Transit-Induced Gentrification in Weston and Mount Dennis:

A Mixed-Methods Analysis

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

As Toronto commits to increase investments in rapid transit across the Greater Toronto Hamilton Area (GTHA), there is an increasing need to ensure existing residents are able to benefit from these new connections. Weston and Mount Dennis are two examples of neighbourhoods that have received major public transit investment and are susceptible to significant neighbourhood change. Most transit-induced gentrification studies depend on quantitative analysis, with little to no consideration for nuanced qualitative examination and often underestimate the number of displaced residents. For this reason, we conducted a mixed-methods study to understand what extent public transit investment has contributed to processes of gentrification in Weston and Mount Dennis. Analysis of census data determined were that there were no conclusive signs that gentrification has occurred in these neighbourhoods as of 2016. Interviews with key neighbourhood stakeholders revealed detailed accounts of neighbourhood change occurring in these areas before, during and after construction of new transit. While the quantitative and qualitative analysis rendered different findings, this outcome provides us with additional data to assess the strengths and weaknesses between different research methods to better understand the most efficient ways to measure gentrification moving forward. Our findings indicate that census analysis does not conclusively indicate gentrification has occurred while interviews with key stakeholders provide perspectives that indicate early signifiers of gentrification in these neighbourhoods.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The relationship between public transit and gentrification has grown in prevalence in recent decades with the onset of planning practice and policy that advocated for transit-oriented development, a built form that had little relevance in North American planning at the start of the 21st century. This rapidly growing school of thought suggested that improved networks of higher order transit would play a key role in building more equitable and sustainable cities (Bunce, 2004; Culver, 2017). This is true to the extent that transit can provide improved accessibility, connectivity, and convenience, which would then lead to faster commutes, less congestion, and lower emissions (Culver, 2017). This thesis examines the extent to which investments in public transit have contributed to processes of gentrification.

Unfortunately, this type of development has the potential to affect communities that were there long before any transit stations had been built. Research has shown that the political economy of transit investments is based on the goal of supporting neoliberal strategies of urban development and economic growth (Olesen, 2020). This is achieved through cities building new and upgrading existing public transit networks in hopes that it will attract opportunities for investment and increase housing prices (B. Doucet, 2021; Immergluck, 2009; Zuk et al., 2018). Since many neighbourhoods across Toronto lack access to higher order transit, they are most vulnerable to being negatively affected from these types of investments.

This chapter will provide a brief background into existing transit induced gentrification research, the specific research approach taken for this study, the determination of the location chosen for this study and an overview of the thesis structure and research objectives.

1.1 Research Background

Prefaced by significant disinvestment in a neighbourhood, gentrification definitions often include some concept of neighbourhood upgrading, specifically through class composition of residents that may lead to further consequences including displacement. This idea of upgrading is portrayed as a reinvestment of capital back into these neighbourhoods that provide the opportunity for wealthier residents to move in (Smith, 1979). This influx of reinvestment is often facilitated by

neoliberal policies that aim to revive interest in previously under-invested neighbourhoods (Hackworth & Moriah, 2006; Slater, 2004). The topic of gentrification is a publicly contested debate between groups who hold different ideological viewpoints. To some, gentrification is seen as an opportunity to "rejuvenate" or "reinvigorate" a disinvested neighbourhood (Cameron, 2003; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). To others, it can be seen as a complete disintegration of neighbourhood character that ultimately leads to the displacement of long-time residents (Mah, 2020; Zuk et al., 2018).

The relationship between gentrification and public transit becomes increasingly clear when you begin to understand the underlying reason many of these transit projects are built in the first place. The development of these rail transit projects have become "growth management tools" to attract investment instead of solely vehicles used for transportation (Baker & Lee, 2019; Hess, 2020; C. Higgins et al., 2014). Higgins and Kanaroglou (2016) explain that new investments in rail transit are often associated with messages of economic growth and development. An example of this would be the proposed, canceled then recommitted 14-km light rail transit (LRT) project in Hamilton. Mayor Fred Eisenberger stated that the line "can be a catalyst to help Hamilton reach its full potential as a city," with other local stakeholders echoing a similar sentiment stating that a quality LRT line would be "transformative to the city's fortunes, its image, its collective self-confidence and its economic development" (C. D. Higgins & Kanaroglou, 2016). Bunce (2004) further exemplifies this point in their work by stating that "the main rationale for intensification in Toronto is not to solve regional sprawl but to create compact urban districts in order to enhance the economic and physical revitalization of the city." Unfortunately, this viewpoint opposes common assumptions of transit's primary goal being to connect people and places across a specified area.

Residents in these neighbourhoods are most likely to benefit from new transit developments because of the improved access it brings for opportunities of employment and overall connectivity (Freeman, 2005; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018). Unfortunately, the neighbourhoods that have the most to gain from improved access to public transit are the ones who are first to face negative consequences of so called "revitalization." This growing trend of transit-

oriented development (TOD) has given rise to a body of literature that is focused on understanding to what extent investments in public transit can induce processes of gentrification.

Considerable transit gentrification literature focuses on the relationship between proximity to transit stations and housing prices (Cao & Lou, 2018; Immergluck, 2009; Jiang et al., 2020; Mulley & Tsai, 2016; Zhong & Li, 2016). Although changes in property values or rent increases are a popularly studied phenomenon of transit gentrification, it is not only type of neighbourhood change those residents potentially face. Lehrer and Wieditz (2009) explain how some forms of neighbourhood upgrading and wealthier newcomers can create sociocultural transformation before any considerable increase in rent or property value is felt by residents. Furthermore, marginalized residents can begin to feel unwelcome and choose to leave their neighbourhoods before any tangible rent related displacement measures are felt (Rankin & McLean, 2015). While low-income residents are more likely to benefit from public transit, it is important that these residents maintain adequate levels of accessibility to these mobility options that are ultimately meant to serve them while also still feeling welcome in their own neighbourhood.

Public transit projects provide an opportunity to accelerate processes of gentrification and attract new waves of investment to "renew" a neighbourhood. At the same time, it also wields the power drastically shift socioeconomic, demographic, and the physical character of a neighbourhood that may negatively affect low-income residents. Some examples of how these changes may affect a neighbourhood include upgrading of existing housing stock, loss of affordable housing, new amenities that serve different demographics and new housing developments.

1.2 Research Approach

There is currently a methodological dichotomy within the current framework of transit induced gentrification literature (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2019). Recent research heavily favours quantitative-based studies that rely on statistical or census-related analysis to determine the relationship between transit and gentrification. These studies often attempt to distinguish a clear classification whether gentrification has or has not occurred, often regarded as a singular event (Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015). Qualitative studies rely on a more nuanced approach in

studying gentrification as a process and understanding the subtle changes occurring in neighbourhoods through using research methods including interviews and field observations. Walks and Maaranen (2008) explain, "gentrification is seen as progressing through a series of phases differentiated by the types of groups moving in and out of the neighborhood and by the forms of investment shaping it." Comparatively, many qualitative studies frame gentrification as a complex process with various stages. Studying neighbourhood change on a micro-level requires specificity that is difficult to attain through quantitative measures and while some studies focus on only a singular aspect of gentrification, Smith (1987) explains that "unless the full extent and breadth of the processes (gentrification) is conceded at least in the beginning, it is difficult to retain confidence in the meaningfulness of the results."

Mixed-methods studies are done sparingly although they provide the most well-rounded and balanced form of research that provides a macro and micro analysis of transit-induced gentrification. Studies employing both quantitative and qualitative methods provide the opportunity to "ground truth" quantitative data with more specific qualitative research to determine if gentrification is occurring in certain areas with more accuracy (Hammel & Wyly, 1996). Newman and Wyly's (2006) study of displacement in New York City exemplifies the benefits of these types of studies by drawing on "the partial and selective strengths of: extensive, quantitative measurement of secondary datasets; and intensive, qualitative understanding of the multifaceted experiences of residents, community organisers and other individuals living and working in gentrifying neighbourhoods."

This study fills this gap in existing research by providing an additional mixed-method study that will further demonstrate the importance of conducting a variety of research methods to strengthen the validity of findings. Also, this will be one of the few mixed-methods transit gentrification studies conducted within a Canadian context through focusing on the neighbourhoods of Weston and Mount Dennis in Toronto, Ontario. Lastly, this research aims to assist in determining which research methods are best suited for studying the complex and multi-faceted process that is transit-induced gentrification.

Another recent study that has used these neighbourhoods as a case study is Rankin and McLean's (2015) study on Mount Dennis. They focused specifically on commercial shopping streets of the disinvested inner-suburban neighbourhood, through interviewing predominantly immigrant-owned businesses and community-based researchers to determine how competing planning rationales for new forms of development reinforce processes of gentrification, displacement, and structural racism. Furthermore, the authors explain the role of investments in public transit and transit-oriented development play into these "suburban futures" focused on real estate development and green-cultural-economies (2015). Additional work has also focused on the role that "ethnically-labeled" business improvement areas (BIAs) have reproduced specialized ethnic commercial strips ultimately leading to potential gentrification (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005). According to the authors, the intent of these ethnically packaged BIAs is rarely to displace residents, but their "multicultural urbanity is attractive to young urban professionals," and ongoing support from various levels of government, regardless of potential consequences to residents, may ultimately lead to gentrification and displacement.

To understand how gentrification is affecting these neighbourhoods, this study will first conduct census-based analysis to determine specific census-tracts (CTs) that were considered "vulnerable" to gentrification between 2006 to 2011. Next, we will conduct further census-based analysis to determine whether gentrification has occurred in these "vulnerable" CTs between the years of 2011 to 2016. Qualitatively, this study includes twelve semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in Weston and Mount Dennis to gather a more nuanced understanding of the specific knowledge that each of these stakeholders have in the processes of change occurring in these neighbourhoods in recent years. All twelve interviews were conducted in 2021 and provide context to the gap in time between the latest available census data in 2016 and present day.

1.3 Research Context

Weston and Mount Dennis are mainly characterized as a working-class residential neighbourhood with a broad range of housing types and tenures with a diversified mix of ethnicities and cultures. Weston is a mainly residential neighbourhood found in the northwest portion of the City of Toronto. Originally incorporated as a village in 1881, Weston has a rich history dating back to the 1790s. Mount Dennis also has a long history dating back to the late 19th

century. The area saw significant growth in the early 1900s when Kodak purchased a swath of land and began operation in its new factory in 1916, known as Kodak Heights. The area began to attract more factories and began to experience a higher demand for housing for factory workers.

Early census data from the 2021 census shows that the federal electoral district of York-South Weston's population sits at 116,757, a 0.1% increase from 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017, 2022). Also, there has been hardly any change in total private dwellings and population density from 2016 to 2021, indicating the lack of increase in housing supply in the ward despite increasing demand amidst the Toronto's ongoing housing crisis. Some key characteristics of Weston and Mount Dennis are the neighbourhoods' ethnic diversity, high percentage of renters, and percentage of residents earning less than $30,000. As of 2016, 54.9% of residents in York-South Weston are visible minorities, 3.5% higher than the census metropolitan area (CMA) (Statistics Canada, 2017). 51.2% of residents are renters compared to 36.8% in the CMA and 56.3% of individuals median income is below $30,000 compared to 48.4% in the CMA (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Both neighbourhoods were once considered industrial hubs in the late 20th century but have since faced years of significant disinvestment. More recently, Weston GO Station received a stop on the long-awaited airport rail-link, Union-Pearson (UP) Express. The UP Express provides these neighbourhoods with a connection to downtown Toronto in less than fifteen minutes. In the coming years, Mount Dennis Station is set to become Toronto's second largest transit hub upon the completion of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. This station will include connections to the Crosstown LRT, UP Express, GO Transit Kitchener Line, and Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) bus terminal.

Public transit has become the primary driver in these neighbourhood's growing popularity, especially with housing developers and real estate investment trusts (REITs). In recent years, there has been a growing prominence of real estate investment trusts (REITs) purchasing rental apartment towers along main roads, notably Weston Road. This phenomenon is not unique to Weston as the financialization of multi-family rental housing is a growing sector whereby large corporate landlords invest in these buildings and conduct various "repositioning" strategies to grow overall profits by targeting disinvested neighbourhoods on the decline (August, 2020). One

of these strategies is called "gentrification-by-upgrading" and is "based on aggressively repositioning buildings and transforming their tenant base, sometimes with a goal to flip for short-term capital gains," and has been a popular strategy in the Toronto rental market since 2009 (August & Walks, 2018). According to August and Walks (2018), these activities by financialized landlords "speed up and intensify processes of both inner-city gentrification and the decline of older post-war suburban areas." Both Weston and Mount Dennis are good examples of post-war suburban neighbourhoods who faced years of significant decline to ultimately be targeted by financialized landlords as opportunities for profit.

1.4 Research Question and Objectives

Using Weston and Mount Dennis as a case study, the goal of this research is to understand the relationship between new transit infrastructure investment and gentrification and evaluate what different research methods tell us about that relationship.

There will be three research objectives that will be addressed in order to achieve the overall goal of this research. They are:

(1) Have these neighbourhoods been vulnerable to gentrification and to what extent is gentrification already occurring?
(2) To what extent does transit play a role in the gentrification process or changes that these neighbourhoods are experiencing?
(3) What do different research methods reveal about the process of gentrification and how may they be useful for future policy change to ensure equitable resolutions to issues surrounding housing?

1.5 Thesis Structure

The remainder of this thesis is organized into three parts.

Chapter Two will provide context on a brief history of the City of Toronto, a deeper look into the history of Weston and Mount Dennis, and a comprehensive review of Toronto's history around public transit.

Chapter Three will include a deeper look into the role that neoliberal policies and smart growth strategies have shaped Toronto's development as a competitive global city and its role in these

shifting dynamics are beginning to take shape in Weston and Mount Dennis through a comprehensive review of planning documents and development proposals in these neighbourhoods.

Chapter Four will include the research article which this thesis is organized around.

Chapter Five will summarize findings and conclusions of the study and provide recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: History of Toronto and Inner Suburbs

The City of Toronto is the largest city in Canada, with a population of 2,956,024 as of 2018 (City of Toronto, 2020). Burgeoning as a new global city in the world economy, Toronto is a major centre of finance, technology, and immigration. In 1953, Metro Toronto was founded as an upper tier municipality. In 1998, Metro Toronto amalgamated with the five other municipalities (Etobicoke, Scarborough, York, North York, and East York) to become one of the largest in Canada and one of most populous cities in North America at the time. Prior to the 1970s, Toronto's population was quite different than it is today. The aftermath of the Second World War brought the onset of new federal policies that targeted higher levels of immigration to assist in economic growth, which led to many Asian, Caribbean, and African newcomers into the City. Toronto's population continued to grow rapidly because of these changes. Toronto exhibits it diversity and multiculturalism as over half of its population are immigrants (City of Toronto, 2020).

Today, depending on geographic location, different parts of the city can vary in character, from very dense urban development to low-density single-family dwellings. These variations of character depend on a variety of factors including, zoning by-laws, planning policy, road networks and transit connections. This study will focus on the neighbourhoods of Weston and Mount Dennis, found in the district of York, located just northwest of the downtown core. These two neighbourhoods provide an interesting case study because they share characteristics of both dense and sprawling neighbourhoods, with most residents being renters living in mid to high-rise rental towers along the main commercial roads and sprawling pockets of owner-occupied single-detached dwellings across both neighbourhoods.

In a rapidly growing city like Toronto, there is considerable redevelopment pressure on inner suburban neighbourhoods, such as Weston and Mount Dennis, to transform into burgeoning transit-oriented communities. While certain transit projects have had a turbulent history, which will be discussed in later chapters, there have been increasing interests from various levels of government in investing and expanding Toronto's public transit network in recent years. Weston and Mount Dennis have benefited from this investment with the construction of the Union-Pearson (UP) Express and Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) Line. Due to the area's history of neglect, investments in public transit have unfortunately facilitated opportunities for processes of

gentrification to potentially occur and negatively affect working-class and underrepresented populations (Rankin & McLean, 2015).

Weston and Mount Dennis have become known as ethnically diverse communities, with a large collection of Afro-Caribbean, Southeast Asian and Latin American residents moving into these neighbourhoods over recent decades (Rankin & McLean, 2015). According to Rankin and McLean's study on commercial spaces in Mount Dennis, "nearly 90% of business are immigrant owned, while 83% are owned by people of colour" (2015). In addition to being a disinvested, underserved and underrepresented area, consisting of mostly immigrants, as of 2006, Mount Dennis found itself in the poorest provincial riding in Ontario, with an average income of $23,828 (Rankin & McLean, 2015). Because of this, certain groups will find themselves in more precarious situations if these neighbourhoods experience significant redevelopment and capital investments in the coming years.

Previous gentrification research conducted in Toronto has revealed the impact of economic restructuring and displacement pressures affecting underrepresented communities (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). A 2010 report conducted by the University of Toronto Cities Centre characterized these trends in their "Three Cities" study that explained the emergence of three distinct types of demographic composition across the City of Toronto: first is City 1, a downtown core consisting of high-income and educational status residents; next is City 3, which can be located within a ring of post-war suburbs that mainly consist of residents considered to be less educated, working class and a concentration of immigrants and visible minorities; lastly is City 2, which falls directly in between Cities 1 and 3 and consists of mostly middle-income housing. Essentially, the findings of this report conclude that populations within City 2 are shrinking and the gaps between City 1 and 3 are growing (Hulchanski et al., 2011).

Hwang and Sampson's study on Chicago explains the "role of race and ethnicity in neighbourhood selection, shaping residential patterns of segregation and neighbourhood decline" (Charles, 2003 as cited in Hwang & Sampson, 2014). This and many other studies confirm the key connection between racial inequality and gentrification (Bostic & Martin, 2003). Ultimately, these historical relationships between race and neighbourhood decline have led to continued efforts by

private capital and market-oriented developments to capitalize on the vulnerability of these neighbourhoods. Upcoming sections will provide deeper context in the histories of both neighbourhoods, as well as the City of Toronto and how it has led us to issues that these areas are facing today, through increasing transit investments that potentially lead to gentrification and further neighbourhood inequality.

2.1 Historical Context of Weston and Mount Dennis

Originally incorporated as a village in 1881, Weston has a rich history dating back to the 1790s. An aboriginal thoroughfare, called the Carrying Place Trail, used to run along the Humber River through Weston during the 17th and 18th centuries. In the mid-19th century, the village became an industrial centre and welcomed the arrival of the Grand Truck Railway. Canada Cycle & Motor Co. (CCM), a now famous hockey brand, set up its manufacturing plant in Weston during the Second World War and has ironically provided Weston with one of its famous nicknames as the "Home of the Bicycle," given its poor cycling infrastructure along major streets.

Similar to Weston, Mount Dennis has a long history dating back to the late 19th century. The area saw significant growth in the early 1900s when Kodak purchased a piece of land and began operation in its new factory 1916, known as Kodak Heights. The area began to attract more industry workers and began to experience a higher demand for housing. After the second World War, Mount Dennis began to expand into a neighbourhood that flourished in the 1950s and 60s. Kodak Heights was a major employer for residents living in the neighbourhood and crucial to the success of local retail during this period. When industrial jobs began to decline in the 1970s, the area began to struggle and had poor levels of access to higher order transit compared to other parts of the city.

The recession of the 1990s led to reduced corporate profitability, ultimately leading to mass layoffs in the manufacturing and industrial sectors (Fanelli, 2016, p. 21). This string of layoffs hit Mount Dennis hard as the area had lost over 3000 manufacturing jobs. Long-term city planning decisions and shifts in immigration policy led to shifting demographics and changes in Mount Dennis' built form (Rankin & McLean, 2015). In recent years, Weston and Mount Dennis have experienced disinvestment and lack of government support. These patterns of neglect along with

growing negative reputations in the media have led these neighbourhoods to being considered undesirable by some.

According to Hwang and Sampson (2014), "relevant research demonstrates that implicit biases or stereotyping toward minorities and minority neighbourhoods are significant in shaping residential decisions." Ellen (2000) further elaborates that there are implicit perceptions made by white people that associate blacks with "low neighbourhood quality," a social process she calls "white avoidance." Histories of neighbourhood racial segregation have led to perceptions often being more powerful than visible or objective cues (Anderson, 2012). Formerly known as a manufacturing hub and working-class neighbourhoods, areas of Weston and Mount Dennis have garnered some these negative designations due to their higher-than-average crime rates and reputations as "immigrant reception areas" (Rankin et al., 2013; Rankin & McLean, 2015).

According to Bannerji, multiculturalism in Canada is used as an "imposition of difference," that ultimately ends up further dividing immigrants and racialized groups into separate communities and leads to reduced commitments to confronting inequities and establishes spatial forms of racial polarization (Bannerji, 2000 as cited in Rankin & McLean, 2015). In Weston and Mount Dennis these spatial polarizations and inequities are evidenced through the tenant-owner split that is found between specific census tracts within these neighbourhoods. According to the census findings, in both Weston and Mount Dennis, there is a correlation between percentage of renters and visible minority population within census tracts (see Table 5 in Appendix). Essentially, the smaller number of renters in a given census tract, means the less amount of visible minority population in that same CT. Furthermore, it is often the case that white, middle-class homeowners are the group that receive more attention during the consultation process of new developments given their inflated social capital and power that homeowner's or resident associations have during these processes (Allen & Feinstein, 2011).

Due to its shifting spatial patterns throughout history, Weston and Mount Dennis contain a mixture of housing types and tenures, including pockets of single-detached Victorian style homes and mid and high-rise rental towers along the main commercial streets. As will be discussed in later chapters, discrepancies between tenancies and housing types are often divided by which

census tract you find yourself in. Regarding tenancy, these neighbourhoods have a nearly even split between renters and owners, which provides an interesting dynamic concerning who is potentially affected by processes of neighbourhood change. As can be seen in Figure 1, the electoral district of York-South Weston has over twenty-five subsidized housing complexes, and one of the highest concentrations of subsidized housing in Toronto, aside from the downtown core (City of Toronto, 2022c). While these projects are beneficial for many economically vulnerable groups in these neighbourhoods, there are considerably more tenants who find themselves constantly at-risk in the battleground that is market-rate housing.

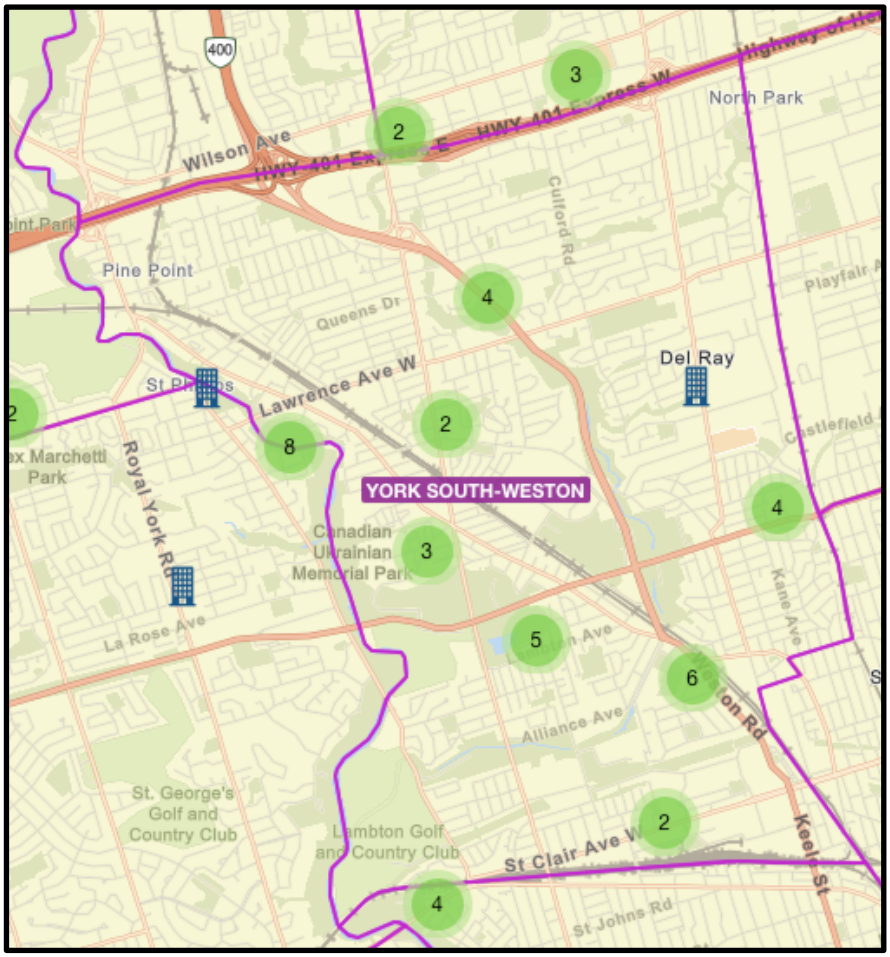

Figure 1: Subsidized Housing in York-South Weston
Source: https://www.torontohousing.ca/our-housing

In 2005, the Kodak factory closed and had been re-designated by the city as "employment lands" and subsequently became home for future significant development planning (Rankin &

McLean, 2015). Kodak's former property is now the home of Mount Dennis Station, which will be the terminus of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. Mount Dennis Station will become the city's second largest transportation hub, connecting the LRT, GO Transit, UP Express and TTC bus terminal.

In 2015, Weston received a valuable piece of transit infrastructure with the grand opening of the Union-Pearson (UP) Express. The UP Express is an airport rail link connecting Canada's largest airport (Pearson Airport) to the downtown core (Union Station). With earlier iterations of downtown rail links being thwarted, Weston had finally recieved some notable transit infrastructure. Ultimately, the project was completed in 2015. Although it had faced its ups and downs along the way, the Union-Pearson (UP) Express has the potential to attract new residents and downtown workers to the area as riders could now travel from the inner-suburbs to downtown Toronto in approximately 15 minutes.

The Eglinton Crosstown is a light rail transit line that will run across Eglinton Avenue from Mount Dennis (intersection of Weston Road and Eglinton Avenue) in the west end to Kennedy Road in the east end. The line will include 25 stops, connect to 54 bus routes, all three of the City's current subway lines and also have connections to GO Transit's Kitchener and Barrie lines (Metrolinx, 2022). About half of the line will travel underground from Mount Dennis Station to Laird Station where the remainder of the line will continue at-grade to Kennedy Station. The project is expected to be completed by the end of 2022, but an opening date has not yet been announced.

At a surface level, Weston and Mount Dennis would be considered exceptional examples of neighbourhoods that are susceptible to undergoing processes transit-induced gentrification. With the considerable investments into public transit and a sizable tenant population already vulnerable to displacement pressures, this research aims to determine to what extent public transit has contributed to potential processes of gentrification in these neighbourhoods.

2.3 History of Transit in Toronto

Post War Development

Since the end of World War II, investments in automobile-oriented transportation have been one of the primary reasons for Toronto's sprawling growth into the suburbs. This type of growth has resulted in shifting patterns of built form that has substantiated the use of the personal automobile. Many of the City's current transportation issues originate from policies and guidelines that promote car use and continuous investment in automobile related infrastructure, including building highways, widening roads, parking minimums etc. As initial development of Toronto's subway expansion led to significant growth in the city's downtown core, as well as its north-south spine, inner-suburbs along the peripheries were neglected in terms of access to rail transit. These shifting patterns led to the proliferation of the city's working-class being priced out of these transit-rich areas and moving into inner-suburban neighbourhoods (Bunce, 2004). Today, growing interest in transit-oriented development across North American cities and subsequent expansion of Toronto's rail transit network into the inner suburbs have the potential effect working-class residents and other marginalized groups who were initially excluded in the past.

Toronto first implemented its subway system in the 1950s, which was a bit later than larger sized cities at the time, including New York and London. But as public transit faced notable turmoil during post-war years, with most North American cities experiencing significant drops in ridership, Toronto was able to persevere as the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) was the only system in North America to increase ridership between 1964 and 1970 (Doucet, 1978 as cited in English, 2020). According to English (2020), "the key event in those years was no a subway expansion or other large capital project; it was an expansion of the TTC's bus service." Subsidized by the metropolitan government, the expansion saw over a million vehicle-miles of added service and new bus routes organized in a grid-like pattern to adequately service the inner suburbs (English, 2020). As the subway network slowly expanded outwards into these suburbs, these areas were already equipped with well-service bus transit that would further extend the stations catchment area (English, 2020).

After the initial opening of Toronto's subway lines in the 1950s and 1960s, came the city's boom of development in the 1970s and 1980s, with further extensions to the Yonge-University,

and Bloor-Danforth lines and opening of Line 3 Scarborough subway. The 1990s was filled with political turmoil and opposition halted subway development almost completely. With shifting patterns of living outside of the city, inability to extend the subway network and service growing areas led to a decrease in ridership (*A Brief History of Transit in Toronto*, 2015). Boudreau, Keil and Young (2009) explain that while Toronto have made considerable investment in transit in the past, there has still been neglect and major issues surrounding public transit and the quality of transportation infrastructure. As we reach a turning point in Toronto's public transit history, with the implementation of higher order rail transit in lower-income suburban communities, it is important to understand how these investments in improving our city's transit network may create opportunities for gentrification and lead to unfair outcomes for certain populations.

2.3.1 1990s and 2000s- Transit City and the Eglinton Crosstown LRT

In more recent decades there have been varying levels of commitment into investing into improving and expanding the public transit network in Southern Ontario. There was a clear lack of coordination between different levels of government regarding moving forward with investments in public transit. One example of this was when Mike Harris' conservative provincial government prioritizing automobile transportation and cut funding towards public transit in the GTA during his reign as Premier from 1995 to 2002 (Keil et al., 2009). A recession hit and as Toronto began to lose jobs and experienced a significant downturn in economic growth. Ridership had dropped twenty percent and compounding issues with the TTC's financial problems led to cuts to service (Gurney, 2019).

In 2007, the joint initiative between the City of Toronto and the TTC to create a network of higher-order transit across the city was announced with the project "Transit City." The project proposed seven light rail lines be built into the City's existing transit network. These lines included Don Mills, Eglinton-Crosstown, Etobicoke-Finch West, Jane, Scarborough-Malvern, Sheppard East, and Waterfront West. Dalton McGuinty's provincial liberal government had announced their support for the plan with the promise of $12 billion of funding to support transit expansion projects across the GTA. In 2009, McGuinty and Toronto Mayor, David Miller, announced $7 billion of further provincial funding to construct the Eglinton-Crosstown and Finch West LRTs. These light rail transit projects would provide the city with much needed expansions that would increase

frequency on some of the city's busiest bus routes and potentially alleviate traffic congestion with separated rights-of-way. Later in 2009, construction had begun. It was beginning to seem like there had finally been some simultaneous support investing into the city's transit network by various levels of government, but those promising plans would soon come to a halt.

In 2010, newly elected Mayor of Toronto, Rob Ford, had run on the campaign platform of vowing to "stop the war on the car" (Walks, 2015). Ford's platform appealed to suburban interests through preventing the influx of resources to public transit back to roads and automobile infrastructure (Walks, 2015). He would go on to win the election through winning nearly every single neighbourhood of Toronto's postwar 'inner suburbs, including Etobicoke, North York, and Scarborough. He promised to cancel the Transit City plan that had taken eight years to plan and had already begun early phases of construction. Early in his period in office, he had convinced City Council, who was now more conservative than previous years, to officially cancel Transit City.

Since the Eglinton Crosstown LRT had already begun construction, the provincial government, who had committed to fund nearly two thirds of the project, agreed to Ford's request to bury the line underground. This would coincide with his beliefs that LRT vehicles would impede on road space that was meant for cars (Walks, 2015). Ford's stance on the future of Toronto's transit had put him in opposition against many stakeholders who were in favour of Transit City, including some City Councillors, transit activists and academics. Building the line underground would cost approximately three times as much as surface rail and the TTC argued that projected ridership could not justify the additional expense (Daubs & Kalinowski, 2010; Lorinc & Morrow, 2011). After years of debate, a motion for City Council was raised to revive a part of the Transit City plan, which included LRTs on Eglinton, and passed on a 25-18 vote and received support from the province to complete the Crosstown by 2020.

Between then and present day there have been numerous debates and arguments regarding the line's construction, cost, route etc. between politicians and advocates. The plan has been pushed back several times and is now scheduled to be completed at the end of 2022 and open for service at some point in 2023. When the Crosstown opens to the public, it will run from Mount

Dennis Station in York to Kennedy Station in Scarborough with underground service from Mount Dennis to Laird and then continue at grade until Kennedy (see Figure 2). The line will feature connections to Line 1 Yonge-University, Line 2 Bloor-Danforth, Kitchener GO, Stoufville GO, Barrie GO and Union-Pearson Express, creating ample connections to municipal and regional transit networks.

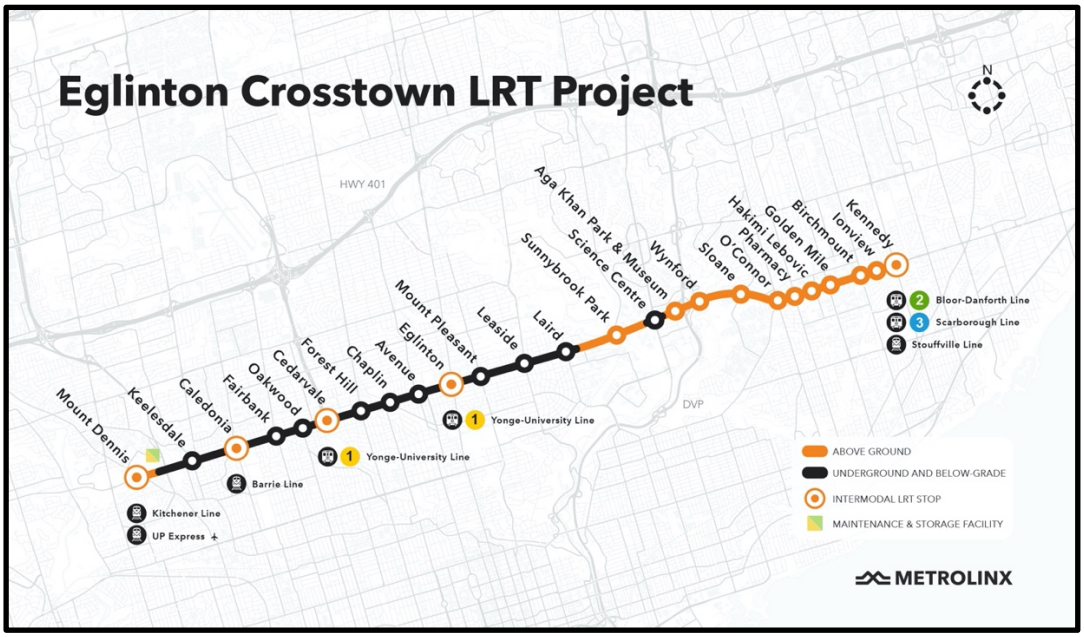

Figure 2: Eglinton Crosstown LRT Project Map
Source: https://www.metrolinx.com/en/greaterregion/projects/crosstown.aspx

As of February 2020, the City of Toronto and the conservative provincial government under Doug Ford announced a partnership that plans to build four priority subway projects including the Eglinton Crosstown West Extension, which will extend the original line from Mount Dennis to Renforth Station with an additional connection to Pearson Airport (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Eglinton Crosstown West Extension Map
Source: https://www.metrolinx.com/en/greaterregion/projects/eglinton-crosstown-west.aspx

2.3.2 Union Pearson (UP) Express

Airport rail links provide cities with an effective connection between the city core and local airports. This also provides the city with improved accessibility and travel efficiency to a major transportation hub for residents and tourists alike. It is also a key factor in determining a city's competitive advantage in regards to its marketing strategy in attempts to attract global attention or bid on worldwide events, including the Olympics (Kołoś et al., 2012). Several American cities have built transit lines that connect their airports to existing transit networks in recent decades, but this phenomenon was first relevant in cities across Asia and Europe.

In 1996, Toronto had just lost its bid to host the Olympics to Atlanta and many experts claimed that Atlanta's public transit network was a major factor in its success (Bow, 2020). One of the major issues regarding the lack of connection between Pearson Airport and the downtown core was its location. Pearson Airport is in the northwest portion of the city, about a 25-minute drive from city centre, barring traffic or construction delays. Originally built as an alternate airfield to Billy Bishop Airport in downtown Toronto, Pearson Airport initially opened in 1938 but became

more prominent in the 1950s and 1960s. Around the turn of the century in 2000 was when proposals for an airport rail link had begun to gain some serious momentum.

A major proposal was put forward in 2000 under Jean Chretien's government to produce a premium rail line that would provide airport passengers the opportunity to check into flights at the station and possibly clear customs early (Bow, 2020). The goal was to have the line in operation by 2006 and be used as an attraction for Toronto's bid for the 2008 Olympics. Eventually Toronto lost that bid to Beijing but federal support for the line still did not diminish (Bow, 2020). In 2003 a public-private partnership was formed between the Government of Canada and SNC Lavalin to finance, design and build the transit service initially called the "Blue 22."

At this point some neighbourhoods had growing concerns about how the construction of the line would affect their communities. Residents in Weston were concerned that their neighbourhood would be split in half because of the reports of the line having level crossings (Bow, 2020). These community concerns halted plans while more thorough environmental assessments of how the line would travel through Weston could be conducted. For several years, the project had become idle, and operations of the line would eventually shift hands to the provincial government. SNC-Lavalin would also pull out of the initial agreement and Metrolinx would take over. Finally, the goal had been set to complete the line before the start of the 2015 Pan-Am Games.

Prior to the line opening, some residents questioned how much the line was going to serve residents and not become an "elite rail service." Others raised concerned about it affecting traffic and rail lines ripping through the community (Kalinowski, 2009). One of the biggest concerns were the effects of constant diesel-powered trains travelling through the neighbourhood (Kalinowski, 2009). Since there was pressure to complete the line in time for the opening of the 2015 Pan-Am Games, Metrolinx promised residents that the Diesel Motor Units (DMUs) would be converted to electric power later in the line's life cycle. This led to a grassroots organization known as "The Clean Train Coalition," to appeal this decision and advocate for the electrification of the line immediately. The appeal was denied, and Metrolinx continued on their current trajectory (Bow, 2020).

Opening in June 2016, the UP Express initially faced low ridership numbers due to their inflated pricing structure. In 2016, Metrolinx announced reduction of fares which led to an immediate increase in ridership and more inclusive and effective service for residents. Today, aside from being an airport rail link, the line is primarily used as a commuter train for downtown workers to travel from the west end into the city core. In recent years there has been growing concerns over the effect that this line has on increased investment and potential gentrification in the neighbourhood of Weston. Although its turbulent history and lengthy process, the UP Express provides residents of Weston an additional link to the city's expanding transit network.

Chapter 3: Transit in the Neoliberal and Competitive Global City

According to Culver (2017), "The basic pattern neoliberal urbanization involves privatization, deregulation, austerity, and retrenchment of the welfare state and social services, and the ever increasing power over urban development through competitive market logics." Investments in rail transit are generally viewed as a tool to provide improvements within the specific city, including improved accessibility to transit, reliability of service, a potential catalyst for capital investment and positive contributions to an area's livability (Knowles & Ferbrache, 2016). While investment in public transit can undoubtedly provide positive outcomes for host cities, new projects should be examined carefully to make sure the needs of working-class and marginalized groups are met, while simultaneously ensuring that these groups are not excluded as part of this expansion. The City of Toronto has had a storied history with its bid for status in becoming a competitive global city. Connected to the city's history are examples of how expansions to its public transit network and subsequent focus on transit-oriented development (TOD) have played a role in shaping the city we know today.

In the past several decades North American cities have experienced substantial growth in rapid transit projects, most notably light rail transit (LRT), with more kilometres of LRT constructed than any other form of rail transit (C. Higgins et al., 2014). Increasing investments in these systems has shifted policy-led planning processes that are re-shaping the built form of our cities. Prior to construction of a transit project, there is considerable debate regarding the benefits and drawbacks of the development. Potential benefits often include lower levels of traffic congestion and travel times, lower emissions from automobile travel, development of transit-oriented communities and lastly, the ability to promote the city as a competitive global economy (C. Higgins et al., 2014). While improved transit networks would provide improved quality of life for a city's residents, these benefits are often established through the lens of neoliberal policy objectives promoted by various levels of government to increase the ability of their cities to attract and retain capital, with very little interest in the negative outcomes that these developments may produce (Olesen, 2020).

With growing global competition between cities to become viable and attractive places to live, municipalities are increasingly interested in new ways to attract investment through enticing

a more professional and skilled workforce and multinational corporations to relocate into their urban centres. Olesen (2020) argues that there is a specific political ideology behind light rail projects, rooted in "neoliberal imaginaries of the city." These modern transit projects fulfil a 'sense of urban modernity' to these cities, similarly to trams and streetcars over a century ago (Culver, 2017).

Another outcome of neoliberal policies is that they often view new rapid transit projects as development tools to attract investment and boost land or real estate values (Culver, 2017; C. D. Higgins & Kanaroglou, 2016; Olesen, 2020). Many quantitative studies have shown positive correlation between the announcement or opening of rapid transit stations and nearby home values (Bardaka et al., 2018; Cao & Lou, 2018; Jiang et al., 2020). Essentially, neoliberal policy objectives surrounding light rail and other rapid transit projects have simplified cities into economic instruments to attract global investment, which ultimately threatens the social and equity based objectives that are initially associated with building and improving public transit networks (Olesen, 2020; Revington, 2015).

In a Canadian context, an example of a transit project that can be seen as a driver of growth in a growing city is the 14-km B-LRT line in Hamilton, Ontario. As a rapidly growing mid-size city, Hamilton is experiencing considerable population growth in recent decades, including a large influx of residents moving from other parts of the Greater Toronto Area for a more affordable alternative (D. Brown, 2022). Higgins et al's (2014) work on Hamilton's B-LRT line explain the public and political support to move forward with this expansion of their transit network in order to support the city's growing population and viability as a up and coming mid-size Canadian city. The authors determine that while these systems have considerable benefits for their host cities, rail transit should not be considered as the singular driver in determining a city's potential for growth.

3.1 Toronto's Bid for Status

Just prior to the amalgamation of Toronto in 1998 came a shift in provincial and municipal financial arrangements. The election of Mike Harris' conservative government in 1995 represented a drastic shift to neoliberal policies that transformed the urban political economy of the province (Fanelli, 2016, p. 25). Ontario's provincial government had carried through with significant cuts

in transfer payments, reorganization of the property tax system and the downloading of costs for social housing, public transit, and other social programs to municipalities (Fanelli, 2016, p. 23). With property tax being Toronto's main source of revenue, the city had started to become strained with millions of dollars of pressure on its property tax base, which led to the reliance of rising real estate prices as the major source of income (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). This shift in responsibility led to Toronto's municipal government focusing on maintaining its viability of becoming a competitive global city through a number of Olympic bids, task forces, and revitalization projects (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The accumulation of these downward pressures, including the abandonment of social housing and public transit has led to drastic shifts in Toronto's real estate market and outlook of the city.

A city's government wields the power of controlling zoning designations and land use planning to determine the built form and character of specific neighbourhoods. The separation of land uses, and automobile-oriented development has created a variety of issues that have continued to worsen since the emergence of post-war suburban growth. More recently, academics and progressive planning practices have advocated for the coordination between land use planning and transit development. Within the urban centres, the connection between land use and transit is clear when determining how the built environment has the potential to shape activity patterns and induce travel demand to certain areas (Higgins et al., 2014).

3.2 Transit-Oriented Development and the Condo Boom

The importance of effective land use planning and zoning regulations becomes imperative when planning for accessible and equitable communities around station areas. One of the most impactful shifts in urban growth-related strategies has been onset of transit-oriented development (TOD). It is established through the practice of zoning mixed-uses and more dense urban spaces built around transit networks to encourage residents to use public transit as their primary method of transportation. Areas with access to rapid transit can be re-zoned to accommodate higher density and appropriate land uses and vice versa. TOD is often expressed as a type of (re)development that encourages urban revitalization or improving disinvested areas (Rayle, 2015).

There have been concepts similar to transit-oriented development (TOD) dating back to the early 20th century, but the term was first classified by Peter Calthorpe in the late 1980's and began being put into practice in the late 1990's (Carlton, 2009). The term grew to prominence in recent decades in reaction to growing issues caused suburban sprawl in automobile-oriented North American cities. TOD is promoted as a planning model that creates sustainable communities that limit the necessity for cars by residents living in close proximity to reliable and frequent public transit (Jones & Ley, 2016).

More recently, many North American cities have begun emphasizing the importance of TOD and have started implementing policy that aims for minimum amounts of density around transit stations. In many cases, declining neighbourhoods are targeted as ideal locations for new transit stations because it can provide low-income or marginalized communities with greater access to transit while also providing increased opportunity for "revitalization" of disinvested communities.

TODs have become increasingly evident in the City of Toronto with the intensification and mixed-use developments bordering the subway corridor and downtown core. An example of Toronto's current built form with future planned developments can be seen in Figure 4. Smart growth strategies rose to prominence during the late 1990s in Ontario and particularly Toronto with the provincial and municipal governments increasing pressures to manage urban growth through densification of urban areas, especially in the downtown core (Bunce, 2004). With the expansion of Toronto's transit network in the next decade, including the already completed UP Express and Eglinton Crosstown LRT, there will be more opportunities for transit-oriented development and densification of urban areas surrounding new transit stations.

Figure 4: Future Model Toronto: Planned developments in the Downtown Core
Source: https://www.stephenvelasco.com/toronto-3d-model

Toronto's Official Plan (2015) is undertaking an intensification strategy to satisfy growth related policies set out in accordance with Ontario's Growth Plan (2019). The intensification strategy "intends to direct Transit Oriented Development (TOD) and prioritize growth where transit where transit and other infrastructure currently exists or is planned (City of Toronto, 2022). Some examples of areas that are designated as high priority are Major Transit Station Areas (MTSA), Urban Growth Centres and other Strategic Growth Areas.

As defined in the Growth Plan (2019), MTSAs are areas within an approximate 500-800 metre radius of a transit station and representing a 10-minute walk. Each of these areas are stipulated to follow minimum density targets to meet specified growth goals. Toronto is required to delineate boundaries for over 180+ MTSAs and demonstrate that each have planned for established minimum targets for residents and jobs (City of Toronto, 2022). Furthermore, Protected Major Transit Station Areas (PTMSA) will become a subset of the 180+ current MTSAs, and will incorporate Toronto's Official Plan's equity lens that prioritizes specified areas to enable

the implementation of inclusionary zoning as an affordable housing tool (City of Toronto, 2022). A map of confirmed and proposed MTSAs can be seen in Figure 5.

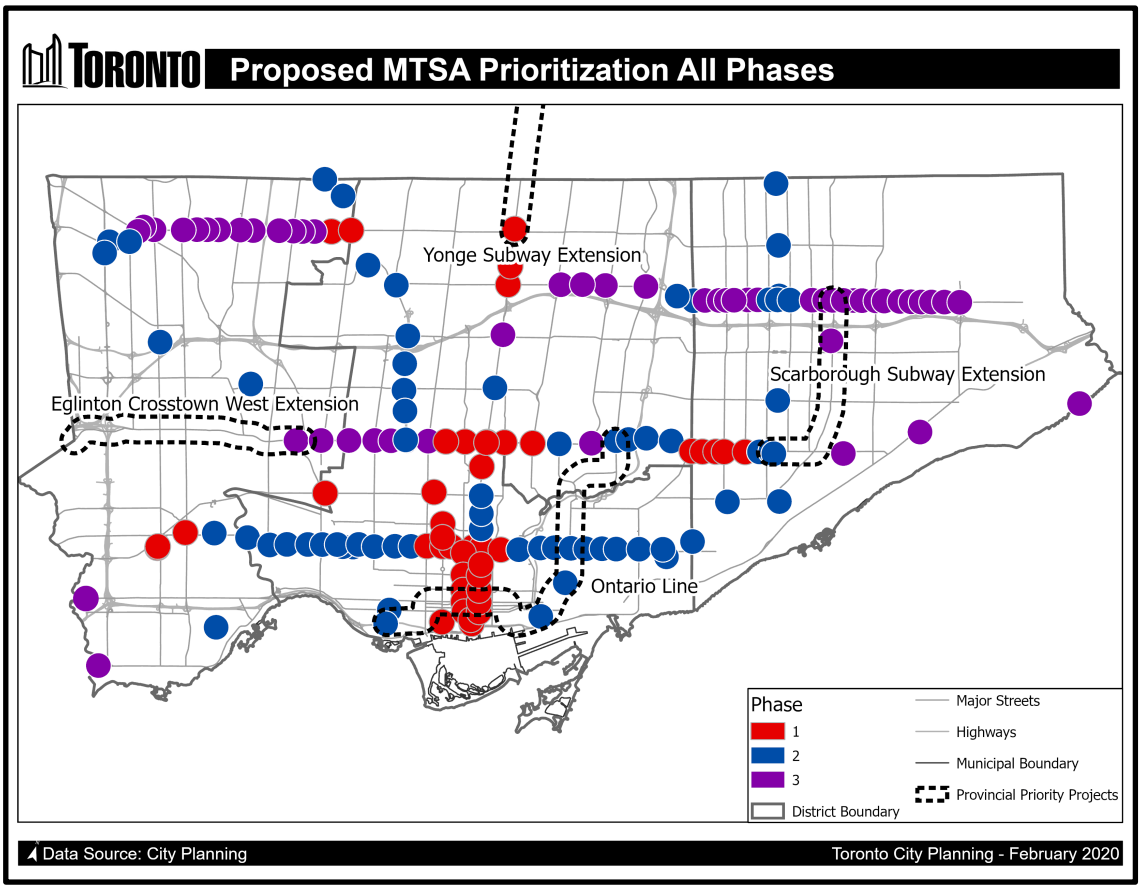

Figure 5: Proposed MTSA Prioritization All Phases
Source: https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2020/ph/bgrd/backgroundfile-147670.pdf

The emergence of these smart growth strategies focused on public transit in planning documents have provided the basis for Toronto to expand the number of neighbourhoods across the city that can be viable economic and occupational centres. The expansion of transit networks can lead to greater opportunities for struggling neighbourhoods to attract investment and contribute to more 'vibrant' communities. Unfortunately, this may lead to social inequalities that are subordinate compared to the objectives of market-driven neoliberal policy that dominates our urban governance (Bunce, 2004). This may ultimately lead to accelerating processes of gentrification through privatized investments, including condominium developments and chain businesses, taking over older or more affordable housing stock and small businesses in neighbourhoods like Weston and Mount Dennis.

The materialization of TODs around station areas across the city have been beneficial for Toronto's economy given its correlation to rising property values and subsequent increase in tax-based revenue. As previously mentioned, one of the ways that this has been accomplished is through privatized developments, such as condominiums, that have led to the financialization and gentrification of housing in these transit-rich neighbourhoods. The demand for condos was increased because of two major demographic trends. First is older households and retirees downsizing from their single-detached homes and second is young professionals or families purchasing a condo as their first step to being able to purchase a single-family home in the future (Rosen & Walks, 2013). The condominium has become an innovation in property ownership that has accommodated neoliberal fixations on treating homes as an investment or tool for middle and upper income residents to further their potential for upward mobility (Rosen & Walks, 2013).

Increasing the city's tax base had been a primary goal for Toronto after the downloading of housing, transit, and other social services in the early 2000s. The prominence of condo development in transit-rich areas has advanced assisted the city in this manner. Also, a number of planning regulations and other tools have been authorized by varying levels of government to further encourage condo development, including development charges and density bonusing(Rosen & Walks, 2014). Development charges (also known as levies) are one-time fees charged to the property owner or builder to help pay for the cost of infrastructure to provide municipal services to the new development, including roads, transit, water and sewer infrastructure (City of Toronto, 2022a). Apart from its primary role, another major purpose of development charges is to assist in curbing housing affordability. Development charges have faced strong opposition from the development industry and recent research suggests that these levies actually improve affordability (Found, 2021).

Another tool cities use is density bonusing, which provides developers with a certain allowance over the allowed amount set in the zoning by-law. This practice is allowed in exchange for further construction of infrastructure, financial contributions, amenities or services and affordable units (Mah, 2022; Rosen & Walks, 2014). This practice has proved to be more problematic than development charges as the additional amenities or financial contributions from

the developer must be kept within the boundaries of the ward in which the development is being built. This sometimes ends up in city councillors openly advocating for high-rise developments because they can acquire more amenities or benefits for their constituents (Mah, 2022; Rosen & Walks, 2014). A recent study has evaluated how the use of density bonusing affected the construction of affordable housing in Toronto over the past few decades and found that this tool has been pushed to its "effective limits" and advocates the need for new tools to address housing affordability, including inclusionary zoning (Mah, 2022).

Ultimately, transit-oriented development requires a certain amount of densification around stations areas and that leads to increasing opportunities for investment in condo buildings in these neighbourhoods. This market-oriented method of developing new housing, which is largely supported by government and city officials, leads to processes of gentrification that residents are left to face the brunt of.

Chapter 4: Thesis Article

Introduction

In recent years there has been growing academic interest in studying to what extent investments in public transit contribute to processes of gentrification and displacement (Farber & Marino, 2017; Freeman et al., 2016; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015). With many mid to large size cities investing into public transit network improvements, the importance of studying the topic of transit-induced gentrification is becoming increasingly important. City-wide transit expansion has socioeconomic and demographic impacts on specific neighbourhoods and there is a growing need to understand these impacts to ensure equitable future planning for transit and cities.

For residents in low-income neighbourhoods, new investments in public transit provide the catalyst for increased attractiveness of a neighbourhood leading to significant neighbourhood change (Bardaka et al., 2018; Zuk et al., 2018). Some examples include upgrading of existing housing stock, loss of affordable housing, new amenities that serve different groups and new housing developments (Bardaka et al., 2018). Public transit projects provide an opportunity to accelerate processes of gentrification and attract new waves of investment to "revitalize" neighbourhoods that may be considered more vulnerable to processes of gentrification (Farber & Marino, 2017). At the same time, it also wields the power drastically shift socioeconomic, demographic, and physical character of a neighbourhoods that may negatively affect low-income residents (Houston & Zuñiga, 2021).

The major issue in transit-induced gentrification literature is the is a lack of consensus in determining how to measure the relationship between public transit and gentrification, particularly between qualitative and quantitative research methods. According to Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2019), there is a "methodological dichotomy" within the current framework of gentrification literature, particularly when it comes to understanding the role that transit plays. Quantitative studies on gentrification often analyze changes in census or housing data and are determined to distinguish a clear classification whether gentrification has or has not occurred, often regarded to as an event (Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015). Qualitative studies rely on a more nuanced approach in studying gentrification as a process and understanding the subtle changes occurring in neighbourhoods through using research methods including interviews and field observations

(Hammel & Wyly, 1996; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banjeree, 2000). This study seeks to provide a deeper understanding and more complete picture of transit-induced gentrification through incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

This study will focus on areas within walking distances of transit stations in the two Toronto neighbourhoods of Weston and Mount Dennis. The Union-Pearson (UP) Express has provided an airport-rail link that connects these neighbourhood to downtown Toronto in less than 15 minutes. Also, the long-awaited Eglinton Crosstown LRT will provide the neighbourhoods with effective connections within the city's rapid transit network. Together, these investments in public transit in York-South Weston have provided private capital with ideal circumstances to profit through various investment opportunities that will be discussed later in the paper.

Using Weston and Mount Dennis as a case study, the goal of this research is to understand the relationship between new transit infrastructure investment and gentrification and evaluate what different research methods tell us about that relationship.

There will be three research objectives that will be addressed in order to answer the overarching research question. They are:

(1) Have these neighbourhoods been vulnerable to gentrification and to what extent is gentrification already occurring?
(2) To what extent does transit play a role in the gentrification process or changes that these neighbourhoods are experiencing?
(3) What do different research methods reveal about the process of gentrification and how they may be useful for future policy change to ensure equitable resolutions to issues surrounding housing?

The article will begin with a comprehensive review of literature related to gentrification and transit-induced gentrification, while incorporating the wide range of research methodologies used in these fields. A brief section on the history of Westona and Mount Dennis will provide some context and historical background on these neighbourhoods and their shifting outlooks. This will

be followed by sections that will cover our research methodology, specific research methods used and subsequent discussion of our findings to adequately answer our research questions.

Literature Review

A term coined in the early 1960s, "gentrification" has become a passionately debated topic among academics and researchers for decades. Prefaced by significant disinvestment in a neighbourhood, gentrification definitions often include some concept of neighbourhood upgrading, specifically through class composition of residents that may lead to further consequences including displacement. This idea of upgrading is portrayed as a reinvestment of capital back into these neighbourhoods that provide the opportunity for wealthier residents to follow (Smith, 1979). This influx reinvestment is often facilitated by neoliberal policies that aim to revive interest in previously under-invested neighbourhoods (Hackworth & Moriah, 2006; Slater, 2004).

In recent years, many North American cities have emphasized investments in public transit and started to implement transit-oriented development (TOD) to achieve more sustainable and liveable communities. Generally, improvement or an increase in public transit is positive for everyone, especially in historically disinvested neighbourhoods with poor access to higher order public transit. These disinvested neighbourhoods are often populated with working-class residents who are most likely to benefit from new transit developments. The new transit options bring the possibility of linking working-class residents to greater opportunities for employment, social services and overall accessibility across the city (Freeman, 2005; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018). While new transit projects are widely accepted in neighbourhoods deprived of public transit options, this growing trend has prompted a growing body of literature interested in understanding to what extent increasing investments in public transit have led to stimulating processes of gentrification?

Rail transit projects possess the potential to greatly change an area's identity, ranging from its demographic characteristics to its built form. According to many scholars, the development of these rail transit projects have become "growth management tools" to attract investment instead of solely vehicles used for transportation (Baker & Lee, 2019; Hess, 2020; C. Higgins et al., 2014).

Viewing public transit as a tool for economic growth would contradict much of the reasoning new transit projects should be built in the first place. Working class residents who would benefit most from additional methods of transit would be the group that is most at risk of facing consequences brought on by significant change in their neighbourhood.

There is debate among scholars regarding the notion that gentrification should be viewed as an event or process. It should be known that different research approaches lead to different outcomes. It is along these lines where a "methodological dichotomy" forms between quantitative and qualitative gentrification research. Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2019) explain that there is "often a disconnect between quantitative and qualitative approaches" and the types of information they are interested in portraying. Generally, it can be presumed that quantitative, census-based research focuses on studying gentrification through a "macro" lens, while qualitative research relies on a more richly detailed or "micro" analysis of gentrification (Hammel & Wyly, 1996).

Quantitative

Most quantitative research-based studies prioritize the analysis of census related variables that are associated with being common indicators of gentrification (Farber & Marino, 2017; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Hess, 2020; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). These census variables range from various demographic characteristics, income, education, employment, and housing data. These studies focus on measuring shifts in demographic characteristics over a certain time frame to indicate gentrification (Barton, 2016). Quantitative research methods can study areas on a variety of scales, from as small as a census tract to regional or national level census analysis. Statistical analysis is also a preferred method of research for policymakers because of its cost-effectiveness and ease compared to qualitative methods (Gaber, 2020).

On the other hand, quantitative methods also have several shortcomings. Firstly, it is believed that quantitative analyses often underestimate the true scale of gentrification and displacement when compared to qualitative findings of the same case studies (B. Doucet, 2021; Easton et al., 2020). Further studies elaborate on this issue by stating that analysis of census or housing data cannot validly represent nuanced and hidden forms of displacement compared to qualitative research (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Compounding on this issue, dependency on census or housing

data analysis, where gentrification or displacement is often underestimated, may lead to policymakers believing that the benefits outweigh the consequences that come from policies that produce further gentrification pressures (B. Doucet, 2021).

In their study of three major Canadian cities, Grube-Cavers and Patterson (2015) argue that the onset of gentrification should be viewed as an event, or the exact moment when an area's income-related variables begin to increase at a faster rate than the surrounding area. Many other quantitative studies treat gentrification as an event that we should quantitatively decipher if an area is gentrifying based on changes in housing prices or demographics (Baker & Lee, 2019; Cao & Lou, 2018; Dong, 2017). An issue with framing gentrification solely as an "event" is the disregard for relevant social, psychological and physical changes that may end up having an equal or greater effect on residents of that neighbourhood (Rayle, 2015).

Though not focused on the relationship between transit and gentrification, Walks and Maaranen (2008) conducted one of the best examples of census-level gentrification research for three Canadian cities by analysing data across four decades. The four main variables they focused on were: average personal income, percentage of tenant households, social status index based off of educational and employment data and percentage of population who are artists (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Chapple (2009) completed a report including multivariate regression identifying a collection of variables that are likely to predict oncoming gentrification. Atop this list of variables was availability of amenities per 1000 residents and access to public transportation. Some other variables included were income diversity, percentage of renter-occupied dwellings and percentage of renters spending 35% or more of income on housing (Chapple, 2009).

Many studies determine that an area must be considered "gentrifiable" prior to undergoing processes of gentrification. To determine which neighbourhoods would be considered vulnerable, different authors selected variables to determine which areas carry this distinction. Many authors only used a single income variable to determine is a census tract or neighbourhood had potential to gentrify (Bostic & Martin, 2003; Hammel & Wyly, 1996; Hwang & Sampson, 2014; McKinnish

et al., 2010). Freeman (2005) uses three different indicators to determine an areas susceptibility to gentrification. They include, median incomes must be below the city-wide median, selected census tracts must have experienced disinvestment and census tracts must be located in the central city. Alternatively, Baker and Lee (2019) use a larger collection of census variables to characterize "gentrifiable" census tracts, including race, education, income, population density, distance to central business district (CBD) etc.

Farber and Marino's (2017) "socioeconomic priority index," provides a useful combination of variables for studying the relationship between transit and an areas susceptibility to gentrify. The variables selected "provide a means to evaluate whether the proposed transit lines service more vulnerable populations" (2017). This is achieved by comparing the rate of change for a particular census variable in the census tract area versus the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) for the same period.

According to Padeiro et. al (2019), who conducted an analysis of thirty-five quantitative research- based studies, quantitative studies have provided mixed results in determining whether new public transit projects have attributed to gentrification. Studies focused on only one transit line were more much more likely to indicate signs of gentrification (Bardaka et al., 2018; A. E. Brown, 2016; Hess, 2020). Whereas studies focused on several lines were much less likely to provide any evidence of gentrification (Barton & Gibbons, 2017; Deka, 2017; Dong, 2017).

Many quantitative studies focus on the relationship between rising rents or housing prices and proximity to transit stations. Recent studies of this sort have proven that close proximity to public transit stations have been found to have an impact on property value (Debrezion et al., 2007). Essentially, with the addition of new transit options and the growing popularity of transit-oriented developments (TOD) as a revitalization strategy, the likelihood of investment increases, which subsequently leads to lead to an increase in land values (Debrezion et al., 2007; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018; Rayle, 2015; Zuk et al., 2018). Thus, as land value in a neighbourhood increases, so does the likelihood of low-income residents being displaced (Cappellano & Spisto, 2014; Kramer, 2018; Moore, 2015). In other studies, sometimes just the announcement of new public

transit development increased land values and housing prices in surrounding areas of stations (Cao & Lou, 2018).

Studies that analyze numerous transit lines across multiple cities are even less likely to discover conclusive findings gentrification occurring (Padeiro et al., 2019). For example, Grube-Cavers and Patterson's (2015) analysis of three Canadian cities found evidence of transit-induced gentrification in Toronto and Montreal but not Vancouver. Other studies based in the U.S. provide similar results by using the same criteria in different cities, concluding that there is proof of gentrification in some cities but not others (Baker & Lee, 2019; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018). This is due to a lack of consensus of a superior quantitative analytical framework that produces consistent results regardless of the area being studied. Finding widely available data that can accurately measure demographic and physical shifts caused by gentrification has proven to be nearly impossible thus far. Essentially, impacts felt due to processes of gentrification are context specific and can vary depending on the area being studied (Walks & Maaranen, 2008; Wyly & Hammel, 2004; Zuk et al., 2018).

Qualitative

If quantitative research presents the raw data or proof that a neighbourhood has experienced change, qualitative research can provide deeper context for those data points. With this reasoning, qualitative research often views gentrification as a complex and nuanced process. One shortcoming of these qualitative methods is the scale at which neighbourhood change can be studied. Quantitative analysis is able to appropriately conduct analyses on a much greater scale than qualitative measures. Qualitative methods also do not have the benefit of using control measures when comparing neighbourhoods because they are so context specific.

Walks and Maaranen (2008) detail the process of gentrification of having four stages, beginning with in-movers considered "pioneers," followed by the migration young professionals and families that eventually lead to changes in prominent housing tenure and social identity of the neighbourhood. Overall, as Barton (2016) states, "this definitional debate is important to recognise as the conceptualisation of gentrification influences the strategy used to identify gentrified neighbourhoods."

As opposed to quantitative studies that focus on determining if one or several neighbourhoods are showing indicators of gentrification, qualitative research often takes a case study approach that focus on a single neighbourhood or area that is believed to be experiencing gentrification (Barton, 2016). These studies tend to undertake more fine grain approaches to studying various processes of gentrification through incorporating some form of observational analysis, focus groups or interviews with stakeholders and residents (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2019). These types of analysis provide the opportunity to evaluate many of the overlooked aspects of neighbourhood change and to make sense of the broad trends that many quantitative studies provide (Baker & Lee, 2019; Ellis-Young & Doucet, 2021)

Thus far, the small amount of qualitative research conducted on transit-induced gentrification is largely focused on residents' experiences regarding the specific development and change associated with new transit lines (Ellis-Young & Doucet, 2021; Jones & Ley, 2016; Moore, 2015). Moore (2015) aimed to examine the impacts of transit-induced gentrification near mass transit in Bangkok through interviewing residents and determined that in-movers had less attachment to the area while local working-class residents faced inequitable outcomes and in some cases were displaced. Ellis-Young and Doucet conducted a similar study focused on interviewing residents on different manifestations of gentrification prior to Waterloo's ION LRT line opening, with specific emphasis on the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that may come with increased investment along new rail lines. Their interview findings indicated a loss of the "small town" feel that Waterloo, Ontario had prior to the development of the LRT.

Jones and Ley (2016) studied a low-income corridor along the SkyTrain line in Vancouver, British Columbia through conducting focus groups consisting of low-income, racialized and refugee residents and attempted to understand their experiences living along this transit corridor. Their findings indicated the importance that transit had on these residents' everyday lives but some negative feedback included the rising costs of living and that they felt "powerless" over processes of neighbourhood change (Jones & Ley, 2016). "There are no incentives to preserve or repair aging affordable units, especially when a TOD-inspired neighbourhood plan offers more dwelling units, profit to the developer, a density bonus for the City's coffers, public amenity enhancement, and all

of the environ- mental gains that have made TOD such an irresistible tool" (Jones & Ley, 2016). Their findings suggest that transit-induced gentrification tend to carry disproportionate outcomes on working-class and minorities and that race is a central aspect in the discussion of these inequitable processes (Hess, 2020; Jones & Ley, 2016; Wyly & Hammel, 2004).

There are very few studies that incorporate interviews with key stakeholders instead of residents. One example of this type of research was conducted by Doucet (2021) whereby he attempts to render 'hidden' aspects of gentrification and displacement visible through twenty-three interviews with key stakeholders. His findings explained how the qualitative analysis of gentrification and displacement found different "spatial, nonspatial and experiential forms of displacement" that were not conclusively found in statistical reports on the same region (B. Doucet, 2021).

Mixed-Methods

There is a considerable imbalance between quantitative and qualitative studies in the realm of transit-induced gentrification. Transit-induced gentrification studies that employ a mixed-methods approach are scarce. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) state, "the bottom line is that research approaches should be mixed in ways that offer the best opportunities for answering important research questions" (p.16). Of the vast collection of gentrification related research, there are only a handful of studies that employ a mixed-methods approach (Chapple, 2009; Hammel & Wyly, 1996; Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2019). Conducting a mixed-methods research approach would provide a more nuanced understanding of the complex and ever-shifting process that gentrification can be. Simply put, gentrification cannot be adequately captured through the collection or analysis of one source of data.

An early example is the work by Hammel and Wyly (1996) who conduct both census analysis and field observations for 24 census tracts in Minneapolis-St. Paul. They describe their research process as "groundtruthing" census data with the integrated field observations to determine gentrified neighbourhoods more accurately than just using one research method (Hammel and Wyly, 1996). Newman and Wyly (2006) also conducted a mixed-methods study that critiqued previous work on displacement in New York City. Their research revealed that statistical

analysis of displacement rates was underestimating actual displacement compared to findings from field interviews. Interviewees that took part in the qualitative analysis disclosed various forms of widespread displacement practices that were not accounted for in the quantitative data (Newman and Wyly, 2006).

Chapple (2009) also conducts a mixed-methods research approach to her early warning toolkit to gentrification for the Bay Area located in San Francisco, California. While providing a template of suitable demographic variables to determine an area's susceptibility to gentrification, Chapple also links this quantitative analysis to local issues regarding housing policies, specifically rent control and preservation of affordable units, and the roles that they play in gentrification and displacement of residents (Chapple, 2009). Hwang and Sampson (2014) also use a mixed-method approach to studying gentrification in Chicago by conducting quantitative analysis that includes census indicators, police records and data on capital investments and cross-referencing with observational data collected through using Google Street View.

This research largely builds off a research approach used by Loukaitou-Sideris et. al (2019) when employing a mixed-methods study to understand transit gentrification in four Los-Angeles neighbourhoods. Loukaitou-Sideris et. al (2019) utilized three different research methods to understand processes of gentrification including secondary data analysis, neighbourhood observations and interviews with stakeholders. Firstly, the authors were curious to what extent gentrification is occurring in these neighbourhoods through a detailed analysis of their findings. Furthermore, they were interested in the similarities and differences in findings collected from each of the methods and understanding the potential strengths and limitations each method held in capturing neighbourhood change. Simultaneously, determining to what extent gentrification is occurring while uncovering a research methods potential for future research is a framework that provides opportunity for immeasurable growth and understanding in the field of transit-induced gentrification.

Neighbourhood Context

What were once two thriving neighbourhoods during the 20th century have faced significant periods of disinvestment and absence of support that have negatively affected the economic

prosperity and well-being of its communities. In 1967, Weston and Mount Dennis became a part of the Borough of York, which was later amalgamated with the City of Toronto in 1998. Both neighbourhoods flourished in the 1950s and 1960s as rapidly growing industrial working neighbourhoods, especially Mount Dennis which experience significant growth in the early 1900s when Kodak Heights had attracted thousands of new residents to the community. When industrial jobs began to decline in the 1970s, the area became a struggling working-class neighbourhood with poor infrastructure and access to rail transit compared to other parts of the city.

During this two-decade span that continued into the 1980s, new immigrants began to gather to Weston and Mount Dennis as rents began to decline. Long-term city planning decisions and shifts in immigration policy led to shifting demographics and changes in Mount Dennis' built form (Rankin & McLean, 2015) Since the 1990s, the area had lost over 3000 manufacturing jobs and significant changes were occurring within the neighbourhood's workforce. Ultimately, shifts in neighbourhood change during this period were incited by neoliberal policies that provided opportunities for profit in previously un-tapped real estate markets, most notably within the sector of multi-family housing after years of decline in these disinvested parts of the city (August & Walks, 2018).

Monsebraaten, a former social justice reporter for the Toronto Star, mentions that "the rail line that turned Weston-Mt. Dennis into a manufacturing mecca at the beginning of the last century is once again bringing prosperity" (2019, para. 2). The new investments in public transit have the potential to solve chronic issues that these neighbourhoods have been facing for many years. Unfortunately, they also have the power to facilitate processes that strengthen the socioeconomic divide between residents and newcomers.

Mount Dennis Station is set to become Toronto's second largest transit hub upon the completion of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. When you include Weston GO Station and the arrival of the highly anticipated airport rail-link, Union-Pearson (UP) Express, these two adjacent neighbourhoods create one of the best transit serviced areas in the city. As public transit becomes the primary driver in the neighbourhood's growing popularity with housing developers, especially near transit stations, we consider Weston and Mount Dennis to be vulnerable to processes of

gentrification. This study will uncover to what extent that statement is true and if transit-induced gentrification is occurring in Weston and Mount Dennis.

Methodology and Methods

This study will conduct two different research methods to answer three major research questions. The two research methods include: (1) analysis of census data for selected CTs between the years of 2006 and 2016 and (2) interviews with community stakeholders, ranging from public officials, representatives from community-based organizations (CBOs) and business owners. The main purpose of conducting two separate research methods is to examine the extent gentrification is occurring and compare the varying types of data that is collected from each method.

Census Data

Secondary data was collected from the 2006, 2011 and 2016 Census, as well as the 2011 National Housing Survey (NHS) for selected census tracts located within the York-South Weston federal electoral district and Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). The CTs were selected on the basis that they were located within 800m of a current or future planned transit station, which is the common distance used to denote reasonable walking distance in other transit studies (El-Geneidy et al., 2013).

We have created a neighbourhood susceptibility index, based off the socioeconomic priority index created by Farber and Marino (2017) for their study on transit expansion projects in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA). The purpose of our vulnerability index is to decipher which CTs were considered vulnerable to processes of gentrification during given census periods. In line with other researchers who have used census variables to measure the presence of gentrification, we have analyzed various demographic characteristics, income, education, employment, and housing data. (Farber & Marino, 2017; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018). The collection of census variables chosen for this index can be seen in Table 1.

Susceptibility Index
Median total income
Percentage (%) under $30,000
Average percentage (%) of households spending 30% or more of income on shelter costs
Percentage (%) renters
Average median monthly shelter costs (rented/owned dwellings)
Unemployment rate (%)
Percentage (%) visible minority

Table 1: Census variables selected for "Susceptibility Index"

This evaluation criteria was derived from a comprehensive review of gentrification and transit gentrification literature. Because gentrification is a lengthy process, many studies analyze census data ranging anywhere from ten to forty years (Bardaka et al., 2018; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Hess, 2020). Some studies have found that simply the announcement of new public transit investments can accelerate processes of gentrification (Hess, 2020; Nilsson & Delmelle, 2018). For this study, we chose to analyze data from the last three census periods, which are perfectly framed into a pattern of pre-transit announcement (2006), post-transit announcement (2011), and post/during construction (2016).

We will also be analyzing the changes between certain census variables during the same period to understand if potential early stages of gentrification are already occurring. Some examples of this will include changes in demographic characteristics, income statistics and housing prices. Also, a location quotient (LQ) analysis of education and employment data will be analyzed to further supplement the findings of year-to-year changes compared to the CMA average. This evaluation will provide the opportunity to first determine whether the CTs being studied were considered "gentrifiable" during the earlier census periods considered "pre-transit announcement" and "post-transit announcement" (2006 and 2011) and then attempt to determine to what extent they have gentrified during the "post/ during construction" census period (2016).

Interviews

Qualitative examination can reveal indicators of gentrification that are not easily recognizable when assessing large amounts of secondary data. This includes a deeper understanding of lived experiences directly from key stakeholders with a connection to the neighbourhoods being studied. For this reason, we conducted several semi-structured interviews

with local stakeholders in the communities of Weston and Mount Dennis to gather a more nuanced understanding of the specific knowledge that each of these stakeholders have in the processes of change occurring in these neighbourhoods in recent years.

Overall, twelve interviews with active representatives from various backgrounds were conducted. These interviewees included: one elected official, three business owners, seven members of resident's associations (Weston Village Residents Association [WVRA], Mount Dennis Community Association [MDCA], one representative from Mount Dennis Business Improvement Area [MDBIA]), one representative of a local developer, one affordable housing advocate and one urban planner. Because we did not specifically seek out residents to interview, most of the interviewees ended up being residents of these neighbourhoods, mostly homeowners and not renters. Due to this circumstance, some of the perspectives shared do not necessarily reflect the experiences of all local residents given that nearly half Weston and Mount Dennis' populations are renters.

We identified several key organisations, businesses, community groups, and neighbourhood associations that would be beneficial to interview through desk research. After a few interviewees were confirmed, the remainder of the participants were contacted through referrals from previous interviewees. Interviews were conducted online through Skype video conferencing software and lasted between 30-60 minutes. Interviews were recorded, with the participant's consent, and followed semi-structured thematic questioning while still providing participants the opportunity to elaborate on their knowledge of the neighbourhood.

Interviews were largely focused on the various processes of gentrification and subsequent outcomes that they can lead to, including displacement, evictions and change in neighbourhood character. We also provided interviewees the opportunity to discuss their specific backgrounds and roles in these neighbourhoods while allowing them to elaborate on their knowledge of specific changes that they have noticed. Interviewees provided an in-depth and nuanced account of their experiences but the portions of the interviews applicable to this specific research were focused on the stakeholder's perception of neighbourhood change in response to increasing investments in public transit in the community through their acquired knowledge.

All 12 interviews were transcribed and coded for similar themes and key words expressed during the interviews. There were a collection of recurring codes describing the neighbourhood of Weston and Mount Dennis, these include, "diversity," "multi-cultural," "immigrants," "green space," "division," and "Kodak" (referring to Kodak Heights). Gentrification was the basis of much of the conversation in these interviews but specific codes that were commonly used included, "neighbourhood change," "displacement," "eviction," "unaffordability," "developers," "REITs," and "landlords." Many of the interviewees seemed to acknowledge that displacement and evictions are occurring but that these processes were "inevitable" and part of a neighbourhood's "life cycle." Lastly, several codes associated with public transportation included, "transit-hub," "investments," "land speculation," "connectivity," and "future growth."

Different Perspectives of Gentrification in Weston and Mount Dennis

Census Data

First, we determine each measured census tracts susceptibility to being gentrified using a collection of socioeconomic and housing data associated with gentrification. Next, we determine to what extent these same census tracts have experienced processes of gentrification over the decade span between 2006 through 2016 by evaluating changes in additional variables found in census data associated with neighbourhood change. Lastly, we analyse twelve semi-structured interviews conducted with key stakeholders within the neighbourhoods being studied.

Are These Neighbourhoods Vulnerable to Gentrification? Susceptibility Index (2006-2016)

Our first objective will be to determine which of the selected census tracts are considered vulnerable to gentrification. Some previous gentrification literature has attempted to conduct a two-step approach in their quantitative analysis by first determining which neighbourhoods are considered "gentrifiable" and then establishing if those neighbourhoods have undergone processes of gentrification in later census periods (Ding & Hwang, 2016; Freeman, 2005; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Steinmetz-Wood et al., 2017).

We created a susceptibility index that estimates a census tracts vulnerability to being gentrified. Our susceptibility index will follow a similar method of determining at-risk

neighbourhoods as Farber and Marino's "socioeconomic priority index," where they "provide a means to evaluate whether the proposed transit lines service more vulnerable populations" (2017). This is achieved by comparing census tract (CT) data to the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) for the same census period. Indicators will be contributing to the overall susceptibility score based on if they are above or below the CMA average, depending on the variable. A census tract will be considered susceptible to gentrification if it scores above 80% for the specific census period being studied (6 or more indicators for 2011 and 2016 and 5 or more for 2006).

While all twelve CTs fall within the 800-metre buffer, not all CTs are created equally. As previously mentioned, Weston and Mount Dennis have an interesting spatial makeup, where there is nearly an identical owner to renter split, with majority of renters being homed on or closely located to major corridors and owners deeper into residential streets where there are mostly single-detached dwellings. As can be seen in Figure 1, CTs number 1, 4, 5 and 12 were within the 800 metres of the nearest transit station but were still upwards of 60% to 75% owner-occupied dwellings, while other CTs fell between 50% to 80% renter occupied. These clear discrepancies highlight some of the innate inequities that come with being a tenant versus a homeowner in regard to being "vulnerable" to processes of gentrification.

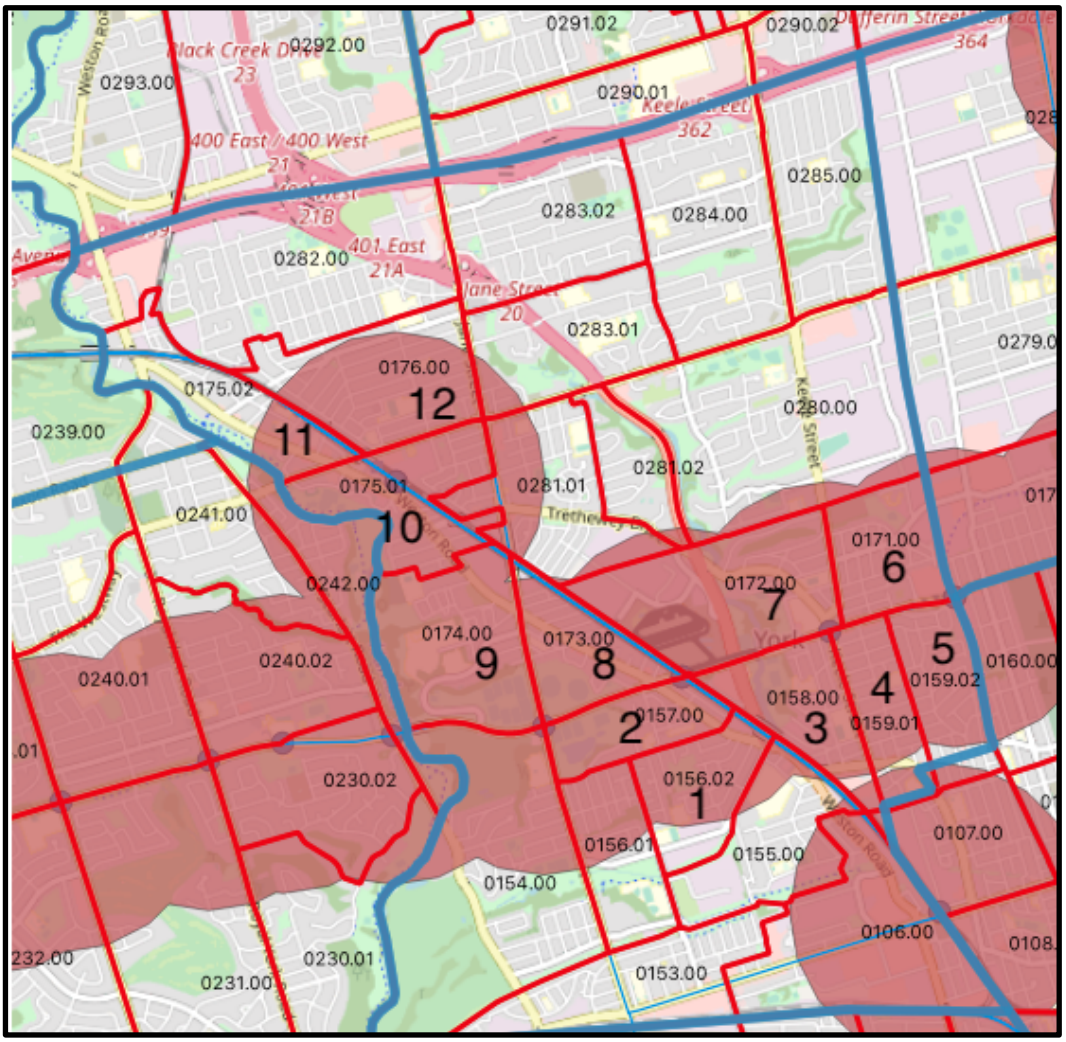

Figure 6: Selected CTs and 800m buffer to transit stations

As can be seen in Table 2, four out of the twelve CTs had perfect scores for all three census periods, six out of twelve had most susceptibility indicators for all three census periods while only two of the twelve CTs had a minority of susceptibility indicators from 2006 to 2016. Of the two CTs with a minority score, both were primarily single-detached, owner-occupied CTs. Based on our susceptibility criteria, seven of the twelve CTs were susceptible to being gentrified for all census periods being studied.

Characteristics	535 0156.02			535 0157			535 0158		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income in 2015 among recipients ($)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) under $30,000	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE % of households spending 30% or more of income on shelter costs	×	×	-	✓	✓	-	✓	×	-
Percentage (%) renters	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs (rented/owned dwellings)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unemployment rate	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) visible minority	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	4	5	5	7	7	6	7	6	6
	535 0159.01			535 0159.02			535 0171		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income in 2015 among recipients ($)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) under $30,000	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE % of households spending 30% or more of income on shelter costs	×	✓	-	×	×	-	×	×	-
Percentage (%) renters	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs (rented/owned dwellings)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Unemployment rate	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) visible minority	×	✓	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓
	4	6	3	3	3	2	6	6	6
	535 0172			535 0173			535 0174		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income in 2015 among recipients ($)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) under $30,000	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE % of households spending 30% or more of income on shelter costs	×	×	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-
Percentage (%) renters	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs (rented/owned dwellings)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
Unemployment rate	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Percentage (%) visible minority	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	6	5	6	7	7	7	7	7	5
	535 0175.01			535 0175.02			535 0176		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income in 2015 among recipients ($)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
Percentage (%) under $30,000	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
AVERAGE % of households spending 30% or more of income on shelter costs	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	×	×	-
Percentage (%) renters	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs (rented/owned dwellings)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
Unemployment rate	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
Percentage (%) visible minority	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
	7	7	6	7	7	6	0	2	1

Table 2: “Vulnerable” Census Tracts (CTs)

When referencing Figure 1, it can be noted that all four CTs surrounding Mount Dennis Station had most susceptibility indicators from 2006 to 2016. Also, two out of three CTs surrounding Weston GO Station were considered susceptible during all three census periods. Interestingly, only two of the five CTs surrounding Keelesdale and Caledonia Stations were considered susceptible. This may be because of the higher owner-occupied dwellings just north and south of Eglinton Avenue. Using these findings, it can be deduced that while most of the indicators for CTs studied were higher than CMA averages, CTs surrounding Weston GO and Mount Dennis Station were more likely to be considered susceptible to gentrify.

As stated earlier, both Weston and Mount Dennis have a mixture of housing types and tenures, with nearly even split between renters and owners. An interesting consideration is that the

CTs mostly occupied by single-detached dwellings were not considered vulnerable to gentrification. This observation corroborates concerns raised by residents in interviews about potential divides between socioeconomic classes within Weston and Mount Dennis.

To What Extent Is Gentrification Occurring? Assessment of Changes in Census Data Between 2006 and 2016

According to our analysis of selected census variables, there has not been enough change that would indicate processes of gentrification between 2006 and 2016. This conclusion has been made due to the minor changes in numerous collections of census data that are often associated with gentrification, including but not limited to: median income, household characteristics, labour, and education variables. Further analysis of some of these variables even indicated patterns of change considered opposite of gentrification. This included growing concentrations of "non-professional" occupations and lower overall educational attainment in most of the selected CTs. According to the analysis of census data, these neighbourhoods have not experienced some of the drastic changes that people have expected. It is also important to note that we have included the most up-to-date census data available, which only goes up until 2016. This leaves a five-year gap between the latest census data and interviews, as they were conducted in 2021.

Census variables were selected based off a review of literature focused on transit-related gentrification studies (Currie, 2010; Foth et al., 2013; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). The variables selected will be split up into five categories: income, household characteristics, labour, education, and ethnicity. A deeper analysis of these variables will magnify specific demographic changes that have occurred and assist us in determining to what extent these tracts have experienced gentrification between 2006 and 2016.

For many of the variables, notably labour and education data, we will be comparing changes in the twelve CTs and compare them to the change in the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) for the same period using location quotient (LQ) formula. Location quotients are commonly used to measure the concentration of specific variables including employment, education etc. in one area compared to a larger reference area. For example, in order to calculate the location quotient for "Management occupations" in a specific CT, we divide the amount of

"Management occupations" by the total labour force and then divide that number by completing the same process for the CMA. In the case for 2016 "Management occupations" in CT #1, the calculation would be:

$$LQ = (135/1{,}525) / (376{,}890/3{,}234{,}355) = 0.76$$

LQs above 1.0 mean that there is a higher concentration of the variable being analyzed compared to the reference area, and vice versa for LQs below 1.0. For example, a LQ of 0.76, from the calculation above, would mean that the concentration of "Management occupation" workers in CT #1 is 24 percent lower than the reference area of the CMA.

Income

In our analysis of median total income of individuals, there were no substantial changes in any census tract from 2006 to 2016. Most CTs saw an increase or decrease within five percentage points according to the location quotients compared to the census metropolitan area. The next income related variable is percentage of population of individuals with less than $30,000 income after tax ("low-income" residents). This variable has only been collected in the last two census collections from 2011 and 2016. Overall, a majority of the CTs being studied experienced a decrease in this variable. Eleven of twelve CTs had percentages over CMA average for 2011 and 2016 census indicating a significant concentration of low-income residents in these neighbourhoods. The sole census tract that had a higher median total income and lower percentage of "low-income" residents as of 2016 was census tract 12 (as seen in Figure 1), which is located north of the rail line and mainly single-detached dwellings and over 72% owner-occupied. Although there have been minor decreases in populations considered "low-income" in the CTs being studied, more significant changes are necessary to conclude this pattern to be an indicator of gentrification occurring.

Household Characteristics

Changes in housing types, tenures or prices may be used to confirm processes of gentrification. This is due to renters being significantly more vulnerable to displacement from rising rents or other non-formal methods of eviction. Additionally, a change in housing tenure over time may also indicate an increase in homeowners, which would lead to wealthier residents moving

into the neighbourhood, specifically in CTs that previously had higher levels of renters in previous years (Cohen & Pettit, 2019).

Weston and Mount Dennis have been known for having a high percentage of renters compared to CMA averages. For the last three census periods, Toronto CMA had 32.5% (2006), 31.7% (2011) and 33.5% (2016) renters, while the average for the twelve CTs being studied during the same census periods were 49%, 50.6% and 51.8%. While most CTs found their percentage of renters around 50% for all census periods, some areas were as low as 21%, in CTs primarily occupied with single-family dwellings, and others as high as 85%, in CTs with high concentrations of apartment buildings, often found along the main corridors on Weston Road. This broad range of owners and renters between CTs that are so close in proximity to one another exhibits how residents in certain CTs are more vulnerable to being affected by gentrification pressures leading to displacement.

The City of Toronto is currently reviewing options for a revised definition of affordable housing, according to their 2020-2030 HousingTO Action Plan (2019). There are plans to adjust their definition to match the federal definition from the CMHC (2021) who considers housing being "affordable" if it costs less than 30% of a households before tax income. Toronto CMA has experienced a slight increase in its percentage of households spending 30% or more on housing from 34.9% in 2011 to 36.8% in 2016. Interestingly, nine of the twelve CTs experienced a decrease or no significant change in these percentages from 2011 to 2016. While "affordability" rates in these CTs were not increasing at the same pace as the CMA, all CTs studied were still between 30% to 50% of residents spending over 30% of their income on shelter costs, indicating there is still an affordability crisis in these neighbourhoods and many others across the city. In the past five years Toronto's housing market has experienced significant increases in housing prices and rents that may contradict findings from the latest 2016 census.

Labour Force

Many previous gentrification studies have theorized that the increase of residents with "professional" occupations is considered an indicator of gentrification (Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015). More specifically, an increase of residents with arts and culture related occupations are

often considered "first-wave" gentrifiers (Ley, 2003; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Along with these occupational specific variables, a decreasing unemployment rate can be an early sign of some shifts in neighbourhood composition.

An overall scope of the twelve CTs would indicate high concentrations in the "non-professional" occupations. These classifications include occupations in sales and services, trades, and manufacturing. Occupations in trades; transport and equipment operators have the highest LQ within the CTs being studied, with LQs ranging from 1.37 to 2.30 in the latest census period, meaning that certain CTs had concentrations ranging from 37% to 130% compared to the CMA. Seven of twelve CTs experienced an increase in sales and service occupations, while every single CT had over a 1.0 LQ for every census period.

Overall, the census data shows a high concentration of "non-professional" occupations in the selected CTs. LQs of these occupation classifications have continued to grow or stay elevated through the 2011 and 2016 census periods. During the same period these tracts had a low concentration of "professional" occupations compared to the CMA. Only two of these classifications, arts and culture and health workers, experienced increases in LQs between 2006 and 2016. This is the only potential signifier of gentrification that could be drawn from the studied labour data. Otherwise, commonly inferred patterns of shifting labour statistics that are connected to early signs of gentrification were not clearly indicated in the selected data.

Education

Many quantitative gentrification studies theorize an increase in university degrees as the benchmark for assessing to what extent gentrification is occurring through changes in the population's educational attainment (Ding & Hwang, 2016; Freeman, 2005; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015). As can be seen in Table 3, all twelve CTs located in Weston and Mount Dennis have very high LQs for "No certificate; diploma or degree" and "Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma." Nine of the twelve CTs have increased from 2006 to 2016 for both educational characteristics, indicating a growing concentration of these populations over the past decade.

Characteristics	535 0156.02						535 0157						535 0158						535 0159.01					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Total	2380	-	2245	-	2305	-	2195	-	2135	-	2050	-	2560	-	1815	-	2170	-	2885	-	3135	-	3070	-
No certificate; diploma or degree	765	1.97	710	1.86	1020	2.24	570	1.59	615	1.70	775	1.92	875	2.10	615	2.00	790	1.84	1210	2.57	1185	2.23	1285	2.12
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	730	1.19	710	1.26	580	0.99	660	1.16	555	1.03	615	1.18	750	1.13	435	0.95	660	1.19	795	1.07	895	1.13	735	0.94
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	190	1.80	195	1.56	160	1.09	160	1.64	160	1.34	135	1.03	190	1.67	110	1.09	195	1.40	145	1.13	230	1.32	200	1.02
College; CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	360	0.87	310	0.82	265	0.72	400	1.05	460	1.27	255	0.78	385	0.87	330	1.07	355	1.02	345	0.69	395	0.74	355	0.72
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	60	0.91	50	0.41	140	1.07	70	1.16	40	0.34	60	0.52	65	0.92	45	0.46	55	0.45	50	0.63	115	0.67	210	1.21
University certificate; diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	275	0.35	270	0.40	145	0.24	330	0.45	305	0.48	205	0.37	290	0.34	280	0.52	125	0.22	345	0.36	325	0.35	280	0.34

Characteristics	535 0159.02						535 0171						535 0172						535 0173					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Tota	3980	-	3915	-	4000	-	3130	-	3090	-	2995	-	2125	-	2125	-	2010	-	3025	-	2600	-	2685	-
No certificate; diploma or degree	1555	2.40	1625	2.45	1745	2.21	1035	2.03	965	1.84	895	1.51	570	1.65	670	1.86	540	1.36	855	1.74	800	1.81	865	1.63
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	1130	1.10	1220	1.24	1050	1.03	910	1.12	1090	1.40	915	1.20	605	1.10	685	1.28	595	1.16	940	1.20	905	1.38	875	1.28
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	190	1.08	240	1.10	365	1.43	230	1.66	175	1.02	260	1.36	240	2.55	195	1.65	215	1.67	220	1.64	175	1.21	245	1.43
College; CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	540	0.78	375	0.57	470	0.74	485	0.90	545	1.04	515	1.08	405	1.10	315	0.88	340	1.06	480	0.92	340	0.77	400	0.93
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	90	0.82	100	0.47	100	0.44	95	1.10	95	0.56	90	0.53	65	1.11	55	0.48	125	1.10	115	1.38	95	0.67	130	0.85
University certificate; diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	470	0.35	355	0.30	265	0.25	370	0.35	220	0.24	315	0.39	240	0.34	215	0.34	195	0.36	415	0.41	290	0.37	165	0.23

Characteristics	535 0174						535 0175.01						535 0175.02						535 0176					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Total	5645	-	5655	-	5165	-	4940	-	4655	-	4095	-	6235	-	6510	-	5510	-	3430	-	3555	-	3530	-
No certificate; diploma or degree	1385	1.51	1440	1.50	1320	1.30	1420	1.76	1200	1.52	1155	1.43	1565	1.54	1950	1.77	1415	1.30	645	1.15	850	1.41	835	1.20
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	1785	1.22	1640	1.15	1565	1.19	1400	1.10	1310	1.12	1340	1.28	1835	1.14	1705	1.04	1715	1.22	945	1.06	1025	1.14	980	1.09
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	305	1.22	335	1.06	500	1.51	365	1.67	360	1.39	345	1.32	435	1.57	490	1.35	520	1.48	295	1.94	240	1.21	220	0.97
College; CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	1100	1.13	1155	1.21	845	1.02	1025	1.20	905	1.15	660	1.01	1310	1.21	1265	1.15	955	1.09	635	1.07	665	1.10	560	0.99
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	165	1.06	170	0.55	265	0.90	75	0.55	240	0.95	135	0.58	170	0.99	185	0.52	250	0.80	95	1.00	120	0.62	210	1.05
University certificate; diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	905	0.48	915	0.54	670	0.49	660	0.40	645	0.46	460	0.42	920	0.44	925	0.48	655	0.45	815	0.71	645	0.61	725	0.77

Table 3: Location Quotient (LQ) Educational Attainment for selected Census Tracts (CTs)

In Weston and Mount Dennis, there are a low concentration of residents with university degrees, as can be discerned from Table 3. While most LQs are below 1.0, there have been some significant increases in LQs from 2006 to 2016 with eight of twelve CTs experiencing an increase in this field. Lastly, it seems as though there is an increasing concentration of population with "College or other non-university certificates or diplomas," with eight of twelve CTs seeing an increase in the ten-year period and many CTs surpassing 1.0 LQs in 2016. While neither of these findings provide strong indicators of gentrification, they provide interesting insight to changing educational characteristics in these neighbourhoods.

Ethnicity

According to Cohen and Petit (2019), "change in racial or ethnic compositions may displace communities culturally as well as physically." With the lack of displacement specific data available for CTs being studied, the change in visible minority population may be a signifier of potential cultural or physical overhaul occurring in these neighbourhoods.

In the decade between 2006 and 2016 Toronto has seen an 8.5% increase in visible minority population. Ten out of twelve CTs being studied have also experienced increases in their visible minority population but the story changes when assessing this same data point as a location quotient of the CMA. Nine of the twelve CTs experienced a decrease in LQ for visible minority population over that same period. This means that while the minority population in these neighbourhoods has been slightly increasing, it has lagged behind the rate at which the CMA has experienced the same growth. Again, these findings do not conclude any signs of gentrification occurring in these neighbourhoods.

Interestingly, the four primarily single-detached and owner-occupied CTs (1, 4, 5 and 12) had lower levels of percentage of visible minority residents compared to the CMA for nearly every census collection from 2006 to 2016. This promotes the notion that gentrification and displacement are becoming racial and ethnic issues, as tenants are at greater risk of being affected by displacement pressures that may come from increasing processes of gentrification.

Interviews

Our second research method consisted of twelve semi-structured interviews with active representatives and key stakeholders in the neighbourhoods of Weston and Mount Dennis. The twelve interviews revealed aspects of gentrification that were not accessible through our analysis of census data. Each of the interviewees provided their personal and unique perspectives on how these neighbourhoods have and are currently changing while also attempting to understand to what extent gentrification is occurring in the neighbourhoods.

This qualitative aspect of our research is unfortunately limited to who the interviews were conducted with. This included four members of local resident associations, one elected official, two business owners, one Business Improvement Area (BIA) representative, one tenants association representative, one government employee who works in housing, an employee of a developer in the area and an elected official. While we did not specifically seek out residents for this study, most of the interviewees are also residents in these neighbourhoods. Our collection of interviewees will most likely not represent the opinions of certain populations of these neighbourhoods, including certain ethnic groups, renters, tenants or other marginalized individuals.

The topic of gentrification can be divisive depending on the personal views of the individuals you are speaking to. It is debated whether processes of gentrification ultimately benefit or harm residents of neighbourhood undergoing change, especially in groups who are not personally affected by these changes. Interviewees held a variety of views regarding the process of gentrification. Members of resident associations and BIA representatives did not particularly enjoy the word "gentrification" and thought there were better alternatives, "the word gentrification has become negative in some circles. But I like to use the word renewal or community resurrection," stated by a representative for a neighbourhood church that is part of a housing development proposal. Another interviewee who is a business owner and member of a resident's group mentioned how the term is a catch-22. "It's (gentrification) a nasty word to some and it's a rally cry for others." These perspectives on the term gentrification demonstrate a limitation of the study, which is the lack of diversity within the collection of interviewees.

Weston has been subject to years of increasing media attention, most notably new transit investments and housing issues (CBC News, 2018; Monsebraaten, 2019). More notably, various academics have studied Mount Dennis extensively through a gentrification lens (Rankin et al., 2013; Rankin & McLean, 2015). Some groups in these communities may become exhausted hearing constant critique of their neighbourhood and developed a negative connotation with the term gentrification. Many interviewees mentioned an increase in development proposals and some big brand shops/restaurants on the commercial corridor. A handful of interviewees mentioned that they believe we are only at the beginning of investment that is going to transform the community. Ultimately, whether interviewees agree on one specific term, most acknowledge that changes have occurred and are going to accelerate soon.

Of the interviewees that believed that these neighbourhoods are at the beginning stages or are actively undergoing processes of gentrification, the most common changes mentioned included shifting demographic characteristics, most notably young families moving into the area as first-time home buyers. Others mentioned changes in the neighbourhood's physical form and various examples of displacement including aesthetic improvements being made to apartment buildings, ultimately leading to "renovictions." Interestingly, two interviewees, one being a local business owner and member of a resident's association and the other is an employee of a developer building a condominium in the neighbourhood, clearly stated that they did not believe either of the neighbourhoods were experiencing gentrification. While employees of a local developer who will ultimately benefit from new-build gentrification may not demonstrate similar perspectives as local renters or members of a tenant's association, it was interesting that the business owner did not believe that gentrification had not already begun occurring in Weston when they had acknowledged the vacant storefronts along the commercial corridor being purchased by popular franchises including Tim Hortons, Mary Brown's Chicken and Pizza Pizza.

Regarding public transit, all twelve interviewees believed that the Union-Pearson (UP) Express and Eglinton Crosstown LRT have contributed to some aspect of changes occurring in their neighbourhoods. A common viewpoint among the interviewees were that investments in public transit are a positive for everyone, but any new investment that is attracted due to transit must return some value back to the community at large. This sentiment connects back to the local

lobbying that occurred within Weston during the planning and development phases of the UP Express. Two of the four interviewees who were members of resident's associations had mentioned that they were part of the "negotiating" process and part of the Clean Train Coalition, who advocated for the electrification of the line.

A common sentiment among interviewees, especially those who less vulnerable to processes of gentrification, was that displacement is inevitable when a neighbourhood is undergoing significant changes. This perspective was common with members of resident's groups and business owners, who are likely homeowners and are not at risk of being displaced compared to renters. One specific quote from a Mount Dennis BIA representative encapsulates an ordinary answer among this group:

> "*Now by the same token you don't want to displace a lot of people in the community who don't have that kind of money. But of course, it's naturally going to happen, there are going to be some displacements. But you have to create a balance of affordable housing and new housing stock that, you know – it's as I always say you like to have a balance. You don't want to have a ghetto, you don't want to have a ghetto and you don't want to have it all be gentrified so it's all about creating a balance.*"

Although this was the case, many interviewees, including the local politician, tenant's union representative and a business owner, were supportive of policy action to limit the amount of displacement that would take place. According to the tenant's association representative, there appears to be a small but vocal collection of people who voice their resistance to unfair displacement pressures in their community, but most interviewees seemed complacent on the issue of displacement. Regardless, there have been several unjust evictions reported across Weston and Mount Dennis and it is important that they are taken more seriously than when people get upset over the term "gentrification."

One of the leading causes of displacement is increasing rents. This can be achieved by landlords through guideline rent increases, above guideline rent increases or "renovictions," whereby landlords state they are making renovations or upgrades to their units with the intention of raising rents above guidelines. Interviewees were aware of increasing living costs as prices have increased across the entire city and showed sympathy to those who are being more affected than

others. The tenant's union representative was adamant that we needed serious housing reform. When referencing new housing developments and a lack of affordable units they mentioned,

> "*And I think about that reality (evictions) and I'm like, all of these politicians, all of these developers, all these planners can tell me, "Well that's the best we can do." And I think, if that's the best we can do, then we need a radical transformation of the framework that is governing how we build housing in the city. Because it's not good enough. It's not good enough.*"

An interesting point of view from representative from Mount Dennis BIA was how increasing prices in these neighbourhoods has been a main driver in homeowners moving out as well. "*If they were lucky enough to buy their homes then they might be able to stay but, you know, the temptation to sell when the real estate market is going through the roof is great right now*." The key difference between homeowners and renters in this case is that homeowners have equity in their homes and therefore have the choice to stay or go. While the cost-of-living increases throughout the city, it is ultimately renters who are more vulnerable to displacement pressures due to gentrification.

The topic of displacement leads to the growing prominence of real estate investment trusts (REITs) purchasing rental towers along main roads, notably Weston Road. This phenomenon is not unique to Weston as the financialization of multi-family rental housing is a growing sector whereby large corporate landlords invest in these buildings and conduct various "repositioning" strategies to grow overall profits (August, 2020). The member of a local tenant's union was aware of these practices and the effect they have on tenants. "But what does that actually mean for people on the ground…when the ownership of a building changes to Starlight, the next year the tenants get charged above-guideline rent increases. And it's actually – it's built into their corporate model. It's built into their corporate model to increase the value of their investment and displace tenants."

Other stakeholders that were interviewed were also aware of the change of ownership in these apartment buildings. One of the resident association members states that, "over the course of 2018, maybe late 2017, Starlight has literally bought up building after building after building on Weston Road." We did not interview anyone that lives in these apartment buildings, but it seemed as though much of the upgrades or renovations were mostly done to the exterior. A stakeholder

who works in the field of urban planning and housing noted, “They are investing in the appearance of their buildings. Like they're really outfitting them, retrofitting them, I don't think they're too deep of an upgrade but kind of superficially.”

A member of a local resident’s group mentioned their belief that increasing investment is occurring in these neighbourhoods comes down to two main reasons. First, they state that, “It would only have been a matter of time before the larger community stumbled on the fact that this was actually a neighbourhood that was seriously undervalued. But certainly, all of that was – you know, a fuse was lit under it by the commitment to the LRT.” Transit has undoubtedly attracted more interest in these neighbourhoods and are viewed as an “economic catalyst for the community,” as stated by another local resident association member. These two perspectives on Weston and Mount Dennis being viewed as “undervalued” and public transit as an “economic catalyst” come from two stakeholders who have something to gain from outcomes of gentrification, including increasing capital investment and ultimately home prices. These terms are often used by real estate speculators who are interested in investing in a neighbourhood or already have some equity to gain from prices going up in that neighbourhood. If renters were asked if they thought their cost of housing was “undervalued,” they would likely argue the opposite.

As another resident association member states, “I think it’s all a plus, no question about it. It provides real services for everybody, whether it’s the highly affluent or the working poor, it provides great service and opportunity.” Another interviewee cited the 15-minute access the UP Express provided to the downtown core as one of their main reasonings to move into the neighbourhood. Others who were less likely to use GO transit or the UP Express did not realize the impact that transit could have as quickly. A BIA representative for Mount Dennis mentioned, “I don't think it kind of registered with the community that they were getting these three higher orders of transit and one – like it's a huge transit hub. So, I don't think it registered with the community. And then it started registering with developers, this is what was happening.”

It seems that residents began to realize how quickly change was coming once they noticed how much property developers had begun to purchase. A founding member of a local tenant’s union states, “So, it's now finally like actively at our doorstep, it has taken a little bit of time to get

up to that speed. So, I think the biggest change that is happening is developers have bought those sites in the last few years and are now actively making planning applications and/or in the early stages of it.". Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the number of planned developments in these neighbourhoods.

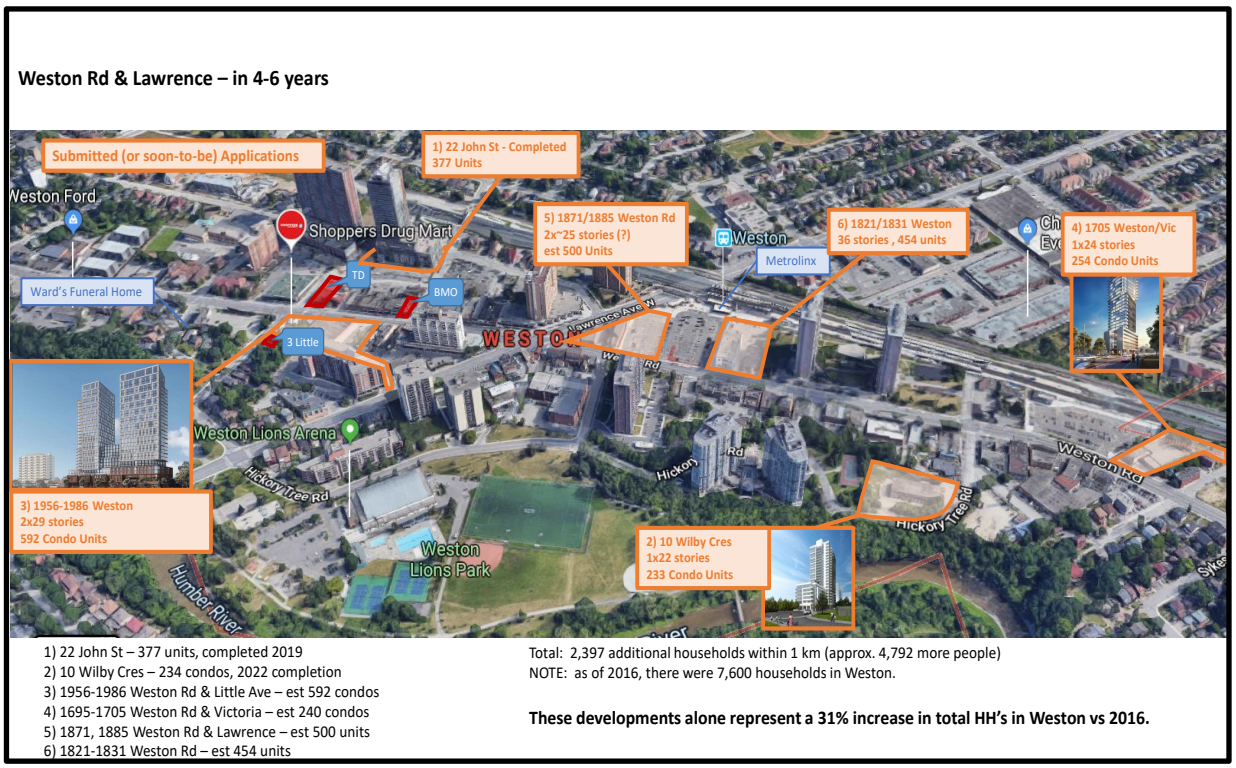

Figure 7: Developments in Weston
Source: Weston Village Residents Association (WVRA)

While nearly all stakeholders had acknowledged the importance of improved transit and potential impact in had on neighbourhood growth, only a few interviewees mentioned issues regarding transit equity and how transit investments were the main accelerator in causing these issues. The founding member of the local tenant's union was particularly vocal regarding the significance that these two major public transit lines could have on low-income residents in these neighbourhoods. "All of a sudden, public infrastructure comes in and says, "OK. We're going to be shortening your commute. But good luck if you can still afford to live here or you don't get evicted from your apartment." This stakeholder raises the common question asked when assessing transit equity around new stations, who is truly benefiting from these investments?

Previous studies have confirmed the increase in land value around new transit stations (Bardaka et al., 2018; Cao & Lou, 2018). This stakeholder corroborated this point further by acknowledging that proximity to new transit stops makes land and rent values worth more to investors, ultimately creating greater profit margins. They elaborated further, "But why is it becoming profitable? It's becoming profitable because of transit infrastructure, you know. It's – and it's a really – it's such an unfortunate kind of catch-22 because the same neighbourhoods that have been so starved for decent transit."

What Do Different Methods Render Visible?

Ultimately, our analysis of the census data showed that most of the tracts studied that were susceptible to gentrification in 2006 and 2011. All four of the census tracts that were not considered "vulnerable" homed mainly owner-occupied single-detached dwellings. This dichotomy between different CTs is interesting because they are so closely located to one another but have such different demographic and household characteristics.

This was followed by our analysis of selected census variables attempting to determine to what extent gentrification is occurring in these neighbourhoods. The census data failed to determine that there was any conclusive indication of gentrification occurring according to the selected census data studied. As can be seen in Table 2, all of the CTs that were considered susceptible to gentrification in 2006 and 2011 either scored the same or higher in 2016. This would lead us to conclude that while some census variables indicated potential early signifiers of gentrification, these CTs are still considered vulnerable to processes of gentrification in the future.

Conversely, the interviews revealed many more concerns. Interviewees claimed that the neighbourhoods are experiencing much more change than the census data demonstrated. Examples of changes rendered visible by interviewees are, the acquisition of apartment buildings by corporate landlords (including Starlight Investments), unfair and illegal eviction practices, and the increase in development applications and proposals across the neighbourhood. These are all examples of indicators that cannot be rendered conclusive through census data. Although there was more evidence of gentrification rendered from our interviews, they only provided a narrow lens of the various experiences on changes that are occurring in these neighbourhoods. Among the

interviewees were mostly white homeowners who were not at significant risk of being displaced or affected by negative processes of gentrification. It is likely that we would have received different outlooks and perspectives on changes across these neighbourhoods from renters or racialized groups.

Lastly, it is important to note that there is a gap between the analysis of census findings, which conclude at the latest available data set from 2016, and the dates of our interviews, which occurred throughout the Spring and Summer of 2021. While interviewees provided insight on the historical changes in Weston and Mount Dennis, they have also provided their knowledge on changes that may have occurred after the last census period, between 2016 and 2021. As previously mentioned, three quarters of the CTs studied were still considered susceptible gentrification in 2016. For this reason, it would be useful to follow up and conduct similar studies on Weston and Mount Dennis that includes future census data and a more varied collection of interviewees, including local politicians, homeowners, renters, new in-movers, immigrants, business owners and neighbourhood groups.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

New additions to public transit networks have the ability to change a neighbourhood, whether through transforming an area's built form or shifting demographic characteristics is context specific and depends on a region's political and economic circumstances. Weston and Mount Dennis have both received significant investment in public transit that will shape how these neighbourhoods will develop and grow in the coming years.

We aimed to determine to what extent public transit has contributed to processes of gentrification in these two neighbourhoods through conducting a mixed-methods study. The quantitative portion of the study included an analysis of census data from the 2006, 2011 and 2016 census periods. These three periods were chosen to encapsulate the "pre-transit," "during construction," and "opening" stages of new transit projects in the area. We created a "susceptibility" index to determine which of the selected census tracts (CTs) being studied were vulnerable to processes of gentrification. We determined that most of the census tracts were designated as "vulnerable" for all three census periods studied. Interestingly, the CTs that did not score highly in the vulnerability index mainly consisted of owner-occupied single detached dwellings. This encapsulates the owner/renter dynamic in these two neighbourhoods, where these two groups live in close proximity to each other and new transit stations, but one group is significantly more vulnerable to gentrification and displacement pressures that could come from the development of new public transit. We also conducted an analysis of specific census variables to determine whether these neighbourhoods were experiencing processes of gentrification. While there were some early indications gentrification pressures, ultimately, our census analysis could not conclusively determine that gentrification had occurred from 2006 to 2016.

Our qualitative portion of our mixed-methods study consisted of semi-structured interviews with local key stakeholders in the neighbourhoods of Weston and Mount Dennis. Some examples of key stakeholders include, local politicians, members of resident's associations, representatives of business improvement areas (BIAs), members of tenant's groups, business owners, employees of local housing developers and government employees. While we did not seek out to interview residents in our research design, some interviewees presently resided in the

neighbourhoods being studied. Contrary to the census data, our interviews revealed some concerns and perspectives of gentrification from participants of the study. Interviewees provided more fine grain context on historical and current changes occurring in Weston and Mount Dennis including, the acquisition of apartment buildings by corporate landlords (including Starlight Investments), unfair and illegal eviction practices, and the increase in development applications and proposals across the neighbourhood. Although these interviews provided more evidence of gentrification, they only provided a specific lens on perspectives and experiences of neighbourhood change. As previously mentioned, interviewees were mostly white homeowners who were not at particular risk of being negatively affected by processes of gentrification. It is possible that different groups, including renters, racialized or more marginalized communities would provide an even more critical perspectives on how gentrification is affecting their neighbourhoods.

5.2 Considerations for Future Research

Given the timing of when this study was conducted, it is important to mention the gap between the analysis of census findings, which conclude at the latest available data set from 2016, and the dates of our interviews, which occurred throughout the Spring and Summer of 2021. Ideally, we would hope to analyse the latest 2021 census data and cross-reference it with our interviews to provide a more cohesive data set. Since interviewees provided both historical and recent perspectives of neighbourhood change, more up to date census data would be beneficial in determining the validity of some of these claims.

Also, three quarters of the CTs studied were still considered susceptible gentrification in 2016. For this reason, it would be useful to follow up and conduct similar studies on Weston and Mount Dennis that includes future census data and a more varied collection of interviewees, including local politicians, homeowners, renters, new in-movers, immigrants, business owners and neighbourhood groups. Interviewing different populations would generally provide different perspectives and experiences that would be helpful in gathering an understanding of how different groups are affected by neighbourhood change. As neighbourhood change is a lengthy process, it would be beneficial for these neighbourhoods to be studied in the future when processes of gentrification have played out in totality.

5.3 Planning and Policy Consideration

Planners and policymakers are still assessing the most effective ways to curb negative outcomes of gentrification. Since gentrification is context-specific, there is no one-size-fits-all approach that can address issues across all neighbourhoods experiencing significant change. Although this is the case, there are some commonly prescribed solutions that can help address various issues.

In terms of gentrification, one of the most pressing issues surrounds adequate affordable housing. The simplest solution to this problem would be to produce more housing options across neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification. Theoretically, if a neighbourhood begins to experience increasing demand and supply is limited, an increase in supply should assist in addressing increasing home prices to a certain extent.

Currently, over 70% of Toronto is zoned for single-detached dwellings. Another policy that would assist in producing more affordable and types of housing is putting an end to exclusionary zoning. Some changes are already taking effect in Weston and Mount Dennis because they have been designated as Major Transit Station Areas (MTSAs) and are allowed to build for increased densities within a certain distance of the nearest transit station. Unfortunately, these changes are still not enough to address the lack of housing options and affordability crisis. Inclusionary zoning policies would be able to require developers to set a specific number of affordable units in each of their new developments. We could also incorporate more rent-geared-to-income or subsidized housing from the city to provide more affordable housing to all residents regardless of their income level.

Another prominent issue in these neighbourhoods is the topic of displacement. A viable solution to this issue would be to strengthen tenants' rights and tighten rent control to avoid commonly used loopholes, including renovictions. Through enacting policies to stabilize existing renters and even reduce or freeze annual rent hikes allowed from property owners.

Lastly, planners should strengthen their relationships with these communities that are facing drastic changes before it is too late. Even though community consultations are already part

of the City's planning process, certain residents are often more heard than others depending on a person's social capital or income level. If we were to actively reach out to marginalized communities who are most at risk during processes of gentrification, we would be able to better address the pressing issues that these residents are facing.

With many other cities across Canada planning to invest in higher order transit over the coming decades, it is important to draw from different findings across a variety of gentrification studies in order to effectively support those who are in need.

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Appendix

Characteristics	CT 1			CT 2			CT 3		
	535 0156.02			535 0157			535 0158		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income among recipients ($)	27328	25524	19549	25877	21601	18819	21696	18860	17155
Percentage (%) under $30,000	54.2%	55.9%	17.7%	56.4%	63.9%	23.4%	62.5%	65.3%	23.2%
% of owners spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	25.8%	0.281	-	35.5%	0.333	-	38.4%	0.235	-
% of tenants spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	45.3%	0.333	-	44.8%	0.614	-	50.3%	0.381	-
AVERAGE % spending 30% or more of income on shelter	35.55%	30.70%	-	40.15%	47.35%	-	44.35%	30.80%	-
Percentage (%) renters	43.58%	42.21%	42.03%	47.55%	48.79%	45.26%	56.81%	64.21%	62.62%
Median monthly costs for owned dwellings ($)	1634	1253	801	1484	1469	900	1406	703	675
Median monthly costs for rented dwellings ($)	913	804	832	966	831	1142	877	661	875
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs	1274	1029	817	1225	1150	1021	1142	682	775
Unemployment rate	7.5	12.8	4.9	8.8	10.6	14.2	8.9	10.7	10.3
Total - Visible minority for the population	2830	2625	2800	2660	2640	2580	2960	2150	2695
Total visible minority population	1135	1040	1225	1500	1485	1540	1635	1415	1260
Not a visible minority	1690	1590	1570	1155	1155	1040	1325	740	1435
Percentage (%) visible minority	40.1%	39.6%	43.8%	56.4%	56.3%	59.7%	55.2%	65.8%	46.8%

	CT 4			CT 5			CT 6		
	535 0159.01			535 0159.02			535 0171		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income among recipients ($)	25915	20432	20592	27703	25913	21934	23131	20258	19410
Percentage (%) under $30,000	56.7%	63.1%	13.8%	53.6%	55.5%	14.7%	59.7%	67.6%	29.3%
% of owners spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	25.5%	0.42	-	25.7%	0.312	-	29.9%	33.1%	-
% of tenants spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	50.0%	0.575	-	45.7%	0.387	-	36.4%	33.9%	-
AVERAGE % spending 30% or more of income on shelter	37.75%	49.75%	-	35.70%	34.95%	-	33.15%	33.50%	-
Percentage (%) renters	33.89%	29.30%	21.64%	27.94%	27.63%	21.30%	58.22%	55.81%	55.17%
Median monthly costs for owned dwellings ($)	1305	1219	801	1269	1361	893	1157	969	801
Median monthly costs for rented dwellings ($)	1099	751	978	1043	927	1056	897	715	775
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs	1202	985	890	1156	1144	975	1027	842	788
Unemployment rate	11.0	14.5	10.1	6.7	8.0	4.2	10.3	14.1	9.8
Total - Visible minority for the population	3395	3835	3705	4690	4560	4805	3800	3920	3770
Total visible minority population	1545	1920	1460	1520	1515	1130	2165	2070	1945
Not a visible minority	1850	1915	2245	3175	3050	3670	1635	1845	1825
Percentage (%) visible minority	45.5%	50.1%	39.4%	32.4%	33.2%	23.5%	57.0%	52.8%	51.6%

	CT 7			CT 8			CT 9		
	535 0172			535 0173			535 0174		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income among recipients ($)	28070	28380	21565	23797	24203	19540	25308	23117	19388
Percentage (%) under $30,000	54.1%	53.6%	17.6%	60.2%	55.7%	29.6%	56.7%	56.9%	23.8%
% of owners spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	27.5%	14.6%	-	31.0%	0.372	-	39.2%	0.44	-
% of tenants spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	41.7%	36.0%	-	48.1%	0.462	-	44.1%	0.465	-
AVERAGE % spending 30% or more of income on shelter	34.60%	25.30%	-	39.55%	41.70%	-	41.65%	45.25%	-
Percentage (%) renters	76.99%	79.74%	77.46%	55.48%	44.87%	50.00%	53.55%	51.78%	48.08%
Median monthly costs for owned dwellings ($)	1431	817	736	1575	1469	801	1584	1450	901
Median monthly costs for rented dwellings ($)	881	822	708	938	852	1449	1058	956	1434
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs	1156	820	722	1257	1161	1125	1321	1203	1168
Unemployment rate	12.7	8.8	7.7	12.6	17.8	12.2	10.7	12.8	9.3
Total - Visible minority for the population	2570	2530	2515	3785	3210	3480	6815	7005	6565
Total visible minority population	1595	1405	1380	2655	2075	2375	4850	4710	4325
Not a visible minority	975	1125	1135	1130	1135	1105	1970	2290	2240
Percentage (%) visible minority	62.1%	55.5%	54.9%	70.1%	64.6%	68.2%	71.2%	67.2%	65.9%

	CT 10			CT 11			CT 12		
	535 0175.01			535 0175.02			535 0176		
	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006	2016	2011	2006
Median total income among recipients ($)	23339	24987	19467	23386	24684	18962	34483	27765	24587
Percentage (%) under $30,000	59.2%	60.8%	32.6%	61.3%	58.2%	31.8%	45.7%	52.9%	13.7%
% of owners spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	33.7%	0.349	-	31.5%	0.41	-	21.1%	28.2%	-
% of tenants spending 30% or more of its income on shelter	50.0%	0.447	-	52.4%	0.473	-	47.7%	44.0%	-
AVERAGE % spending 30% or more of income on shelter	41.85%	39.80%	-	41.95%	44.15%	-	34.40%	36.10%	-
Percentage (%) renters	57.49%	55.94%	53.35%	82.57%	75.71%	84.62%	27.53%	31.65%	27.41%
Median monthly costs for owned dwellings ($)	1562	1345	800	1635	1421	850	1321	1087	851
Median monthly costs for rented dwellings ($)	985	851	1367	1000	890	1183	967	891	1111
AVERAGE Median monthly shelter costs	1274	1098	1084	1318	1156	1017	1144	989	981
Unemployment rate	11.6	9.2	9.4	11.8	11.3	10.2	7.6	8.6	6.2
Total - Visible minority for the population	6020	5755	5190	7635	7950	6790	4030	4195	4270
Total visible minority population	3970	3845	3325	5470	5215	3925	1315	1320	1050
Not a visible minority	2050	1915	1865	2165	2735	2860	2710	2880	3215
Percentage (%) visible minority	65.9%	66.8%	64.1%	71.6%	65.6%	57.8%	32.6%	31.5%	24.6%

Table 5: Census data for "Susceptibility Index" for selected Census Tracts (CTs)

Characteristics	535 0156.02						535 0157						535 0158						535 0159.01					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Total labour force population aged 15 years and over by occupation	1525	-	1445	-	1300	-	1470	-	1370	-	1340	-	1350	-	1070	-	1195	-	1825	-	1965	-	2060	-
0 Management occupations	135	0.76	75	0.44	50	0.33	90	0.53	65	0.40	60	0.39	100	0.64	35	0.28	55	0.40	140	0.66	85	0.37	145	0.61
1 Business; finance and administration occupations	220	0.81	255	0.94	280	1.01	195	0.74	190	0.74	275	0.96	190	0.79	165	0.82	155	0.61	195	0.60	235	0.64	440	1.00
2 Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	60	0.47	60	0.50	30	0.28	55	0.45	105	0.92	30	0.28	50	0.44	30	0.34	10	0.10	45	0.30	105	0.64	115	0.69
3 Health occupations	60	0.73	40	0.57	35	0.60	70	0.89	35	0.53	60	1.00	70	0.97	80	1.54	55	1.02	55	0.56	55	0.58	40	0.43
4 Occupations in education; law and social; community and government	110	0.65	140	0.88	40	0.37	160	0.98	150	0.99	50	0.45	115	0.77	130	1.10	40	0.40	165	0.82	165	0.76	140	0.81
5 Occupations in art; culture; recreation and sport	55	0.92	20	0.37	15	0.30	30	0.52	0	0.00	30	0.57	40	0.75	0	0.00	10	0.21	55	0.77	0	0.00	25	0.31
6 Sales and service occupations	410	1.18	305	0.95	275	0.95	445	1.33	390	1.28	360	1.21	410	1.34	290	1.22	415	1.57	500	1.21	620	1.42	530	1.16
7 Trades; transport and equipment operators and related occupations	335	2.02	355	2.35	400	2.59	255	1.60	310	2.16	315	1.98	205	1.40	180	1.61	285	2.01	440	2.22	410	2.00	405	1.65
8 Natural resources; agriculture and related production occupations	10	0.87	0	0.00	10	0.81	25	2.27	0	0.00	25	1.96	15	1.48	0	0.00	20	1.76	20	1.46	0	0.00	0	0.00
9 Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	85	1.20	130	1.84	170	1.85	110	1.61	70	1.04	145	1.53	110	1.75	130	2.48	150	1.77	115	1.36	160	1.66	215	1.47

Characteristics	535 0159.02						535 0171						535 0172						535 0173					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Total labour force population aged 15 years and over by occupation	2480	-	2570	-	2600	-	1750	-	1665	-	1585	-	1370	-	1485	-	1320	-	1815	-	1600	-	1795	-
0 Management occupations	180	0.62	160	0.53	155	0.51	100	0.49	90	0.46	100	0.54	125	0.78	100	0.57	80	0.52	135	0.64	95	0.50	55	0.26
1 Business; finance and administration occupations	355	0.80	425	0.88	425	0.76	220	0.70	225	0.72	305	0.90	185	0.76	345	1.24	285	1.01	200	0.62	165	0.55	320	0.83
2 Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	75	0.36	70	0.33	110	0.52	80	0.55	25	0.18	45	0.35	35	0.31	110	0.89	60	0.56	75	0.50	85	0.64	30	0.21
3 Health occupations	105	0.79	75	0.60	40	0.34	90	0.96	70	0.87	115	1.61	70	0.95	65	0.90	25	0.42	105	1.08	55	0.71	70	0.87
4 Occupations in education; law and social; community and government	245	0.89	175	0.62	150	0.69	205	1.06	105	0.57	125	0.94	120	0.79	135	0.82	95	0.86	125	0.62	160	0.91	65	0.43
5 Occupations in art; culture; recreation and sport	40	0.41	50	0.52	10	0.10	35	0.51	20	0.32	45	0.73	35	0.65	0	0.00	20	0.39	35	0.49	0	0.00	25	0.36
6 Sales and service occupations	660	1.17	630	1.10	620	1.08	475	1.19	505	1.36	355	1.01	375	1.20	345	1.04	375	1.28	585	1.42	445	1.25	480	1.21
7 Trades; transport and equipment operators and related occupations	620	2.30	625	2.33	715	2.31	315	1.66	340	1.95	340	1.81	270	1.81	270	1.74	225	1.43	290	1.47	285	1.70	430	2.02
8 Natural resources; agriculture and related production occupations	25	1.34	0	0.00	45	1.82	20	1.52	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	1.19	15	1.10	0	0.00	10	0.59
9 Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	120	1.04	200	1.59	320	1.74	115	1.41	135	1.66	140	1.25	135	2.12	75	1.03	140	1.50	170	2.02	150	1.91	315	2.48

Characteristics	535 0174						535 0175.01						535 0175.02						535 0176					
	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ	2016	LQ	2011	LQ	2006	LQ
Total labour force population aged 15 years and over by occupation	3615	-	3815	-	3230	-	2965	-	2915	-	2665	-	3730	-	4125	-	3210	-	2380	-	2545	-	2440	-
0 Management occupations	180	0.43	225	0.50	145	0.39	145	0.42	170	0.49	230	0.74	175	0.40	215	0.44	125	0.34	210	0.76	345	1.15	285	1.01
1 Business; finance and administration occupations	555	0.86	615	0.86	670	0.97	395	0.75	520	0.95	425	0.74	545	0.82	560	0.72	675	0.98	475	1.12	385	0.81	475	0.91
2 Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	85	0.28	150	0.47	155	0.59	95	0.38	175	0.72	95	0.44	135	0.43	290	0.85	225	0.86	120	0.60	130	0.61	130	0.65
3 Health occupations	235	1.21	180	0.97	185	1.27	175	1.10	280	1.98	95	0.79	220	1.10	195	0.97	65	0.45	130	1.02	115	0.93	75	0.68
4 Occupations in education; law and social; community and government	310	0.77	375	0.89	135	0.50	310	0.94	295	0.92	165	0.74	315	0.76	330	0.73	165	0.61	290	1.10	200	0.71	295	1.45
5 Occupations in art; culture; recreation and sport	65	0.46	40	0.28	65	0.52	55	0.47	80	0.74	80	0.77	85	0.58	75	0.49	60	0.48	100	1.07	105	1.11	110	1.16
6 Sales and service occupations	1100	1.34	1040	1.22	870	1.22	875	1.30	720	1.11	815	1.38	1025	1.21	1285	1.40	910	1.28	550	1.02	605	1.07	550	1.02
7 Trades; transport and equipment operators and related occupations	640	1.63	615	1.54	585	1.52	510	1.58	355	1.16	420	1.33	735	1.81	665	1.54	645	1.69	355	1.37	345	1.30	385	1.33
8 Natural resources; agriculture and related production occupations	10	0.37	0	0.00	30	0.98	20	0.90	40	1.78	0	0.00	25	0.89	50	1.57	10	0.33	20	1.12	0	0.00	20	0.86
9 Occupations in manufacturing and utilities	270	1.61	290	1.55	385	1.68	245	1.78	185	1.30	325	1.72	290	1.67	315	1.56	315	1.39	105	0.95	190	1.52	120	0.69

Table 4: Location Quotient (LQ) Occupational Data for selected Census Tracts (CTs)

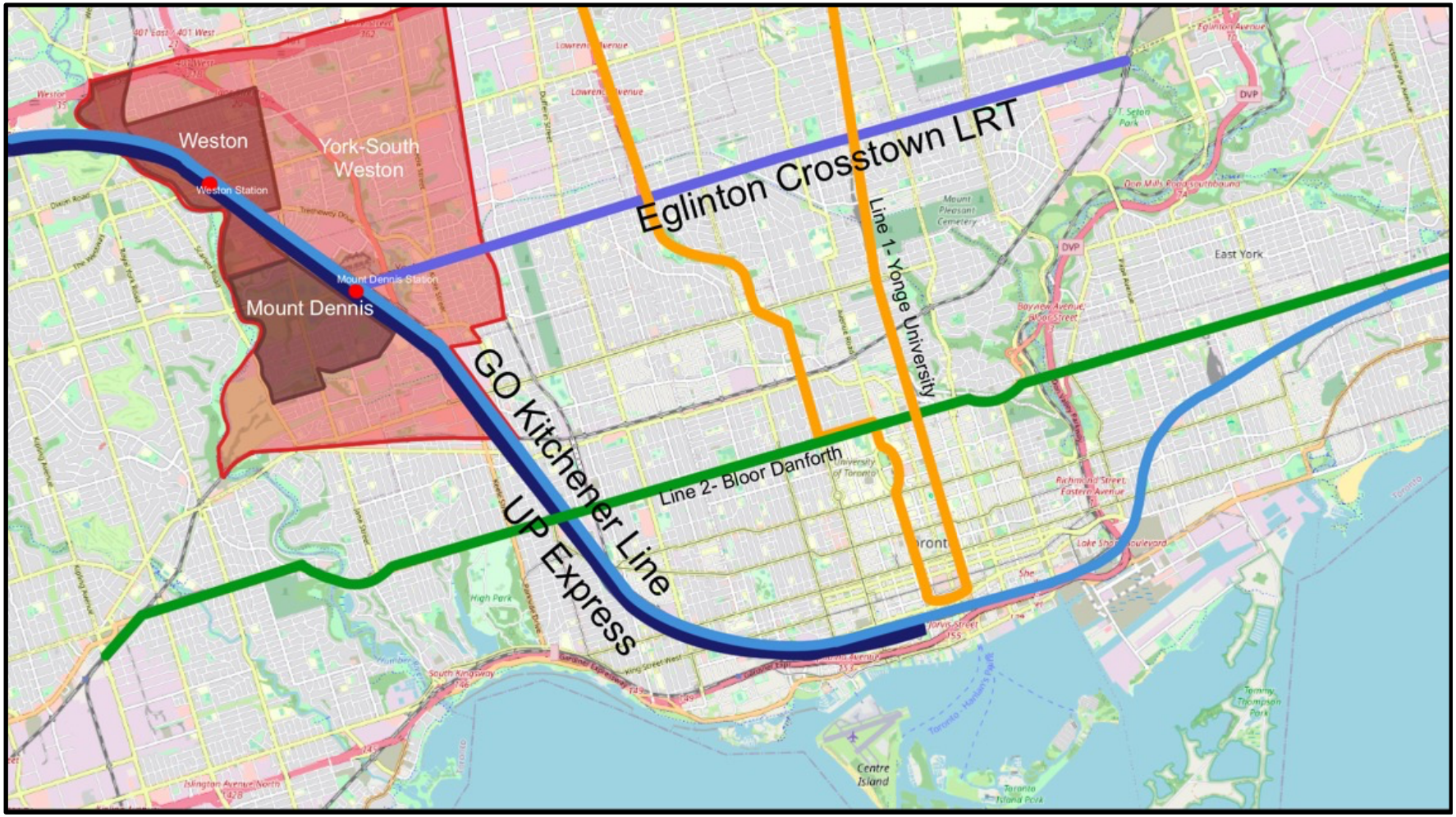

Figure 8: Toronto Reference Map: Weston, Mount Dennis, Transit Lines etc.