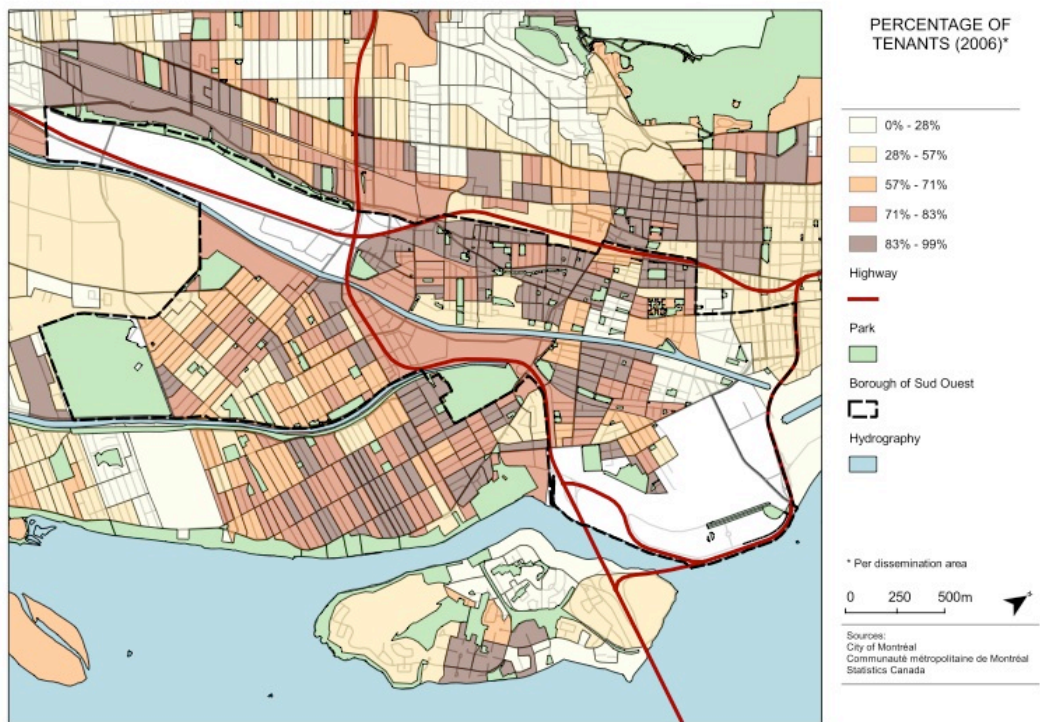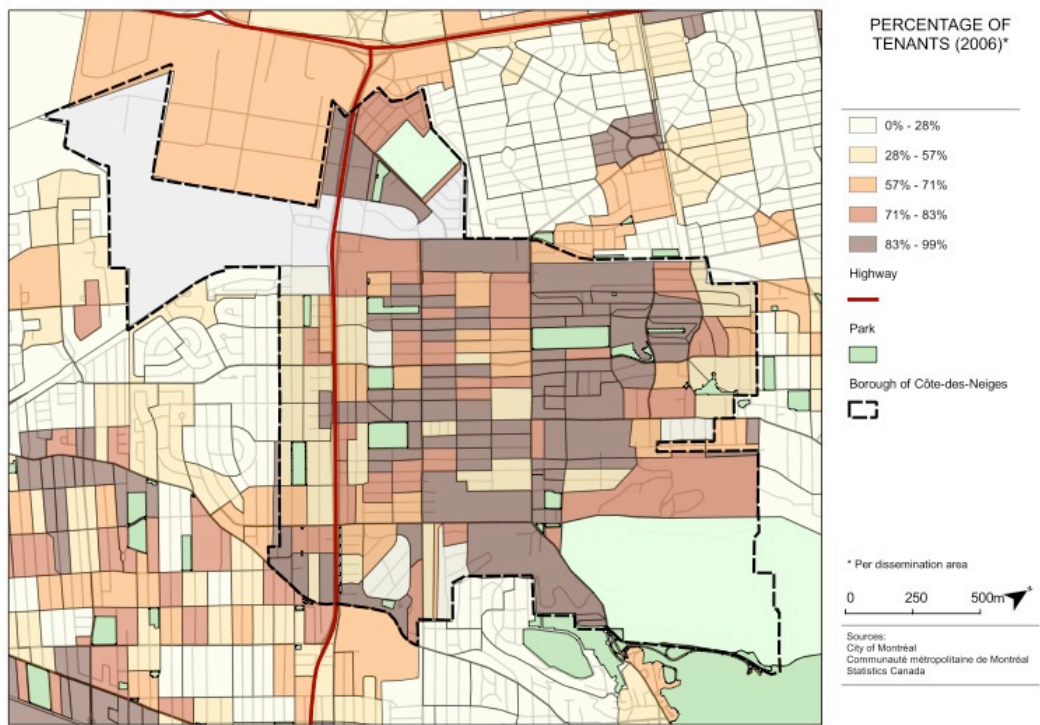
Table 5.1 Social and communal housing proportion

Borough	Total occupied housing units	Total occupied rental housing units	Total amount of social and communal housing units	% of Social housing units per total occupied housing units	% of Social housing units per total occupied rental units
Sud Ouest	33.265	23.930	8.092	24,3	33,8
CDN-NDG	73.630	55.535	4.465	6,1	8,0

Source: CDC, 2012

Tenure mix: When looking at figure 5.18 a slight difference between the two areas regarding percentage of tenants can be found. CDN scores a little bit higher overall with more dissemination areas falling in the highest category (83 to 99%). On top of that it seems that the dissemination areas with the highest percentage of tenants are fairy concentrated in the central part of the neighbourhood running from the northern all the way to the southern border. In Sud Ouest the higher concentrations of tenants are a bit more spread out over Pointe-Saint-Charles, the northern part of Little Burgundy and the northern part of Saint-Henri. The conclusion is that although there are minor differences between the two areas the vast majority of households live in a rental home, meaning that the percentage of home owners is quite low in both CDN as Sud Ouest and that the tenure mix therefore is not very good. The big difference between the two researched areas is not in the percentage homeowners versus home renters, but it can be found in the percentages of social and communal housing (See table 5.1). A big difference not only in total amount of social and communal housing but also in percentages can be found in favour of Sud Ouest. The borough of Sud Ouest scores the highest of all boroughs of the city of Montreal when looking at percentages of social housing. CDN-NDG is scored 'only' with a the 10th place.

5.3.3 Conclusion

After having analyzed the statistical data of the two areas it is important to draw some conclusions. The general info shows that the two researched areas are very similar to each other (besides the density of the population, which is higher in CDN then in Sud Ouest). The areas are equal when it comes to having people that spend 30% or more of their gross income on rent. These people are concentrated in certain areas where the population density is higher, the housing density is higher and the combined material and social deprivation is also higher. When looking at the social mix of the two areas not a lot of differences were found, which can be seen as surprising since the two boroughs have different approaches to social mixing. CDN and Sud Ouest both mainly consist out of people belonging to the lower income classes. The household mix is also not very different, with the total amount of children per dissemination areas being almost the same and the division of age

groups being almost identical. A first big difference between the two researched areas can be found in the ethno cultural mix. Where in Sud Ouest the percentage of immigrants scores a little lower then 25%, in CDN there is an astonishing amount of more the 50% of all residents being immigrants. A second difference, and for this research maybe the most interesting, can be found in the tenure mix of the areas. Where at first hand the areas look very similar (percentage renters versus percentage owners), they are actually quite different. In Sud Ouest, where the borough maintains a proactive approach towards social mixing, the percentages of social and communal housing are almost four times as high as in CDN-NDG. This makes Sud Ouest the leader in percentages of social housing of all the boroughs belonging to the city of Montreal.

6. Empirical analysis
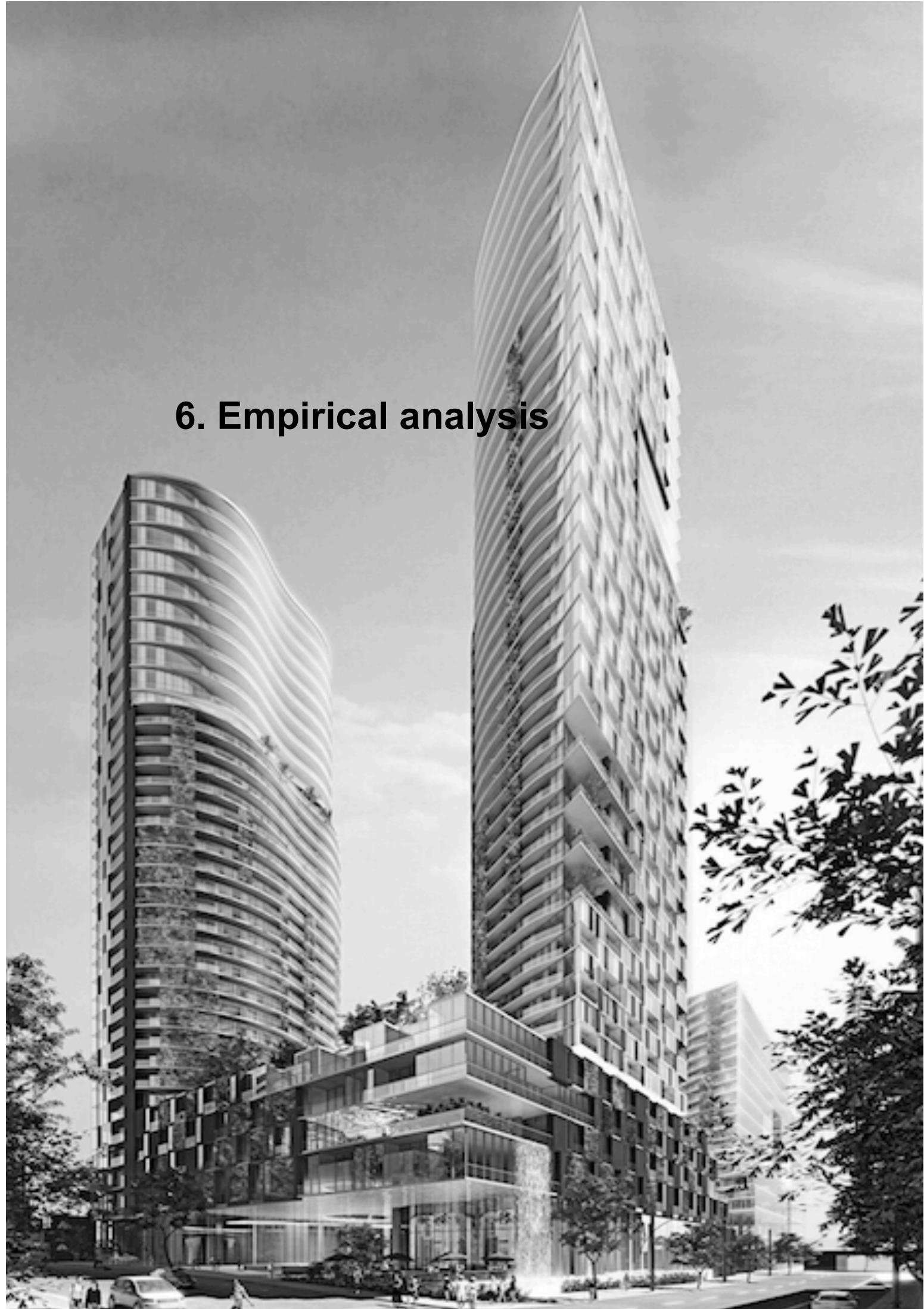
6. Empirical analysis

In this chapter the findings from the interviews are discussed following the three themes that were discussed during these interviews. The three themes are: Quality of life, social mixing strategies and inclusionary policies. Several actors that operate within the two researched areas of CDN and Sud Ouest, but also a few actors that operate in a broader area of the Montreal city center were interviewed. In the last paragraph of this chapter the link between the theoretical and the empirical part will be made. The goal of this paragraph will be to see if the formulated hypothesis can be justified or rejected.

6.1 Quality of Life

To see how quality of life is experienced four different topics were covered in the interviews. First, the problem that was also addressed in the theoretical part of this research was researched, being the difficulty of defining quality of life due to different existing conceptions. The rest of the topics tried to sketch an image of the actual quality of life in the two researched areas by looking at the problematic areas, the social cohesion of the residents and the access to basic services.

6.1.1 Defining quality of life

To determine what quality of life meant to the participants they were first asked to define what quality of life means using the 5 most important concepts that came to mind. The range of answers given by the participants, 12 different concepts where used, reflects the problem described earlier in the theoretical frame: it means something else to every single person (See for an overview appendix A). But this does not mean that the different actors do not agree on certain things, as there were 7 concepts that where shared by at least 3 different actors. The one thing that the vast majority of actors seemed to agree on is that quality of life stands or falls with adequate housing. Out of 7 people answering this question 5 of them gave appropriate housing as a key concept when talking about quality of life. Appropriate housing means that it has to be affordable (preferably costing less then 30% of the gross income), it has to be of good quality in the sense that it has to be well maintained and that is has to be hygienic. Another concept that has the support of the majority of interviewees is the right to an appropriate income, meaning that people need to have enough money to fulfill their basic needs such as housing, food and clothing. There are some differences in the formulation of this concept, for example to the CDC and the TACS it means that people should have access to a 'good job', but the FECHIMM describes it as having enough money in general. A third and fourth concept that are interrelated and were mentioned by almost half of

the participants are that of access to affordable leisure activities and green spaces, preferably of close proximity. People need to be able to leisure close to their homes in good quality green areas and public spaces in or directly around the neighbourhood. Access to basic services such as health care, education and supermarkets is another concept that is seen as essential and is shared by more than half of the interviewee's. The last two concepts discussed in this section were not supported by the majority of the participants, but were mentioned at least three times (the others can be seen in appendix A). The first being that of social inclusion, meaning that people need to be able to take part in the daily life of a neighbourhood, which technically is interrelated with almost all the concepts that are discussed above. The second concept is that of a high quality built environment. The appearance of a neighbourhood has to live up to a certain standard but at the same time be functional to its residents as well. The conclusion that can be drawn when defining quality of life is that although there is overlap between the opinions of the different actors, the only concept that is shared by the vast majority and can thus be seen as the most important factor when it comes to defining quality of life is the access to appropriate housing.

6.1.2 Problematic areas

After having analyzed what quality of life means to the different actors it is important to take a look at the situation in CDN and Sud Ouest and see what causes most problems. In CDN there is a problem with specific buildings that do not meet the security and hygiene standards. CDC-CDN says that: *"According to a study by the Department of Public Health, 38.4% of dwellings in the territory of CLSC CDN with children aged 6 months to 12 years have mould or excessive moisture problems, and 22.6% had cockroaches or rodents in their building."*
But there are also problems with high concentrations of low-income class residents in certain areas of the neighbourhood, which are located along the northern border of the neighbourhood. Another problem occurs in the North West part of the neighbourhood around Mountain Sights Avenue. According to the CDC-CDN: *"Several buildings in this area have problems with safety or security, and the residents are rather isolated from the services in the rest of the neighbourhood."*
In Sud Ouest, a borough that historically has been populated by the Montreal working class, POPIR says that: "*the problems that were most present in the recent past were those of violence and crime and have mostly been solved"*. The borough now faces another problem; an accelerated form of gentrification is taking place throughout all 6 of the Sud Ouest neighbourhoods, with great consequences to the original population. According to POPIR this: *"Accelerated gentrification often forces the most popular class to leave the area, since they are no longer capable of finding housing at an affordable cost. They can no longer afford the rents and are forced to move out in great numbers"*. This started off in the Griffin Town neighbourhood close

to the city center, but slowly started spreading west and has today, according to RESO, Batir Son Quartier, FECHIMM and POPIR, affected the whole Sud Ouest borough. POPIR goes even further and states that this gentrification is the direct effect of implementing social mixing strategies in the borough. They state that*: "Each new condo directly promotes gentrification. The current development does not promote a social mix: it favours the establishment of a higher social class at the expense of the lower social class. In addition, all or almost all developments are currently for sale rather than for rent".* Another problem in Sud Ouest is the infrastructure. The way the borough is divided by the two highways and the two canals means it is difficult for pedestrians and cyclists to pass through, but also by car it's rather complex to get from point A to point B*,* since *"two separate corridors have been created by the two canals"* according to Batir Son Quartier. Another issue within Sud Ouest is the mixing of land use. Along the highway, and mostly in St-Henri, Côte-Saint-Paul and Ville Émard, some heavy industry remains. This does not mix well with the residential functions that are located right next to it. According to Batir Son Quartier this "*sometimes leads to dangerous situations since the same infrastructure has to be used by heavy trucks and pedestrians".* In Point-Saint-Charles there is also a problem with an industrial train. After having had the accident in Lac-Megantic, where a train full of gasoline derailed and exploded in the middle of the town, people are more anxious when it comes to trains passing through their backyards. Finally according to Batir Son Quartier*: "in Little Burgundy there is a problem with high concentrations of social housing. It's obvious that it causes a socio economic and ethno cultural problem".*

FRAPRU points out that for the whole inner city area of Montreal, *"where the vast majority of renting households in the entire province of Quebec* live*"* consists out of people living alone and of modest income. However since the year 2000 the rents started to skyrocket, because of a major housing shortage. This combined with the fact that developers have been constructing only relatively expensive condos in and around the downtown area has lead to a negative pressure on the housing market. *"The situation is particularly bad in the inner city where the price of land has skyrocketed making it difficult to construct social housing*" (FRAPRU), therefore pushing the lower income class away from the city center. Something that is backed up by the TACS who state that housing in the city center nowadays is focussed on the "*young professional households without children*". The conclusion that can be drawn from looking at the two areas' problematic areas is that on one side the quality of the housing and the hygiene (excessive humidity and rodent infestations) cause a problem and on the other side the fact that rents have skyrocketed making it impossible for households to afford living around the city center of Montreal is very problematic.

6.1.3 Social cohesion

Another indicator of quality of life as described in the literature is the social cohesion of a neighbourhood. In CDN, according to CDC-CDN, there is a "*strong social cohesion amongst its residents, as well as a strong implication in the community through community organizations*". But a divide can be found between two areas, the so-called "*high side versus the low side of the mountain*". The 'high side' is the part of CDN south of Cote-Sainte-Catherine road, close to the Mount Royal, and consists more of residents that belonging to the middle and higher income classes, whereas on the 'low side' of CDN there are larger apartment blocks, a higher concentration of lower income class and also a higher social cohesion amongst residents according to CDC-CDN.

In Sud Ouest the situation is a little bit different. Certain parts have been fairly gentrified (Griffin Town, Little Burgundy, St-Henri), according to RESO this gentrification process has triggered: "*A stronger sense of community amongst the more deprived residents of the borough resulting in more organized communities, a spur in social and communal housing and more interactions between residents*". But since Sud Ouest consists out of 5 different neighbourhoods, 5 different types of social cohesion can also be found. POPIR describes this as "*the image of a small city within the city*". However, POPIR also states that the process of gentrification is threatening these social cohesions, since people are moving in to the neighbourhood that do not necessarily relate to the neighbourhoods identity.

A conclusion that can be drawn when it comes to social cohesion is that social cohesion is more present amongst the more deprived residents of the two researched areas meaning that a higher social cohesion does not necessarily mean a higher quality of life for those people, this according to Davidson (2010) is called class cohesion. Social cohesion seems to be the result of the worsening of the quality of life of lower income classes, triggered by gentrification.

6.1.4 Access to basic services

The final part of the quality of life section regards the access to basic services. In CDN the overall access to basic services is quite adequate, with three hospitals, several medical clinics, supermarkets and corner stores. This can be seen in figure 6.1, which was provided by Collectif Quartier. There are two problems according to CDC-CDN, first the schools are overcrowded, due to the very high population density of the neighbourhood, and second there is a shortage in government-funded daycares. Government funded daycares cost 7 dollars a day. Private childcare facilities are much more expensive and can easily go up to 40 dollars a day, and is unaffordable for lower income class residents. The only part of the neighbourhood, according to CDC-CDN, that does not have good access to all the available services

in CDN is the Mountain Sights area, which has already been discussed as a problematic area in paragraph 6.1.2.

Figure 6.1 Services in CDN

Document de travail pour Collectif Quartier

Installations de loisir aquatiques
- Jeux d'eau (8)
- Pataugeoire (9)
- Piscine extérieure (2)
- Piscine intérieure (3)

Réseau culturel
- Accès culture (3)
- Bibliothèque (2)
- Musée municipal, centre d'interprétation et autres (1)

Écoles primaires
- Anglophone (4)
- Francophone (21)

Écoles secondaires
- Anglophone (4)
- Francophone (3)

Espaces Verts
- Espaces Verts
- 500 m autour d'un espave vert
- Jardin communautaire

Réseau routier
- Rue

Source : Gouvernement du Québec et Ville de Montréal

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Source: Collectif Quartier, 2014

In Sud Ouest there is a problem with healthcare access, since besides smaller medical clinics there is no large hospital. Several hospitals can be found in the surrounding boroughs but it can take up to 45 minutes by public transport to reach one of them. But according to FECHIMM the bad access to medical services is not just a problem in Sud Ouest: *"The issue of access to medical services is widespread in Quebec in general".* This healthcare access will improve for Sud Ouest with the construction of the McGill University medical centre in the near future just north of the Saint-Henri borough border. Batir son Quartier says that this *"mega hospital will serve both a regional and local function"*, and according to them the biggest problem is not the access to medical services but access to adequate food sources. According to FRAPRU there are a lot of areas in Montreal that can be categorized as *"food deserts"*. They state that: *"Most commercial streets of centrally located neighbourhoods are in a bad shape. Commercial rents have exploded in recent years; most small businesses eventually have to leave, leaving behind barricaded windows. The only stores that are able to withstand this process are large chains such as McDonald's, Starbucks, etc."* People are then forced to buy their groceries at

corner stores or pay elevated prices for average quality products. On top of that FRAPRU mentions that people seem to like to do their groceries at *"large shopping centers or so-called big box retail areas"*, which are only accessible by car. But not everyone sees the condo developments as bad business. FRAPRU also notices a change: *"I've personally experienced that the construction of new residential towers in the sector where I live has re-dynamized the retail sector, something which hasn't happened for over 20 years"*. Something that according to Batir Son Quartier also is happening in Little Burgundy: *"In Little Burgundy an old industrial area is going to be transformed into a shopping center with certain other basic services"*.

Schools are a problem in Sud Ouest as well and will become an even bigger problem in the North part of the borough with the increasing density. POPIR states that: *"We are quite concerned about the current development in Griffintown. We are currently assisting with a massive condo development in the area, but not a single service has been provisioned for the development. There is no school, no grocery store, virtually no transit, no green space, no day care, etc."* POPIR fears that the families and other households that will live in the social and affordable housing part of this project will become greatly cut off from the everyday life. On top of no schools being developed another problem occurs according to FRAPRU. The *"Montreal School association (CSDM) finds it difficult to find new terrains to construct schools on in the Montreal inner city area, caused by high land prices"*. This in combination with the fact that a lot of older schools have to be closed due to poor maintenance means that there is a growing scarcity in schools. It's even getting as bad that, according to TACS, there are several neighbourhoods that do not even have elementary schools.

6.2 Social mixing

In this paragraph two things will be looked at. The first is which social mixing strategies are applied in the two researched areas, what scale this is done at and what the effects are according to the interviewee's. The second part of this paragraph touches the topic of polarisation, to see if a pattern can be found between areas where social mixing strategies are being applied and the amount of polarisation that has taken place according to the different interviewed actors.

6.2.1 Applied social mixing strategies

As described in the borough's policy analysis a different approach regarding social mixing strategies exists between the two researched areas. The Sud Ouest borough maintains a more proactive approach then the CDN-NDG borough, the results of difference in approaches could already be seen when looking at the tenure mixing numbers in the statistical analysis of chapter 5.

In Montreal there is an inclusionary policy that states that with every project of more than 200 units 15% of the total units should be affordable housing units, being sold below market price. In Sud Ouest the local government is more proactive, not just with projects of more then 200 units the inclusionary policy is applied but also with projects smaller than 200 units. The policy states that when not chosen to include 15% of affordable houses within the project the percentage of the contribution elsewhere rises to a higher %. On top of that the borough aims to have 15% of its housing stock dedicated to communal housing. According to Batir Son Quartier, who develops them, communal housing units are: *"Affordable rental units where 50% of the residents have access to a form of subsidy, the other 50% the full price of the rent is covered by a housing program"*. This extended policy therefore directly leads to a better tenure mix, creating a better balance between renting and buying households. POPIR is a little sceptic when it comes to the inclusionary policy imposed by the borough, in their eyes this policy leads to: *"all developments or almost all being for purchase rather than rental housing units"*. This will exclude a large population group that cannot afford to buy a home, an opinion that is also shared by the FECHIMM. They state that: *"The tenure mix is rather low. Housing cooperatives represent only 1% or 2% of all rental-housing units in Quebec. Private rental housing units occupy a much higher percentage of the total, especially in Montreal"*. Due to the elevated rental prices of these private units this will lead to gentrification. FRAPRU shares this scepticism and says that: *"Developers no longer build rental housing units, except some for the elderly"*, leading to a poorer tenure mix. TACS goes even further and states that: *"According to the boroughs, the construction of condominiums (purchase) is seen as a means of establishing social mix in deprived neighbourhoods consisting mainly out of tenants"*. But what it actually does is pushing the already deprived population away, making it harder and harder for them to find a place to live. FECHIMM, as well as many other actors, criticizes that the existing inclusionary policy regarding social housing in new developments is not obligatory. According to them this means that the city can only apply this policy when they have to negotiate directly with a developer. For example, when the developer needs a specific permit for a development the city can insist the requirements of the inclusionary policy are met before handing out the permit.

Batir son Quartier confirms that socio economic mixing takes place in Sud Ouest, since they are themselves involved in this process. Batir Son Quartier aims to mix income classes through their developments: *"What we want is to have mixed incomes. Our projects are also for people who make more than $ 20,000, not in need of subsidies. These are normal workers who want seek to live together with others. The advantage of communal housing over social housing units, is that not 100% of the people belong to the low-income classes, something that would lead to ghettoization"*. POPIR has a slightly different point of view when it comes to the applied socioeconomic mixing policy. In their eyes the problem is not that there is just 15% affordable housing units being constructed, but more that there are 85% more

expensive condos being built. The people moving into these condos drastically change the day-to-day life of the other residents; *"it promotes the establishment of a higher social class at the expense of the lower classes"*.

The ethno cultural mix of the borough is more present in the social housing projects in Little Burgundy. According to Batir Son Quartier ethno cultural mixing is especially an issue in the social housing parks, not because the borough government stimulates this but because *"this is the place with lowest rents, automatically attracting more immigrants"*. No strategies regarding ethno cultural mixing in Sud Ouest where known by the several actors. FECHIMM mentions that this could be problematic on the long run. Recent immigrants often end up in housing units that are part of the social housing stock and with limited choice available it is likely they end up in more deprived parts of Montreal, thus directly affecting their quality of life.

The final form of social mixing, household mixing, is the most problematic in Sud Ouest, and the rest of the city in general. The goal set by the borough is to attract and attain more families, this clashes with the recent explosion of single and double bedroom condos and the lack of basic services that are needed to provide for these families, according to Batir Son Quartier.

In CDN the borough has maintained a less proactive approach when it comes to social mixing. The tenure mix in CDN is very different from the tenure mix in Sud Ouest and the rest of Montreal in general. The percentage of tenants is extremely high, 80,7 percent, as pointed out by CDC-CDN. This number is quite probably going to drop a bit in the coming years. In the triangle development 3500 housing units are going to be constructed, and apart from the 15% social housing units there will be no units rented out according to the CDC-CDN: *"To date the vast majority of units built as part of this development are not for rent. Besides the social housing, to my knowledge there is no orientation to ensure a proportion of rental housing in the rest of this development."* The sustainable neighbourhood project on the Hippodrome terrain can be seen as a mega project for the city of Montreal, here 5000 to 8000 housing units will be constructed. Several community organizations, of which CDC-CDN and Collectif Quartier are part, have united and are now demanding from the city that a certain socioeconomic mix will be ensured. They want several housing types and at least 2500 social housing units to be constructed in the development.

To make sure that a certain socio economic mix is attained in CDN, the borough has applied the cities inclusionary zoning strategy on the triangle development, since the consists of more then 200 housing units. 15% of the total units will be social housing units, and another 15% will be affordable housing units. According to the CDC-CDN this is by far not enough to fulfill the boroughs necessities. The CDC-CDN says that: *"The proportion of social housing units does not correspond with the neighbourhoods needs since there are 4.235 renters spending 80% or more of their income on rent"*. But they also say that the borough, to make sure social housing units can be constructed in the future, is now trying to apply an inclusionary policy where projects

of less then 200 units will have to contribute to a social housing fund. Something that with the rising land prices caused by speculation might not be achievable, since the contributions lose its value quite rapidly. The two interviewed private developers do not agree with the fact that the proportions of social and affordable housing units do not correspond with the needs in Montreal. Where all of the organizations are in favour of constructing more social and affordable housing, the private developers are not in favour of developing more social housing units at all. According to SAMCON the problem doesn't lie in the amount of units that have to be constructed but: "*The principal problem is the speculation of terrains*". According to SAMCON there are sufficient social and affordable housing units on the market and they are relatively evenly distributed throughout the city. Luc Poirier has a slightly different opinion. He, being raised in social housing, is not a big fan of social housing to begin with. He thinks that: *"Unfortunately promoting more social housing is a major trend by politicians, because of this we may see more and more of them and not only in major centers"*. He thinks that for a good social integration, social housing should be distributed evenly throughout the various neighbourhoods to avoid the creation of ghettos.

When it comes to ethno cultural mixing no policies are applied in CDN either. This does not mean that there is no ethno cultural mix, as was established in figure 5.13 the percentages of immigrants in CDN are very high and when looked at the diversity in figure 5.15 it is also very mixed with people coming from all over the world. It can therefore be argued that an ethno cultural mixing strategy is not necessary in this neighbourhood.

The household mixing strategy in CDN is poor and especially the attraction of families is lacking. CDC-CDN states that: "*In some recent projects there has been an effort to make 10-15% of family units. However, the vast majority of constructed condominiums are small units for individuals or couples. To date, to my knowledge, all but one projects are condominiums*". That one project contains a small amount of townhouses that can reside families. Demain Montreal confirms this problem and states that it is absolutely necessary to develop more family homes. Right now: "*there are more households with children that leave the city center than households with children that come to settle in the city centre*", something that could be solved by constructing more family units on vacant territories in the city.

The biggest difference between the two researched areas that came forward through the interviews is that not just the applied social mixing strategies differed between the two boroughs, but especially the way they are implemented and the effects they have, with the percentages of social and affordable housing units (tenure mix) being much higher in Sud Ouest then in CDN. Almost all participants in Sud Ouest stated that social mixing strategies are applied on a borough scale versus the participants in CDN stating that if social mixing strategies are applied in their neighbourhood, they are applied on a project basis.

6.2.2 Polarisation increase?

After having analyzed the social mixing strategies applied in the researched areas it is useful to take a look at the polarisation within these areas. Determining if the polarisation has increased or decreased could be a good measure to see if social mixing strategies are successful.

In Sud Ouest all the interviewed actors (RESO, Batir Son Quartier, FECHIMM, POPIR) agree upon the fact that there is a growing polarization between the boroughs residents. They all indicate that this growing polarization does not take place between the neighbourhood's original residents, but between the newcomers that buy the more expensive condos being and the original working class residents. The new residents are not accepted by the old residents, creating a more hostile environment within the neighbourhood. This can be seen according to Batir Son Quatier by: *"More community organizations popping up and fighting gentrification and big condo projects"*. The main issue these organizations oppose to is the speculation of terrains. They try to stop the massive up buying of terrains, which developers do hoping the zoning plan will alter the terrains land use into residential. A process that is very profitable to developers, since they buy terrains for the price of a much cheaper land use. FECHIMM says that: "*Some tenants of the neighbourhoods also put up posters on their windows to oppose the gentrification and the attack on the identity and social tissue that has been present in these neighbourhoods for many decades*".

In CDN a similar process is taking place, but in a much slower pace. The neighbourhood of CDN has not been touched as much by the process of gentrification and the massive influx of higher income residents that comes with it. But this is about to change. With the construction of large numbers of more expensive condos it will be very interesting to see how this will affect the polarization of the residents. All interviewed actors in CDN (CDC-CDN, Collectif Quartier) state that they also think that the polarization between the residents in CDN is increasing.

The conclusion that can be drawn after having analyzed the polarization within the two neighbourhoods is that in the neighbourhoods where social mixing strategies are being applied there still is an increase of social polarization. Making it unclear if social mixing strategies positively or negatively impact social polarization.

6.3 Inclusionary policies

In this paragraph the application of inclusionary policies is discussed. Of all the interviewed organizations and private companies all but one actor indicated that in their eyes it is necessary to regulate inclusionary policies on a city scale, but also that the different boroughs should do the actual implementation of the policies. A multitude of reasons are given for this approach. The first and most important reason is that right now, the application of inclusionary policies differs per borough, and can

also differ within the borough itself with different political parties being in power over time. This leads to a very skewed situation with developers active in different boroughs having to contribute in very different ways. This can mean that a developer that is active in two different boroughs will have to do one thing in one borough, but then something totally different in the other, making developing costs differ a lot. The creation of a citywide policy will give more certainty to developers, but also to the boroughs, certainty regarding future projects and the inclusion of social and affordable housing. Especially since these problems now occur throughout all boroughs of the city of Montreal. All interviewed actors also agree on the fact that the application of these policies should be delegated to the boroughs, this because the borough has a better image of the situation within the neighbourhoods. Think of, for example, the total amount of households in need of a certain type of housing and the total amount of social housing. The borough has a more complete image of the neighbourhood, the different stakes and actors. Both interviewed private developers believe in an inclusionary zoning policy, according to Luc Poirier "*it is the only way to prevent ghettos from developing*". But they stress, just like the different organizations, the importance of implementing it on a borough scale. SAMCON states that: "*It is very important to respond to the pressing needs of a neighbourhood and not apply a general strategy that will only worsen the situation*". In addition to this they also stress that the city should not regulate social and affordable housing whatsoever, since both parties are firm believers of the market principle. They both say that social and affordable housing should be regulated through the market, although both parties are also a bit sceptical about the success of the market regulation. They say the market can be made more effective by implementing subsidies and encouragements for developers. But a remark has to be made regarding the application of inclusionary policies by the borough governments. It could also lead to skewed results between different boroughs, in the sense that one borough can choose to stick to the minimum requirements as required by the city's policy and the other borough requiring more then the minimum. Making it still more interesting to develop in one borough then the other. But at least with a certain minimum requirement existing for all boroughs, certain uniformity within the city territory will be assured, something that is currently absent.

On top of the application on borough scale CDC-CDN says that boroughs should also have the flexibility to innovate: "*The borough should also be able to improve its approach and experiment with various policies that go beyond the strategy of the City. I think this flexibility would better cater to the specific challenges in different neighbourhoods, as well as to the innovation of new approaches*". The biggest problem with the current inclusionary policy of the city of Montreal is that it does not fulfill the city's need of social and affordable housing units. With the inner city neighbourhoods being fuller, there are fewer terrains left to develop on. The remaining terrains, due to its scarcity, become too expensive to develop social and

affordable housing on. Another problematic point is that the only prerequisite is that a certain % of social and affordable housing has to be included in a project, neglecting all the necessary basic services to actually make it a liveable place for the residents of these social and affordable housing. These residents do not have the financial means to seek these services elsewhere, something that the higher income classes have less difficulty with.

The one interviewed actor, POPIR, which had a different opinion then the others regarding inclusionary policies, is in fact against inclusionary policies in general. They say that: "*We concluded that the inclusionary policy has reached its limit. As it ensures that the construction of social housing is entirely dependent on private developers, it deprives citizens of the boroughs the opportunity to build projects that meet their needs*". They are therefore more in favour of a policy where a certain percentage of terrains in every borough must be reserved for future social and affordable housing developments. The registration and the creation of this 'terrain bank' should, according to POPIR, be regulated by the city so that the boroughs have a clear overview of what terrains are available to them. By implementing this strategy the city or borough can sit down with residents of the neighbourhoods to determine what is really needed and better cater to their demands. The private development company SAMCON partially agrees with POPIR's idea. When asked what would stimulate them to develop social and affordable housing units they say: "*Access to a database with more affordable land, greater involvement of authorities regarding development costs. Think of infrastructure, decontamination, planning and consulting*". Luc Poirier, already constructing affordable housing units, states that constructing more social and affordable housing units should be seen as an opportunity for developers to become more efficient. Since the profit margin is lower on these types of developments developers are forced to apply more effective techniques and cost reductions. This, in his eyes, can make a developer better in general.

6.4 Hypothesis

Now that the statistical and empirical findings have been discussed, it is important to take another look at the hypothesis formulated in chapter 3. By combining the results of the statistical analysis and the interviews the different hypothesis will be either justified or falsified.

Table 6.1 Hypothesis overview

1. Social mixing by integrating higher income households in the neighbourhood puts negative pressure on the private housing market by triggering the process of gentrification	**Justified**
2. Tenure mixing does not tackle deprivation and thus does not improve the quality of life.	**Justified**
3. Social mixing strategies lead to better access to infrastructure and services for all inhabitants, thus directly improving the quality of life.	**Justified**
4. Policy makers experience quality of life more as objective quality of life whereas citizens experience it more as subjective quality of life, which leads to different goals between policy makers and residents	**Rejected**
5. A higher percentage of an ethno cultural mix in a neighbourhood means higher social cohesion and thus a higher perception of quality of life	**Rejected**
6. Policies that neglect the individual lead to very homogenous neighbourhoods.	**Justified**
7. Inclusionary policies have a direct positive impact on creating diversified neighbourhoods.	**Justified**
8. Inclusionary zoning functions as a highly efficient tool to develop a certain percentage of affordable housing units within the city center.	**Rejected**
9. Social mixing cannot be regulated centrally as every neighbourhood has a different composition and thus different needs.	**Justified**
10. The longer a neighbourhood is gentrified, the higher the polarization and the more homogenous the population.	**Justified**

1. Social mixing by integrating higher income households in the neighbourhood puts negative pressure on the private housing market by triggering the process of gentrification.

In the interviews came forward that lower income classes are being forced out of so-called worker neighbourhoods that have experienced gentrification. The massive construction of more expensive condos is distorting the everyday life, not just by increasing the housing prices, but life in general. It can therefore be concluded that integrating high-income households in lower income neighbourhoods does not have a positive effect and thus puts a negative pressure on the private housing market. What does seem to work, or at least where more actors agree on is that including a higher % of lower income classes in new, more expensive developments through

social and affordable housing is the only way to attain the necessary total amounts of social and affordable housing. The conclusion is that this hypothesis can be justified.

2. Tenure mixing does not tackle deprivation and thus does not improve the quality of life.

Tenure mixing does indeed not tackle deprivation directly and therefore does not improve the quality of life. In Sud Ouest, where there is more social and material deprivation, as can be seen in figure 5.9, the tenure mix is also higher, as can be seen in figure 5.17. Tenure mixing alone can impossibly tackle deprivation, something that became evident in the interviews. It can help in the sense that it offers people a suitable home, but to actually improve the quality of life tenure mixing is not enough and access to basic services is essential. Therefore the hypothesis can be justified.

3. Social mixing strategies lead to better access to infrastructure and services for all inhabitants, thus directly improving the quality of life.

Social mixing strategies could lead to better access to infrastructure and services for all inhabitants, but in the two researched areas this is not the case. With socioeconomic, tenure and household mixing the focus lies only on the inclusion of a certain income class or household type. Social or affordable housing is constructed, units are either for rent or sale and houses are constructed for either a family or a single person, but this is where it stops. The social mixing strategies as applied right now do not include the construction of infrastructure or basic services such as schools, daycares, grocery stores and medical clinics. If a social mixing strategy is applied in an older neighbourhood where all these services already exist then the conclusion is that social mixing strategies indeed lead to better access for all inhabitants and thus improve the quality of life. It is therefore important, as also mentioned by a couple of the interviewed actors, that with social mixing strategies more then just the actual mixing has to be regarded. The conclusion is that the hypothesis can be justified, but that in the cases of Sud Ouest and CDN it does not yet apply, something that with for example the Hippodrome project in CDN might change.

4. Policy makers experience quality of life more as objective quality of life whereas citizens experience it more as subjective quality of life, which leads to different goals between policy makers and residents.

This hypothesis is the most difficult hypothesis to answer. Since the approached policy makers of CDN-NDG and Sud Ouest where not willing to participate in this research, because of a lack of time and ongoing elections, it was not possible to fully

research it. The part that can be answered is the side of the community. When trying to determine if citizens experience quality of life more in the subjective form it became evident that this is not the case. To begin with there is no real consensus of what quality of life means between the interviewed community organizations that represent the residents (POPIR, CDC, FRAPRU and TACS). On top of that it seems that within the residents group a certain combination of objective and subjective quality of life components exist. The actual definition of quality of life for the residents seems to resemble the definition defined in this research: *Quality of life is measured through certain quantitative measures, such as public safety, ecology, human rights, welfare and education but at the same time also through the subjective measures that regard the same topics*. The conclusion is that the hypothesis can be falsified, even with the policymaker's side not being researched. The result is that there are possibly different goals between residents and policy makers but there that it is sure now that there are different goals between the residents as well.

5. *A higher percentage of an ethno cultural mix in a neighbourhood means higher social cohesion and thus a higher perception of quality of life*.

Both researched areas have a relatively high ethno cultural mix (CDN has a slightly higher ethno cultural mix) and also a high sense of social cohesion (Sud Ouest seems to have a little bit more social cohesion amongst residents), the outcome of the several interviews was that the social cohesion in both researched areas mainly existed amongst the lower income classes (Class cohesion), and not because their quality of life was good or improving but because the quality of life is actually impoverishing. The ongoing gentrification process is making it more difficult for these people to remain in their homes. The conclusion is that the hypothesis has to be falsified, since the social cohesion in Sud Ouest is larger then in CDN (where the ethno cultural mix is higher). Higher social cohesion is also not linked to a better quality of life, but actually to the worsening of it.

6. *Policies that neglect the individual lead to very homogenous neighbourhoods*.

One thing that became clear from the interviews is that the majority of people are in favour of a better-regulated inclusionary policy on city scale. But they also stressed that the borough should implement this policy because they have a better view of the needs and demands of the actual neighbourhood, therefore focussing more on the individual and thus not creating homogenous neighbourhoods. The conclusion is that the hypothesis can be justified, since the main goal of the inclusionary policy is not to create homogenous neighbourhoods, but actually make sure the neighbourhood's identity is not altered.

7. Inclusionary policies have a direct positive impact on social mixing, creating diversified neighbourhoods.

The opinions on this topic are divided; all actors seem to agree on the fact that inclusionary policies can have a positive impact on creating diversified neighbourhoods. But not every actor agrees on that social mixing strategies create diversified neighbourhoods. Some actors see social mixing strategies, and then especially socio economic mixing, as something negative. They see it as a way of justifying a gentrification process in neighbourhoods where lower income classes are more present. Therefore it can be concluded that the hypothesis can be justified if it is altered slightly. This altered version is: *Inclusionary policies have a direct positive impact on creating diversified neighbourhoods*.

8. Inclusionary zoning functions as a highly efficient tool to develop a certain percentage of affordable housing units within the city center.

The conclusion after having talked to the different actors is that inclusionary zoning in potential could be a highly efficient tool to develop social and affordable housing but that right now it is not. Because of the several options available to developers (including a % in their project, constructing on a different site or paying a %) and it not being obligatory the majority of developers often choose to pay a certain % to the social and affordable housing fund. The problem with this fund is that because land prices in Montreal are skyrocketing, the % paid by developers loses its value very quickly making it impossible to construct sufficient social and affordable housing from that fund. A second problem is that it is more difficult to find terrain in the city center that is available for development. A third and final problem is that if chosen for the development elsewhere, it means that all social and affordable housing units are clustered together meaning that ghettoization can take place. The conclusion is that the inclusionary zoning in its current form is not an efficient tool to develop social and affordable housing units in the center of Montreal, therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

9. Social mixing cannot be regulated centrally as every neighbourhood has a different composition and thus different needs.

All the interviewed actors agreed on the fact that the actual implementation of social mixing strategies should be done on borough scale, since the city of Montreal does not have the required knowledge regarding the needs and demands within specific neighbourhoods. The borough's are more involved in the neighbourhoods and therefore have a better view on it. The conclusion is therefore that the hypothesis is justified.

10. The longer a neighbourhood is gentrified, the higher the polarization and the more homogenous the population.

In the Sud Ouest gentrification has taken place throughout the entire borough, having altered the neighbourhoods composition with the attraction of higher income classes into the area, causing a higher polarization between its old and new residents. The longer this process goes on, the more the lower income classes will be forced to leave, as can be seen in Griffin Town. This will ultimately lead to a very homogenous population. In the rest of Sud Ouest there are more and more organizations battling this phenomenon, making sure that the original residents can stay. In CDN the process of gentrification is just starting, so the future will prove how this will affect the population there. The conclusion is that it is true that the longer a neighbourhood is gentrified the more polarized it gets and the more homogenous is gets as well, therefore the hypothesis is justified.

7. Conclusion
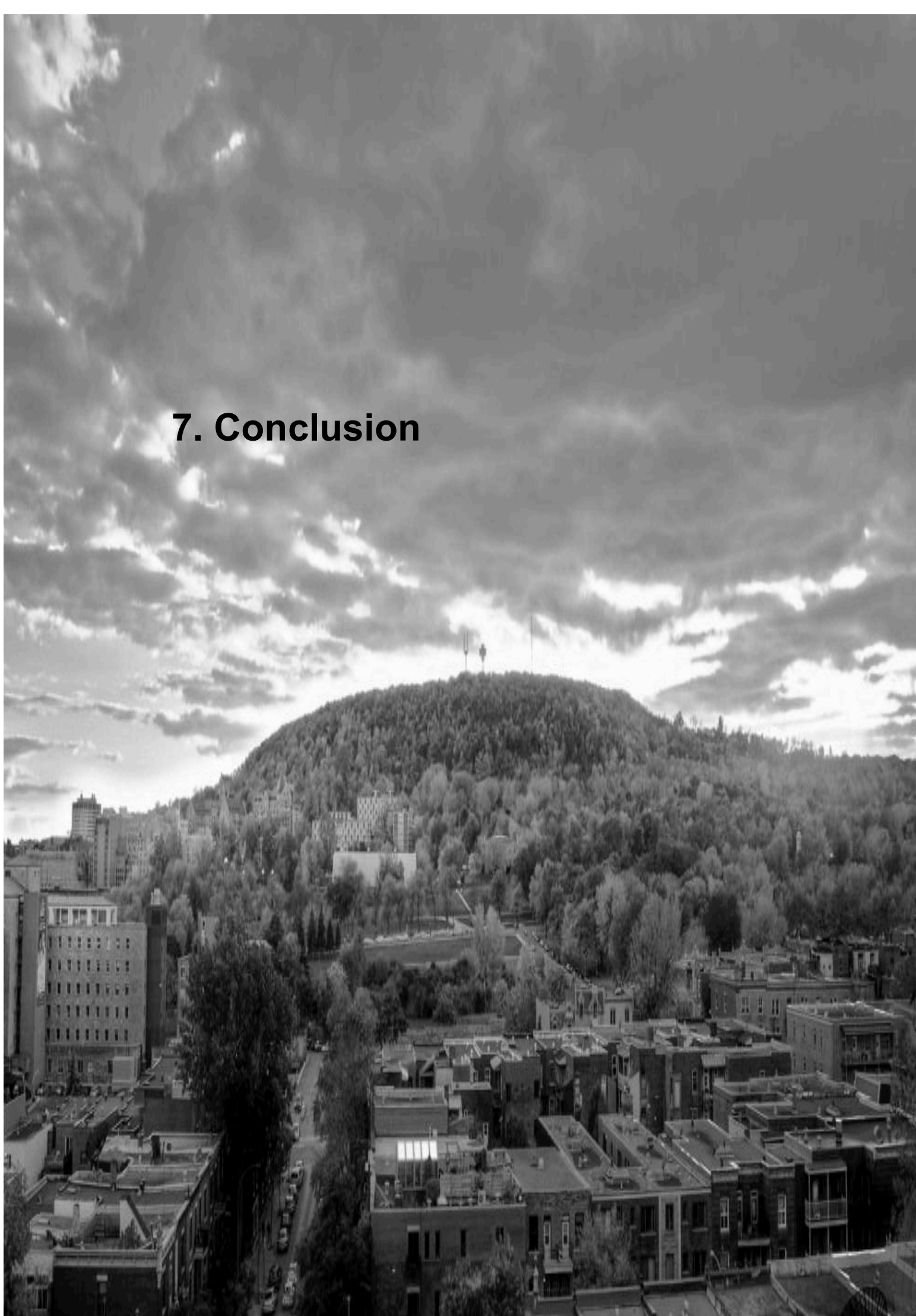
7. Conclusion

This concluding chapter consists out of two parts. In the first part the main research question will be answered. In the second part the discussion will take place in which suggestions for further research will be given.

7.1 Conclusion

For this research a comparative case study was performed. Two boroughs in the Montreal city center were compared, Côte-des-Neiges and Sud Ouest. This was done in two parts, a quantitative- and a qualitative part. First an in depth statistical analysis of the 2006 census tract data was performed and second 11 interviews with several actors involved in CDN, Sud Ouest and Montreal were held. The results of this empirical together with the theoretical part make it possible to answer the main research question.

But before the main research question "*To what extend should social mixing be stimulated and should this be done through government regulation or through market principle?*" can be answered it is necessary to answer the four sub questions: *Should social mixing be stimulated? What is a good social mix in an inner city neighbourhood? What are inclusionary policies and how can they contribute to social mixing strategies?* And *how does the market principle regulate social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods?* These four sub questions all tackle a different part of the main question and will be answered one by one with the help of the hypothesis that were justified or rejected in the last chapter. Combining the theoretical with the empirical part of the research to come to a conclusion.

1. Should social mixing be stimulated?

Social mixing by integrating higher income household in the neighbourhood should not be stimulated since it puts negative pressure on the private housing market by triggering the process of gentrification, ultimately leading to the exclusion of the lower income class from the neighbourhood. This exclusion of the lower income class is the actual opposite of what social mixing strategies aim for, being social inclusion. The several actors that were interviewed in the empirical part of this research underlined this problem. Their criticism focused mainly on the 85% expensive units versus 15% cheaper units ratio for new residential developments. According to POPIR this ratio leads to the: "*Establishment of a higher social class at the expense of the lower class*". A significant higher amount of cheaper units need to be developed to make it viable for the lower income class to situate themselves successfully in that development. Right now these numbers in the two researched areas are quite low. In Sud Ouest, where a proactive approach towards social mixing

is maintained, the percentage of social and communal housing units is the highest in Montreal but still makes up only 24% of the housing stock. Only including 15% of social and affordable housing units in future residential developments will only lower this percentage. In CDN-NDG, where the borough does not apply a proactive approach towards social mixing, the percentage of social and communal housing units is extremely low and makes up only 6% of the available housing stock. A change in approach for both research areas is therefore desirable. Batir Son Quartier explained that they, in their projects, aim to have a 50-50 ratio between more expensive and cheaper units. But what the actual appropriate ratio is to make socio economic mixing in Montreal more successful is difficult to say, since including too many cheap units will affect the house prices of the more expensive units making the projects less economically viable. Maybe a ratio resembling the ratio in London, as described in the theoretical frame by Arbaci & Rae (2013), where it is 60% more expensive units versus 40% cheaper units would prove more successful, but further research on this topic is definitely needed.

Tenure mixing does not necessarily tackle deprivation and therefore does not directly improve the quality of life either. The conclusion from this research is that the main goal of tenure mixing should not be to tackle deprivation. From the empirical part in chapter 5 and 6 it became evident that in both boroughs some areas experience rather large amounts of deprivation. According to the interviewed actors this deprivation is not declining but rather growing, even in Sud Ouest where social mixing strategies are applied. The main goal for tenure mixing is therefore not to counter deprivation directly, but just to give people a suitable home. The same principle applies to household mixing. The main goal of Household mixing should not be to directly improve the quality of life of the households but to offer appropriate housing for a broad variety of household types. For the city of Montreal household mixing should focus mainly on attracting and retaining families in the city, since it is seen by the several interviewed actors, but also by the PMAD, as essential that the exodus of families to the suburbs is slowed down significantly. The quality of life can then be improved after, since for this to happen it is also essential that all households have equal access to basic services.

The conclusion that can then be drawn is that social mixing should be stimulated, socio economic mixing in an altered form, but also tenure mixing and household mixing. The goal for social mixing should not be to directly improve the quality of life, but rather to prevent the exclusion of people from their living environments.

2. What is a good social mix in an inner city neighbourhood?

Defining a good social mix remains difficult, since it differs on the person asked and the neighbourhood that is being looked at. From the empirical part of the research it seemed that the interviewed actors had the impression that the city of Montreal uses social mixing as a way to 'improve' deprived neighbourhoods by including high-

income class residents in low income class neighbourhoods. This would mean that, to the city, a 'good social mix' consists solely out of a balanced socio economic mix in a neighbourhood. The cities 'good social mix' is not the way the several interviewed actors see it. They stress the importance that a good social mix is a balance between three different types of social mixes that are described in paragraph 3.3: socio economic, tenure and household mix. It is important to have people from all income levels, there has to be a good balance between housing units that are for sale and for rent and there have to be housing units for different household types. With tenure mixing it is not just a divide between renting and buying, but a variety has to be present within the two categories too, for example private rental, social housing and communal housing units and on the other side houses for first time buyers, but also for people in other life stages. Having a good ethno cultural mix is not mentioned as being essential by any of the interviewed actors and is therefore left out of the 'good' social mix in this research.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that it is difficult to determine a good social mix for an inner city neighbourhood, since every neighbourhood has its own identity. But it is certain that a good social mix in an inner city neighbourhood not just consists out of a socioeconomic mix, but that a balanced tenure mix and household mix, with a higher percentage of families, is also required.

3. What are inclusionary policies and how can they contribute to social mixing strategies?

Inclusionary policies can be seen as policies that try to achieve social inclusion for all people in the city. From the research it became evident that inclusionary policies have a direct positive impact on creating diversified neighbourhoods, a goal that is shared with social mixing strategies. Inclusionary policies make it possible to successfully implement social mixing strategies through the market principle. The market principle is regulated by private parties. Inclusionary policies force these private parties to develop according to the demands set by the local government. This means that the local government will not have to develop themself and thus lets the market principle implement social mixing strategies.

One of the things that also became evident when researching inclusionary policies is that general policies that are regulated and implemented on city scale, neglect the individual. Since the policy is implemented on city scale it will cater to the general needs of the city and not to the demands of a borough or neighbourhood. Instead of creating homogenous neighbourhoods through the regulation and implementation of the policy on city level, it is better to safeguard the different identities; the social tissues and the compositions of the different boroughs and neighbourhoods. This can be done by adding certain flexibility to the inclusionary policy, being able to better cater to the individual.

Inclusionary zoning in its current form, where developers have the choice of including 15% of social and/or affordable housing in their project, developing a certain percentage of social and/or affordable housing units elsewhere or contributing a certain 15% to a social and/or affordable housing fund, is not an efficient inclusionary policy for the city of Montreal. The inclusionary zoning policy is not efficient because of two reasons: The first is that the policy is not legally binding. Because it is not legally binding, developers still have the choice of neglecting the policy when developing a residential project. The city of Montreal only has a good negotiation position when the developers need a certain permit for their development, then the city can insist that developers comply with the inclusionary zoning policy before handing out the permit. The second reason is that it only applies to residential projects of more then 200 units, meaning that projects with 199 units or less do not need to include any social or affordable housing in their projects. Because it is not legally binding and it only applies to large projects the results between the different boroughs are rather large. The development costs for a project can differ a lot between boroughs where the inclusionary zoning policy is enforced and boroughs where it is not, but also the percentages of social and affordable housing units can differ a lot between boroughs.

The conclusion is that inclusionary policies make it possible to include all people in the neighbourhood, not just by offering them housing, but making sure the people also have access to basic necessities through including them in residential developments, something that is regarded as crucial if social mixing strategies want to be successful on the long term.

4. How does the market principle regulate social mixing in inner city neighbourhoods?

Right now there is a rather large amount of 1 or 2 bedroom condos being built in the inner city of Montreal. The majority of these condos are on the expensive side and are very profitable for developers. This massive condo development is triggering a gentrification process throughout the city, leading to a more homogenous population in the inner city neighbourhoods, as described in chapter 6. The more homogenous population is caused by the massive relocation of the middle and high-income class residents from the suburbs back to the city center, into these more expensive condos. This relocation process is making the life in the affected inner city neighbourhoods more expensive, by house and rent prices augmenting, but also by a change in focus of the retail. Where first retail was focussed on the lower income classes now they focus more on the needs and demands of the middle and higher income class. As a result, lower income classes are forced out of their own neighbourhoods, they can no longer afford to pay the augmented housing prices but can also no longer fulfill their other basic needs. This exclusion of the lower income class is causing irritation amongst the lower income class and as a reaction they are

mobilizing themselves against the arrival of middle and high-income class residents in their neighbourhoods. The interviewed actors in Sud Ouest (RESO, Batir Son Quartier, FECHIMM and POPIR), the borough that experienced significant amounts of gentrification, all underline that this gentrification process is increasing the polarization amongst residents, proving the theory described in chapter 3 right. Meaning that the change to more homogenous middle- and high-income class focussed neighbourhoods around the city center leads to greater polarization between income classes. It can therefore be argued that the market principle, in its current form, does not regulate the social mixing of inner city neighbourhoods the way the city and borough governments need it to develop.

One thing that became evident during the empirical part of this research in chapter 6 is that all actors agree on the fact that social mixing should be regulated on city level, with the help of a better-defined inclusionary policy frame. The different boroughs should be in charge of the actual implementation, since every borough and even neighbourhood is different and thus has different needs, ultimately leading to more social inclusion and thus a better social equity. The main goal of inclusionary policies as described in paragraph 3.4.1 of the theoretical frame. This better-defined inclusionary policy frame can be achieved by strengthening the current weak points of the existing inclusionary zoning policy. The inclusionary policy frame should strife for uniformity, in the sense that the same policy has to apply to all boroughs equally and not be optional anymore, but it also has to cover a wider range of residential developments, and not just the projects with 200 housing units or more. Projects that have fewer then 200 units should also have to include a certain percentage of social and affordable housing units. But at the same time the boroughs should be in charge of the implementation of the policy, meaning that there has to be certain flexibility as well, leaving the boroughs enough space to cater to the needs and demands of the different neighbourhoods.

The conclusion is that the market principle in its current form does not regulate social mixing accordingly. The policies that can steer the market should be regulated more centrally, this way all parties have a better overview of the situation. The framework developed by the city should then be implemented by the several boroughs and not by the city itself. The boroughs have a better view on the actual needs within the different neighbourhoods.

Now that the different sub questions have been answered, the different answers can be combined and it is possible to answer the main question of this research:

To what extend should social mixing be stimulated and should this be done through government regulation or through market principle?

The conclusion of this research is that it is necessary to stimulate social mixing, not necessarily to directly improve the quality of life of residents as assumed in the

theoretical part of this research, but to make sure there is no social exclusion of people. With the changing resident composition of neighbourhoods, it is especially necessary that the local governments regulate social mixing on socio economic-, tenure-, and household types.

For socio economic mixing to be more successful the focus should lie on including more low-income class residents in residential developments. For tenure mixing it is important to not just focus on a good balance between buying and renting units, but also that there is a large variety within each category. There has to be a range of private renting units, social housing units, communal housing units, first time buying units etc. Household mixing should focus mostly on trying to retain and attract families in and to the city center.

Social mixing can be achieved by implementing inclusionary policies, which as described in the theoretical part of this research aim at the social inclusion of people. They do so by not just focussing on the development of appropriate housing but also by focussing on the inclusion of sufficient basic services in new residential developments. Ultimately leading to a better overall access to basic services, for all residents, and thus improving the social equity of the city.

Social mixing should be done through the market principle (development by private parties), but not in its current form, since it is not regulating the social mix in a desirable way. For social mixing to succeed it is essential that a more extensive inclusionary policy framework is created on city level. This gives the involved parties a clearer view on the situation and the available possibilities. The actual implementation of the inclusionary policies should be done on borough level. The boroughs have a better view on the situation in the different neighbourhoods. They are familiar with the social composition; the social tissue and the identity of a neighbourhood and can therefore better cater to the needs and demands.

To summarize the conclusion, social mixing in neighbourhoods should be stimulated; this should still be done according to the market principle, meaning that private developers are still in charge of the development of social and affordable housing units, but now with a better-defined inclusionary policy framework, regulated on city level. This will ensure certain uniformity within city boundaries. The boroughs should do the actual implementation of the policy; they have a better view on the situation of the neighbourhoods regarding the composition, social tissue and identity of the area and are therefore better at defining what type of social mixing is required.

To finalize the conclusion it is useful to take another look at the societal and scientific relevance of this research. The societal relevance is integrated throughout the entire conclusion in the sense that certain policy recommendations were made regarding social mixing strategies and inclusionary policies. To implement these strategies and policies more successfully the research found that it is necessary to focus on socio economic, household and tenure mixing and that inclusionary policies should be regulated on city scale and implemented on borough level, but also that it is

important to include basic services in future residential developments. For the scientific relevance this research has been interesting for two reasons. The first is that it gave a new insight in the social mixing theory. The theoretical frame suggested that socio economic mixing through implementing higher income residents in more deprived neighbourhoods would lead to a direct improvement of the quality of life. In the empirical part of this research the opposite was proven. The interviewed actors stated that this type of mixing puts negative pressure on the lower income class, ultimately leading to lower social equity. The second reason is that it adds a comparative case study to the not so densely populated North American social mixing debate. Now the case of Montreal can be compared to other North American cases to see how they differ, how they can learn and how they can complement each other.

7.2 Discussion

During the empirical part of the research three interesting cases for further research were encountered.

A first interesting case is related to one of the findings of this research and regards socioeconomic mixing. As came forward through the literature review and later the interviews, the process of socioeconomic mixing by incorporating high income class households in more deprived areas leads to negative pressure on the housing market. Therefore it was argued by the majority of interviewed actors that it is necessary to change the current socio economic mixing approach. The 85% more expensive units versus 15% cheaper units is not sufficient to make socio economic mixing successful. It is therefore necessary to further investigate this. It is necessary to find a ratio that is most efficient for the city of Montreal. A good balance needs to be found to be able to cater to the socio economic demands but at the same time there has to be made sure that not too many cheaper units are included, as this will also affect the house prices of the more expensive condos, making it less attractive for private developers to develop in Montreal and ultimately leading to ghettoization.
The topic of what a good socio economic balance is has already been extensively researched in other parts of the world. Arbaci and Rae (2013) have described the case of socio economic mixing in the greater area of London. They came up with a 40% cheap 60% more expensive ratio. They chose this ratio because neighbourhoods that consisted out if these percentages showed significant improvement in education, skills and deprivation scores. Van Ham and Manley (2010) agree with Arbaci and Rae and say that there is a positive neighbourhood effect if the right socio economic mix is applied. Galster et al. (2010) add to this side of the debate that a good socio economic mix indeed exists, but that it differs per neighbourhood and that it is very important to identify which neighbourhood effects are present before implementing socio economic mixing. But there is also a rather

large academic movement that opposes the idea of socio economic mixing in a neighbourhood. Bolster et al. (2007) state that the focus should not lie on including a higher percentage of lower income people to improve social equity, but on individuals and households: "*raising skill levels, providing child care, managing the trade-off between work incentives and income out of work, and so on*". Meaning that the included percentage is not really relevant. An opinion shared by Ostendorf et al. (2001) and Musterd (2005), who state that poverty is an individual characteristic and not a neighbourhood problem. The two academic movements described above plus the results from the empirical part of this research make this a very interesting case to research at a different stage.

The second interesting case regards the different perceptions of quality of life, since it was not possible to speak to the borough governments directly the hypothesis about the difference in perception between policy makers and residents regarding quality of life could not be fully researched. Four public actors were interviewed. Two of these were public housing corporations not directly linked to the borough government and the other two were a social institution and a taskforce created by the city of Montreal consisting out of an assembly of actors. None of these four actors were politicians or policy makers directly involved with the local borough. Therefore it was not possible to research the difference in perception between the policy maker's side and the community side. It would be interesting to further investigate this at a different stage, by focussing on what quality of life means for policy makers.

The third interesting case regards the statistical data used in this research. When this research was done Statistics Canada had not yet released all the data collected in the 2011 census tract, therefore mostly the 2006 data was used to perform the statistical analysis. When the data of the 2011 census tract is fully released it could be interesting to redo the statistical analysis of the two researched areas to visualize the change in the neighbourhood compositions since the implementation of the social mixing strategy in Sud Ouest in 2005. This way an even clearer picture of the effects of the social mixing strategies can be mapped.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Quality of life

Actors	Concept 1	Concept 2	Concept 3	Concept 4	Concept 5
CDC-CDN	Appropriate housing	Appropriate job	Access to affordable leisure activities of close proximity	Access to basic services	Good quality public and green spaces
FECHIMM	Appropriate housing	Sufficient funds	Access to leisure activities	Social inclusion	Having an impact on direct surrounding environment
FRAPRU	Appropriate housing				
TACS	Complete neighbourhood (services, green spaces, housing, work)	Built environment	Animated public areas and neighbourhood life	Security	Mobility
Collectif Quartier	Appropriate job	Built environment	Health	Security	Education
POPIR	Appropriate housing	Access to basic services	Access to appropriate commerce	Access to green spaces and leisure activities	Social inclusion
Batir son Quartier	Green spaces	Access to basic services	Built environment	Mobility/transport	Density

Overlap between concepts

Housing	→	5/7 actors
Job	→	4/7 actors
Basic services	→	4/7 actors
Green spaces	→	4/7 actors
Leisure	→	3/7 actors
Social inclusion	→	3/7 actors
Built environment	→	3/7 actors
Security	→	2/7 actors
Mobility	→	2/7 actors
Health	→	1/7 actor
Education	→	1/7 actor
Density	→	1/7 actor

Appendix B. Meta data interviews

Person: Pierre Morrissette
Organization: RESO
Address: 3181 rue St. Jacques, H4C 1G7, Montreal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514 931-5737
E-mail address: pmorrissette@resomtl.com
Subject of Interview: Situation in the Sud Ouest borough

Person: Benoit Ferland
Organization: Batir Son Quartier
Address: 1945 Rue Mullins, QC H3K 1N9, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514-933-2755
E-mail address: grt@batirsonquartier.com
Subject of Interview: Situation in the Sud Ouest borough

Person: Grégory Brasseur
Organization: FECHIMM
Address: 3155, rue Hochelaga, H1W 1G4, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514-843-6929
E-mail address: info@fechimm.coop
Subject of Interview: Situation in the Sud Ouest borough

Person: Antoine Morneau-Sénéchal
Organization: POPIR
Address: 4017 Rue Notre-Dame Ouest, QC H4C 1R3, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514-935-4649
E-mail address: info@popir.org
Subject of Interview: Situation in the Sud Ouest borough

Person: Isabelle Lépine
Organization: Collectif Quartier
Address: 801 Brennan, H3C 0G4, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514 872-9538
E-mail address: ilepine@collectifquartier.org
Subject of Interview: Situation in the CDN neighbourhood

Person: Jennifer Auchinleck
Organization: CDC-CDN
Address: 6767, chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges, Montreal, Canada
Phone number   +1 514 739-7731
E-mail address   jennifer@conseilcdn.qc.ca
Subject of Interview: Situation in the CDN neighbourhood

Person: Marie-Josée Corriveau
Organization: FRAPRU
Address: 2350, boul. de Maisonneuve Est, H2K 2E7, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514 522-1010
E-mail address: frapru@frapru.qc.ca
Subject of Interview: Situation in the CDN neighbourhood

Person: Denis Houle
Organization: SAMCON
Address: 815, René-Lévesque Est, H2L 4V5, Montréal, Québec
Phone number: +1 514 844-7300
E-mail address: samcon@samcon.ca
Subject of Interview: Development of social/affordable housing units by private developers

Person: Luc Poirier
Organization: Investissement Luc Poirier
Address: -
Phone number: +1 450-907-6677
E-mail address: info@investissementlucpoirier.com
Subject of Interview: Development of social/affordable housing units by private developers

Person: Christelle Proulx-Cormier
Organization: TACS
Address: 1215 Ontario E, QC H2L 1R5, Montréal, Canada
Phone number: +1 514-935-6684
E-mail address: christelle.proulx-cormier@rayside.qc.ca
Subject of Interview: Situation in and around the Montreal city center

Person: Multiple persons
Organization: Demain Montreal
Address: Meeting at Rayside Labossière
Phone number: -
E-mail address: -
Subject of Interview: Situation in and around the Montreal city center

Appendix C. Interview questions public/community actors

English version

Your name:
Name of Organization

Universiteit Utrecht

Part 1. Quality of life

1. Could you define what quality of life means to you? (Name the 5 most important concepts)
2. Are there any problematic areas in the borough? And if so, can you identify these? Briefly describe what the problem is in these areas.
3. How is the social cohesion in the borough? Is there interaction between its residents? Does your organization help improving the social cohesion? If so, how?
4. How is the access to basic services for residents in the borough? Are there certain areas that have worse access to these services?

Part 2. Social mixing

Four types of social mixing strategies can be identified: Tenure mixing (renting vs. buying), ethno cultural mixing (mixing based on ethnic background), socio economic mixing (based purely on income level) and household mixing (mixing to gain a broad variety in household types).

5. Do you know if any of the above strategies are being applied in the borough? And if so, which ones? (If there are none, skip question 6)
6. Are these strategies being applied on a neighborhood scale or on project basis? And do they concern individuals or do they target groups?
7. Is there gentrification in the borough? Is it more concentrated or is it spread over the whole borough? If it is concentrated, could you point out these areas?
8. Do you feel like there is more or less polarization between the borough residents in the past few years?

Part 3. Inclusionary politics

9. Do you feel like inclusionary politics such as social mixing strategies should be regulated on city scale; borough scale or that these should not be regulated at all? Explain why.
10. Do you feel it is necessary to include social mixing strategies in future developments? Should they be included on borough scale or project basis? And how do you think this can impact the outcome?

French version

Votre nom :
Nom d'organisme :

Universiteit Utrecht

Partie 1. Qualité de vie

1. Pouvez-vous expliquer ce qu'une bonne qualité de vie représente pour vous (ex. nommer les 5 points que vous considérez les plus importants).
2. Y a-t-il des quartiers problématiques dans votre arrondissement ? Si oui, pouvez-vous les nommer et décrire brièvement les problèmes présents ?
3. La cohésion sociale est-elle adéquate dans l'arrondissement (ex. les résidents de l'arrondissement ont-ils un sentiment de communauté ? Y a-t-il des interactions sociales entre ces derniers?) Votre organisme aide-t-il à améliorer cette cohésion sociale ?
4. L'accès aux services de base (supermarchés, cliniques médicales, établissements scolaires, etc.) est-il adéquat dans l'arrondissement ? Cet accès est-il moins adéquat dans certains quartiers et si oui, lesquels ?

Partie 2. Mixité Sociale

Il existe quatre types de stratégies de mixité sociale : 1) la mixité du mode d'occupation (location vs. achat), 2) la mixité ethnoculturelle (mixité basée sur l'ethnicité), 3) la mixité socio-économique (mixité basée sur le niveau de revenu), 4) mixité de ménage (mixité basée sur une variété de domiciles).

5. Ces stratégies sont-elles mises en œuvre dans votre arrondissement ? Si oui, lesquelles ?
6. Sont-elles mises en œuvre à l'échelle de l'arrondissement ou par projets individuels ?
7. Une gentrification est-elle présente dans l'arrondissement ? Si oui, est-elle concentrée dans un quartier ou généralisée dans tout l'arrondissement ? Si concentrée, pouvez-vous indiquer dans quel(s) quartier(s) ?
8. La polarisation entre les résidents de l'arrondissement a-t-elle évoluée au cours des dernières années, et si oui, comment ?

Partie 3. Les Politiques d'Inclusion

9. Selon vous, les politiques d'inclusion (telles les stratégies de mixité sociale) devraient-elles être réglementées à l'échelle de la ville, de l'arrondissement, par projets individuels ou pas du tout et pourquoi ?
10. Considérez-vous essentiel d'inclure des stratégies de mixité sociale dans les développements futurs et quel impact cela aurait-il sur la qualité de vie des résidents de l'arrondissement ?

Appendix D. Interview questions private developers

English version

Universiteit Utrecht

Your name:
Company:

1. Can you give a short description of your company? And what your position is within the company?

2. What kind of projects does your company do? Does this include social housing/affordable housing units? And if so, how high is this percentage?

3. How do you see the current housing market in Montreal? Do you feel like there is enough social housing/affordable housing units available? And do you feel like it is relatively evenly distributed over the city?

4. What could make your company more interested in developing social/affordable housing? And if your company already does, how do you think it could be made more interesting for developers in general?

5. Do you feel like the development of social and affordable housing should me more government regulated or market led? And can you explain why?

6. Do you believe in the inclusionary zoning policy? (Where a certain % of social/affordable housing has to be included in every development) And can you explain why?

7. Is your company active in the CDN-NDG or the Sud Ouest Boroughs? And if so could you describe what kind of projects these were?

8. Do you have any further remarks/questions?

French version

Universiteit Utrecht

Votre Nom:
Votre Compagnie:

1. Pouvez-vous donner une brève description de votre entreprise? Quelle est votre position au sein de l'entreprise?

2. Avec quels types de projets œuvre votre entreprise? Incluent-ils des logements sociaux / abordables et si oui, quel en est le pourcentage par-rapport aux autres projets?

3. Comment voyez-vous le marché de l'immobilier à Montréal par rapport aux logements sociaux/abordables? Pensez-vous qu'il y a une disponibilité suffisante de ce type de logement sur le marché? Pensez-vous qu'ils sont distribués également géographiquement à Montréal?

4. Si votre entreprise n'œuvre pas dans ce domaine, qu'est-ce qui pourrait la rendre plus intéressée à créer des logements sociaux / abordables? Si votre entreprise œuvre présentement dans ce domaine, qu'est-ce qui pourrait rendre la création de logement sociaux / abordables plus intéressante pour les développeurs en général?

5. Pensez-vous que le développement du logement social et abordable devrait être règlementé par le gouvernement ou par le marché? Et pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi?

6. Croyez-vous à la politique de zonage d'inclusion (où un certain % de logements sociaux / abordables doit être inclus dans chaque nouveau développement)? Et pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi?

7. Est-ce que votre entreprise est active dans l'arrondissement CDN-NDG ou du Sud Ouest? Et si oui pouvez-vous décrire avec quels types de projets elle été impliquée?

8. Avez-vous d'autres remarques / questions?