Case Analysis of Public Participation with Sidewalk Toronto:
Sidewalk Labs' Quayside (Toronto, Ontario)

Participatory Planning Analysis

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Introduction on Participatory Planning

Participatory planning is the practice of planners within organizations and institutions to include members of the public in decision-making and policy-forming processes, notably in processes that can have a lasting impact on the function and landscape of a city. Public engagement is a common practice in planning, even being highlighted as a main code to follow within the Canadian Institute of Planners' *Code of Professional Conduct and Statement of Values*, where a planner must "provide opportunities for meaningful participation and education in the planning process to all interested parties" (2016). While there is no one definition of how public engagement should be conducted, it can take form in copious ways and can vary from minimal to extensive. To this point, we will examine the participatory planning methods used within Sidewalk Toronto - a project put forth by Sidewalk Labs in 2017 and located along the waterfront of Quayside, Toronto - to see how public engagement played its role within the ultimate cancellation of the project.

The Sidewalk Toronto Project

Quayside's Parcel of Land Proposed for Development at Waterfront Toronto (Waterfront Toronto, 2022)

Sidewalk Toronto and Quayside by Sidewalk Labs

Sidewalk Toronto is a canceled urban development project plan by Sidewalk Labs on the eastern waterfront of Toronto, Canada. A 12-acre plot on the Waterfront of Toronto, Quayside was part of the proposed partnership between Sidewalk Labs and Waterfront Toronto. Commencing in 2017, Quayside was to be Toronto's first smart neighborhood and phase one of the larger Sidewalk Toronto project, which consisted of Sidewalk Labs' Proposed (and out of the initial scope) Innovative Development and Economic Acceleration (IDEA) District. Sidewalk Labs proposed three phases for this larger IDEA district with Quayside and the River District being the first and second phases, respectively. The project aimed to advance a new model of inclusive urban development along Toronto's waterfront, striving for the highest levels of sustainability, economic opportunity, housing affordability and new mobility (Sidewalk Labs, 2019).

Quayside location and Sidewalk Labs' Proposed IDEA district neighborhoods and Roles (Sidewalk Labs, 2019)

Sidewalk Labs, associated with Google, was founded on "the principle of bringing urbanists and technologists together to create a climate positive future" (Sidewalk Labs, n.d.). It started in 2015 as "Google's arm for Innovation", with a focus on solving cities' greatest challenges through urban design and technology (Sidewalk Labs, n.d.).

Waterfront Toronto

Waterfront Toronto is an organization founded in 2001, charged with overseeing the development of Toronto's Waterfront. It is a tri-level public partnership between the City of Toronto, the Province of Ontario, and the Government of Canada, working to create a vibrant waterfront for all with an emphasis on people, parks, and public spaces. Waterfront Toronto's model is to "mobilize public resources to attract private investment and catalyze job creation" (Waterfront Toronto, 2022). Their mandate demands that they "prioritize design excellence, advance the industry on innovation and sustainability and build a waterfront that is accessible to all with economic opportunities inclusive of everyone" (Waterfront Toronto, 2022).

Partnership Between Sidewalk Labs and Waterfront Toronto

In March 2017, Waterfront Toronto released a Request for Proposal (RFP) and set out to find a "unique partner, one with invention ingrained in its culture, which can transform conventional business practices and help to establish a benchmark climate positive approach that will lead the world in city building practices" (Waterfront Toronto Quayside RFP, 2017). Waterfront Toronto created five priority outcomes for the project including job creation, sustainability, affordability, new mobility, and digital innovation. After being selected as the Innovation and Funding Partner, Sidewalk Labs commenced an 18 month process of citizen engagement before releasing in June 2019, their Master Innovation Development Plan (MIDP), a 4-volume, 1500 page document. Volumes 0-3 of the MIDP covers the overview, plans, urban innovations, and partnership of the project, respectively.

Sidewalk Labs Vision for Sidewalk Toronto's Quayside and Project Conclusion

Sidewalk Toronto's Extensive Master Innovation Development Plan (MIDP) Volumes (Sidewalk Labs, n.d.)

In their extensive MIDP, Sidewalk Labs' masterplan for Quayside included innovation in mobility, public realm, buildings, housing, sustainability, social infrastructure, and digital innovation. According to Sidewalk Labs, Quayside was to be a people-first neighborhood with walkable streets, enhanced cycling options, accessibility initiatives, and new mobility innovation. However, as a Google-affiliate company, Sidewalk Labs' MIDP and involvement in the project in general received criticism from the public and the media with data privacy, placing data security at the forefront of concerns for the project. Following the release of their MIDP, in the fall of 2019, Sidewalk Labs released their Digital Innovation Appendix (DIA), providing updates to the MIDP in an effort to resolve some issues and provide transparency.

Following the release of the DIA, Waterfront Toronto and Sidewalk Labs subsequently announced their alignment on key project issues in fall 2019 (Sidewalk Labs, 2019). Sidewalk Labs walked away from the project in May 2020, citing economic uncertainty due to the unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic. This left some to question if the pressure and criticism from the public and media about data privacy played an important role in the cancellation of the project.

Sidewalk Toronto's Proposed Quayside Plan (Sidewalk Labs, 2019)

Sidewalk Toronto's Proposed Quayside Renderings (Sidewalk Labs, 2019)

Sidewalk Toronto Public Participation Strategy

Public Engagement Strategy

Sidewalk Labs commenced an 18-month citizen engagement process in 2017 prior to releasing the MIDP. The MIDP outlined a "vision for how cities can integrate physical, digital and policy innovations to produce dramatic improvements in quality of life and generate significant economic opportunity" (Sidewalk Labs, 2019). After the release of Sidewalk Labs' MIDP in June 2019, consultation with the public continued solely by Waterfront Toronto until Sidewalk Labs walked away from the project in May 2020. Throughout the public engagement process, a variety of engagement methods were used including:

- Town halls
- Public round tables
- Opening of an office and experiential workshop called 307
- Design jams
- Neighborhood meetings
- Residence reference panel
- Summer kids camp
- Small grants program
- Fellowship program

In November 2019, Sidewalk Labs released their Sidewalk Toronto Public Participation Strategy Report providing a detailed summary of the consultation and engagement activities they completed to date, and plans for ongoing engagement to meet and "exceed the public consultation requirements of the Province of Ontario, City of Toronto and Waterfront Toronto" (Sidewalk Labs, 2019). Sidewalk Labs' approach to the engagement process followed six guiding principles consisting of: inclusion, creativity, learning, relationships, equity, and play. Sidewalk Labs also stated they made an effort to reach out to voices who may get missed in the engagement process, including the accessibility community and the Indigenous community. Interestingly, what is missing from the large public participation document are the details of the demographics of those who participated during the 18-month public participation process.
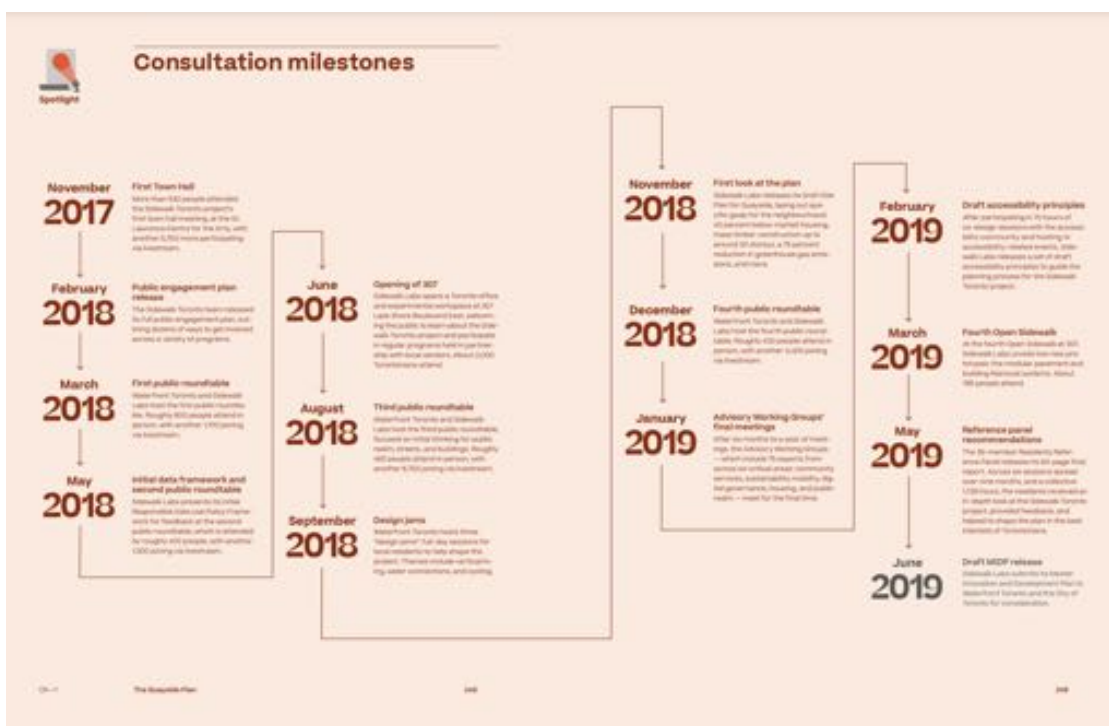
Timeline of Quayside's Public Engagement Process (Sidewalk Labs, 2019)

Perspectives & Perceptions

Sidewalk Labs' Initial Consultation

Following Sidewalk Labs' selection by Waterfront Toronto, public engagement initiatives quickly commenced, beginning an 18-month long dialogue about the new and innovative project. The first engagement initiative was a Town Hall meeting, which took place in November 2017 at the St. Lawrence

Centre for the Arts. It was attended by more than 530 people and live-streamed by an additional 5,700 people. The objective of this meeting was to acquaint the community with Sidewalk Labs, as well as outline the project process and receive preliminary thoughts, expectations, and concerns from the community (Sidewalk Labs, 2019). These initial discussions documented the public's support for an "engagement process [that] would be inclusive, transparent, frequent, wide-reaching, and meaningful" (Sidewalk Labs, n.d., p.2). Following these conversations, Sidewalk Labs prepared its participation strategy, which included 13 programs to connect the community with the developing project. Through this document, Sidewalk Labs expressed its commitment to developing a project that would improve quality of life, create a destination of innovation and collaboration, make Toronto a global hub for urban innovation, and serve as a model for sustainable neighbourhood planning (Sidewalk Labs, 2018).

Sidewalk Toronto Community Town Hall (YouTube, 2017)

Sidewalk Labs' Markers of Public Engagement

During the 18-month engagement period, Sidewalk Labs reportedly engaged with over 21,000 citizens, including local firms, experts, nonprofits, community stakeholders, and all levels of government (Al-Fahim et al., 2021). The 'Sidewalk Toronto: Public Engagement Process Report' documents the following:

- 100+ hours spent co-designing with communities
- ~1,700 total hours volunteered by Resident Reference Panel members
- ~2,300 total hours committed by Sidewalk Toronto fellows
- Worked with 75 experts, across six expert advisory groups
- ~280,000 online views of live-streamed events or videos, [and]
- More than 11,000 visitors to 307 since June 16, 2018 (Sidewalk Labs, n.d.)

Various Tactics of Public Engagement by Sidewalk Labs
(Canadian Architect, 2020)

Public Feedback and Perceptions

After Sidewalk Labs released its 1,500 page MIDP in June 2019, detailing the company's proposed plans, the document was met with harsh criticism from the public as well as from Waterfront Toronto's own Advisory Panel. Some citizens expressed the belief that Sidewalk Labs' consultation process did not address substantive matters related to the smart city. Others alleged that questions were pre-planned by Waterfront Toronto, in attempts to avoid core questions and manipulate discussions (Al-Fahim et al., 2021). Waterfront Toronto's 15-member Digital Strategy Advisory Panel (DSAP), composed of experts

who regularly advise the organization, expressed frustration over the abstract nature of the plan and its proposal for unnecessary and irrelevant innovations (Bickis, 2019).

Sidewalk Labs was also accused of influencing the consultation process through its selection of meeting times and locations. While the first round of public consultation occurred across the city and over the span of a couple weeks, the second round of public consultation occurred in only one location and for only one day. The perception was that this was an intentional tactic to limit the diversity of attendees and restrict responses. Furthermore, Sidewalk Labs was accused of rushing the consultation process and limiting opportunities for public interference, through the last minute release of reports for consideration, and the crowding of meetings with employees and project supporters, for example (Al-Fahim et al., 2021).

The public also expressed concern surrounding the public-private partnership between Waterfront Toronto and Sidewalk Labs, with questions around partnership accountability. The concerns arose due to the difference in scale of the respective organizations, and the perception that responsibilities to the market were dominating responsibilities to the state (Mcbride, 2019; Tusikov, 2019, as cited in Al-Fahim et al., 2021).

Further opposition arose through public suspicion on the scale of the proposed development, with many citing concerns around Sidewalk Labs' true intentions for development. Leaked reports indicated Sidewalk Labs' interest in pursuing additional land parcels for development, as well as additional development initiatives not originally included in the RFP or initial discussions (Deschamps, 2019; Al-Fahim et al., 2021). These revelations prompted the assumption that the opportunity for larger-scale development was what originally attracted Sidewalk Labs to the partnership, and led to the emergence of the #BlockSidewalk campaign in February 2019 (Al-Fahim et al., 2021). The campaign was an expression of mistrust and anger by a group of Torontonians who "perceived [a] lack of transparency and accountability in the project", despite a lengthy consultation process (Al-Fahim et al., 2021, p.10).

The last, and possibly most critical issue identified for the project, is that of data privacy. Public opinions surrounding the potential invasiveness of the project's 'smart city' model both emerged prior to the release of the MIDP and after (Clement, 2018; Al-Fahim et al., 2021; Bickis, 2019). Initial concerns surrounded the use of technology to record, analyze, and store personal data. However, there was hope that Sidewalk Labs had an appropriate solution (Clement, 2018). This hope quickly dissipated following the release of the MIDP and accompanying documents, which obscured the terms of data collection through general or abstract definitions (Al-Fahim et al., 2021).

Government Feedback

Interestingly, very few resources can currently be found that detail the City of Toronto or Waterfront Toronto's perceptions of the Sidewalk Toronto project, its consultation outcomes, or its MIDP objectives. What has emerged as a significant finding, however, is that the City of Toronto has shifted its focus toward a new initiative for Quayside. Emerging only a year after the failure of Sidewalk Toronto, "Quayside" is a developing project with a focus on affordability and sustainability. Documents pertaining to Sidewalk Toronto have largely been removed from the City website and replaced with renderings and reports pertaining to the new project (City of Toronto, n.d.; Cecco, 2021).

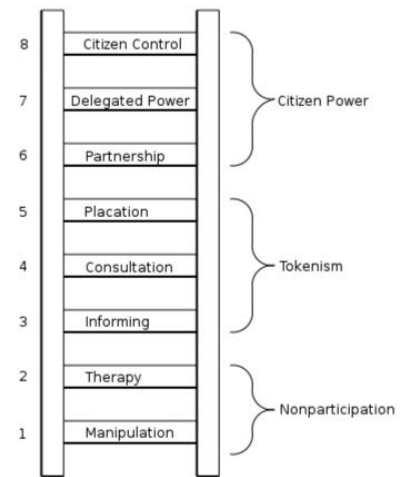**Placing Sidewalk Toronto in Participatory Planning Theory**

Sidewalk Toronto offers planners the opportunity to study the implications of private sector involvement in smart city planning and participatory processes. Many conceptual frameworks are used to assess the participatory process, participant selection, and the degree of decision-making power that is granted to the public (Simonofski et al., 2018). In theory, the participatory process is used to establish transparency and

accountability regarding an administration's planning decisions and actions (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018). However, as the role of private-public partnerships grows, private actors are assuming more responsibility designing and implementing public engagement strategies (Chantry, 2022). This trend has revealed unique challenges since many theoretical frameworks assume government, government agencies, or hired consultants are leading the engagement process. However, major technology companies - that wield significant power and influence - are largely spearheading the smart city initiatives, highlighting the discrepancy between private actor's promised commitments and perceived tokenism by the public.

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

Arnstein's seminal work, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", is one of the most referenced frameworks when examining participatory processes. Arnstein's ladder divides participation into eight categories and places them on a spectrum ranging from: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (Arnstein,1969). This assessment tool is often used by planners, as it examines the relationship between power, community, and government in relation to decision-making authority.

8	Citizen Control	
7	Delegated Power	Citizen Power
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	
4	Consultation	Tokenism
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	Nonparticipation
1	Manipulation	

The Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969)

Using Arnstein's framework, Sidewalk Toronto can be categorized as 'non-participation' and 'manipulation' due to several factors. According to Arnstein, the aim of a manipulative participatory process is to "cure or educate participants" and "achieve public support via public relations" (1969). Sidewalk Labs had the financial resources to launch extensive marketing campaigns with the intent to generate community buy-in for the project, instead of empowering citizens by sharing decision-making power. The company invested heavily in their campaign by procuring a team of public relations, graphic design, and management consultants. Much of the campaign attempted to frame the project as 'citizen-centric' and used language such as "the neighbourhood of the future that starts with your ideas" (Doctoroff & Fleissig, 2017). However, Sidewalk Labs fell short on their promises and the public contested the meaningfulness of the project since inputs did not change plans or implementation.

Additionally, Arnstein's ladder describes the extent to which citizens have agency and power over decision-making and how institutions and officials can deny it. In the case of smart cities, there are debates regarding if participatory process can be citizen-centric if it is led by the private actors (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018). This is because private actors are not bound by the same legislation of freedom of information regulations that public actors are bound to. Essentially, private actors are not mandated to share information publicly, nor are they accountable to uphold the public interest. Rather, we see citizens in smart cities are stripped of agency and can be reduced to 'consumers', 'users' and are associated with 'data', 'businesses', 'needs' and 'services' (Chantry, 2022). In the case of Sidewalk Toronto, the outsourcing of developmental services to the private sector promoted an environment where special interests were favoured over citizen's needs and political agency (Chantry, 2022).

Limitations of Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

Although Arnstein's ladder is largely employed by planners, it is not without its limitations. Arnstein's ladder has been primarily criticized for: 1) its simplicity; and, 2) its strict hierarchical structure (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018 and Chantry, 2022). Critics argue that while the model's oversimplification allows for easy application, there is not enough complexity to allow for accurate representations of dynamics that are present in smart cities (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018 and Chantry, 2022). The second focal point of criticism

is the strict hierarchy or linear fashion of the ladder. Critics argue that the ladder-like structure of the model suggests a linear progression, where the higher rungs are perceived as superior (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018). However, different situations ask for different levels and types of participation, and that the participatory process should be viewed in a more holistic manner. These criticisms have prompted adaptations or re-imaginings of the ladder in the form of Cardullo and Kitchin's Scaffold of Smart Participation.

Cardullo & Kitchin's Scaffold of Smart Participation

Cardullo and Kitchin's Scaffold of Smart Participation is a reinterpretation of Arnstein's ladder that aims to map out participation by identifying who is involved and at what capacity they are involved in smart city initiatives (2018). The scaffold adds additional segments to Arnstein's ladder, including columns for 'citizen role', 'citizen involvement', 'political discourse framing' and 'modality' and an additional rung to capture 'consumerism' (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018).

According to Cardullo and Kitchin's Scaffold of Smart Participation, Sidewalk Toronto can be categorized as 'non-participation' or 'consumerism'. Similar to Arnstein, Cardullo and Kitchin describe 'non-participation' as occurring

Form and Level of Participation		Role	Citizen Involvement	Political discourse/ framing	Modality	Dublin Examples
Citizen Power	Citizen Control	Leader/ Member	Ideas, Vision, Leadership, Ownership, Create	Rights, Social/Political Citizenship, Deliberative Democracy, Commons	Inclusive, Bottom-up, Collective, Autonomy, Experimental	Code for Ireland, Tog
	Delegated Power	Decision-maker, Maker				Civic Hacking, Hackathons, Living Labs, Dublin Beta
	Partnership	Co-creator	Negotiate, Produce	Participation, Co-creation		Fix-Your-Street, Smart Dublin Advisory Network
Tokenism	Placation	Proposer	Suggest			
	Consultation	Participant, Tester	Feedback	Civic Engagement	Top-down, Civic Paternalism, Stewardship, Bound-to-succeed	CIVIQ, Smart Stadium
	Information	Recipient				Dublinked, Dublin Dashboard, RTPI
Consumerism	Choice	Resident	Browse, Consume, Act	Capitalism, Market, Neoliberalism		Smart building/ Smart district
		Consumer				Smart meters
		Product				Personal data generated by tech
Non-Participation	Therapy	Patient, Learner, User, Data-point	Steered, Nudged, Controlled	Stewardship, Technocracy, Paternalism		Smart Dublin, Dublin Bikes
	Manipulation					Traffic control

The Scaffold of Smart Participation
(Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018)

when the public is steered towards specific attitudes, practices, and conducts (2018). As mentioned previously, Sidewalk Labs launched marketing campaigns with the intent to generate community buy-in for the project, rather than empowering citizens with decision-making authority. However, where the scaffold framework differs is in its examination of consumerism in the participatory process. Cardullo and Kitchin describe an urban landscape that is being radically altered by applications and technologies that are designed to enhance the lives of smart city residents (2018). A closer examination of these technologies highlights the fact that these digital spaces are privately owned and operated for the benefit of the business owners and not for the public good (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018). Under this framework, residents are reframed as consumers that are restricted by the parameters offered by the service provider, and the monopolistic nature of the technology industry (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018). Like 'non-participation', 'consumerism' encapsulates the paternalistic nature of private actors, who determine what is in the best interest of the public (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018).

Lessons Learned from Sidewalk Toronto

Sidewalk Toronto's commitment to 13 different types of public participation methods was an aspect of this project that many perceived as promising and highly collaborative. However, as previously mentioned, the execution of their public participation methods did not align with their public commitments to create a citizen-driven model for this proposed smart-city. In addition to public reports stating that consultations with Sidewalk Labs via various workshops and panels were designed with pre-envisioned meeting topics by the facilitators, thereby shaping conversations and avoiding key topics, Sidewalk labs also fell short in delivering on accessibility and inclusivity aspects. Despite promises to promote inclusivity and accessibility by providing stipends and subsidies for childcare, eldercare, and transit to marginalized groups as a means of ensuring unrestricted access to public consultations, Sidewalk labs repeatedly scheduled consultations in a sporadic fashion, which rendered their commitment to accessibility and inclusivity moot.

This raises key considerations when analyzing the execution of Sidewalk Toronto's public participation strategy. The first is the critical importance of accountability when delivering on public commitments, because if made early on in the project's design cycle, they will set the tone for the public's perceptions, expectations and opinions on the project's desirability.

The second is the importance of quality and depth in the process of public participation, as a priority over variety and breadth. Sidewalk Toronto is an interesting case to examine in this regard, as the size, scale, and notoriety of the project within the City of Toronto did in fact call for a large and expansive participatory approach. However, several of the project's participation methods were largely intended to educate and expose citizens to the concept and appeal of smart cities. For example, the CivicLabs, YMCA-Sidewalk Toronto Summer Kids Camp, and Sidewalk-Toronto Fellows program were all educational initiatives aimed at engaging youth and citizens in the various aspects of smart cities and digital technology. The Sidewalk-Toronto Fellows program in particular, offered successful candidates the opportunity to travel to smart cities around the world and explore the "future of cities and technology" (Waterfront Toronto, 2018). This was arguably a clear example of manipulative non-participation on Arnstiens ladder, and could be perceived as intent to persuade and shape public perception on high technology and smart cities. In fact, this is precisely how public perception of Sidewalk Labs' proposed Smart City was, describing various innovations and technological implementations as unnecessary and irrelevant (CBC/Radio Canada, 2020).

This was perhaps compounded by the fact that Sidewalk Labs is a Google Subsidiary, and many among the public voiced their unease and hesitation with the extent to which big tech and private sector would influence the economic, social, and physical elements of the City of Toronto (Al-Fahim et al., 2021). This raises another key consideration upon reflection of this project; the dynamic of public/private partnerships in planning with respect to both design and financing of a project, proves to be heavily influential in public perception of a potential plan. In the case of Sidewalk Toronto, the influence of Google's self-interest was evident in its intent to develop Quayside as an "innovation district" with a plan to build a Google Canada head office on a neighboring eight-hectare site to the residential focus of the plan (CBC/Radio Canada, 2019).

The importance of data privacy in smart cities is perhaps one of the largest take-aways from the Sidewalk Toronto project. Public concern over the increased presence of technology such as sensors and surveillance was heightened under the potential shift towards corporatization of city governance, and the City of Toronto as well as the partners of this project were evidently unprepared to ensure data privacy. Various articles about the current state of privacy laws within the province of Ontario were released during the drafting of the MIDP, including an article by CBC which included a quote from the Ontario information and privacy commissioner, urging the provincial government to modernize its privacy laws in preparation of the rise of smart cities (CBC/Radio Canada, 2019). This illustrates the critical role that legislation and policy plays in the governance of technology, and how planners may leverage it in building cities. Unfortunately, we did not have the concrete technocratic governance in place to safely introduce smart cities into Canada during the planning of Sidewalk Toronto, and this remains an obstacle today as smart cities grow in notoriety and necessity.

As mentioned, the scale and infamy of Sidewalk Toronto garnered significant public attention, both from participatory planning consultations, as well as from the media. This project was heavily influenced by the numerous journal articles, news outlets, and social media discourse it fostered, and played a significant role in shaping public perceptions of the project. Primarily, the media played a key role in exposing various controversial aspects of this project, namely, the hidden intent of Sidewalk Labs to develop significantly more land than originally communicated to the public (CBC/Radio Canada, 2019). Perhaps one of the major tipping-points of this project's demise, was the public interview conducted with

the former privacy commissioner of Ontario, Ann Cavoukian, who publicly resigned from the project following difficulties faced in her role to ensure the integration of data privacy in the design of Sidewalk Toronto (Youtube, 2017). Public support of the project evidently declined as a result of negative media coverage of this project. This highlights a key aspect of "the public" that planners often do not consider when seeking public input, but can prove detrimental to a project if in opposition from journalism and media outlets.

Conclusion: The Future of Quayside, Waterfront Toronto

When Sidewalk Labs pulled out of the Sidewalk Toronto project in May 2020 due to "unprecedented economic uncertainty", it left the public questioning the validity behind this statement as the pressure and criticism surrounding data privacy remained a major issue and conversation prior to the abrupt cancellation of the project. Following Sidewalk Labs' step back from the project, Waterfront Toronto ran an international competition to secure new developers and partnerships for the development of Quayside (Landau, 2022). Recently in February 2022, Waterfront Toronto announced two new developers who were selected for their new Quayside, releasing new renderings of what they envision this new project to look like (Landau, 2022). Examining and contrasting the new renderings to the original, it is interesting to see a shift away from the emphasis on smart cities and technology towards the new focus on nature and greenery. The new Quayside project also boasts a focus on affordable housing, urban farming, and an all-electric, zero carbon community (Landau, 2022).

Renderings and Sketches for Sidewalk Toronto (Sidewalk Labs, 2019)

Proposed Renderings for the New Quayside (Landau, 2022)

Perhaps the tactic behind this shift in avoiding the idea of smart cities and moving the narrative towards green spaces will sway the public to be more receptive and open to the new Quayside design. It will also be interesting to see how their future public participation unfolds, and if it can move beyond the form of non-participation practiced by Sidewalk Toronto into a more collaborative approach with the public. The Sidewalk Toronto project presented an important example on how the public can still hold a major influence against major private corporations, and how the voice of the public, while may often be heard through journalism and the media, does have the power to shape the city. This case also shows how the public is not ready to surrender their privacy to these private entities, and that master-planned smart surveillance cities will have to bide their time and wait another day to be fully and equitably realized.

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