Executive Summary

Davenport West, one of Toronto’s most diverse communities, has been increasingly impacted by gentrification in recent years—signified by an influx of affluent residents, artists, and university-educated individuals; a diminishing immigrant population; a loss of rental stock; a spike in the development of new ownership dwellings; rising rent costs; and some changes in business composition (such as an increasing number of cafes and specialty food shops catering predominantly to a wealthy clientele). As a result, low-income, immigrant, and vulnerable groups as well as existing small business-owners are subject to heightening displacement pressures. This report documents and examines the challenges being faced by this evolving community. It begins with a brief discussion of the context and history of Davenport and a review of relevant literature to define key change indicators and provide a theoretical basis for the sections that follow. Next, findings from the quantitative research, literature review, and key informant interviews are presented through a neighbourhood change analysis, which includes a high-level summary of results; an examination of local planning projects and studies (serving as catalysts or inhibitors of change); an analysis of population, household, and income change over time (both area-wide and by census tract); and an investigation of development pressures and commercial change. Following this, critical community assets are identified and mapped. Finally, interview responses are engaged along with a scan of other jurisdictions to inform strategy recommendations that can be used to mobilize community resources and build capacity in the face of local gentrification. The report concludes by identifying limitations and setting out future directions.

Research Team & Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Laura Dumbrell, Kenny Lamizana, Steven Pham, and Cecelia Pye—four graduate student researchers from the University of Toronto’s Master of Science in Planning Program—as part of the Workshop in Planning Practice. Serving as a core course for students in the second year of the program, the workshop is co-taught by Katharine Rankin, a Professor in the Department of Geography and Planning, and Michelle Berquist, a Project Leader at the City of Mississauga.

Before studying Planning, members of the research team lived in Montreal, Victoria and across the Greater Toronto Area. Therefore, they bring ideas and lenses from cities across Canada to their work. Community planning and equitable development are the team’s common areas of interest, and they also possess professional and educational experience in the fields of affordable housing, economic development and culture, social services, poverty reduction, land use planning, GIS, and statistical methods.

This research was conducted on behalf of the Stop Community Food Centre, a community hub located in Davenport West that uses food as a tool to build healthier, more connected, and more self-determined communities. The Stop’s programming ranges from emergency food services (such as food-banks and drop-ins) to community kitchens, gardens, and educational workshops that promote skill-building and reduce social isolation. The objective of the Community Food Centre (CFC) model is to build a local, sustainable, and more equitable food system—enhancing social connectivity to improve the health and well-being of local residents.

Rachel Gray, the lead client, is the Executive Director of the Stop Community Food Centre. Prior to joining The Stop in 2012, she worked nationally and locally with homeless youth,
including as the Director of Eva’s National Program, and also served as a special assistant to Ontario’s Minister of Health. She writes about housing issues, food security, and poverty reduction in the Huffington Post. Maureen Thompson, a non-profit consultant, served as a key source of support throughout the project and a liaison with the Stop.

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Introduction

“More young people are moving into this neighbourhood north of the Dupont tracks in search of reasonable rent while staying close to the cultural institutions of the west end.”

This was how Daniel Rotsztain described what was happening to the Toronto neighbourhood of Corso-Italia-Davenport in 2015 (Rotsztain, 2015). Alongside this influx of new residents, the author also described new business cropping up in the area: new cafes, venues, and art spaces. Overall, the author described a familiar process beginning to take root not only in Corso-Italia-Davenport, but in neighbourhoods across the City of Toronto: gentrification. This is what the broader area of Davenport West, of which Corso-Italia-Davenport is a part of, has started to grapple with recently.

The area of Davenport West is comprised of six Toronto neighbourhoods, either whole or in part: Corso-Italia-Davenport, the Junction, High-Park North, Weston-Pellan Park, Oakwood Village, and Dovercourt-Wallace-Emerson-Junction. As a result, the history and character of the area is varied and diverse, with each of its constituent neighbourhoods having their own local issues and community identities. However, all these neighbourhoods arose and matured around the historical railway presence within the centre of Davenport West. An overarching theme across the broader area, Davenport West’s industrial history made it a reception area for working-class residents and new immigrants- drawn by the prospect of blue-collar employment and low rents to settle in. Now, Davenport West is confronted by the encroachment of gentrification, which raises concern around the possible displacement of lower-income residents and local businesses due to increased residential and commercial rents as higher-income residents move in.

The purpose of this project is to document and analyze trends and patterns of gentrification as they have unfolded in Davenport West. Focusing on the negative effects of gentrification, which include residential and commercial displacement, the research uncovers indicators of change across the area, identifies opportunities to promote local capacity-building, and may serve as a starting point for multi-stakeholder collaboration in the face of common challenges. It is suggested that The Stop use the findings and resulting recommendations of this report to strengthen its role as a hub that motivates a network of community service providers to address gentrification in a unified manner.

Context and Background

Davenport West is located approximately 6 km from Downtown Toronto and is within two former municipalities: the Old City of Toronto and the City of York. Most of Davenport West is located within the Old City of Toronto near its outer boundary and spans an area of approximately 11km² across six neighbourhoods (see Figure 1). The area is bounded by Rogers Road to the north, Runnymede Road to the west, Bloor Street West to the south, and Oakwood Avenue/Dovercourt Road to the east. The history of the area is defined by the junction of four railway lines in its centre, which originally gave rise to the heavy presence of industry within the area. With the arrival of this junction of railways in the late-1880s, the Town of Toronto Junction, predicated upon the abundance of blue-collar employment, formed in 1892 and was later amalgamated into the City of Toronto in 1909. The former Town of Toronto Junction would later become known as “The Junction” neighbourhood, remaining a large source of blue-collar employment for adjacent neighbourhoods. The heavy industrial presence across Davenport West remains to this day, with major swaths of land
identified and zoned for industrial uses dating back to the 1943 Toronto Master Plan, the first master plan for Metropolitan Toronto (Appendix A).

Like much of the Old City of Toronto, Davenport West was home to mostly low-income neighbourhoods during the Pre-World War II (WWII) and Post-WWII era. David Hulchanski’s “The Three Cities Within Toronto” documents and analyzes neighbourhood change across the New City of Toronto from 1970 to 2005. In 1970, 17 out of 21 census tracts in Davenport West were identified to have average individual incomes between 20% to 40% below the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) average of $30,800. This demonstrates that the area, along with much of the Old City of Toronto, was falling into decline and disinvestment.

As deindustrialisation swept through Toronto, beginning in the 1950s and accelerating into the 1980s, industries left Davenport West for the suburbs (Ruggiero, 2014). As well, competition for local businesses in the form of newly constructed suburban shopping malls in the inner and outer-suburbs arose (Johnson, 2012). Businesses along Dundas Street West, a major arterial passing through the middle of Davenport West, began to relocate into these suburban neighbourhoods. Dundas Street West also declined in relevance as a retail and transportation corridor upon the opening of the Bloor-Danforth Subway Line in 1968.

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1 Census tracts are small, stable geographic areas, created to be proxies for neighbourhoods by Statistics Canada for the purposes of reporting census data, and which are bounded by local rivers, lakes, and major roadways and railway curves

2 Average income in constant 2005 dollars
facilitating the relocation of businesses to Bloor Street and beyond (Grange, 1997). Davenport West not only saw a loss of its long-standing employment base, but also its retail and commercial livelihood.

Literature Review

Defining Gentrification

Gentrification describes the transformation of neighbourhoods previously characterized by inadequate public services, low levels of private investment, and the presence of low-income and working-class residents to neighbourhoods characterized by extensive public services, more private investment, and the influx of well-educated, middle- to upper-class residents. The reinvestment of capital into disinvested neighbourhoods in an effort to attract more affluent residents results in changes to the ‘social character’ of the neighbourhood, which can lead to the direct or indirect displacement of existing low-income and working-class residents (Bristow, 2018). Gentrification can therefore be defined as the process by which low-income, working class, and racial minorities in an area are replaced by new residents who are young professionals with higher education and income levels (Phillips et al., 2015; Marcuse, 1985).

Measuring Gentrification

Scholars (Phillips et al., 2015) have looked at various demographic, residential, and commercial indicators to understand shifts in the populations, housing markets, and commercial sectors of gentrifying neighbourhoods. While a wide range of characteristics can be used justifiably, and the most salient indicators of gentrification may differ based on local context, some commonly used techniques for measuring gentrification are outlined here.

Demographic Indicators

Household income is the most commonly used indicator in determining whether or not an area’s residents are being displaced. Age, ethnicity, immigrant population, and household education level are also benchmarks of neighbourhood change (Phillips et al., 2015). The presence of ‘hipsters’ (young adults, employed in creative or tech industries, artistic populations) in a neighbourhood has been identified as a key symptom of gentrification. Such groups bring with them a hipster aesthetic style- characterized in the literature as ‘light pink coffee shops, seafoam vegan bakeries, and old-but-new hip bars’- which often prove to be the harbinger of change (Bristow, 2018; Moskowitz, 2017).

Residential and Commercial Indicators

The influx of new residential developments, particularly mixed-use condominium buildings, may indicate neighbourhood change. Housing tenure, type, and cost as well as more subtle markers, like shifts in property rental and ownership percentages, also signal gentrification trends.

Changes can also take place within- and be initiated by- the commercial sector. The emergence of new shops that cater to more affluent clienteles, such as high-end cafes and espresso bars, wine bars, specialty ‘house-made’ food shops (fromageries, vegan and gluten-free bakeries, organic and local grocers), and art galleries are considered markers of gentrification (Marcuse, 1985; Bristow, 2018). An increase in the number of new ‘hipster’
businesses signals the transformation of a neighbourhood. Coffee shops—especially upscale ones—stand out, as they have long been viewed as key markers of gentrification. The opening of a Starbucks is a classic indicator of neighbourhood change (Slater, 2006; Glaeser et al., 2018).

**Defining Displacement**

“The only positive to gentrification is being able to find a good cup of coffee when conducting fieldwork” – Slater, 2016

A number of studies have looked at the negative effects of gentrification, identifying displacement—whether residential or commercial—as being its main adverse consequence.

**Residential Displacement**

The influx of upper-income people to low-income neighbourhoods escalates housing costs, therefore subjecting existing residents to the burden of displacement. Residential displacement occurs when increased pressures on housing and rents price out low-income households to make way for wealthier households. More generally, residential displacement has been defined as the process by which a household is forced to move from the unit that it currently occupies by conditions which affect its dwelling or its immediate surroundings and are beyond the household’s control (Grier & Grier, 1978 cited by Marcuse, 1985). Displacement manifests itself both physically (evictions, service disruptions, failing to make repairs, letting garbage accumulate, broken front doors, etc.) and economically (rent increases) (Marcuse, 1985). For instance, physical displacement occurs when landlords cut off the heat in a building, discouraging households’ continued occupancy. Economic displacement arises when rent increases are beyond occupants' ability to pay, making dwellings unaffordable for households.

**Commercial Displacement**

Commercial change is closely linked to residential change. With the inflow of more affluent residents comes a set of unique lifestyles and tastes and new businesses that reflect ‘hipster’ or ‘creative class’ consumer preferences—driving up residential and commercial rents. Therefore, commercial displacement is characterized by an influx of businesses that satisfy the needs of new, more affluent residents replacing long-term, local-serving, and small businesses that provide affordable goods and services for low-income households. Rising commercial rents make it increasingly difficult for these businesses to avoid displacement unless they own their buildings. As a result, commercial displacement puts pressure on both local residents and the business-owners themselves. On one hand, commercial gentrification can aggravate food insecurity among lower-income individuals who are faced with the declining availability of affordable services, convenience stores, and other businesses where they used to shop (Marcuse, 1985; Rankin & McLean, 2014; Bristow, 2018). On the other hand, small businesses fear the invasion of larger corporations such as A&W, Starbucks, and McDonalds; these businesses “can kill [them] on prices, because they have the scale and funds to” (Robb Eng, personal communication, 2018).
Stage-Models of Gentrification

Various scholars have conceptualized models of the “stages” through which gentrification progresses. The stage-models were meant to explain, categorize, and predict past, present, and future processes/outcomes of gentrification. Clay (1979) conducted one of the first major surveys of gentrification and found common themes amongst the gentrified US cities he analyzed, which, along with Ruth Glass’s (1964) classical definition of gentrification, were used to conceptualize a four-stage model of gentrification. Below is the excerpt from Clay’s 1979 work outlining the four stages of gentrification:

Stage 1: A very small number of people move into a neighbourhood and begin to renovate properties within a small (2-4 block radius) for which they plan to live in. This group of homeowners is usually considered the “pioneers” of the neighbourhood. The newcomers rely on sweat equity and private capital exclusively to renovate their homes. This first group of in-movers is usually made up artists and various design professionals who have the time, skills and means to undertake said renovations.

Stage 2: The same types of people in stage one continues to move into the neighbourhood and are accompanied by a small number of realtors and property speculators. A few houses in this stage are renovated with the intent of re-selling or renting the house; most renovators are still purchasing properties with the intent of living there once complete.

Stage 3: At this stage, the media and real-estate market begin to widely promote and take a mainstream interest in the neighbourhood. The pioneers continue to be an important group that shapes the neighbourhood, but they are no longer the only ones. Urban renewal and/or major developers begin to move into the neighbourhood. The new in-movers are less tolerant of the original working-class residents and new actions against crime are taken; the neighbourhood is now considered “safe”.

Stage 4: More properties are gentrified by the middle-class in-movers. The in-movers’ professional backgrounds shift from the professional middle-class to the business and managerial middle-class (Clay 1979, 57-59).

Although Ley (2003) did not explicitly outline a stage-model of gentrification, he provides a similar general stage-model of gentrification in this artists-focused article. However, a key difference between his work and Clay’s work is the added insight of the eventual displacement of the original pioneers (artists, along with lower-income groups), who renovated the disinvested neighbourhood and added cultural capital to it. He describes a process in which artists first settle in a disinvested area due to low rents, low property values, and an “authentic” aesthetic. The artists build up cultural capital in this area which is also lacking in economic capital- attracting professionals with greater economic capital, followed by business people and investors. While these new groups settle in the area, disposable incomes and property values increase accordingly. Eventually, the artists, along with other groups with lower economic capital, are displaced. This report will look to approximate the stage of gentrification which Davenport West is currently in, in order to frame the urgency of the situation and re-politicize gentrification in accordance with Slater’s (2006) wishes.

Theoretical Perspectives

Academic writing on gentrification offers a variety of theoretical perspectives and lenses that can be employed to enrich awareness around the changes occurring in Davenport West. Much of the literature examines gentrification’s different forms and its underlying processes.
Marcuse (1985) identifies three major patterns of neighbourhood change: ‘pocket areas’ of abandonment surrounded by middle-to high-income housing, parks, and institutions and therefore serving as prime development opportunities; borders of gentrification, which may be transition areas between higher-income neighbourhoods and lower-income or abandoned neighbourhoods; and centers of abandonment, characterized by their static nature and lack of gentrification. Gentrification and abandonment result from the changing economy of the central city. As economic polarization intensifies, neighbourhoods also become increasingly polarized- with different income groups concentrating in specific areas. Phillips, Flores & Henderson (2015) describe a process through which speculators or developers enter neighbourhoods, buy inexpensive property, rebuild it, and make large profits. This may be accompanied by rezoning, subsidies, and other policies to ease regulations around the development of housing for high income residents- eventually establishing enclaves of concentrated wealth.

Building on this general understanding of gentrification thorough property redevelopment, August & Walks (2018) emphasize a new rental-tenure form of gentrification that has emerged across the globe, driven by ‘financialized landlords’ (such as real estate investment trusts, private equity funds, and financial asset management firms) who use resources to upgrade, flip, and gentrify entire apartment buildings. They benefit from state policy, which creates new vehicles for real estate investment and implements policies to de-control rents, deregulate tenant protections, and move away from social housing provision. As rental housing is financialized, and low-income groups are pushed to the margins, they become increasingly concentrated in post-war suburbs- as is the case in Toronto. However, as explained by Rankin & McLean (2014), redevelopment planning is underway in many of Toronto’s disinvested inner suburbs- spurred by population growth, transit development, real estate prosperity, and the proximity of industrial lands- placing heightening displacement pressures on business-owners and residents in many of these neighbourhoods.

In addition to literature exploring gentrification’s root causes and patterns, many researchers have analyzed its social implications. According to Slater (2006), it is crucial to reclaim the term ‘gentrification’ and stress solid evidence regarding the evictions of low-income and working-class residents in order to advance political change and evoke critical theory. Phillips, Flores & Henderson (2015) and Rankin & McLean (2014) build on this class analysis by highlighting the inextricable connection between gentrification and race. This is seen as people of colour are displaced by wealthier and whiter residents and as small, immigrant-owned businesses that provide affordable goods and services are displaced by those catering to anglo middle-class preferences (demonstrating how commercial shopping streets act as sites of “racialized class antagonism” [Rankin & McLean, 2014, p.2]).

Mazer & Rankin (2010) chronicle the social, emotional, and symbolic dimensions of gentrification, pointing out that- while it may be linked to rising property values- gentrification may also result from the disintegration of community networks, scaling down of public services, feelings of insecurity, or public shaming. In their study of the experiences of marginalized people in Toronto’s gentrifying downtown west neighbourhoods, four overarching themes emerged: the tendency of people to move within parallel but separate worlds differentiated by class, the experience that social space is diminishing, the existence of contradictory consciousness (with many believing that gentrification could be ‘good’ for the community even if it was ‘bad’ for the displaced), and the importance of sources of social stability (such as affordable housing and services, community-based service providers, and networks of clientele for commercial tenants). Ley & Dobson’s (2008) Vancouver-based research, which investigates factors that may inhibit gentrification, underscores the significance of this fourth theme. Along with impaired supply (a lack of properties acceptable
for gentrification due to the absence of character architecture or nearby amenities); policy responses (such as protective zoning charges or state subsidized housing) and community mobilization and resistance (such as participation in formal planning processes, street demonstrations, and broad public or government support) are identified as being crucial sources of social stability that limit the extent to which gentrification displaces established residents. Moving forward in Davenport West, it is pivotal that such services, networks, planning mechanisms, and sources of support are leveraged and further developed to enhance social stability in the face of neighbourhood change, as highlighted in the section that follow.

**Neighbourhood Change Analysis**

Neighbourhood change is a process that is constantly occurring, manifests itself in multiple forms, and is affected by many, often interrelated factors. It may be conceptualized in terms of changes in demographics, income, household/family types, ethnic composition, immigration status, educational attainment rates, and so on. It may also be reflected by changes in the built environment, such as new developments occurring in the neighbourhood, renovated facades along a retail strip, or renewed streetscapes along an avenue. Neighbourhood change can also take place as an immaterial, intangible change over an area which, while not having a physical or quantifiable form, impacts both the subjective and objective realities of the neighbourhood. A neighbourhood “culture” change would impact residents’ lived experiences of the area, and simultaneously act as an immaterial yet attractive force spurring new commercial developments in the neighbourhood. These are all changes felt at the local level- the neighbourhood- but they are all facilitated by interplays of dynamics and forces from the regional to the global scale. Social changes (such as changes in household characteristics) accompany physical changes at all levels of analysis, and vice-versa- creating an important dialectic that emerges from this examination of neighbourhood change. Thus, this section will explore not only social changes across Davenport West, but changes in the physical environment as well- including those which arise from planning projects, studies, and local plans. Exploring both sides of neighbourhood change is critical to evaluating the past and present trajectory of the area in this analysis of gentrification across Davenport West.

**Summary of Primary Research Findings**

To identify Davenport’s current stage of gentrification, the team used three primary research methods: 1) a quantitative analysis using census tract data; 2) a literature review of planning reports, neighbourhood change studies, and academic articles on gentrification theory; and 3) in-depth interviews with key informants from organizations that provide the community with services or advocate on behalf of service users.

Based on the research findings, it is clear Davenport West is experiencing gentrification, which describes the transformation of neighbourhoods that are characterized by inadequate public services, low levels of private investment, and the presence of low-income and working-class residents to neighbourhoods characterized by extensive public services, more private investment, and the influx of well-educated, middle- to upper- class residents. The neighbourhood appears to be experiencing a reverse process of gentrification, where residential change has preceded commercial change. There are both visible and invisible examples of neighbourhood change, which have been identified through interviews with key informants. Although there is a desire from the neighbourhood to respond to these changes, there are existing barriers to collaboration. Based on the results of the literature review and
interviews, several strategies and policies can be utilized to mobilize, build capacity, and develop agency to respond to the negative impacts of gentrification.

According to the literature, a common first sign of gentrification is commercial displacement. Small businesses that provide affordable goods and services face heightened rent pressures and may be forced to displace or close (Rankin & McLean, 2014). Based on the interview results, Davenport has mostly skipped the retail shift, as it lacks a main shopping corridor where immediate changes to businesses are seen. Although commercial displacement isn’t as apparent and is certainly slower than in other gentrifying neighbourhoods, business owners fear the invasion of larger corporations and many interviewees reported ‘ethnic’ stores closing and a shift from being a food desert to an area with specialty stores and cafes.

The census tract analysis found that residents’ incomes, rents, and the number of new dwellings built in the area have all increased since 2000. Artists and university-educated individuals have been steadily increasing in the area since 1985. Additionally, both the number of immigrants and the percentage of rental dwellings in the neighbourhoods have sharply declined since 2000. This displacement is largely differentiated by socio-economic indicators, as the census tract data analysis shows that Davenport West is becoming more affluent and losing immigrants. The chances of households being displaced are higher now than they were in the past, based on the analysis and the current situation across Toronto. These findings were reflected in the interviews, as all interviewees cited significant change in Davenport West in the past five to ten years. Key informants reported on a number of indicators such as new developments, a decrease in rental housing, more home renovations, and new activities taking place in the neighbourhood. Informants also noted that highly educated, white collar, younger renters and buyers have entered the community from outside the traditional cultural groups (Portuguese and Italian). Finally, they discussed an increased police presence and a new police station built in the neighbourhood. The literature (Fayyad, 2017; Casey, 2015) reveals that there is a relationship between gentrification and police presence, as it enhances perceptions of safety for new residents moving into lower-income areas. The interviews partially contradict this, with some key informants believing that increased police presence has benefited the community as a whole by decreasing violence in the area.

In discussions around possible responses to the impacts of gentrification, interviewees cited a number of barriers to collaboration, including restrictions on funding to fulfill immediate organizational needs, limited funding in general, the costs and time required to forge partnerships with other organizations, and organizations’ competing values and differing approaches. One key informant noted that social service agencies are often set up to compete against one another, especially for funding opportunities. The key informants who participated in interviews were interested in working together, but only if organizational interests and strategic planning aligned. Language barriers were identified as an obstacle, sometimes making communication difficult. The key informants also stressed the need for support from governments and the local councillor, as they have direct influence over community organizations and neighbourhood assets.

The literature review and interview findings emphasize that gentrification cannot necessarily be stopped, but rather, organizations and individuals can work together to embrace change and ensure that disadvantaged people can continue to live in the neighbourhood. A number of strategies can be used to both limit and inhibit gentrification, some of which include community mobilization and resistance, introducing protective zoning changes, providing state subsidized housing, sharing grant opportunities, creating a specific coordinator position to help the neighbourhood navigate and respond to change, establishing a framework for
community funding and agreements, cross-neighbourhood collaboration, organizing through social media groups, forming a land trust, calling on a business improvement area to organize, building new governing structures, advocating to the provincial and federal government for policies to aid working people, continuing to support long-standing businesses, and increasing investment in affordable housing for working people and seniors. Interviewees believe the Stop could become a missing anchor institution in the neighbourhood, as it is a well-established organization that is strongly rooted in the community and serves clients from a broad catchment area across Davenport. These strategies have been further discussed on page 34 with a number of recommended approaches based on immediate and future integration.

Catalysts and Inhibitors of Neighbourhood Change - Planning Projects, Studies, and Neighbourhood Plans

Planning is invariably tied to neighbourhood change. Planning projects, studies, and neighbourhood plans affect physical and social change through the implementation or alteration of policies, by-laws, or regulations at the local, municipal, or regional scale. They may also directly recommend and facilitate changes to the built environment and urban form. Fundamentally, by facilitating and controlling what is allowed to physically change on existing buildings or land parcels, planning may catalyze or inhibit social and physical change. Often, these decisions are made with the intention to catalyze neighbourhood change based on ongoing challenges and evolving perceptions of neighbourhood conditions, how liveable neighbourhoods are defined, and what is “good” planning praxis.

Particularly within the context of projects, studies, or plans aimed towards neighbourhood revitalization, planning may seek to facilitate quality of life improvements or introduce new economic capital into an area with the intention of improving its social and physical conditions. Public or private investments in neighbourhoods that aim to promote economic revitalization of disinvested areas play a role, positive or negative, in neighbourhood change and may contribute to subsequent local gentrification. Although often planned and conducted with good intentions, particularly when considered within the context of gentrification research, neighbourhood revitalization may inadvertently attract a more affluent demographic along with new businesses serving this new clientele. The result may be the displacement of lower-income residents and long-standing businesses from the neighbourhood due to higher rents. While it is important to identify opportunities to accommodate development and new investment, it is also critical to ensure that they create net benefits to all residents of the neighbourhood.

Area Land-Use and Built Form Studies and Plans

As early as 1977, planning studies were conducted across Davenport West in order to analyze existing conditions and identify potential for redevelopment and quality of life improvements. Initially, restrictions on the redevelopment of industrial land-uses acted as an inhibitor against neighbourhood change. The 1977 “Industry in the Junction Study Area” noted the possible challenges that allowing residential redevelopment of vacant industrial sites (i.e. employment lands) would create. Industrial land-uses have negative externalities, such as pollution and noise, which conflict with other uses such as commercial or residential. More importantly in this context, allowing these developments to occur would also further destabilize the industrial community- causing more industries and employment to relocate out of the area, the report warned. The 1979 “Junction Triangle - Neighbourhood Plan Proposals and
Development Plan” also acknowledged the need to retain employment lands. To further highlight the state of disinvestment across Davenport West, the report went on to say that parks within the Junction Triangle were not well maintained, the neighbourhood was generally lacking in foliage, and that it needed a new community centre due to a lack of new community services. As well, the junction of railway lines was noted to have isolated the adjacent communities from one another, in response to which a new pedestrian bridge over the tracks at Paton Road was proposed in order to improve connectivity. The pedestrian bridge was never built.

While employment lands were (and continue to be) protected from conversion into residential or commercial uses, another land use became an attractive prospect encouraged across Davenport West as redevelopment pressures intensified: mixed-use commercial-residential. The 1991 Bloor/Junction Land Use Policy Review recommended that opportunities for mixed-use and residential developments be considered only along major avenues. These opportunities were noted for their potential benefit as infill development along the disconnected built form- the result of large industrial operations that had shut down. The 2001 Bloor Lansdowne Avenue Study also recommended mixed uses on Bloor Street West to make better use of the Bloor-Danforth subway line. The redevelopment of large, vacant industrial lots was encouraged, with increased density and height allowed on four sites through amendments to the zoning by-law. Both studies again stated the importance of protecting employment lands. The 1991 Study went on to recommend additional community space and an improved streetscape in the area. With further regards to public realm and streetscaping, the City approved a revitalization plan in 1998 for The Junction which saw overhead hydro lines buried, sidewalk and lamp posts replaced, and a facade improvement program for existing businesses.

Studies pertaining to Davenport’s built form made significant achievements in the 2000s. In 2009, new built form recommendations which included regulations around height and massing, setbacks, and stepbacks were implemented through a new zoning by-law for the Bloor-Dundas area via the Bloor-Dundas Avenue Study. As well, this 2009 study and the 2013 Behind the Tracks Local Area Study included recommendations to improve the public realm by adding new parks, improving right-of-ways, strengthening the local transportation network, and providing community services within specific areas of Davenport West. Finally, the 2009 Bloor Street Visioning Initiative sought to promote mixed-use intensification and to facilitate a complete, compact community on Bloor Street West between Dundas Street West and Keele Street- the south end of Davenport West.

Site-Specific Projects, Studies, and Plans
The site-specific projects, studies, and plans listed in this section are noted for their potential as catalysts for neighbourhood change. They all seek to improve or make better use of existing conditions in terms of built form, land-use, pedestrian/transit connectivity, and so on. Incrementally, they may cause Davenport to become more desirable to broader sections of the population and new social groups and (sub)cultures may emerge within the neighbourhood as a result.

Dundas-West Bloor Mobility Hub Study
At the south end of Davenport West near Bloor Street West and Dundas Street West, the 2011 Dundas-West Bloor Mobility Hub Study developed a long-term vision for the Bloor GO Station, the Dundas West Subway Station, and their surrounding lands. This vision complemented the 2009 Bloor-Dundas Avenue Study and set forth recommendations for improving the area’s streetscape and public realm, connecting the Bloor GO Station and
Dundas West Subway Station, integrating transit services, enhancing connections to the GO Station from adjacent neighbourhoods, and redeveloping specified lands. As with all mobility hubs, the vision in this mobility hub study seeks to ensure that transit-oriented development occurs around the Bloor GO Station, integrating high quality design standards into buildings and public realm designs.

St. Clair-Old Weston SmartTrack Station Study
Metrolinx and the City of Toronto have proposed the addition of a new GO station along the Kitchener GO rail corridor near St. Clair Avenue West and Old Weston Road. The project study area is located within The Junction and Weston-Pellam Park neighbourhoods of Davenport West. The new SmartTrack station will provide a stop along the Kitchener GO line in the middle of Davenport West, while also providing connections between TTC bus and streetcar routes. Public realm improvements will also be applied in the study area in order to improve pedestrian and transit connectivity to the proposed station. The project is expected to be of net social and economic benefit to the area and the City. This study is complemented by the St. Clair Avenue West Area Transportation Master Plan, which looks to improve traffic congestion on St. Clair Avenue West between Keele Street and Old Weston Road via additions or modifications to existing right-of-ways.

Area Adjacent Projects, Studies, and Plans
This section lists projects, studies, and plans which are occurring- or will occur- within close proximity to the boundaries of Davenport West. Similar to the previous section, these projects, studies, and plans all seek to improve or make better use of existing conditions in terms of built form, land-use, and pedestrian/transit connectivity. While they may not directly impact Davenport West, as they are outside of its boundaries, the changes they facilitate may have spillover effects into the neighbourhood as the broader area becomes more appealing to more of the population. Slowly, new social groups may emerge around and within Davenport West.

Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) and Eglinton Connects
The Eglinton Crosstown LRT is a light rail line that is under construction in Toronto. It is slated for completion by September 2021 and will span 19 km along Eglinton Avenue from Keele Street and Laird Drive. The LRT will run both at-grade and underground. The nearest LRT station will be at the Mount Dennis Station, which is approximately 1- 1.5 km away from Rogers Road (Davenport West’s northern boundary). In anticipation of the LRT’s completion, the Eglinton Connects Planning Study was initiated in 2012 and completed in 2015. This study developed a vision for the future of Eglinton Avenue with the LRT and recommended changes such as amendments to the Official Plan and zoning by-laws, modifications to the existing right-of-way, streetscape enhancements, and the creation of a network of distinct parks with different typologies. Overall, the Eglinton Crosstown LRT is projected to be a transformative project with a large area of influence beyond the avenue it will operate on.

Mount Dennis Mobility Hub Study
The Mount Dennis Mobility Hub Study, conducted in 2013 by Metrolinx, established a long-term vision for the Mount Dennis Station, which is approximately 1 to 1.5km away from Rogers Road (Davenport West’s northern boundary). The study focuses on the lands within 800m of the station, and envisions them as a high-density, mixed-use environment that is connected to an expanded, well-designed cycling and pedestrian network. Employment and higher-density residential uses will surround the station, resulting from amendments to the
Official Plan and zoning by-law. Weston Road will retain its main street character, which the new mobility hub will work to revitalize. Public realm and streetscape improvements will also occur. Combined with the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, the impacts of the station’s future function as a mobility hub will have a larger area of influence beyond the 800 m radius specified in the study.

**Mount Dennis Planning Framework Study**

This study is set to begin in 2019 and will be conducted by the City of Toronto and a consultant team to develop a vision for the future of Mount Dennis. The neighbourhood, along with the Mount Dennis Station, is located approximately 1-1.5 km away from Rogers Road. The study will review the current planning framework for Mount Dennis and consider changes to the neighbourhood’s policies pertaining to land use, transportation, servicing and community infrastructure requirements. Changes to the neighbourhood’s streetscape and public realm, along with social development and revitalization initiatives, will also take place. The impacts of this study, along with the Mount Dennis Mobility Hub Study, could have a larger area of influence beyond just the Mount Dennis neighbourhood.

**Oakwood-Vaughan Strategy**

Various efforts including the Oakwood-Vaughan Economic Revitalization Plan and the Oakwood Avenue Arts District have been put into revitalizing the neighbourhood of Oakwood-Vaughan- characterized by a moderate degree of disinvestment and issues around unemployment, petty crime, and vacancy rates at 15%. In 2016, the Oakwood-Vaughan area was selected as a pilot project for the City’s economic revitalization program for disinvested commercial areas. Priorities included streetscape improvements, animating vacant storefronts, business recruitment, and promotion of the area as an arts district, increasing the number of community events, and increasing capacity within the inactive Oakwood-Vaughan BIA. In June 2018, a city initiated zoning by-law amendment was proposed to designate the lands as the Oakwood Avenue Arts District and introduce permissions for additional uses to the existing residential zoning along Oakwood Avenue between Rogers Road and Amshert Avenue. Additional proposed uses included artist and designers’ studios and artist live-work units. Both programs were established with the aim of generating economic growth and increasing access to social and cultural services in the neighbourhood. The main purpose of the former program was to increase retail development and restore the vitality of businesses in the area, and the latter worked to attract and support an “Arts District” in the area and provide a cultural corridor allowing for a concentration of arts activities within an established residential neighbourhood.

**Summary**

Various planning studies or projects within or around Davenport West sought to or are currently facilitating quality of life improvements and economic revitalization in the area. Their impacts are primarily changes and additions to the area’s built form and improving transit and/or pedestrian connectivity. The impacts of these studies and projects vary depending on the economic or social capital being invested into Davenport West. Through changes to the physical environment, they also facilitate social change in the area, which may be slow and incremental or fast and wide-ranging. The resulting physical and social changes have likely played a role in gentrification across Davenport West.
Changes in Population, Household, and Income Characteristics

Several key indicators from the Census of Canada were chosen to serve as proxies for gentrification in this analysis of Davenport West. Variables pertaining to household incomes, rent, occupation, dwellings, education, and population characteristics were selected from the 1986, 2001, and 2016 Censuses of Canada.\(^3\) Equivalent average household income was the main measure for household income and this analysis, and was calculated using the following formula:

\[
\text{Equivalent average household income} = \frac{\text{Average household income}}{\sqrt{\text{Average household size}}}
\]

We used equivalent household income as the variable measure for household income, as it controls for the sizes of households. This variable, along with rent, were also calculated as a proportion of the CMA average- that is the ratio between the average income/rent of a census tract (or area) relative to the CMA average in income/rent. All Census variables were analyzed for changes in their absolute and relative numbers. One of the two relative measures warrants an explanation into its meaning: location quotients (LQs). In this context, LQs measure the concentration of a variable in a census tract relative to its concentration across the entire CMA. Census tracts are the unit of analysis in this section and throughout the paper. They are small, stable geographic areas which are delineated by Statistics Canada to be socio-economically homogeneous and are proxies for neighbourhoods. LQs range from 0 to infinity, where 1.00 indicates an identical concentration between the area of interest and the CMA average, while values above or below 1.00 indicate greater or lesser concentration respectively. LQs for each census tract are derived from the following formula:

\[
\text{LQ} = \frac{\left(\sum_{i=1}^{n} X_i / \sum_{i=1}^{n} Y_i\right)}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^{n} X_i / \sum_{i=1}^{n} Y_i\right)}
\]

where \(i\) is the census tract in question. \(X\) represents a sub-categorical variable such as the total number of university-educated individuals that are aged 15 and over, while \(Y\) represents a broad-categorical variable such as the total number of individuals that are aged 15 and over. The sigma function adds up data for all census tracts within the Toronto CMA. To analyze changes across Davenport West as a whole, variable data from each census tract within the area’s boundaries were added up and compared as one unit of analysis against the CMA. When the two relative measures (% and LQ) are utilized in tandem, they are able to show whether a variable’s rate of increase in Davenport West was higher than the rate of increase across the CMA, signifying notable neighbourhood change. The results are shown below in Table 1.

---

\(^3\) Each Census of Canada provides a snapshot of the year before the Census was released (e.g. the 1986 Census was conducted in and provides a snapshot of 1985 but was released in 1986).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>86635</td>
<td>93515</td>
<td>94697</td>
<td>6880</td>
<td>1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Equivalised Household Income (2015 CAD)</td>
<td>40758</td>
<td>46365</td>
<td>56784</td>
<td>5607</td>
<td>10420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Equivalised Household Income as % of CMA Average</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average gross rent (monthly) (2015 CAD)</td>
<td>1043</td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>1206</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>113</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average gross rent (monthly) as % of CMA Average</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>-3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic occupations</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>2820</td>
<td>5090</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>2270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic occupations as % of Labour Force</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artistic occupations as LQ</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dwellings Constructed in Past 5 Years</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1410</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dwellings Constructed in Past 5 Years as % of Total Dwellings</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dwellings Constructed in Past 5 Years as LQ</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented Dwellings</td>
<td>14530</td>
<td>18490</td>
<td>20405</td>
<td>3960</td>
<td>1915</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rented Dwellings as % of Total Dwellings</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>-1.7%</td>
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<td>Rented Dwellings as LQ</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population 15 and over with University Degree</td>
<td>8845</td>
<td>16390</td>
<td>29315</td>
<td>7545</td>
<td>12925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population 15 and over with University Degree as % of Population 15 and Over*</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population 15 and over with University Degree as LQ</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total immigrant population</td>
<td>44140</td>
<td>47950</td>
<td>37135</td>
<td>3810</td>
<td>-10815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total immigrant population as % of Total Population</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>-12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total immigrant population as LQ</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Changes in Population, Household, and Income Characteristics in Davenport West
Table 1 shows a marked change occurring in Davenport West after 2000. The largest absolute and proportional increases in variables occurred from 2000 to 2015, compared to 1985 to 2000. Overall, Davenport West experienced social change from 2000 to 2015. Average equivalised household income increased by $10,420 from $46,465 (as LQ, 0.77) in 2000 to $56,784 (as LQ, 0.85) in 2015, moving closer to the CMA average after having remained stagnant (in LQs) from 1985 to 2000. This increasing income is accompanied by sharp absolute and relative increases (particularly in LQs) in university-educated individuals and artistic occupations (two key indicators of gentrification) from 2000 to 2015. Like household income, the proportion of university-educated individuals remained relatively stable in comparison to the CMA average, as reflected by its LQs from 1985 to 2000, but saw a sharp increase thereafter. This variable remained below the CMA average up until 2000, reaching an LQ of 1.09 by 2015. The significance of the timing of these changes will be elaborated upon shortly.

As well, a sharp absolute and relative decrease in total immigrant population occurred from 2000 to 2015. This sharp decline suggests possible displacement of immigrants and that Davenport West is no longer an immigrant reception area. It is vital to note here that Canadian immigrants are overrepresented in poverty rates compared to non-immigrants (Kazemipur and Halli, 2001). Particularly in Toronto, the poverty rate for immigrants was 17.5% compared with 11.2% for non-immigrants. There appears to be a correlation between immigrants and poverty, which was also suggested by a 2017 Statistics Canada report on higher rates of chronic low-income status amongst immigrants compared to non-immigrants (Picot and Lu, 2017). Thus, the decline of immigrants in Davenport West may be an indicator of the decline/displacement of lower-income populations in the area. This social change has shifted the character of the neighbourhood away from its working-class history and towards a growing professional and artistic population with higher disposable incomes.

This social change is accompanied by an absolute and relative spike in the number and proportion of new dwellings built from 2000 to 2015, signalling the growing desirability of Davenport West. Interestingly, while average gross rent increased from 2000 to 2015, this did not result in an increase in its LQs. In other words, the rate of rent increase in Davenport West did not exceed the rate of increase across the CMA. However, the increase from 2000 to 2015 ($113) was more than double the increase from 1980 to 2000 ($50). This upward pressure on rent, along with the spike in new dwellings, reflects the growing demand for housing in Davenport West and the higher disposable incomes of an increasingly professional population base. As well, the % decline in rental housing from 2000 to 2015 demonstrates that this growing demand is primarily for homeownership.
The total population of Davenport West increased only slightly from 2000 to 2015 but was accompanied by significant social change and upward pressure on its housing stock. Alongside these changes, the area grew older from 1985 to 2015. A decline in the proportions of young adults and youths occurred alongside an increasing proportion of working-age adults and seniors. Working-age adults were the fastest growing age group during this timeframe, while youths were declining the most rapidly. It is interesting to note that from 1985 to 2000, while Davenport West experienced a large increase in population and continued to age, it did not experience the social change seen from 2000 to 2015.

Overall, Davenport West's social change, upward pressure on rents and housing demand, and its aging population illustrates a slow but developing picture of gentrification. Artists settled in the area, rapidly increasing with seen from 1985 to 2015. From 1985 to 2000, increasing numbers of artists occurred alongside an increasing population, growing numbers of immigrants and university-educated individuals, and jump in rental dwellings. While Davenport West was experiencing social change, it was not an upgrade yet; relative income and rent declined from 1985 to 2000, the area continued to welcome more immigrants (a group correlated with lower-incomes), and the proportion of and new dwellings added remained relatively unchanged. However, this changed from 2000 to 2015. A more affluent population began to filter in, and Davenport West experienced markedly higher relative incomes, rents, and university-educated individuals alongside a spike in new dwellings built. The number of rental dwellings also declined relative to owned dwellings, and the number of immigrants sharply declined in absolute and relative terms. Gentrification is unfolding according to the process/stage-model outlined by Ley (2003) and Clay (1979). Davenport West does not appear to be at the stage whereby artists are displaced quite yet- as artists are still settling in- but the area itself is likely the recipient of artists displaced from Toronto’s gentrified inner-city neighbourhoods such as Parkdale, Riverdale, and Queen Street West (Slater, 2002). It is entirely possible this outcome will extend to the artists of Davenport West.
Neighbourhood Change - An Uneven Geography

While Davenport West is in the midst of neighbourhood change, the changes are not evenly distributed throughout the neighbourhood. The maps in the section illustrate changes by census tract from 1985 to 2015 in income, population, and new dwellings built.

Household incomes across Davenport West in 1985, for the most part, remained under the CMA average. Only 2 census tracts out of 19 tracts were at or above the CMA average in 1985, and both of them were in High Park North. High Park North had five out of the six census tracts which were at 80% of the CMA average or higher, with the other one being in Corso-Italia Davenport. As well, six census tracts were at or above 80% of the CMA average out of 19 census tracts (i.e. 32% of all tracts). Weston-Pellam Park was the poorest neighbourhood in 1985, with both of its census tracts falling well below the CMA average.
For the most part, household incomes across Davenport West in 2000 shifted slightly between census tracts but declined overall as seen in Table 1. There were mixed results: several tracts saw incomes increase or decline in Corso Italia-Davenport, Oakwood Village and Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction. Incomes across High Park North remained relatively high. There were still only two census tracts at or above the CMA average in 2000. Seven census tracts were at or above 80% of the CMA average out of 21 tracts (i.e. 33% of all tracts), which remained relatively unchanged from 1985. Overall, there were no discernable patterns of differentiation amongst census tracts in Davenport West in 2000.
2015 saw household incomes across much of Davenport West increase. There were now 6 census tracts at or above 100% of the CMA average out of 23 tracts, compared with only 2 tracts in 1985 and 2000. As well, 14 census tracts were at or above 80% of the CMA average, compared with 6 tracts in 1985 and 7 tracts in 2000. Corso-Italia Davenport became the second neighbourhood to contain a census tract with a household income at or above 100% of the CMA average. This neighbourhood and Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction became the next two neighbourhoods to have census tracts with household incomes at or above 80% of the CMA average. Overall, the increases in income occurred fairly evenly across Davenport West.
There were not many new dwellings built within the 5 years prior to 1985 in Davenport West. The two census tracts with 50 or more dwellings constructed were in High Park North and Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction.
More new dwellings were constructed within the 5 years prior to 2000 in Davenport West. The Junction Triangle, High Park North, and Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction were the main beneficiaries of these new dwellings, each neighbourhood having one or more tracts with 50+ newly constructed dwellings.
The number of new dwellings built within the past 5 years increased substantially for 2015. 8 census tracts out of 23 tracts had 50 or more newly constructed dwellings in 2015, compared with only 2 tracts in 1985 and 4 tracts in 2000. As well, for the first time, there were census tracts with 250 or more newly constructed dwellings, with half of them in High Park North and the other half in Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction. Corso-Italia Davenport also became the newest neighbourhood to have at least one census tract with 50 or more newly constructed dwellings, while the Junction Triangle continued to add new dwellings. It is interesting to note here that most of the census tracts with 50 or more newly built dwellings in 2015 are also the higher-income tracts (80% or more of the CMA average in income) in Figure 5.
Most of the population gains in Davenport West have been in High Park North, The Junction, Junction Triangle, and Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction. Meanwhile, population losses have been largely contained in Corso-Italia Davenport and Oakwood Village. As well, half of the geographical area of Weston Pellam Park has declined in population while the other half has gained population. For the most part, population gains have corresponded with higher amounts of newly built dwellings in Figure 8. This cannot be said for higher household incomes in Figure 5, with mixed results when determining overlaps between census tracts with population gain and higher income.

In summary, while social and physical change has been ongoing in Davenport West for over 30 years, these changes have accelerated since 2000. The uneven geography of these changes illustrates the different forms of changes seen in each neighbourhood in Davenport West, along with the extent of their acceleration since 2000. While some neighbourhoods have seen population gains or losses, or more newly built dwellings than others, they have all seen increasing household incomes. This elucidates the different pathways and forms through which gentrification may manifest itself. Neighbourhoods do not follow one trajectory leading to gentrification. Some will experience more obvious transformations such as large increases in population and newly built dwellings (see Figures 6-9), with respect to the demographic and residential indicators of gentrification. Other neighbourhoods may
experience gentrification more subtly, as their built environment remains largely unchanged but they see other changes such as increases in household income (see Figures 3-5, 6-8). In short, they may arrive at many of the same outcomes in relation to gentrification indicators, which include higher household incomes, development pressures, higher rents, a more highly-educated workforce, cultural changes, and the displacement of lower-income residents. Are residential and commercial developments part of the changing study area?

Development Pressures in Davenport West

The influx of new residential and commercial developments can indicate how much change has occurred in an area over a given period of time. The first part of this section looks at new development applications to capture these types of changes in the area. The second part analyzes the type of commercial activity by identifying current business types and whether these are mainly restaurants, bars and cafés or businesses providing affordable goods and services—particularly discount supermarkets.
Table 2. Select New Development Applications in Davenport West, 2011 to 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Development Applications Between 2010 and 2018</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dovercourt-Wallace Emerson-Junction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1 3 1 1 1 3 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weston-Pellam Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1 1 1 1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Park North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 3 2 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 3 1 2 9 7 3 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Galleria Mall Redevelopment of 2,900 units- largest development in Davenport West, 5 phases
Davenport Village Secondary Plan of 1,900- second largest development, 8 phases

In order to assess the impact of new developments, applications filed with the city were examined. In the period from 2011 to 2018, planning applications were filed for 28 properties in Davenport West. Of those developments, the largest was the Galleria Mall Redevelopment: eight mixed-use towers ranging from 18 to 35-storeys with about 2,900 units of commercial space (retail, food, services, and office space) at-grade at the south-west corner of Dufferin and Dupont streets. The proposed development includes 150 affordable rental housing units being provided as a Section 37 community benefit. The site will be developed in 5 phases which correspond to the 5 blocks that make up the site. The existing Galleria Mall site (Galleria Mall and McDonalds at 1245 Dupont Street and 213 Emerson Avenue) and the existing Wallace Emerson Park and Community Centre (1260 Dufferin Street) will be redeveloped.

Only a few hundred metres away from the Galleria Mall redevelopment, another massive development of 9 hectares is underway at Davenport Village, municipally known as 830, 940, 980 and 1100 Lansdowne Avenue. Adopted in 2006, the Davenport Village Secondary Plan established a vision for the ongoing redevelopment of the former General Electric site, which is bounded by Dupont Street to the south, Lansdowne Avenue to the east, Davenport Road to the North and the former CN Rail to the west. The site will be developed in 8 phases which correspond to the 8 blocks that make up the site and will bring in up to 1,900 residential units. In 2011, an application was completed for Phase 8: two mixed-use towers of 23 and 27 storeys for a total of 575 residential units with commercial space at grade. Currently under construction, the redevelopment includes the retention of the former industrial building at the corner of Lansdowne Avenue and Dupont Street at the base of the “Fuse Condos”. Instead of a Metro, which was originally planned at the base, a Food Basics and a Shoppers Drug Mart will be developed here. In 2017, an application was filed for Phase 6 for the development of 3 residential apartment buildings of 24, 28 and 32 storeys with a total of 975 units.
With the completion of the Foundry Lofts at 1100 Lansdowne Avenue in 2017 and the incoming development of Fuse Condos, the surrounding area around the intersection of Dupont Street and Lansdowne Avenue is under heavy development pressure. Foundry Lofts is a 3-storey building with 104 units. The average price per square foot has almost doubled between 2009 and 2018, from $340 to $666. Sale prices for a 2-bedroom condo in the past 12 months range from $725,000 for 1169 sq. ft to $1,050,000 for 1807 sq. ft, with the average sale price at $816,487 for 1242 sq. ft. This shows that property values have increased in the area.

In High Park North, at 111 Pacific Avenue, an application was filed to add two blocks of 3-storey townhouses, a 33-storey apartment building with attached 3-storey townhouses and a service building, and a 29-storey apartment building with an 8-storey base and 2-storey amenity pavilion. The development would maintain the three existing on-site residential rental buildings of 750 units (3 affordable units, 697 units with mid-range rents, and 50 units with high-end rents), resulting in a total of 1,518 rental dwelling units on the site-768 of which would be new. An application at 423 Old Weston Road proposes an infill development of six new residential buildings, including five low-rise blocks of stacked 3.5-storey townhouses and an 11-storey building with retail and live-work-space at street level along St. Clair Avenue West. The proposed development includes 256 units: 160 mid-rise units and 96 townhouse units of which 20 will be developed as affordable ownership units in partnership with Habitat for Humanity Greater Toronto Area. The two existing abandoned buildings will be removed, and the site remediated (per O. Reg 153/04, as amended). Finally, an application has been filed for a mixed-use development with a total of 372 units at 386-394 Symington Avenue, 485 Perth Avenue, and 17 Kingsley Avenue. This will be comprised of two 17-storey mixed-use buildings with commercial space at-grade (retail; office and service; personal grooming establishment; restaurants; daycare space) and two 3-storey townhouse blocks. For the most part, the site is vacant, with the exception of an area along the Perth Avenue frontage which is being used for outside storage of construction materials.

Development Pressures and Risk of Displacement

With two massive developments (at the intersections of Dupont and Lansdowne and Dupont and Dufferin) that will bring up to 4,800 residential units and 11 development applications in High Park North between 2015 and 2018, Davenport West is under heavy development pressures and will undergo significant changes in the coming years. Many of the proposed developments were filed for mixed-use buildings (condominiums) and there are few affordable rental units in the area. Development pressures and rising property values that are making the study area less affordable, combined with net losses in rental housing and diversity of housing types, may result in the displacement of current low-income residents.

Commercial Change in Davenport West

Based on media analysis and visual observations gathered from fieldwork and interviews, neighbourhood change in the area seems to be at a middle stage of gentrification. Unlike other communities, where commercial changes are often the first sign of gentrification, residential changes—townhouses, fully repurposed sites, and condominium buildings—are more apparent in Davenport West. The interviewees all noted that change in terms of commercial activity is relatively slow in Davenport West; therefore, the displacement and/or replacement of existing businesses is less apparent. Rather, gentrification is signified by changes in the community’s residential stock and the modest encroachment of high-end specialty food-shops on some streets; with community services, public housing sites, empty
storefronts, and businesses that appear to cater to low-income groups remaining in other areas. The area has essentially ‘skipped’ the commercial aspect of gentrification, as there have not been immediate changes to the overall business fabric. Despite this finding, our research identified a shift from a condition of food deserts, which key informants previously experienced in Davenport, to more recently arrived restaurants, cafes, and bakeries in some pockets of the study area.

**Dupont Street: from Manufacturing to Mega-Development**

In the 1970s, Dupont Street was an important industrial manufacturing corridor (Urban Toronto, 2016). Although the street is changing, evidence of Dupont’s industrial past still remains—particularly at the intersections of Dupont and Dundas/Annette in the west and Lansdowne further to the east. Dupont Street has been the focus of significant rapid change in its residential and commercial activities in recent years (DPNCHC, personal communication, 2018; Urban Toronto, 2016). Two mega-developments that will bring up to 4,800 residential units are planned on Dupont, as mentioned previously—while art galleries, specialty cafes, coffee shops, and trendy bars geared toward a more affluent clientele are also appearing in the area. It should be noted that 3 establishments providing affordable goods (Leiria Bakery Ltd., Eduardas BBQ, and Picea 997) have closed in recent years to make way for vacant lots along the street. Churrasqueira Arcuense, another establishment offering affordable Portuguese food, was replaced by 2nd Nature Bakery and Café in 2016—a more hipster-style establishment that provides organic and gluten-free baked goods and sandwiches. As Dupont Street experiences heavy development pressures and gentrification in the area progresses, small businesses find themselves at increasing risk of displacement in the future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stores for Artists</th>
<th>Opening Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COOPER COLE Art Gallery</td>
<td>2015</td>
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<td>Angell Gallery</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Hip Establishments: Coffee Shops, Bakeries, Bars/Restaurants</th>
<th>Opening Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmhouse Tavern</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Café Con Leche Espresso Bar</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dark Horse Espresso</td>
<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hale Coffee Company</td>
<td>2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Nature Bakery and Café</td>
<td>2016</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Closed/Vacant Lots</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Acorn Market (All-natural vegan foods)</td>
<td>closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiria Bakery Ltd</td>
<td>closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1507 Dupont Street</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9997 Dupont Street</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3. Commercial Activity on Dupont Street*

*Geary Avenue: from “the ugly & sleepy street” to “the most exciting street”*
“Geary Avenue is what Ossington was 10 years ago: A gritty, unloved strip of town, unknown and not very nice, small scale industrial with cheap rent to attract small new restaurants” -Joanne Kates (Post City Toronto)

Described in the media as an ugly and unnoticed street, Geary Avenue is an old industrial road north of Dupont Street between Ossington Avenue and Dufferin Street. Geary Avenue retains a pronounced industrial appearance with its variety of auto repair shops, warehouse structures in states of neglect, vacant lots, and empty buildings- which gives the impression that things have not changed much. However, Geary’s industrial street landscape is progressively turning into a sort of high-end hipster retail strip (Pataki, 2018; Agnew, 2016; Berman, 2015; Flack, 2014). The influx of new businesses and artisans amongst long-standing businesses, such as Portuguese bakeries and restaurants (Nova Era Bakery and Meta Dos Leitoes) and a fish shop (Newport Fish & Seafood), is indicative that the street is undergoing a transformation. Commercial change is slower, but the street is getting busier and busier. Since 2012, new hip establishments (restaurants, cafes, and breweries) have been cropping up along the street. Geary Avenue now boasts craft breweries and bars, such as Blood Brothers Brewing (opened in 2016) and Greater Good (opened in 2012); artisanal pasta at Famiglia Baldassarre (moved into the current location in 2016, officially opened in 2018); hand-thrown pizza at North of Brooklyn Pizzeria (opened in 2016); modern Israeli food at Parallel (opened in 2018); and Dark Horse Espresso Bar and Bakery (opened in 2015). With the recent establishment of restaurants, bars and breweries, fears have emerged around the transformation of Geary into a nightlife locus. The recent idea of opening a whiskey distillery was contentious and caused tension in the neighbourhood (Davenport Neighbourhood Association, personal communication, 2018).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Businesses Providing Affordable Goods</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nova Era Bakery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meta Dos Leitoes</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>New Hip Establishments: Coffee Shops, Bakeries, Bars/Restaurants</strong></th>
<th><strong>Opening Date</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Greater Good</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Horse Espresso Bar and Bakery</td>
<td>2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood Brothers Brewing</td>
<td>2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>North of Brooklyn Pizzeria</td>
<td>2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Famiglia Baldassarre</td>
<td>2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel</td>
<td>2018</td>
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Table 4. Commercial Activity on Geary Avenue

**St Clair Avenue West: is the 512 St Clair responsible for commercial decline?**

Based on the team’s site visit, it appears that there is little activity along St Clair Avenue, which was confirmed by an interview with the Vietnamese Family Services. St Clair Avenue, between Old Weston Rd to the west and Caledonia Park Rd to the east, has seen its commercial activity decline since the 512 St Clair streetcar was built in 2010. The street used to be vibrant with a high traffic of shoppers and diners during lunch time- which is no longer the case. A few empty storefronts are noticeable: 1754, 1752, and 1700 St Clair Ave W- of which two display a ‘for lease’ sign. Apart from that, there are many restaurants that cater to a broader clientele along the street. Many ethnic and traditional restaurants provide affordable
options for low-income individuals, from Vietnamese cuisine (Pho Xua, Banh Cuon Pho Ga, Huong Viet) to Portuguese bakeries and restaurants (Churrasqueira Alto Minho, Caledonia Bakery & Pastry, Nova Era Bakery). Other, more upscale restaurants and bars serve a more affluent population such as the Fox & Fiddle Pub, Rio 40, and Frank's Pizza House.

Implications of Commercial Change

The commercial change seen in Davenport West may have implications around already-existing food security issues as low-income residents have access to even fewer options for healthy, affordable groceries. Key informants explained that Davenport West has long been considered a food desert- full of convenience stores which do not provide much variety. The area is not well served by large, full-service grocers that are more economically accessible to low-income residents (The Stop, personal communication, 2018; DPNCHC, personal communication, 2018; VWAT Family Services, personal communication, 2018). Davenport Road has 13 commercial establishments, of which 8 are convenience stores such as the Daily Needs Convenience, QQ+ Convenience, and Mr. Convenience, to name a few; one long-standing bar & grill that has been serving the Davenport and Ossington area for 25 years (the Gem Bar & Grill); and the Sovereign Cafè- the only coffee shop along the street. Until last year (2017), when a Food Basics opened at the corner of Lansdowne and Dupont, there was only a FreshCo on Dupont Street. Nation Fresh Food on St Clair Avenue West, a popular large-scale grocery store, was identified as the “only” grocer offering a wide variety of food options at an affordable price in the northwestern part of Davenport West (VWAT Family Services, personal communication, 2018). Also, on St Clair Avenue West is Metro- an upscale grocery store that isn’t affordable for all. Although the decision to open a Food Basics as opposed to Metro on Dupont and Lansdowne was controversial, it was made to better suit the needs of the community (member of DNA, personal communication, 2018).
Table 5. Davenport West: Convenience Stores and Grocery Stores

Interests and investments in the area of Davenport West have increased rapidly in recent years. The progress of commercial change seems to reflect the changing residential composition of the community (and resulting settlement of more affluent residents) more than a clear process of the replacement of ethnic-affiliated or traditional businesses. As Davenport moves into a more advanced stage of gentrification, it is crucial to implement policies and processes to ensure that current residents- including commercial residents- are not displaced. To encourage additional investment without displacing residents requires balancing efforts to attract private developers without losing focus on the needs of current residents.
Community Assets

Through the census tract analysis and key informant interviews, a number of community assets have been identified in the area. These are local assets which include non-profit organizations, social service agencies, health services, citizens’ associations, and faith-based groups that could potentially work together to respond to the negative impacts of gentrification.

Community assets were selected for their close proximity to The Stop as well as the services they provide. They include organizations both within and outside the study area and can provide expert or specialty advice to respond to the impacts of gentrification. The assets identified are as follows: FreshBooks, Vietnamese Women’s Association of Toronto Family Services, West Toronto Support Services, Davenport-Perth Neighbourhood and Community Health Centre, Councillor Ana Bailao’s storefront office, Boo Radley’s, Wallace Espresso, Madison Community Services, Regeneration Community Services, CultureLink, Community Living Toronto, Community Action Resources, Abrigo Centre, Crossways Employment Services, Regeneration Community Services, residents of Pelham Park, Toronto Paramedic Services, Correctional Services of Canada, and Family Service Toronto. Outside of the study area, a handful of organizations have been identified that may use their expertise to help respond to neighbourhood change, such as Toronto Community Housing, City of Toronto Planning and Affordable Housing divisions, PARC (Parkdale Activity-Recreation Centre), and Parkdale Land Trust. Some key informants recognize that the Stop is in a better position to initiate a collaborative effort, build an action to address issue of neighbourhood change.

Figure 11. Concentric Circles of Influence of Potential Partners, Collaborators and Allies to The Stop in Davenport West
Community asset organizations work with a variety of groups to deliver specific types of programs depending on the organizational expertise. The strategic plan for each organization determines where their focus is placed, how resources are utilized, and whether partnership with the Stop would be beneficial.

We gathered information on assets in the surrounding community that could be potential partners to The Stop. This information includes T3010 data for each organization including their revenue, expenses, employees, mission statements, and programming. To identify the highest potential partners, we:

1) prioritized mission statements, as community organizations emphasized the importance of similar strategic frameworks and goals to form organizational partnerships during interviews;
2) reviewed the organization’s capacity to fundraise; and
3) evaluated the organization’s reliance on government funding.

Based on the mission statements and programming, most community assets have similar goals and intentions in their mission statements. The community assets that should be first prioritized are those whose mission statements align with The Stop’s goals and who receive proportionately fewer donations or gifts from other charities. Those that do not receive as many donations are in greater need of a partnership to increase their funding capabilities. The Stop has significant capacity in raising funds, as 32% of their total revenue is from donations/gifts from other charities, whereas all the other organizations receive 10% or less. The Stop could offer staff expertise and capacity in this area, which could be passed on to community partners so that they are able to better achieve their missions. In addition, organizations with similar mission statements and sufficient funding capacities should also be considered for partnerships. We have identified the Davenport Perth Neighbourhood and Community Health Centre, Madison Community Services, Abrigo Centre, West Toronto Community Services, Community Living Toronto, Community Action Resource Centre, and PARC as organizations that have similar mission statements and would receive mutual benefit from a partnership. The Stop could also benefit from a partnership with FreshBooks, which has been identified as a key ally. FreshBooks’ employees are involved with the Stop’s night market and marketing campaign and offer free computer literacy lessons. FreshBooks has a great facility that can host up to 250 people and would be able to provide the space, which can be helpful for hosting events and bringing different key stakeholders together.

The full Community Asset Comparison Chart is available in the Appendix with further details.
### Recommendations and Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation</th>
<th>Immediate</th>
<th>Future</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Planning Tools and Mechanisms</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1a. Restaurant Study and Zoning By-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>1b. Section 37 Negotiations</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1c. Community Benefit Agreements</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. Organizational Collaboration</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2a. Community Coalition</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2b. Food Network</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2c. Cross-Neighbourhood Partnerships</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3. Changes to Local Governance</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3a. Resident Representation in Board-of-Director Structures</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3b. Community Coordinator Position</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>3c. Community Land Trust</td>
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*Table 6: Immediate and Future Recommendations to Respond to Gentrification in Davenport West*

In addition to themes that appeared in interview responses, a scan of policies and practices utilized in other jurisdictions revealed a variety of strategies that may be employed to respond to change and mitigate displacement in Davenport West.

**1. Planning Tools and Mechanisms**
“Planning happens all the time in a variety of ways and according to a variety of agendas. Developers have planners, the City has planners. The community doesn’t have as much access to planners. But what if they did, and what if that was able to continue? What if planning was directed by the community?”
-Victor Willis, PARC

This view emphasizes the importance of strengthening community members’ participation in local planning practice in order to ensure that they are directly involved in development and that they reap the benefits of it. The following three tools may be used to engage community members and organizations in municipal planning.

1a. Restaurant Study and Zoning By-law

In response to the commercial change seen in Davenport in recent years, particularly the high concentration of new restaurants and cafes along certain streets, a restaurant study and zoning by-law may be useful in ensuring that businesses maintain a wide range of services, are accessible to a diverse client-base, and fit within the study area’s existing culture. While Davenport does not possess a distinct commercial strip, key informants discussed the influx of restaurants, cafes, breweries, and related uses that appeal to a young, middle-class clientele along Dupont Street and Geary Avenue.

Queen Street West experienced similar changes to its commercial fabric about five years ago, as an escalated number of restaurants and bars moved into the neighbourhood and a dominant nightlife culture began to emerge; this was seen as a ‘crisis’ by many local residents and Councillor Gord Perks (Gignac, 2018). To combat this issue, the Queen Street West Restaurant Study was initiated in 2013- capping the number of ‘eating establishments’ allowed to operate in the study area at roughly 25 percent. By-laws 1049-2013 and 1050-2013 implemented certain restrictions on the number, location, and size of restaurants and bars along Queen Street West from Roncesvalles Avenue to Dufferin Street. In spring 2018, after a Planning Report announced a decrease in the number of eating establishments in the area from 71 to 64, the regulations were rescinded. However, some restrictions around the gross floor area and patios of restaurants remain, and a review of the decision is set to occur in 2023.

In this way, the study and associated zoning by-laws were effective in establishing specific regulations, raising awareness around the issue of an over-concentration of restaurants and bars in this gentrifying neighbourhood, and creating a lasting dialogue- with the situation set to be monitored for years to come. Community organizations in Davenport may work with the local councillor to propose a similar planning study which would allow for a thorough examination of the concentration of particular types of businesses along certain strips in the area.

1b. Section 37 Negotiations

Density bonus agreements are legislated under Section 37 of Ontario’s Planning Act, which allows developers who exceed the zoned height and density of a site to provide the City with cash-in-lieu for community facilities or services. These benefits are negotiated and administered by the local councillor; therefore, they lack the transparency and direct community input associated with the acquisition of community benefit agreements (to be discussed next). However, depending on the strength of the relationship between community organizations and the ward councillor, these benefits can be harnessed to fund initiatives that serve the community’s essential needs.
The Parkdale rooming house pilot project is one example of how Section 37 funding can be allocated to fulfill a need that the community itself identifies as a priority. The pilot will provide a non-profit organization with $1.5 million to purchase and operate a Parkdale rooming house that is either vacant or at risk of redevelopment (Edwards, 2018). This will serve as a necessary step in protecting the neighbourhood’s deeply affordable rental stock and keeping low-income tenants housed in the midst of gentrification. Projects like this highlight the need for community groups to work with the ward councillor and inform them of policy areas requiring Section 37 funding so that community benefits are maximized.

1c. Community Benefits Agreements

Community Benefits Agreements (CBAs) have been defined as legally-binding contractual agreements negotiated between a coalition of community-based groups and a private or public development agent, where the community groups require benefits such as jobs, parks, or affordable housing in exchange for their support for a development project (Galley, 2015; Marantz, 2015). These agreements serve as an important ‘first step’ to local resistance, and neighbourhood residents must begin approaching developers with CBA demands immediately in order to take charge of rapidly proliferating interests and investments in Davenport West. In addition, it is crucial that the community mobilizes to form a coalition that can negotiate proactively and ensure that community interests are reflected in land use planning, urban growth, and public policy decisions. Once CBAs are secured, residents can benefit from new development without fear of displacement.

Community Benefits Frameworks (CBFs) serve as powerful tools for communication and underpin the negotiation of CBAs. The Parkdale framework identifies four key phases that make up the process of instituting CBAs: coalition formation, the development of a platform for negotiation, implementation planning, and a focus on outcomes through a community oversight committee or a third-party compliance monitor (Parkdale Community Benefits Framework, 2018). Therefore, it is pivotal that CBFs are established so that coalitions have a platform upon which to advocate for imminent community priorities and promote equitable development. Producing a CBF entails community engagement through public education and workshops, tracking and researching of local development, and testing of principles and targets to ensure that they are grounded in experience (which may involve public demonstrations and community organization in response to contentious developments).

2. Organizational Collaboration

“Social service agencies tend to be set up against each other. They’re almost set up to compete, especially if there are limited resources. It’s important to spend a lot of time on shared activities and shared values that allow you to build trust. If you don’t achieve that, then it’s very hard to achieve anything else.”
- Victor Willis, PARC

As emphasized by this key informant, who possesses direct experience assembling organizations to utilize collaborative approaches, organizations must undertake joint resistance in the face of neighbourhood change. Provided here are strategies that can be used to advance organizational collaboration.

2a. Community Coalition
Forming a grassroots coalition of community service organizations and residents is identified as being a vital precursor to many other strategies used to help communities withstand the negative impacts of gentrification. For instance, as noted in the previous section, a coalition must be organized prior to the establishment of a CBF- collaboratively assessing local needs and challenges based on the lived experiences of clients, service-users, and customers.

Toronto is home to some extraordinary examples of Community Economic Development, with many organizations working together under a mandate of ‘development without displacement to respond to change in the neighbourhoods within which they are situated. The Parkdale People’s Economy (PPE) engaged over 30 community-based organizations, 3 local anchor organizations, and 650 community members in discussion to help inform the CBF- a prime example of the benefits of coalition-building (Parkdale Community Benefits Framework, 2018). By bringing these stakeholders into productive discourse with one another, the PPE acted on its mandate of building more socially just local economies and inspired service providers and citizens to share skills, resources, and grant opportunities. Their roles as community assets and sources of social stability were magnified as a result. Coalition-building could help organizations in Davenport combine capacity in a similar way, allowing them to carry out cooperative projects and initiatives moving forward.

2b. Food Network

Food is a central and universal need. This need is especially acute among low-income and displaced groups, with many facing barriers to accessing fresh, healthy food and relying on the aid of local organizations (or networks of organizations) to help them do so. Shared necessity underlines the importance of community food networks, which work to combat food insecurity and enhance social equity in gentrifying areas by making use of collaborative methods.

The Stop makes use of a Community Food Centre (CFC) model to build a local, sustainable, and equitable food system. It offers educational workshops, gardens, and kitchens to improve social connectivity and physical health and also provides clients with food (through its food bank and meal programs) to free up income for other necessities (Scharf, Levkoe, & Saul, 2010). In this way, the Stop is an ideal position to take on a more significant role as a community hub and to help residents combat the challenge of local ‘food deserts’. Enhancing food security is especially crucial as commercial gentrification begins to encroach upon the area.

The Parkdale Food Network (PFN) takes a slightly different approach, utilizing recommendations from Beyond Bread & Butter- a report examining the food-related needs of Parkdale’s vulnerable residents as the neighbourhood experiences gentrification. As a network, the PFN focuses on building food connections among various organizations and community members. It provides a space for groups to share ideas and resources and collaborate on food programming. Currently, over 30 organizations are involved. By integrating this strategy of network-formation into its model, the Stop may be able to enhance its currently existing partnerships, make new connections within its catchment area, and provide even more programming that continues to reflect its fundamental values.

2c. Cross-Neighbourhood Partnerships

This recommendation, stemming solely from the insight of key informants, calls on areas facing comparable challenges around gentrification to share ideas, strategies, and frameworks
that can be used to mitigate displacement and exercise resilience. Such a partnership would require a well-maintained, consistent line of communication between community coalitions or local anchor organizations from the different communities and allow them to solve problems cooperatively where commonalities exist. For example, commonalities around rent regulations, tenant protections, and general land use policy. However, such a collaboration would need to focus exclusively on broad policy issues- maintaining respect for local context in regard to the application of recommendations.

3. Changes to Local Governance

“If [organizations] were to have it in their Board structure that they would bring residents or other stakeholders to the table, and if they did a lot more liaising, I think you’d have a more comprehensive understanding and outlook from the Board.”
-An informant from the City of Toronto

This perspective encapsulates the importance of ensuring that community members are given opportunities for direct involvement in local decision-making. Community self-determination can take up many different forms and can be achieved using various channels.

3a. Resident Representation in Board Structure

By granting representation to community members and a diverse range of stakeholders, local decision-making bodies become more equitable and representative of those they serve. It is especially crucial when making decisions in gentrifying areas such as Davenport West to gather the perspectives of shop-owners, residents, employees, and other individuals who are intimately familiar with the changing community and its street-life- both during the day and at night.

As recommended by a key informant, associations and institutions with Boards of Directors (including local BIA’s such as the Dovercourt Village BIA and other membership-based local organizations) could make use of a ‘half and half’ structure; half traditional board members and half community residents. This type of resident membership was utilized by the Roncesvalles BIA and inspired strong community involvement as seen through the formation of RoncyWorks: a network of volunteers (neighbours, shop-owners, and organizations) working to improve the local streetscape. The Parkdale Activity-Recreation Centre also has a half and half Board Structure, with half their board being local residents- allowing for a bottom-up approach to community programming.

3b. Community Coordinator Position

Key informants propose that Davenport assign one specific individual a community coordinator position and task them with a variety of organizational, financial, and research duties. The coordinator would oversee grant-writing, manage funding allotment across the community, direct neighbourhood change research, update databases, and establish a risk management strategy. They might be hired by a local anchor organization or work for a community coalition, depending on the degree of collaboration in place, and would ensure that organizations maximize their capacity to act upon community interests.

Such a position has been created in Parkdale and has allowed the community to self-govern in a well-regulated, productive, and highly efficient manner. Most notably, having an individual responsible for continually tracking finances has ensured good grant management and accountability.
3c. Community Land Trust

A community land trust is a membership-based community organization that acquires, owns, and stewards land for community benefit, such as affordable housing- removing it from speculative markets and holding it in trust through community governance (Parkdale Community Planning Study, 2016). This essentially works to decommodify land as commons for redistributive justice- allowing it to become something that the community owns.

The Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust, Toronto’s first, emerged out of anti-displacement efforts spearheaded by the Parkdale People’s Economy in 2010. It moved from a network of seven community-based organizations to a community-elected governance model in 2015 and pursues a holistic approach for community development (Agha, 2018). Its local partnerships have allowed it to secure land, negotiate below-market purchase for owners, and leverage donations and grants to fund acquisition and site planning. It is currently involved in various initiatives and projects with the objective of preserving the neighbourhood’s rooming house stock.

A land trust is something that key informants believe Davenport might strive to achieve in the future. Such a process would require interested organizations to put together a grant application, secure funding, acquire charitable status, and create a board. Following this, the land trust could utilize strategies to obtain land, develop it in ways that suit the needs of the community, and distribute it equitably.
Limitations and Future Directions

The research conducted for this report was subject to a variety of limitations—most of which were directly related to restrictions around capacity, time, and budget for a student-lead research team. Vulnerable populations were not interviewed for the project, as they could not be compensated for their time and the project’s relatively short duration did not allow for an in-depth exploration of the lived experiences of these groups. Unexpected stakeholder delays also occurred, and therefore the team was limited in the lack of key informants it was able to interview. A variety of factors contributed to these delays, including organizational capacity to participate in the research and the municipal election that occurred in the middle of the research period—impacting the team’s ability to coordinate meetings with City staff. Finally, insufficient access to certain data sources related to turnover in commercial properties affected the type of quantitative analysis the group could conduct in order to measure commercial gentrification in the study area.

Another limitation encountered in the research was the size of the study area. Extending across seven neighbourhoods, the research team found that each neighbourhood within Davenport West has its own unique identity, characteristics, challenges and assets. Future research might focus in on these specific neighbourhoods, making use of smaller boundaries and tailoring approaches to a local context. Because clients at the Stop and other organizations come from far-reaching catchment areas, it is important that the role of these community service providers is continually emphasized and that they are identified as assets in the broader area; part of a network of community organizations that fulfill the needs of residents from Davenport West’s distinct neighbourhoods.

A variety of future directions emerge from this study. Involving the community is important in addressing issues of gentrification and displacement. Gentrification is an active and dynamic process, and work in the community should be ongoing to ensure that networks and relationships between community service providers, residents, and local government are continually developing and evolving. Community service providers should be brought into frequent dialogue with one another and encouraged to form productive partnerships and networks—both formal and informal—to establish social stability in the community. Members of the community should be encouraged to utilize the services that are available to them, participate in local government, and mobilize in response to developments or projects that may displace vulnerable residents. By focusing on developing leadership among incumbent residents to advocate for their own needs, The Stop will be able to build community support for its efforts and seemingly minimize displacement.

Future research should focus on the everyday experiences of residents and commercial tenants subject to displacement in Davenport to gain a deeper understanding their point of view. This will allow for an intricate exploration of gentrification in the study area and paint a more holistic picture of its social impacts—acting as evidence upon which future strategies can be based. Since not everyone is aware of the ways in which gentrification has taken hold in this community, by starting the discussion and establishing a dialogue among local stakeholders, the area will become better equipped to collaboratively develop mutually beneficial strategies. In addition, an in-depth analysis of the commercial landscape and its change over time should be conducted in order to determine the degree to which commercial gentrification is occurring in Davenport West. For instance, data showing when businesses opened and whether they have been replaced or are still operating should be acquired to help identify turnover rates.
Conclusion

Based on the findings expressed in the neighbourhood change analysis, a few overarching conclusions can be drawn. Interests and investments in Davenport West have increased rapidly in recent years, as indicated by the shifting of demographics to a more affluent population. Interviews with key informants revealed that changes in residential composition are the primary channel through which gentrification is occurring in the study area, with the absence of clearly visible commercial change working to depoliticize the issue. Interviewees did, however, note changes in the commercial makeup of various streets scattered throughout the area— with some worsening the ‘food desert’ condition that has long been experienced by Davenport West’s vulnerable residents. These findings highlight the need to implement policies that protect current residents from displacement and provide opportunities for the community to benefit from new development. By serving as a community hub, the Stop may spearhead this effort—inspiring ongoing involvement in local planning processes, coalition-building, and resident representation in local decision-making. Under the Stop’s guidance, the unified mobilization of a network of community organizations will allow the residents of Davenport West to harness change in ways that serve them equitably.


Grange, Michael. "Compass A Liquor-free Zone Votes on Booze West Toronto Restaurants Hope It's Last Call for a 1903 Law Banning the Sale of Alcohol." The Globe and Mail (Toronto), October 14, 1997, A2 sec.


Picot, Garnett, and Yuqian Lu. "Chronic Low Income Among Immigrants in Canada and Its


Appendices

Appendix A: Metropolitan Toronto 1943 Master Plan
## Appendix B: Community Asset Comparison Chart 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Revenue (amount of donations they receive per year, $ and as % of total revenue)</th>
<th>Revenue (Gifts from other charities, $ and as % of total revenue)</th>
<th>Revenue (Government funding, $ and as % of total revenue)</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Revenue/Expenses Ratio (&lt;1.00 = Operating at a loss)</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Mission Statement</th>
<th>Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Stop Community Food Centre</strong></td>
<td>$2,134,724 (54%)</td>
<td>$1,271,018 (32%)</td>
<td>$374,466 (9%)</td>
<td>$2,863,423 (72%)&lt;br&gt;$373,606 (9%)&lt;br&gt;$623,353 (16%)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>FT: 27&lt;br&gt;PT: 54</td>
<td>The Stop strives to increase access to healthy food in a manner that maintains dignity, builds health and community, and challenges inequality.</td>
<td>Drop-in food program, food bank, community kitchen, community action program, healthy beginnings, urban agriculture and greenhouse, and youth engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARC</strong></td>
<td>$120,514 (3%)</td>
<td>$701,435 (17%)</td>
<td>$2,279,052 (55%)</td>
<td>$3,750,675 (88%)&lt;br&gt;$348,707 (8%)&lt;br&gt;$43,629 (1%)</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>FT: 30&lt;br&gt;PT: 72</td>
<td>A community where people rebuild their lives. PARC imagines a world where everyone lives with dignity, safety and there are enough resources for everyone to achieve their potential.</td>
<td>Drop-in centre, food and income security programs, peer informed community access and planning, mental health support services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vietnamese Women’s Association of Toronto</strong></td>
<td>$6,482 (2%)</td>
<td>$18,793 (4%)</td>
<td>$426,002 (87%)</td>
<td>$477,844 (98%)&lt;br&gt;$10,998 (2%)&lt;br&gt;$672 (0%)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>FT: 3&lt;br&gt;PT: 15</td>
<td>VWAT is committed to advance education, provide supportive counseling and referral services, promote healthy living, encourage healthy integration of newcomers, raise</td>
<td>Settlement service, youth program, seniors’ program, tutoring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### West Toronto Support Services (Supportive Housing)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>FT:</th>
<th>PT:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Toronto Support Services (Supportive Housing)</td>
<td>$483 (0%)</td>
<td>$40 410 (1%)</td>
<td>$2 271 351 (73%)</td>
<td>$2 671 858 (86%)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

Awareness of domestic violence and foster community development.

West Toronto Support Services is a not-for-profit organization that provides practical assistance and social support to seniors, caregivers and adults with disabilities living in our community.

### Davenport Perth Neighbourhood Community Health Centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>FT:</th>
<th>PT:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davenport Perth Neighbourhood Community Health Centre</td>
<td>$19 071 (0.3%)</td>
<td>$376 544 (7%)</td>
<td>$4 951 335 (85%)</td>
<td>$5 019 612 (87%)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</table>

Davenport-Perth Neighbourhood and Community Health Centre supports people in its neighbourhood, especially those who face economic and/or social barriers, to enrich their lives and the life of our community. We do this by working in partnership with local residents and organizations to deliver a range of community, health, and social support services that are responsive to local needs and opportunities.

Adult day service, case management, community dining, friendly visiting and telephone security checks, transportation services, home and property support services, home help, personal support, respite care, income tax clinic, meals-on-wheels, escorted monthly outings, wellness programs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Additional Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regeneration Community Services</td>
<td>$12,817</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>The Mission of Regeneration Community Services (RCS) is to promote the self-determination and enhance the quality of life of people living with complex mental health issues including addictions through housing, support and advocacy.</td>
<td>Residential program, case management program, peer support group, employment program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison Community Services</td>
<td>$121,178</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Promoting the independence, health, recovery, and community integration of persons with mental health and/or addictions challenges through advocacy, education and a broad range of case management and housing support services.</td>
<td>Provides supportive housing and case management services, social events, recreational activities, educational field trips, workshops, yoga and group therapy, computer workshops, employment, bursary fund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CultureLink Settlement &amp; Community Services</td>
<td>$19,481</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>Assist newcomers looking for employment, help families navigate the school system, and provide youth with the skills necessary for bright and successful futures. We support refugees and bring together new and</td>
<td>Community Connections programs, Newcomer Settlement Program, Newcomer Youth and Seniors' services, Green Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Total Income</td>
<td>Total Costs</td>
<td>Net Income</td>
<td>Percentage of Net Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Living Toronto</td>
<td>$988,352</td>
<td>$1,391,535</td>
<td>$71,985,651</td>
<td>1 (84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Action Resource Centre</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>$13,007</td>
<td>$488,181</td>
<td>96% (89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrigo Centre</td>
<td>$131,176</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>$774,528</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>