

Investigating the Eglinton LRT Crosstown: Understanding the Impact of Transit Oriented
Development on Racialized Communities in Flemingdon Park

by
Anab Mohamud

supervised by
Stefan Kipfer

A Major Paper submitted to the Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master in Environmental Studies
York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

July 31, 2023

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Foreword	vi
Part 1: Literature Review	3
Transit Oriented Development and Gentrification (Transit Induced Gentrification)	3
Housing Policy and the Financialization of Housing	8
Community Based Participatory Planning	12
Part 2: Methods and Methodologies	18
Part 3: Theoretical Framework	20
Rent Gap Theory	20
Racial Capitalism	22
Part 4: The Development of Flemingdon Park	28
Flemingdon Park	28
<i>History of Flemingdon Park</i>	28
<i>The People of Flemingdon Park</i>	30
Eglinton Crosstown LRT	31
<i>History and the Development of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT</i>	31
Part 5: Transit Oriented Developments and Affordable Housing	34
A Closer Look at Transit Oriented Developments in Canada	34
<i>Reviewing the Transit Oriented Communities Program</i>	35
Financialization of Housing in Toronto and Flemingdon Park	35
<i>The Process of Renoviction</i>	36
<i>The Struggle to Maintain Rent Control</i>	39
<i>Rent Strikes – Case of 31 and 35 St. Dennis Drive</i>	40
Equitable Transit Oriented Developments	43
Inclusionary Zoning within newer Transit Oriented Developments	44
The Eglinton Crosstown LRT - Flemingdon Park	48
Part 6: Reimagining our Approach to Community Based Participatory Planning Practices	52
The role of Community Consultations in Planning Transit Oriented Developments	52
Part 7: Conclusion	57
Reference List	59
Appendices	70

List of Figures

Figure 1. The Rent Gap Re-Examined.....	34
Figure 2. Flemingdon Park Master Plan, 1958	36
Figure 3. Eglinton Crosstown LRT	38
Figure 4. Crosstown Community Site	55
Figure 5. 25 St. Dennis Drive and new 37-Storey Development	57
Figure 6. Public Notice Sign in Flemingdon Park	59
Figure 7. Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation	62

Abstract

Over the recent years, we have seen Transit Oriented Developments (TODs) expansion in the development and construction phase across Toronto. TODs are near existing and newly constructed transit lines like the Eglinton Crosstown LRT East. Although the construction of TODs is highly encouraged amongst policymakers, developers, and planners to curb urban sprawl and a means of building more dense, sustainable, and accessible communities that would see residents utilizing public transportation in their daily lives, there has not been an in-depth analysis on the wide-ranging effects of such transit-related projects on neighbouring communities such as Flemingdon Park. Several relatively old apartment buildings with social housing projects (Toronto Community Housing) are close to the newly built Science Center Station (Eglinton Crosstown LRT). Issues arise when landlords and property managers see the significant investment in transit projects as an opportunity to increase rent and turn what has traditionally been a relatively affordable area into a means of collecting massive profits.

In this research paper, I outline Flemingdon Park's development to understand the community's history and what it looks like currently with the construction of TODs and the LRT. Then I look at Transit Oriented Developments and Affordable Housing, specifically delving into the case of 31 - 35 St. Dennis Drive, apartment building to understand the issues that tenants are facing, such as renoviction, above-guideline rent increases and what has since pushed them to fight back and organize a rent strike. The paper concludes by examining the role of community-based participatory planning and how citizen control and power can open pathways to meaningful engagement within urban planning processes.

Keywords: Transit Oriented Development, Gentrification, Housing, Community Based Participatory Planning, Planning

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my former advisor Martha Stiegman for helping me navigate and shape the Plan of Study. I went back and forth regarding what I wanted to study and learn about in the program and for my final research paper, and it helped that you allowed me to change bits of my Plan of Study to reflect my current research interests.

I want to thank my supervisor Stefan Kipfer, who has been incredibly helpful and has provided valuable insights into my research. The guidance and support that you have given me throughout this research process have been invaluable and something that I greatly appreciate!

I want to thank the community members (S.J., Lucas Vastani, Riffat F.), two senior planners at the City of Toronto, and Tom Schwerdtfeger, Community Health Center Director. Your diverse experiences and perspectives on this topic have been valuable, and I appreciate the help you all have provided me as I navigate this research paper.

I want to thank my classmates, Patrick Stogianou, and Nasra Mohamed, who have greatly improved my time in the MES Program. I thoroughly enjoyed my time in the program and have them to thank for it.

I want to thank Deqa Nur and the incredible people that make up the Hooyo Innovation Hub (iHub) administration team, who have listened to my long rants on this paper and have provided excellent advice from start to finish.

I want to thank my family and friends for constantly motivating me and reminding me that the finish line is that much closer.

Lastly, I want to thank my community "Flema," which I have grown to love, admire and appreciate for the past 12 years; thank you for being a source of inspiration and motivation.

Foreword

The following primary research paper represents most of the components outlined in my POS, including: "housing and transit" and "community and social planning." When I first started the MES Program, I was interested in exploring community-based participatory planning and the role of community consultations in the planning process and how that has changed due to the nuances that the COVID-19 pandemic has presented. However, just like the seasons, research interests change. I have found myself looking more toward the changes happening in my community, Flemingdon Park, explicitly examining the construction of Transit Oriented Developments along the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. I wanted to explore the impact of transit-related projects and look at the broader implications of developing TODs and Transit Oriented Communities without understanding the potential implications for current Flemo residents. This has led me to delve deeper into this research topic and mirrors some of the learning strategies and objectives I have set forth to achieve.

1.2. To learn more about social inequality and the racialization of housing inequality

2.1. To identify marginalized communities' roles in planning and development.

2.4. To obtain the knowledge and skills necessary to meet the program requirements of the Canadian Institute of Planners and Ontario Professional Planners Institute for Candidate membership

In my major paper, I explore the following questions: What are the debates on what drives gentrification? What should be done about it? What is the relationship between transit-oriented development and gentrification? How can we understand the relationship between access to transit and land use value? What planning policies tie transit with housing? Why does this policy exist? Can it be organized differently? How can we improve community consultation processes to understand the complexities of building more transit-oriented developments for lower-income communities?

Introduction

Statistics Canada recently reported that Canada's population had hit 40 million. It is essential to talk about investments and policies not only to deal with the growing population but also to address the housing needs of many people that already live in the city of Toronto. Specifically looking at significant transit projects across the city, such as the Eglinton Crosstown LRT and Ontario line, there is a greater focus on connecting more people to Toronto and making the city more livable, accessible, and sustainable. However, one thing that is missing when it comes to discussing major transit infrastructures is the effect that they have on surrounding land values and, therefore, existing land uses and communities.

I have decided to delve into this topic more as a Flemingdon Park resident. My neighbourhood exists along a double transit corridor: the Eglinton Crosstown LRT and the Ontario Line. I thought it was important to document and understand what these newly planned developments mean for residents living in Flemingdon Park. I wanted to understand their impacts on housing affordability. What effect do they have on existing tenants living in some of the older private rental apartments that were constructed in the late 1960s? What impacts will they have on social housing tenants living in TCH buildings? Is there, or will there be gentrification and displacement? How can theories like racial capitalism and rent gap theory help us understand why racially diverse and low-to-moderate income communities like Flemo attract developers and city officials that look to development near transit lines? How will these transit projects impact the neighbourhood's socioeconomic composition? I will try to answer these questions through a critical and equitable lens, highlighting the social inequalities that can arise from these projects.

I also wanted to learn with this paper if transit-oriented developments are common and will be adopted along many of the transit stations in the future (especially with the province introducing the Transit Oriented Communities program) (Transit-Oriented Communities 2020). I want to understand how we can make these transit projects more equitable, incorporate community input and have the community actively lead these conversations instead of only receiving information about projects planned by others. Community members can facilitate these conversations and take a seat at the decision-making table.

With the prospect of communities joining the process of decision making, I wanted to understand the role of community-based participatory planning and some of the limitations of community consultations. These can include ineffective public notices in communities where some people have language barriers or lack access to technology (Hodge 2020). These community consultations have a clear agenda set forth by planners, developers, and city officials, resulting in outcomes that give stakeholders a more vital stake in the conversation regarding leading these conversations. I wanted to critique these consultations and look at alternative forms of gathering community feedback and input, and, with this, I look towards Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation and showcase the difference between community consultations (a tokenistic form of community participation) and citizen control.

Part 1: Literature Review

During my initial research findings, there were three key themes that have come up and will be discussed throughout the paper. The first theme focuses on transit-oriented development and gentrification (transit-induced gentrification). The second theme focuses on changes in housing policies, including those supporting the financialization of housing. Lastly, the third theme will focus on community-based participatory planning.

Transit Oriented Development and Gentrification (Transit Induced Gentrification)

Peter Calthorpe first coined the concept of Transit Oriented Development (TOD) in the late 1980s. Calthorpe (1993) described TODs as "...moderate and high-density housing, along with complementary public uses, jobs, retail and services...concentrated in mixed-use developments at strategic points along the regional transit systems." Even though TODs existed long before the term was invented, it was not until Calthorpe published the book "The New American Metropolis" in 1993 that it became a fixture in planning circles (Carleton 2009, p. 1). Moreover, although the literature around TOD was evolving, there were some issues surrounding the implementation of TODs in U.S. cities (Carleton 2009, p. 21). Many factors made it difficult to carry out TOD projects, including "...parking effectively, poor pedestrian environments around transit, poor-quality transit service, incorrect mixes of land use near transit, lack of transit link between housing and jobs, and antiquated zoning codes." However, despite the difficulties and challenges of implementing more TOD, cities such as Sacramento have since planned their cities around TOD. Every urban region in the U.S. has adopted significant transit-oriented developments (Carleton 2009, p. 23).

In Canada, there has been a substantial increase in transit-oriented development over the years. Transit Oriented Development aims to connect communities to transit, improve health and well-being and manage growth (CMHC 2009, p. 1). TOD aims to ensure residents live roughly 10 minutes or 800m away from transit stations and areas. However, there are challenges associated with TODs, their benefits notwithstanding. Critical questions about their capacity to shape and design a fair and more just city must be asked.

Liervop et al. (2017) discuss the steps regional and city governments in the US, Canada, and the Netherlands are taking to implement Transit-Oriented Development policies that will help shape communities and improve accessibility. The call for more TOD policies comes after years

of car dependency. Moreover, as more people live further away from the city center and build their lives in the suburbs, they face a lack of viable and consistent transit options. This has led more planners, city officials, and developers to reinvent the built environment and create more mixed-use developments near significant existing transit lines as well as new transit projects to allow people to use sustainable forms of transportation.

Liervop et al. (2017) further highlight TOD policies, explicitly discussing the outcome and the main goal for TOD projects in Canada. In Canada, the primary desired outcome of a TOD project is "increasing residential and commercial density, mixed land uses, and pedestrian-friendly design (Liervop et al. 2017, p. 50)." The main goal of transit-oriented developments is to encourage more individuals to use alternative, active forms of transportation (cycling, walking, and public transit) and rely less on automobiles to travel to work, home, and school.

The researchers interviewed 13 TOD planners and researchers in the US, Canada, and the Netherlands. The interview questions focused on physical design, transportation, environment, social, economy and collaborations. Interviewees stressed the need to incorporate affordable housing within TOD projects, given that low-income people tend to make up many transit riders. Others emphasized that the success of TOD can also be measured by the number of diverse stakeholders that actively participate in the development of TOD (Liervop et al. 2017)

Although transit-oriented development is something that planners and policy advocates push for as a solution to curb urban sprawl, encourage active transportation and improve quality of life, what is left out of the discussion is the impact that TOD's may have on low-income residents, especially considering changes to land values and the cost of housing that might displace low-income earners. Saxe and Miller (2016) delve into the impact of transit on surrounding land use value by exploring several major transit infrastructure projects and their effect on surrounding property values. Higgins and Kanaroglou (2016) examined the effects of transit subway stations on surrounding land values in Toronto. The study area focused on stations on Line 1 (Bloor-Yonge) and Line 4 (Sheppard) and reviewed the real estate transaction data in the following periods: 2001 to 2003 and 2010 and 2014. They identified properties (including Transit Oriented Developments) near the "Inner Urban Neighborhood and Urban Neighborhood Stations" whose value increase was 21% higher than it was for single-detached homes located 800 meters away from the station (Higgins & Kanaroglou 2016, p. 5; Saxe & Miller 2016).

Dawkins and Moeckel (2016) elaborate on the impact of TODs on low-income earners and explain how gentrification can take shape in new planned developments near newly constructed transit areas. There is a growing concern that new development projects (in this case, TODs) can displace low-income individuals due to developers capitalizing on the potential land value and housing cost due to the proximity of transit stations. This is referred to as transit-induced gentrification. This is a cause for concern, considering that low-income individuals depend on public transit to get to and from work, appointments, school, and stores. If there are no proper measures in place to protect low-income households from developers who value profit over affordability, then we cannot say that low-income households will be protected from an increase in housing costs that may price them out of the market (Dawkins & Moeckel 2016; Doucett 2021).

Furthermore, Dawkins and Moeckel (2016) explain the role of housing policies in curbing the adverse effects of TOD (transit-induced gentrification). They highlight the two main types of federal housing assistance projects sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development: the "demand side rental assistance vouchers (Housing Choice Vouchers) provided to low-income individuals to rent privately owned units, and supply-side subsidies that are used to offset a portion of the cost of constructing or redeveloping affordable units" (Schwartz 2015; Dawkins & Moeckel 2016).

Local inclusionary zoning programs often provide incentives for developers in exchange for the construction of more affordable housing units. However, programs and policies like inclusionary zoning have some associated challenges. An example that would illustrate some of the challenges associated with inclusionary zoning is in Montgomery County, Maryland, the "Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit Program," in 2001, reduced inclusionary zoning requirements in the Central Business District and TOD because of the increased price in building affordable housing in high-rise developments. Therefore, it is difficult to prove the effectiveness of programs like (inclusionary zoning) in reducing transit-inducing gentrification (Dawkins & Moeckel 2016).

Grube-Cavers also highlights the topic of gentrification as it relates to the implementation of urban rapid rail transit across urban centers in Canadian cities. They employ "survival analysis"

to determine if proximity to rail transit influences or results in the "onset" of gentrification in some of the biggest cities in Canada. Grube-Cavers and Patterson argue that although previous studies used statistical analysis tools to determine the relationship between the proximity to transit and gentrification, the definitions researchers use to explain gentrification need to be more consistent. They suggest that gentrification should be recognized as an event as "it is the moment in time when [gentrification-relevant] census tracts (CTs) variables are increasing at a rate faster than it is surrounding areas" (p. 179).

For this study, census data was utilized to track the changes in different census tracts. The following indicators were incorporated to help the researchers determine if the neighbourhoods were experiencing gentrification: family and individual household income, household income, population, education levels and persons in professional occupations. Moreover, other indicators, such as housing costs, housing tenure and age, were also included in the study, ultimately highlighting statistically significant and positive relationships between proximity to rail transit and the likelihood of gentrification in census tracts in Toronto and Montreal. However, gentrifying census tracts might also be seen or are already seen as areas at risk of gentrification (Grube Cavers & Patterson 2015).

Doucett discusses gentrification and displacement along the Waterloo LRT line. Since statistics are frequently used to evaluate displacement, many researchers and academics have concluded that there is no conclusive evidence that LRTs contribute to gentrification and subsequent displacement. Doucett (2021) discusses four types of displacement along the transit corridors. The first type of displacement is "un-homing" in Traynor-Vanier." The Traynor-Vanier community exists at the southern end of the LRT and is home to many newcomers, immigrants, and refugees. Un-homing happens when the relationship between people and place is severed. The people residing in this neighbourhood were not privy to the planning discussions and the conversations happening at the decision-making table (Doucett 2021).

Prior to the construction of the LRT, there were several informal foot paths from the Traynor-Vanier neighbourhood to Fairway Road, where many of the amenities exist. After the LRT was constructed, a fence was put in place, and the informal walking paths soon disappeared due to the new fencing in place. With adequate consultation and community discussions, the informal walkways were turned into official walking paths, further impeding residents' access to everyday

services and supports. As a result, community advocates pushed decision-makers to create a formal crossing path. This mattered to residents as it would only reduce the distance between retail spaces and community services and carved out a path that is safe and accessible for residents in the community to use. However, it was only in the 2018 mayoral elections that councillors and the mayor started to listen to the demands, and in August of 2018, a new pedestrian crossing was approved. However, this was not an easy feat as residents had to make long detours around the LRT to access services that are located within 100 metres (with the informal walking paths). They had to idly stand by for years as their call for more safe and accessible pedestrian crossings in their neighbourhood went unheard (Doucett 202).

The second displacement type is "direct, last resident displacement in downtown Kitchener," where gentrification occurs with much direct displacement. Under this type of displacement, there are two categories; the first is renoviction, where landlords renovate their buildings, evict existing tenants, raise the rents and rent out their units to individuals and households with higher incomes, resulting in the displacement of previous low-income tenants. The second is displacement density, where the construction of the LRT brings in newly planned developments in the urban core. Although some developments occur on empty lots, several development projects require affordable rental buildings to be demolished, directly displacing tenants in these older buildings (Doucett 2021).

The third type of displacement is "exclusionary displacement in the urban core." This is when new developments (i.e. new housing projects) replace existing affordable housing units/low-rental buildings without providing new affordable housing options for low-income households (including older tenants). In the years leading up to the construction and opening of the LRT, more than 8,500 new units have been built along the Central Transit Corridor (Doucett 2021). However, low-income, and middle-income households cannot afford these new units, either because they are too expensive or because they are too small for their households and families (Doucett 2021).

The fourth type of displacement describes a process whereby certain social groups are "displaced from the future of downtown Kitchener." The limited supply of affordable housing along the transit corridor results in the existing and future working-class residents being priced out of the future of downtown Kitchener. Doucett (2021) mentions that planners and politicians

plan to build affordable housing will be built at a distance from the urban core and the LRT line, in areas where land is inexpensive, and residents can travel downtown via the LRT. Therefore, it is evident developers, and some planners and policymakers are trying to attract a particular type of social group, notably professionals in the creative and tech industries.

In "Transit-oriented Development and Gentrification: a systematic review," Padeiro et al. (2019) discuss the apparent increase in Transit-oriented development (TOD) in many cities. The authors touch upon the reasons behind the growing trend in TODs and a range of benefits, such as building liveable and sustainable communities near transit services and reducing the need to use automobiles to travel around (Padeiro et al. 2019, p. 734). What needs to be added to Padeiro et al. (2019), who does seem to deal with some of this, is the social and equity issues surrounding TODs. Padeiro et al. (2019) reiterate that policy advocates and researchers have mentioned the likelihood of TOD interventions resulting in gentrification and displacement for low-income residents (p. 735).

Housing Policy and the Financialization of Housing

For Aalbers (2019) the term "financialization of housing" means that housing "increasingly becoming more dependent on finance" (p. 31). He further elaborates on the different ways housing financialization takes shape and mentions that there are mortgage lenders, owners, landlords and tenants (rental housing) (Aalbers 2019, p. 32). Treating housing as an investment and a means of accumulating capital is increasingly common today. Financialization deepens the extent to which we prioritize housing as an exchange value (how much can we get by buying and selling housing as a commodity) rather than viewing it through its use-value (having a place to live, work, sleep and eat). This has significant negative implications for people who are finding it difficult to afford housing in the city. Towards the end of the chapter Aalbers (2018) mentions the need to research the actors within financial institutions and the markets and practices they use to become more dominant (p. 42).

August (2022) closely examines how the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated existing inequalities in rental housing for families and individuals and seniors living in Long Term Care (LTCs) homes and retirement homes. The number of eviction notices passed onto people living in private rental buildings and LTC and retirement homes exposed the precarious living housing situations that many households and groups are in. It also highlighted how profit is prioritized

over people's health and well-being when financial investors buy and manage private rental buildings.

August (2022) defines the financialization of housing as "the treatment of housing as a financial asset that is managed and traded as an investment product for finance capital, rather than being managed to prioritize the security and quality of life for residents within" (p. 290).

Financialization has existed since the 1970s but intensified in the 1990s and 2000s, with finance not only finding its way to the housing sector but also into social reproduction as a large part of unpaid care work (traditionally performed by women) has now undergone the process of financialization as things like education, childcare and eldercare have been commodified. To further explore how finance, "extracts from spaces of home and care, August focused on apartment buildings and seniors housing (LTC and retirement homes)," (2022, p. 290).

Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) and companies listed as private equity funds, public exchanges, asset managers, and institutional investors are considered financial investor firms (August 2021). Upon a closer look at REITs, ownership of multi-family rental buildings skyrocketed from zero private rental buildings in Canada in 1996 to more than 194,000 units as of 2020. REITs and other financial firms now own roughly 20% of Canada's apartment stock. The numbers are even more astounding when reviewing the financialization of senior homes. Roughly 42% of retirement homes and 22% of LTCs are owned and managed by investor firms, which now own 33% of senior buildings in Canada (August 2021, p. 291).

These opportunities for finance investor firms to own and manage several private rental buildings and seniors' homes were made possible by the neoliberal reforms that saw the Canadian government moving away from building social housing and creating social welfare programs from the 1980s onwards. In Ontario, the Harris government accelerated this neoliberal shift starting in 1995. This opened the door for investors to purchase, finance, and profit from housing, which, in hindsight, should be a social right afforded to everyone. A crucial enabling step: the deregulation of vacancy control. The Ontario Tenant Protection Act (1997) empowered landlords by removing rent controls on vacant apartments, which had the effect of pushing up overall rent levels in the sector (August 2021).

It was not until the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic that policymakers, advocates, and researchers saw the severe adverse outcomes that have arisen due to financial firms and landlords prioritizing gains over the health and security of residents. For apartments, several COVID-19-related evictions infringed on the rights of individuals and families to have access to safe and secure housing. Moreover, in the case of seniors housing, the lack of adequate care and resources provided was fatal, with LTCs experiencing "the highest rates of death compared to both municipal and non-profit homes." (August 2021, p. 291).

Continuing to view housing through the lens of profit and speculative financial gains will not only threaten the many families and individuals living in rental buildings and senior homes but can alter the social fabric and what it means to access safe and adequate housing in Canada. Furthermore, although many organizations have advocated and called on policymakers to address this dire situation, there needs to be a more "dramatic shift towards decommodified, definancialized sectors with socialized ownership, affordable rents, secure tenure and tenant-led management" (August 2021, p. 300) [i.e., social housing: public and cooperative].

In another paper, August (2020) describes how new finance firms targeted multi-family apartments in the 1990s and how REITs went from owning zero to 20% of the apartment rental stock (August 2020; August 2021). She describes how neoliberal policies created favourable conditions for financial investors to purchase many rental buildings and assemble sizeable portfolios with several properties (assets). Tenants are placed in the middle of this financial scheme and may be displaced as financial capital and profits continue to be prioritized. For example, a 10-storey apartment building was sold in 2010 to a financial firm, Timbercreek Asset Management. The previous property manager was Metcap Living, who essentially tried to increase the rent without fixing the existing building. Timbercreek, however, renovated the units and the entire building to increase rents to attract more affluent residents who could afford the dramatic increase. This process has been referred to as a renoviction. Not only is this tactic sneaky, but it is also predatory. Many REITs follow this strategy (August 2020).

Financialized landlords like Timbercreek Asset Management continue to grow their portfolio as they acquire more multi-family rental buildings, which further dispossess residents and adversely affects their safety and overall well-being as they are exposed to extractive business practices. Currently, the 25 biggest landlords in Canada include Capreit and Broadwalk REIT

(both REIT companies), Realstar Properties Ltd and Starlight Investments (Real estate investment and Asset Manager for pensions), and Homestead Landholdings LTD (private, family-run company). Since the early 2000s, new REITs have entered the field: Alkelius (the biggest foreign landlord) along with Realstar, Minto Group and Oxford Properties. Finance firms continue to shape the market for multi-family rental buildings. Large foreign investors are also entering the market without much scrutiny by the government (August 2020).

August and Walks (2018) discuss the financialization of housing as a "new rental form of gentrification that has emerged around the globe" (p. 124). This is driven by the financialization of housing, deregulation and limited social housing options for low-income renters, newcomers, immigrants, and refugees, and lack of tenant protections. Rental units are transformed and upgraded not to benefit low-income tenants but for high-income renters who can afford the increased rent prices that landlords present. Many poorer residents are at risk or have already been displaced from these newly renovated apartment buildings. They are forced to find affordable housing outside the urban core, further depriving them of the support and services within their existing neighbourhood (August & Walks 2018).

Investors and financial firms target these aging apartment rental buildings, and private equity funds "float securities on domestic and international markets and use the proceeds to purchase older rental buildings charging affordable rents and then apply a range of business strategies to extract value from the buildings, existing tenants and local neighbourhoods, and flow them to investors," (August & Walks 2018, p. 124). Conducting a national scale analysis helps reveal how different government policies either inhibit or promote financial institutions in the housing market. Across the country, each province has distinct rent control regulations that can encourage or discourage financial firms from investing in sectors like housing.

Comparing the different policies in Canada allows us to understand the extent to which investors and private equity funds actively participate in sectors that previously addressed residents' social determinants of health. August (2020) discusses how three out of the five provinces (Manitoba, Quebec, and British Columbia) have rent controls on vacant units resulting in a low number of Canada's REIT-owned suites in each of the provinces. In Manitoba only 0.05% of the rental market is owned by REITs because rent control is tied explicitly to apartment units rather than individual tenants (August 2020, p. 983). Quebec also has rent and vacancy

controls. As a result, only 3% of rentals are REIT-owned in the province. However, it is essential to mention that other factors prevent finance firms from building a portfolio in Quebec: lower demand, various social housing options, and language barriers (August 2020, p. 984).

Furthermore, there are many low-rise walk-up apartments in Quebec; they differ from the type of apartment buildings that REITs acquire in provinces like Ontario.

The policy conditions that allowed finance firms, private equity funds, and institutional investors to flourish have allowed the affordable housing crisis to continue and deepening. As a result, low-income families and individuals are at risk of displacement and homelessness. The agendas and priorities of these financialized landlords boil down to one main thing: making a profit and obtaining capital. There is no emphasis on people, much less ensuring affordable housing options exist for residents (August 2020).

Rolnik (2013) also highlights the impact of the financialization of housing in various parts of the world. She emphasizes that treating housing as a commodity and an investment makes it impossible to see it as a right to which everyone is entitled (p. 1058; Farha 2016). She explains the increase in housing finance since the 1990s, in places like the U.S., UK, Denmark, Australia, and Japan as well as in post-socialist countries in Europe. There, financialization was made possible after social housing was privatized, welfare programs and subsidies were cut, and rent control was deregulated (Rolnik 2013, p. 1059).

Community Based Participatory Planning

Community-Based Participatory Planning is an "urban planning paradigm that emphasizes including the entire community in the strategic and management processes of urban planning" (MB UISP). Participatory Planning was not a central component in urban planning, let alone advocated for by decision-makers that have traditionally (and still do) held significant power and influence over the planning process. The need to integrate more citizens into the decision-making process slowly arose due to the growing challenges and complex urban issues that were increasingly unsolved. Lane (2005) discusses this shift in Public Participation in Planning: an intellectual history by discussing how public participation readily became more recognized as a critical feature in creating and implementing policy and further elaborated on this by saying, "... the world has become too complex and our leaders too fallible for anything approaching a universal good even to exist, let alone be reliably located. The new political culture no longer

places much faith in solutions imposed from above, increasingly relying instead on a network of decision-making relationships that link government and civil society across many scales" (Lane 2005, p. 287).

Some examples of Community Based Participatory Planning in urban planning have been included in the Urban Planning: Planning the City with and for its Citizens report by the Montreal Urban Ecology Center (MUEC). One participatory planning project was done by residents who live in Habitations Émile-Nelligan II, a social housing project in Montréal. There were growing concerns about the lack of green spaces at the back of the building and residents living in the social housing project. MUEC conducted a series of information sessions and design workshops to recreate the space and think of innovative ways to incorporate more greenery. Ultimately, the project was completed and saw the removal of 2,500 square feet of asphalt and the subsequent transformation of the space, which now houses plants, fruits, and trees, making it a more inviting and welcoming space for residents in the housing project and the surrounding area (MUEC 2016). However, with planning projects (like the one above and ones where newly constructed mixed-use developments are being built), there are still some challenges around community consultations and citizens' power to truly make an impact when it comes to how their communities are even shaped. There need to be discussions around the role of community consultations and discussions when tackling and addressing complex planning issues. This leads to the next point about community consultation's role (lack, therefore) in planning transit-oriented developments.

In *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*, Arnstein (1969) describes citizen participation as the "redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future" (p. 216). Citizen participation, in theory, upholds this idea of democracy that everyone encourages; however, once they start to dissect what citizen participation entails, those in positions of power start to think otherwise.

Arnstein (1969) describes citizen participation as a way to rectify power imbalances and ensure that power that has traditionally been withheld from the hands of the have-nots (Blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indigenous peoples) is now redistributed and shared with them. The author goes on to explain the difference between passively participating in discussions and

citizens having the power to change and influence the outcome of decisions. The result of her reflections: the ladder of citizen participation and its eight participation levels.

Looking at community consultations, both the third (informing) and fourth (consultation) level of participation describes how individuals in positions of power might listen and hear from communities. Informing is when information is given to residents about upcoming consultation sessions that are scheduled in the area. Consultation is a rung above informing, which happens when, "explicit means are used to obtain the views of citizens, such as through attitude surveys and public meetings," (Hodge 2020, p. 379). Citizens continue to lack power and influence in the planning process. Furthermore, power holders use these meetings to prove that communities were consulted and have checked off that part of the development process on their list (Arnstein 1969).

In this case, community consultations and public discussions are great examples that show decision-makers conversing with the public, knowing that they do not have any political, economic, or social influence on what is planned for the community (Hodge 2020). This process illustrates that decision-makers with power ultimately speak with citizens without genuinely comprehending the power imbalances at play. Arnstein's typology was developed to illustrate and clarify the difference between citizens participating and having an impact at the decision-making tables and citizens who are included in the conversation without much care or consideration for their perspective.

According to Arnstein (1969), the eight levels of participation are arranged in a "ladder pattern for illustrative purposes" (p. 25). At the bottom of the ladder, we have (1) manipulation and (2) therapy. These two rungs describe "non-participation," where citizens are invited to the table only to be educated and 'cured'. The following two rungs are (3) informing and (4) consultation. Both are examples of "tokenism" as the have-nots (Blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos) can participate in the conversation and be heard. However, their feedback will not be included or incorporated into the decision-making process. Rung (5) (Placation) is only a step above the previous two rungs. Here, the have-nots can advise and participate but those with power retain the final say and can decide whether or not to consider the perspectives of the have-nots. Rung (6) is a partnership, and in this part of the ladder, some trade-offs can happen between the citizen and those in positions of power. The last rungs, (7) delegated power and (8)

citizen control, have the citizens at the decision-making table making and implementing important decisions.

Fischer (2012) dives into the theory and practice of participatory governance. Participatory governance is "a variant or subset of governance theory which emphasizes democratic engagement, particularly through deliberative practices" (p. 457). One of the many goals of participatory governance is to create more meaningful ways that citizens can engage and be included in the political process and influence what happens in their communities. Several organizations have welcomed participatory governance into their space, such as the European Union (EU), UN-Habitat, and World Bank, to name a few. Moreover, upon closer examination, many of these ideas stem from political parties in Mexico, Brazil, and India that have developed progressive projects that actively promote participatory practices in their work (Fischer 2012).

Participatory governance seeks to actively include citizens in the decision-making rather than restrict their roles as voters who have a say in whom they elect rather than being included and engaged in some of the decisions. Before the emergency of participatory governance, citizens were only adequately engaged in the political, social, and economic processes when information was being distributed to them. Furthermore, as much as this is seen as a way for the public to get involved and become active in the participation process, it still misses a vital opportunity to combat the traditional views around participation and how the current that citizens are engaged in is performative and not genuine. Policymakers and organizations need to be held accountable, and the power imbalance between policymakers and citizens needs to be removed to redistribute the power and create an equal level playing field. This can result in "fairer distribution of resources, the de-centralization of decision-making processes, the development of a wide and transparent exchange of knowledge and info, the establishment of collaborative partnerships, an emphasis on inter-institutional dialogue and greater accountability" (Fischer 2012, p. 458). By doing this, we can create opportunities for thoughtful engagement and active participation from communities (Fischer 2012).

Fischer focuses on the first of six discussion topics regarding participatory governance: citizen competence, empowerment, and capacity-building. Moreover, it touches on how citizens can build their community and capacity-building skills to be a part of transformative policies and programs. Rather than solely disseminating information to the public and focusing on getting it

out there, reviewing the impact these more comprehensive conversations have on marginalized communities is essential. However, getting citizens to participate in social, economic, and political processes and discussions also comes with its own challenges. Furthermore, allowing public participation in the various stages of policy decision-making can increase community capacity building itself and can help foster mutual understanding and develop social trust. For one, significant barriers prevent the public from including their perspectives. With more incentives, this will continue to foster power imbalances, preventing participatory governance from reaching its full potential (Fischer 2012).

Key to participatory governance are service delivery and equity. The main goal of capacity building is to increase the effectiveness of existing services, programs, and policies. Moreover, it can also help citizens assess projects through a critical and equitable lens. When you incorporate community members' perspectives, you not only address issues and develop tangible solutions but also provide a space where more effective developments, programs, and policies can take shape, leaving a lasting impact on the livelihoods of many rather than a select few. This also reaffirms the idea that residents know what needs to be done and are equipped with solutions that are rooted in equity. However, the critical point is that having bargained citizens at the table does not always guarantee fair outcomes. For that to occur, the following factors must be included, "distribution of power, motivation levels of participants, and the presence of groups that can facilitate the process" (Fischer 2012, p. 462).

The third discussion point for participatory governance is political representation and power distribution. Understanding and recognizing that decisions made collectively with citizens after lengthy discussions are much better than policymakers leaving out the public and keeping them in the dark about final outcomes is essential. In this, participatory governance is introduced to compensate for citizens' lack of meaningful and active participation. It continues to emphasize that without political groups and public members making the final decision, we can not only create spaces for meaningful participation to take place, but we can also develop healthier communities. Furthermore, if the "power gap" exists, we cannot move forward and deliberate over key outcomes (Fischer 2012).

The fourth (empowered participatory governance) and fifth (projects and practices: citizens' panels, participatory budgeting, and people's planning) points also highlight the significance of

participatory governance when it comes to deepening and strengthening relationships with citizens to encourage them to actively participate in developing programs and policies that apply to their well-being. Moreover, the fifth component provides tangible, real-life examples of how citizen participation can help change communities and cities for everyone. Fischer (2012) mentions participatory budgeting process in Brazil and the development planning in India. In Porto Alegre, Brazil, they utilized participatory governance by allowing citizens to contribute to the critical aspects of the city's budget that would support roughly 1.3 million citizens. Once the budget has been created with the assistance of public members, it would go through the mayor, who would either accept the budget or ask the council to make some revisions before accepting it. In Kerala, India, popular planning has meant that citizens develop plans and follow principles of participation at local and state levels of government. Both projects highlight the need to include government officials and local community grassroots groups at the table to forge relationships where citizens can take an active role in planning and designing (Fischer 2012).

The last component brings forth a new type of expertise participatory expertise to support participatory governance. Participatory expertise challenges the techno-bureaucratic way of making decisions. It encourages NGOs, policymakers, and leaders to incorporate the public in decisions that will affect them and their communities. Again, it is not just about sharing information but about developing a mutual understanding and discussions that will encourage participants to share their thoughts and ideas. Furthermore, those ideas can hold essential solutions that can help address the problem at hand (Fischer 2012).

Lastly, Fischer (2012) and Arnstein (1969) have some overarching themes, with one being the importance of engaging citizens and figuring out ways to deepen engagement among groups left out of critical discussions creatively. Rung 7 (delegate power) in the ladder of citizen participation resembles both the fourth (empowered participatory governance) and fifth (projects and practices: citizens' panels, participatory budgeting, and people's planning). Citizens having the power to control the outcome of major decisions and be accountable to their communities is one that many racialized groups call for, especially in the wake of planning-related issues in the city (i.e. affordable housing). Recognizing that the citizens are capable of solving problems and executing them is crucial, and understanding that there needs to be a direct change in the role community-based participatory planning plays in cities like Toronto and abroad.

Part 2: Methods and Methodologies

To address the guiding research questions, my methodology used the following methods to gather qualitative data: semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and fieldwork and observations (including capturing photos of the site and the neighbourhood of Flemingdon Park). I also gathered quantitative data, including housing statistics (CMHC) and census data to identify trends in the neighbourhood.

Interviews

I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews to get a wide array of perspectives on transit-oriented developments, specifically their impact on neighbouring communities situated along the LRT corridors (Eglinton Crosstown LRT). The list of interviewees included two senior planners and one program manager working on Transit-Oriented Developments at the City of Toronto. In addition to those three professionals, I interviewed three residents and the director of a community health center in Flemingdon Park. The semi-structured interviews allowed interviewees to offer their expertise, thoughts and opinions about transit-oriented development and provided room to ask follow-up questions. I also contacted the city councillor's office and a representative from Metrolinx's community office, unsuccessfully. Councillor Burnside's office declined the interview and the community representative for Metrolinx's east community center never responded to my query. Some perspectives that are only indirectly present - in my research findings and analyses.

Document Analysis

Bowen (2009, p. 27) describes document analysis as a "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents--both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material." My systematic procedure included the following: reviewing existing research/literature on the topic of transit-oriented developments and transit-oriented gentrification, formulating research questions that respond to a few of the gaps identified in the literature, identifying what research design works by responding to the research questions (fieldwork observation, interviewing, collecting quantitative and qualitative studies), acquiring ethics approval for

interviewing human subjects, collecting and analyzing data that I have compiled and finally presenting my findings and conclusion in my research paper. Documents analysed examples include meeting minutes, journals, books, maps, articles, newspapers, survey data, and more. Upon analyzing and writing down my research findings, I have relied on grey literature, including blog sites, newspaper articles, photos, and social media posts. Some of those pieces have provided context, for example the tenant strike that happened at 31-35 St. Dennis Drive, and rent control in both older and newer apartment buildings. I also relied on reports from different countries and cities, including the eTOD strategies adopted in Austin, Texas. I also relied on reports to document some of the challenges and successes of inclusionary zoning programs and policies. Lastly, I reviewed a series of development applications and supporting documents to understand what is being proposed in the area and what this would mean for individuals and families looking for supportive housing.

Field Work and Observations

While I compiled my research findings. I have noticed changes in Flemingdon Park. I observed the multiple public notices announcing new developments in my neighbourhood (i.e. condos, market rate rentals, townhouses). Some of the notices were vandalized. One of the developments currently in the construction phase has made some headway: a 37-storey building adjacent to an existing 17-storey private rental building. Moreover, over the last couple of months, some additional developments have been made to the Crosstown Community (former Celestica Inc) site, including the near completion of some of the office and retail space. All these observations and work done on the field have allowed me to visualize what Flemingdon Park will look like soon. Some of the photos I have captured in this research paper will allow readers to see where these developments are placed in the community.

Part 3: Theoretical Framework

Rent Gap Theory

The two general approaches found in the literature on gentrification are socio-cultural and economic. The socio-cultural approach highlights the role of social demand in causing gentrification, for example the desire of affluent young professionals to live closer to the urban center and away from the suburbs. This approach might hypothesize that housing options and unit sizes offered today all over the city are geared towards independent young working professionals. It would speculate that young gentrifiers' demand for single living explains why in Ontario, condominiums are "35% smaller on average than they were 25 years ago" (Municipal Property Assessment Corporation 2022).

The second approach to gentrification one might call economic. In "Towards a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People," Smith (1979) describes the process of devaluation followed by the process of gentrification in inner-city neighbourhoods in various American cities. He explains that although researchers focus on the effect of gentrification, not many touch upon the cause of the profit accumulating process (Smith 1979). For Smith (1979, 1987), residential gentrification does of course involve people, the gentrifiers. But he argues that investment in the built environment (which are in turn shaped by broader dynamics of capital accumulation), not the desires of the gentrifiers, are the primary drivers of the process. Smith further proposes that we identify "rent gaps" to study when and where gentrification might happen in particular cities.

Smith (1979) refers to the rent gap as "the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use" (p. 545). Essentially, the rent gap focuses on the difference between the actual and potential value of the site. The actual value measures the rent levels collected in the current state of an area, while the potential value looks at the "highest and best use of the site" (Clark 1995, p. 1490; Smith 1979). The more significant the rent gap in the area, the likelihood of gentrification happening in that neighbourhood. Developers and investors evaluate, assess the value of an area with the view of maximizing the difference between the current and the potential land value (Smith 1987). Smith (1979) explains how this process unfolds by stating that "gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that

developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer," (p. 545).

Furthermore, identifies three different types of developers driving the gentrification process. The first is the "professional developer," where the individual landlord or developer would purchase land, redevelop it, and resell it to make a profit. The second is the "occupier developer," who purchases and renovates the property and decides to reside there. The third and last is the "landlord developer," who "rents units to tenants" after the renovation has been completed (Smith 1979, p. 546). Again, in the case of professional developers, they obtain their profits through the sale of their property (an example would be units within a newly constructed high-rise building), and the landlord would obtain their profit through individual tenants' rents (especially if there is a frequent increase in rent prices).

The rent gap theory is meant to provide a theoretical framework to explain the process of gentrification, which Smith sees as a back to the city movement of capital, not people. Favourable conditions allow developers and landlords to take advantage of low land rents in a particular area in order to maximize the returns from investing in real estate there. The figure below further explains the rent gap by discussing the capitalized ground rent and the potential ground rent.

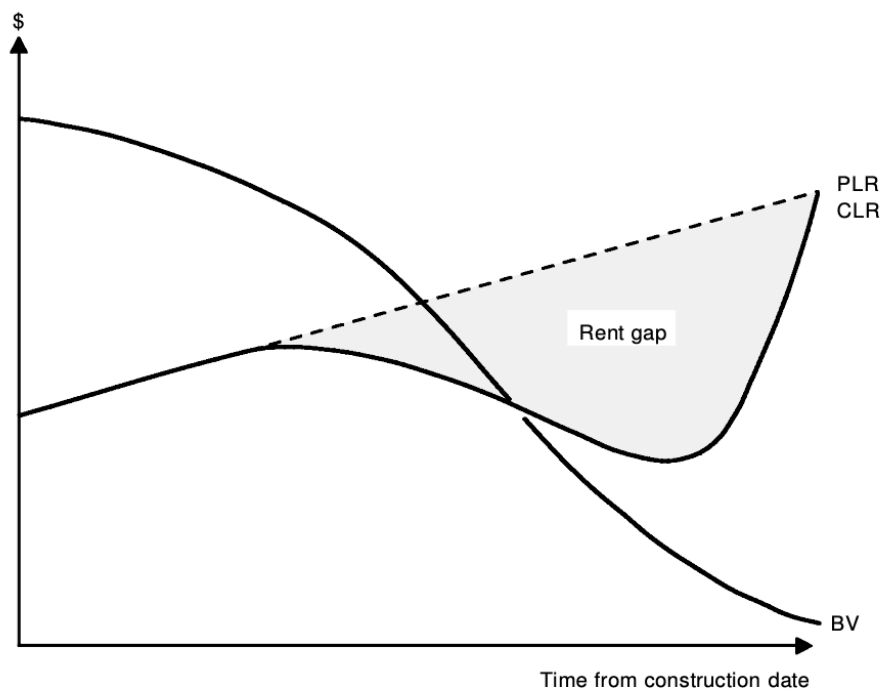


Figure 1. The rent gap. PLR = potential land rent; CLR = capitalised land rent (corresponds to actual land rent); BV = building value.

Figure 1. The Rent Gap Re-Examined (Clark 1995, p. 1491)

How do we bring this discussion back to the question of transit-oriented development and racism? First, when investors are allowed to speculate on land value increases in areas around future transit stops, they might try to close the gap between current and future rent values. If they do so, their investments might have gentrifying impacts on the area in question. Second, there is an argument that transit-induced gentrification (in fact, gentrification in general) has adverse racialized impacts on residents and their livability. This may be the case whenever transit-oriented (real-estate) development targets districts inhabited by predominantly non-white working class communities. Whether this is the case is the subject of this major paper.

Racial Capitalism

Leroy & Jenkins (2021) argue that racial capitalism is not a by-product of capitalism. Research on capitalism has traditionally excluded or reduced race to an effect, not a building block of capitalism. For Leroy and Jenkins, however, the notion of racial capitalism intends to examine "the historical relationship between economic relations of exploitation and the racial terms

through which they were organized, justified and contested." (Leroy & Jenkins, p. 2 & 3). Racial capitalism is defined as "the process by which the key dynamics of capitalism - accumulation/dispossession, credit/debit, production/surplus, capitalist/worker, developed/underdeveloped, contract/coercion, and others - become articulated through race" (Leroy & Jenkins, p. 3; Melamed 2015). Racial capitalism has included "exploitation and expropriation, including slavery, colonialism, and enclosure, to push racialized communities into capitalist modes of production and accumulation" (Leroy & Jenkins, p. 3).

The term itself first started to take shape during the 1970s in South Africa during the struggle to end apartheid. Although some used it to describe in detail the racial-economic situation, white Marxists viewed race as an afterthought second in importance to class. The term once again made its rounds and found prominence as Neville Alexander, who was imprisoned with Nelson Mandela and co-founded the National Forum, incorporated racial capitalism in the National Forums manifesto, where Alexander explicitly stated how racial capitalism is a system that purposefully holds the people of South African in bondage. At the same time, the White minorities reap the benefits and rewards around the misfortune of Black South Africans. Alexander concluded the manifesto by stating, "Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism" (Leroy & Jenkins 2021, p. 4; Kundnani 2020).

With reference to these discussions, Robinson transformed the idea of racial capitalism "from a description of a specific system to a way of understanding the general history of modern capitalism." (Leroy & Jenkins 2021, p. 4). In *Black Marxism*, Robinson continued to say that capitalism did not do away with previous social divisions, such as racism. If anything, class, ethnic and religious divisions were fueled by racism. Although the history around the formation of racial capitalism is tied to several historical events, such as the Atlantic Slave Trade, Leroy, and Jenkins (2021) also make this crucial argument that "racial capitalism marks a historical intimacy among the slave trade, enslavement, and colonialism that often goes unacknowledged, but also captures the way slavery epitomized a racial system of valuation and extraction that continues to this day," (p. 11).

According to Dantizler et al. (2022), scholars and researchers are encouraged to employ racial capitalism in their theoretical frameworks and use it as a theory that can help extend and challenge existing frameworks that are rooted in the "urban" cities and communities. Also, the

article discusses the role of racism, and racial capitalism within urban scholarship along with relevant urban-related theories. Some scholars argue that racial inequality is "an unfortunate consequence of urban processes driven by the political and economic elite" (p. 163). Other researchers believe that racism and corresponding racial inequalities play a central role in creating these same urban processes and, subsequently, the uneven spatial developments produced by these economies. Finally, the Black Radical Tradition scholars continued to show the link between racism and capitalism by showing keen interest in centering capitalism in discussion surrounding urban environment (Dantzler et al. 2022).

The focus of the article has been to call both the city council and the communities attention to the urban processes which are tainted with racial capitalism. They further go on to showcase both perspectives from Europeanists and Black Radical researchers, and this includes describing the role race plays as one significant "unfortunate consequence" without much consideration of the changes and irregular shifts that exist within the process of urbanization. Du Bois and other Black radical scholars relied on empirical data to support their research and highlight the existing urban processes in U.S. urban planning in cities (Du Bois & Eaton 1899). Cities are not only spaces of conflict but are spaces that reaffirm boundaries and further exploit racialized people and prevent them from accessing places that they have helped shape and build. Robinson argued "that class, as an analytical category, did not fully explain the mechanism by which different groups were subjected to forms of slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide around the globe" (Dantzler et al. 2022, p. 167; Robinson 1983).

Despite the emergence of racial capitalism and the work put in by Black Radical Tradition scholars such as Robinson and Du Bois, there has not been much movement from urban researchers to use or expand on Robinson's theory of racial capitalism in this line of research. It was not until the 2000 edition of *Black Marxism* by Robinson was re-published that some academics actively used and incorporated racial capitalism into their work, with topics ranging from real estate, evictions, and gentrification to public health and food security. "What unites these applications of racial capitalism is their compliance with two tenets: (1) racism and capitalism are mutually constitutive systems of exploitation and expropriation, and (2) urbanization processes are rooted in constructions of race, racialization, and differentiation" (Dantzler et al. 2022, p. 168).

Rucks-Ahidiana (2022) uses racial capitalism as a theoretical framework that can be used to explain both the process of gentrification and how it changes depending on the neighbourhood's racial composition. She goes on to explain that race is one of the key elements defining urban processes and urbanization (Dantzler 2021; Dantzler et al. 2022; Rucks-Ahidiana 2022).

Despite the countless attempts of scholars and vast amounts of researchers highlighting racial inequalities as second to that other characteristic in research around gentrification, many critical parts of the discussion need to be included, such as how gentrification unfolds. This goes back to why Rucks-Ahidiana utilized racial capitalism as a theory that can show how and why gentrification occurs unevenly and unequally. The author of this article describes racial capitalism as "an economic system in which race defines value and profit accumulation because capitalism is inherently a racialized system." (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022, p. 174).

Furthermore, Rucks-Ahidiana (2022) explains how the value of products, places, and people is inextricably tied to a group within the racial hierarchy. The higher a group is on the racial hierarchy, the higher the value of their products, places, and people; in this case, those individuals would be white. This is in comparison to groups who are lower on the racial hierarchy, the values attached to the products, places and people would be lower, and in this case, those people would belong to a minority group such as black people. This has driven the author to investigate and conceptualize gentrification through the lens of racial capitalism and expand on the theory itself and urge scholars and researchers to include different theories and account for the ways race plays a central role in all of this.

The article further explains how different communities might experience gentrification and highlights how the process changes depending on the racial composition of an area. Through the valuation process, investor developers often assign value to specific areas, increasing investment in communities that have traditionally been neglected. According to Rucks-Ahidiana, valuation "increases the value of a neighbourhood and its residents; devaluation decreases the value, and revaluation is when the value of the neighbourhood is reassessed/reevaluated." Developers see if areas are either valued or devalued. With valued neighbourhoods, investors and developers are prone to pour investment into those communities by developing a series of infrastructure projects that would generate much profit.

Rucks-Ahidiana (2022) further explores valuation and how this process varies from neighborhood to neighborhood and the stakeholders that benefit from this (i.e. investors, developers). She goes on to state that, "for neighborhoods, valuation contributes to when and how changes occur, particularly in the case of gentrification as a process of capital reinvestment in low-income neighborhoods," (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022, p. 178-179).

Moreover, regarding devalued neighbourhoods, developers are less likely to invest in those communities as they see a loss of profit. This leads Rucks-Ahidiana (2022) to develop a definition that describes gentrification "as a racialized process of class change." (p. 174). This definition highlights that although the process primarily occurs in racialized spaces, not all neighbourhoods at risk of gentrification or amid gentrification will experience a racial change.

Rucks-Ahidiana (2022) focuses on filling in the gaps within current research studies around gentrification due to a need for more engagement with the theory of racial capitalism. The first gap that Rucks-Ahidiana presents is that before, theories would suggest that racialized neighbourhoods were prone to real estate or were at an increased risk of gentrification due to a severe lack of investment over a significant period, however when discussing devaluation (decrease in value in some of these areas) this theory does not seem to be the case for all racialized neighbourhoods. The second gap discusses how both valuation and devaluation can help explain why gentrification happens unevenly and why there are no consistent patterns on how this process occurs. The third gap demonstrates how revaluation can alter the racial composition of a neighbourhood; for example, a majority white neighbourhood can change over time and can result in an increase in racialized people (racism/discrimination/white flight can also factor into this debate). The last gap explains how the process of valuation, devaluation and revaluation can explain the way gentrification stakeholders value a specific area can affect the pace and scale of how gentrification unfolds (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022).

Although the process of valuation (increase in value) examines the economic value of neighbourhoods, developers might also look at the "social and cultural worth" of an area. For example, in the case of housing, individuals and families might move into areas to be closer to their families, communities, and infrastructure projects that support their day-to-day activity (i.e., Transit). So, in this case, you can argue that Transit being near and accessible to racialized folks attracts developers to carve out and create housing opportunities for high-income earners.

Moreover, having developers closely examine a neighbourhood's "cultural worth" can help them generate a story of a particular place and sell it to interested households (i.e., high-income earners). Furthermore, this story might include the various social and cultural aspects the neighbourhood offers (i.e., cultural centers, museums, and cultural/ethnic food stores) (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022).

The typical Weberian, demand-side, socio-cultural theory narrative is that gentrification is triggered by "higher socioeconomic status homebuyers or renters choosing a particular neighbourhood (Rucks-Ahidiana 2022, p. 182)." Many things can drive the process of gentrification in specific neighbourhoods, including large-scale infrastructure projects and redevelopments by government officials, developers, and investors. These developments can include large-scale transit projects, transit-oriented development, hospitals, and schools). Jones and Ley (2016) elaborate on the process of gentrification by discussing its role in the development of transit-oriented projects in Metro Vancouver, specifically along the SkyTrain Corridor. Along the corridor, one can find private, low-rise rental buildings built in the 1970s, which serve as an affordable housing option for poorer residents living in Vancouver and Burnaby. In this case, the flexibility and convenience that low-income racialized residents, newcomers, and immigrants enjoy and appreciate is the same flexibility and convenience sought by developers, planners, and city officials (Jones & Ley 2016; Jones 2023).

Jones, and Ley (2016) further discuss the positive relationship between land value and transit and illustrate the export prices in neighbouring rental buildings near it. Furthermore, by tying in the concept of valuation and revaluation from Rucks-Ahidiana (2022), we can understand how developers view these areas and largely how examining this process through a racial capitalism lens can conceptualize this process of transit-induced gentrification as a racialized process that impacts low-income households that might be lower in the racial hierarchy. Although stakeholders argue that transit-oriented development is an environmentally sustainable option that can reduce automobile dependency, this argument neglects the social, cultural, and economic impact on the people that utilize and need transit the most. So, employing a racial capitalism lens highlights the profit accumulation process that is gentrification and describes how race plays a role in how gentrification changes the built environment and at what pace.

Part 4: The Development of Flemingdon Park

Flemingdon Park

History of Flemingdon Park

The existing aging apartment buildings in every neighbourhood across the City of Toronto follow the tower-in-the-park model, where large high-rise buildings are built surrounded by open green spaces (or parking lots, as the case may be). Flemingdon Park is a neighbourhood that is no different in this respect. But it does have its own history. Flemingdon Park (Don Valley Ward 16) was owned by Robert John Fleming, who won the mayoral elections with a stunning majority and served from 1892 to 1897. The Donlands Farms (Flemingdon Park) was put up for sale by William Maclean (former Member of Parliament) in 1922 and was later acquired by Fleming. The farm was massive, spanning 1000 acres of land from St. Dennis Drive to north of Don Mills Shopping Center (Shops at Don Mills) and Lawrence Avenue. Fleming would live out the rest of his years at the farm until his death in October 1925. His children and grandchildren continued to live on the property until the 1940s and '50s when the estate was sold off to developers who built what was then the largest planned apartment city neighbourhood in Toronto (Brown 2021).

The high-rise apartments (“towers in the park”, following Le Corbusier) were used to curtail sprawl. They were also created to maximize density while leaving generous open green spaces and parks. Built for families and singles, the towers were marketed as a destination “for those who enjoy fun living” (Brown 2021; Tower Renewal Blog 2008). The high-rise buildings were also developed in response to the increased number of people immigrating to Canada after the Second World War. However, despite the popularity of apartment cities, city councillors were still apprehensive about the plan to develop and create a tower-filled neighbourhood in Toronto. Travelling to countries such as Sweden and the U.K. did not satisfy their growing concerns. However, despite their reservations, the plans were implemented to construct what we now know as Flemingdon Park (Brown 2021; Martin et al. 2015).



Figure 2. Flemingdon Park Master Plan, 1958 (Tower Renewal Blog 2008)

The residential developments in Flemingdon were designed by architect Irving Grossman who was influenced by Macklin Hancock's master plan in Don Mills that spanned 350 acres and included several apartment buildings and town houses. The project was first financed by American Developer William Zeckendorf, Webb and Knapp Co. However, as they ran out of money to develop the new community, Paul Reichmann's Olympia Floor and Wall Tile took over. Following the completion of the Flemingdon Park master plan in 1958 that included housing, community center, open green spaces and park, construction in the neighborhood began in 1959 with the first apartment building opening in 1961 (City Builders n.d.). The first phase of the development of Flemingdon Park saw the completion of 500 units. The second phase of the development added more housing to the neighborhood that varied from low-rise apartments (7,9, 11 Rochefort Dr and 30,32, and 34 St. Dennis Drive), mid-rise apartments (10

and 12 St. Dennis Drive), an apartment building (48 Grenoble Drive), and townhomes (4,6, 8 Vendome Place (social housing) (Brown 2021).

The People of Flemington Park

Flemington Park and the adjacent neighbourhood Thorncliffe Park are recognized as "arrival cities" and serve as communities that help immigrants transition to a new environment and help create and maintain social and community ties while supporting individuals in obtaining economic opportunities. The term 'arrival cities' was first coined by Doug Sanders (2010) Saunders highlights that 'arrival cities' are home to immigrants from around the world who help shape and influence their urban environments (Martin et al. 2015).

Flemington Park is still home to many immigrants, with more people settling in the neighbourhood every year. Between 1981 to 2016, 10,165 immigrants arrived in the community. Approximately 70% of them immigrated from Asia and Oceania, including countries such as the Philippines, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh. Only 16% of immigrants immigrated from Europe (mostly Hungary, Romania, Slovakia) while 11% immigrated from Africa. In 2016, the percentage of visible minorities in the community was approximately 81%, significantly higher than 57% for the City of Toronto.

Given the significant presence of immigrants and diverse groups, only 28% of individuals living in the neighbourhood identified English as their mother tongue. 71% said they speak a language other than English or French (Neighborhood Profile Data 2016).

In 2016, the median household income was 48,917, which is considerably lower than the median household income in the City of Toronto (\$ 65,829) (CMHC 2016).

Eglinton Crosstown LRT

History and the Development of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT



Figure 3. Eglinton Crosstown LRT (Metrolinx n.d.)

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT has been a long time coming. In 1985, Toronto Council and the Toronto Transit Commission first proposed a busway along Eglinton West. Some residents noted that they heard about the Eglinton Crosstown LRT project when they were young. "I found out about this third or fourth grade; we had a city councillor say that the project will happen. That is before it got approved in the final stages, in 2007-2008," said Lucas Vastani (resident in Flemingdon Park) (L. Vastani, personal communication, March 1, 2023). Approved in 2010, the project broke ground in 2011. However, as other TTC projects, the ground-breaking transit line became susceptible to changes, cancellations, and never-ending delays. The opening of the LRT was pushed back name several times since the project was announced in 2007 when the former mayor of Toronto, David Miller announced "Transit City", "a light rail network that included the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, which would go underground between Laird Drive and Keele Street," (Nickel 2021). After more stops were added to the project, the LRT line now spans 19 kilometres with 25 stops from Kennedy (east) to Mount Dennis (west).

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT connects to fifty-four bus routes. It promises faster travel times, economic opportunities (jobs with Metrolinx, construction jobs, community engagement) and a reliable form of transportation alternative to an automobile (“Eglinton Crosstown LRT” n.d.). Most, if not all the stations have been completed. Vehicle testing underway on the newly constructed line. There are plans to extend the LRT. The Eglinton Crosstown West Extension (ECWE) will push the LRT further west, allow commuters living in the Western part of Toronto and the GTA better access and potentially more reliable and integrated transit. Planned to be underground from Mount Dennis to Renforth Station (with Jane and Scarlett Station above ground), the ECWE is projected to run as far as Mississauga (“Eglinton Crosstown LRT” n.d.).

There have been many obstacles to completing the first part of the project. Many of them are due to the fact that the project is built through a public-private-partnership and empowers a private consortium (Crosslinx Transit Solutions). Metrolinx and the former mayor of the City of Toronto and Infrastructure Ontario mentioned that the Eglinton Crosstown LRT would open to the public in September 2021. This led many people to anticipate the arrival of faster, safe, and more reliable transit. However, what was supposed to be a highlight anticipated opening turned into another delay that would leave the public questioning if the LRT would ever be up and running soon. On February 18, 2020, the president and CEO of Metrolinx, Phil Verster, provided a statement updating everyone on the status of Toronto's Eglinton Crosstown LRT project. Verster of his aspirations to have the LRT in operation in the region and stated that the delay in opening the project is a result of the various difficulties Crosslinx Transit Solutions (CTS) have faced since they were awarded the contract in July 2015 to construct the Crosstown LRT project (“Statement on the delay of Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Project” n.d.).

Despite the efforts CTS has put in to improve the "production rate," they still fell short of their target, delaying the opening of the LRT. As a result, the expected opening date was set to be late 2022. However, it is now June 2023, and the unveiling of the LRT has yet to be determined (“Statement on the delay of Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Project” n.d.). Since the delayed opening in 2020, CTS has taken Metrolinx and Infrastructure Ontario to court alleging that Metrolinx failed to retain an operator for the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. In their case, CTS mentioned that Metrolinx had nearly a decade to get the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) to sign a formal agreement that would get the TTC to operate the LRT (Gismondi 2023).

For the purpose of this paper, we must understand that this is more than just another transit project. I will be focusing on the development projects that coincide with the construction of the LRT. The following section discusses transit-oriented development and affordable housing more broadly. Then, we move the discussion to Flemington Park to examine how TOD might affect people living there.

Part 5: Transit Oriented Developments and Affordable Housing

A Closer Look at Transit Oriented Developments in Canada

Canadian cities need help maintaining and improving livability and sustainability in the face of a fast-growing population (CMHC 2009). Many factors can help preserve and promote better living conditions in urban areas. Important among these are ways of connecting people to various transit options and building mixed-use developments (i.e. housing, retail and office spaces, open green spaces, recreational and community facilities) that address needs of both existing and future residents. Transit-oriented development (TODs) tries to accomplish these two goals. According to the CMHC, TODs should be located within 800 metres (or a 10-minute walking distance) from transit stations. TOD projects vary in scale and form. They can either be “large-scale, master-planned projects, or incremental development on a parcel-by-parcel basis around existing transit stop or node” (CMHC 2009).

A few case studies of TODs in other Canadian cities demonstrate what TODs look like in different environments. In North Vancouver, the Time community consists of two high-rise towers, a few townhomes and both retail stores and a community center at the lower levels. This development is right across from the SeaBus terminal. Another TOD development is Les Cochères de la Gare in St. Thérèse which includes a four-storey building with 94 condo units and is mere steps away from the Montreal-area commuter rail station (CMHC 2009). Furthermore, looking at TODs closer to Toronto, there are the two 37-storey Equinox towers in Scarborough. These are situated across from the Scarborough Center Rapid Transit Station and near a major retail mall (Scarborough Town Center), the Scarborough Civic Center and Albert Campbell Square (CMHC 2009; Transit-Oriented Development Case Study – Equinox, Toronto (Scarborough) 2009). Finally, there is the re-development on the former Celestica site in North York (Don Mills and Eglinton; Flemingdon Park). It includes a 44-storey high-rise building with retail and office spaces on the ground floor (Mirabelli 2019).

Infrastructure Ontario and the City of Toronto have noted the significant increase in TOD projects throughout the province. More specifically, Transit Oriented Communities will be situated around four new subway projects in hopes of achieving a complete community (Transit Oriented Communities 2020).

Reviewing the Transit Oriented Communities Program

According to Infrastructure Ontario, the Transit-Oriented Communities Program will “build vibrant, mixed-use communities that will bring more housing (including affordable housing options), jobs, retail, public amenities and entertainment within a short distance of transit stations” (Transit-oriented Communities 2020). Currently, four transit projects are either planned or in the development stage: the Ontario Line (from Exhibition Station to Flemingdon Park), the Yonge North Subway Extension (from Finch Station to Richmond Hill), the Scarborough Subway Extension (from Kennedy Station to Sheppard/McCowan), and the Eglinton Crosstown LRT West Extension (from the future Mount Dennis Station to Renforth Drive). The goal of the TOC program is to promote developments for many different users and uses, including transit. The idea is be that the new residents will utilize existing and newly constructed transit stations to run errands, go to work and school, and access services across the city. Transit-connected mixed-use developments might also include new community centers or other social infrastructure projects as well as retail and office space to help stimulate the economy and support the overall social well-being of individuals and families in Ontario. Eight proposed transit-oriented communities in Toronto are projected to be within walking distance of planned subway extensions, LRT projects, and GO Train stations (Transit-oriented Communities 2020).

Financialization of Housing in Toronto and Flemingdon Park

As previously defined and noted in the literature review, financialization refers to the "increasing dominance of financial actors, markets, practices, measurements and narratives at various scales, resulting in a structural transformation of economies, firms (including financial institutions), states and households," (Aalbers 2016, p. 2; Wijburg 2021). Financialization of housing highlights the increased dominance of financial investors in the housing sector, which created an affordability crisis that adversely impacted marginalized people living around urban centers (Farha 2016; Wijburg 2021). In 2016, the U.N. Special Rapporteur, Leilani Farha, developed a report titled "Financialization of Housing and the Right to adequate housing," which explores how the financialization of housing infringes on people's right to safe and adequate housing. Furthermore, Farha (2016) went on to report on some of what this process looks like, from mass evictions because of wealthy developers purchasing older rental buildings or

landlords renovating units to making it more inviting for newer affluent tenants to move in (a process referred to as renoviction). After renoviction, the housing units are out of reach for low-income earners. Furthermore, in the following few sections, I discuss the different components of financialization and how communities like Flemingdon Park are undergoing substantial changes that will only put residents at risk of gentrification and displacement.

The Process of Renoviction

Renoviction "refers to instances where landlords illegitimately evict tenants to undertake renovations of properties and do not provide them with the option to return so that the homes can be re-rented at a much higher price to a new tenant." (Webber & Zigman 2023) Given how common "renoviction" is in cities around the world and in Toronto, the term has become a household name among tenants in such a short period. Webber and Zigman (2023) discuss what renovictions look like in Ontario and mention that renovictions often happen when landlords service tenants with an N13 eviction notice. With the N13 eviction notices, landlords can do "extensive renovations within rental units, demolish units, or convert it to commercial use" (Webber & Zigman 2023, p. 4; ACORN 2022). This is where renovations come into play as some tenants at risk of eviction with the N13 notices might have their cases labelled as a renoviction. Renoviction is one of many strategies landlords deploy to make profits by increasing rent and therefore "closing the rent gap" (p. 6). Accentuating the commodification of housing, financialization puts marginalized groups at risk of displacement and violates their rights to adequate housing (Rolnik 2013; Farha 2016; Webber & Zigman 2023)

Renovictions have been increasing so much over the years that it has garnered attention from Paula Fletcher, the city councillor for Ward 14, Toronto-Danforth. Fletcher submitted a letter to the chair and the City of Toronto's Planning and Housing Committee members to respond to the growing renovations happening in neighbourhoods all over the city from places like Davenport, East York, and Parkdale. Part of the many recommendations by Fletcher and some of her constituents include forming the Protection of Affordable Rental Housing Subcommittee. The committee eventually approved the following: the creation of a subcommittee that would meet a maximum total of four times a year and the development of terms of reference that would include "the impact of N12 and N13 evictions on the supply of affordable housing in the City of Toronto; and how the City of Toronto may better assist and protect tenants from staying in their apartments and protecting the affordable housing supply in Toronto including suggested

changes to the LTB process," (Fletcher, 2019; Webber & Zigman 2023). However, irrespective of the steps taken by the city council (sub-committee) to mobilize around this issue, it still fell short in addressing or stopping the rise of renovictions and how tenants can mobilize, advocate, and fight back against renovictions in their neighbourhood. For example, the new committee however only met a total of five times over five years (Webber & Zigman 2023).

The process of renoviction varies. Landlords use various tactics and strategies to evict and displace existing tenants. In their report, Webber and Zigman (2023) examined well over 160 cases of renoviction in the city of Toronto and conducted lengthy interviews with 23 tenants from across 12 of these buildings. Through the interviews, the authors developed a "landlord's playbook," which includes intimidating and harassing tenants, neglecting buildings by leaving them in a state of disrepair and serving N13 eviction notices. Even the residential tenancies act clearly states that landlords have the right to evict tenants from the units if they must carry out renovations and repairs without current tenants. However, the report focuses also on the "illegal" strategies that landlords use, such as significantly increasing the price of rent and marketing newly renovated units to new tenants (Webber & Zigman 2023).

Webber and Zigman (2023) go on to highlight the landlords that not only publicly speak out about renovictions but propose renovictions as a profitable business strategy when showcasing their business to financial investors. Pulis Investments and Riley Real Estate Ventures (RREV) are two landlords that market renovictions as a profitable business scheme that can generate increased revenue and capitalize on investments by maintaining and repairing (in what Pulis refers to as) "undervalued apartment buildings and townhome complexes," (Webber & Zigman 2023, p. 8). Not only does this business model make residents living in older poorly maintained/managed apartment buildings susceptible to renovictions but it reiterates the fact that existing policies such as the Residential Tenancies Act and the Landlord Tenant Board do not serve to adequately protect tenants resulting in more tenants bearing the heavy responsibility to advocate for themselves and their community as a whole through things like rent strikes¹ (Webber & Zigman 2023).

¹ However, a quick google search has found that Riley Real Estate Ventures (RREV) has since permanently closed its office with no functioning website or social media. The founder and CEO of RREV, Brendan Riley, has listed June 2022 as his last month with RREV on LinkedIn.

In Flemingdon Park, there are some apartment rental buildings. One building, 31-35 St. Dennis Drive, underwent a series of renovations to both the outside of the building and to the units themselves. The 31-35 St. Dennis Drive website mentions the newly renovated units as follows: "Our beautifully renovated suites and modern kitchens make this building a definite must-see." What the website does not mention is that the former landlord Minto Group demanded a 4.8% rent increase as a result of the renovations (Knope 2018). The existing residents living in those units are predominantly low-moderate income, with several tenants belonging to racialized groups (Knope 2018).

Thornccliffe Park is adjacent to Flemingdon Park. Tenants in some of the rental buildings (71, 75, and 79 Thornccliffe Park Drive) are also experiencing challenges from their landlord (Starlight Investments) in the form of an above-guidance-rent increase. Starlight demanded a rent increase between 4.94% to 5.5% this year and is not the first time they have proposed a rent increase. In 2022, Starlight proposed a rent increase of 4.2% which again is higher than the above guidance rent increase set on by the province of Ontario. Property management argues that this increase is necessary for capital repairs and maintenance. However, it is difficult to say whether this also includes renovating units in the building, which can trigger the process of renoviction (Khan 2023).

What can we say about the relationship between the increase in renovictions and Transit Oriented Developments? Renovictions can be one mechanism through which TOD projects lead to gentrification. Pandeiro et al. (2019) make mention of these changes (gentrification) by explaining that "TOD initiatives involve and trigger (re)investment processes that can change spatial patterns, urban visual settings, and accessibility levels. Newly built developments or housing rehabilitation can trigger declines in housing affordability, upward social filtering, and displacements" (Pandeiro et al. 2019, p. 735; Doucett 2022). Landlords might view the newly constructed transit-oriented developments and other transit-related projects (community centers) as an opportunity to capitalize on and close the existing rent gap in apartment rental buildings. In this case, renovictions, cater to newer tenants and are used to obtain more rent than existing residents have traditionally paid.

The Struggle to Maintain Rent Control

Rent control refers to “control by the government of rent a landlord may charge for a housing unit” (Amott 1997). In Canada, specifically Ontario, the history of rent control dates to the 1970s. In 1975, rent control was one of the new pieces of legislation that was put in effect to protect tenants. It was meant to address the social inequalities within the housing market and serve as a protective mechanism for low-to-moderate income earners who could afford and live in private rental buildings (Keating 1998). However, despite implementing rent control to protect marginalized residents, some researchers and policymakers argue that rent control has the opposite effect. Veira (2018) mentioned that when rent control was introduced, there were fewer rental buildings in construction, and it was partially because rent control “artificially lowers the income that landlords can expect to receive from rental properties” (p. 4).

Moreover, landlords were only interested in creating new apartment rental buildings if they could turn a profit and raise the rent in those buildings (Mendonça-Vieira 2018). Between 1990 and 2000, there were some changes made to rent control. For a number of structural reasons, developers shifted investment from rental to condominium construction. This and many other factors led the government to remove rent control on all new apartment rental buildings constructed after 1991 (“Rent Control makes Toronto affordability worse, not better” 2017; Mendonça-Vieira 2018).

Rent control was reintroduced in 2017 by the Wynne government as part of Bill 124, the Rental Fairness Act (Eschner 2023; Zigman & August 2021). However, the newly reintroduced legislation was removed by the newly elected PC government in 2018. As a result, tenants living in rental buildings constructed on/after November 2018 were at serious risk of having their rent double, even triple (Eschner 2023). This has put residents in precarious housing situations and makes it difficult to access rental units with the soaring rent prices. Conservatives believe that removing rent control in its totality will result in developers constructing new rental units. Ford echoed these sentiments during the provincial election in Ontario in 2022 by stating, “We made changes to stimulate the construction of new rental housing, and our approach is working. In 2020, the year after our government’s housing supply action plan was released, Ontario had over 11,000 rental starts. Last year rental housing starts were the highest in 30 years,” (Chandler 2022). However, there is no guarantee that the number of units being constructed automatically fixes the low vacancy rate in the city. Especially, given the lack of affordability in

newer builds. Furthermore, without policies that protect tenants from soaring housing costs, we continue to witness an affordable housing crisis that has no end (Kalinowski 2018).

Rent Strikes – Case of 31 and 35 St. Dennis Drive

The Vantage Towers (31 and 35 St. Dennis Drive) were constructed in 1966, right around the time other high-rise buildings were being developed to house immigrants settling into Canada after the second world war ended. Minto Group is an investment firm that manages 31-35 St. Dennis Drive. Minto Group was created in 1955 by the Greenburg brothers in Ottawa to construct homes in the area (Minto Group Inc n.d.). The company soon expanded. It is now a major development company and a landlord managing many rental apartment buildings, including 31-35 St. Dennis Drive (31-35 St. Dennis Drive n.d.). The property type is a multi-family apartment building that is currently home to many racialized groups. Due to the creation of the Residential Tenancies Act and policies like rent control, rent has remained relatively affordable, thus providing stability for individuals looking to settle in Flemingdon Park.

In 2018, Minto Group decided to apply to the Landlord and Tenant Board (LTB) to increase the rents by 4.8%, significantly higher than the 1.8% provincial guideline (Knobe 2018). This rent increase would apply to each unit in 31-35 St. Dennis Drive, which would see tenants' rent increase by \$180, which would result in the company receiving \$70,000 more in rent from tenants living at 31-35 St. Dennis Drive (Knobe 2018; Totale 2018). The landlord has proclaimed that the rent increase is needed to conduct extensive capital repairs in the building and cover the \$17,000 that Minto Group spent upgrading and repairing different parts of the building (Leiberman 2018; Totale 2018). However, given what we know about renovictions and the possible gentrifying effects of TOD, we may be well advised to have a second look at such justifications. Totale (2018) describes the tactics used by Minto. Outlining the company's goals, he describes how the Eglinton Crosstown LRT fits within Minto's plans: "The company anticipates rising rents in the area with the arrival of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT. The landlord is now beginning to price out working class and immigrant tenants, renovate units, and raise higher rents" (Totale 2018).

Minto's actions led 31-35 St. Dennis Drive tenants to organize a rent strike and fight back against the company's plans (Liebermann 2018). One of the interviewees I spoke to has been working in the community for over nine years and is now the director of the Community Health

Center (CHC). Despite her focus on health care, she soon found herself supporting the Flemington Park residents with the rent strike. She mentioned that there was a substantial shift in residents' experience with housing. Also, given the large Roma immigrant population in some of the buildings, it became more apparent that tenants were not only vulnerable due to language barriers, they were also served with paperwork that could result in a change to their current housing situation. In response, the Health Center went beyond helping individual community members to opening a drop-in program. According to the Director, "we started a drop-in program every Tuesday for the Roma community to come and do kind of settlement or forms or things and get questions. However, we found that every Tuesday there would be like 30 young parents, usually a young mom bringing bills that did not make any sense, mostly from 31 and 35 St. Dennis Drive but other buildings in the neighbourhood as well," (CHC Director, personal communication, April 26, 2023).

With more tenants joining the drop-in session each week, it became evident that there was a more significant issue at hand and that if there were not any immediate steps taken to remediate the situation tenants were at risk of being displaced and, with a growing affordable housing crisis, being left without any other affordable housing options. The CHC Director discussed how her center hosted many open sessions in the neighbouring resource center to connect with more tenants living at 31-35 St. Dennis Drive, which resulted in more tenants expressing their interest in organizing a rent strike against Minto Groups. They also described the resources that went into preparing and executing the three-month rent strike. "So, we worked with the active tenants and created flyers and multiple languages. And we just went into the building. And, if you can picture the building, it is like a very long; I forget if it is 12 floors, and we would just go door to door. We would split up on different floors and try to have people with multiple languages, so if someone who spoke, for example, Romani, opened the door, we made sure we grabbed someone who spoke Romani from the organizing team," (CHC Director, personal communication, April 26, 2023).

The tenants utilized the community health center to print thousands of flyers. Space and other resources were offered to organizers to support and build their case against the corporate landlord. They also received support from housing advocate Cole Webber and lawyer Kevin Laforest, who were contacted by the interviewee and helped organize several rent strikes in

Parkdale in 2017. One of the two rent strikes there was successful as tenants struck a deal with the landlord (Hune-Brown 2018; CBC News 2017).

The Flemingdon Park rent strike lasted for three months. With new tenants joining the protest, it got to a point where most of the residents living in the building were actively getting involved in the fight against Minto. By August, more than 200 tenants agreed to withhold rent for the month. 50 tenants ended up withholding rent that month and a dozen withheld rent in August, September and October) (Mathieu 2018). The group of strikers also travelled to Morguard headquarters to lay out their list of demands, with the critical demand being to drop the above-guidelin- rent increases for tenants living at 31-35 St. Dennis Drive. Other demands included repairs and maintenance throughout the buildings. While Minto claimed to have completed these repairs, tenants disputed this claim and asked for evidence. One of the many tenants that have been active in the rent strike, Miroslav Mizikar highlighted the broken heaters Minto claimed to have replaced with a new heating system. He cannot even fathom a substantial increase in rent with the building conditions worsening (Hune-Brown 2018; Lieberman 2018).

In response to the valiant efforts from tenants, Laforest, and housing advocates like Webber, the Minto group abandoned the buildings after the three-month strike. "Morguard sold the building. So not the resolution we wanted, but I think they decided it was not worth it for them. Like their profits, whatever their vision was, for the building, which we think was run evictions, and, you know, changing the tenant sort of compliment or like the type of tenants. And so, you know, unfortunately, another private landlord bought the building," said the CHC director (personal communication, April 26, 2023). This not only demonstrates the business strategy (i.e., renoevictions) landlords were following but that the newly constructed LRT might have pushed landlords to rethink and re-examine the different ways they can make a profit in Flemingdon Park. Although the existing buildings are mainly rental buildings, that does not mean that low-income residents moving into those newly constructed condos will not experience the same issues soon (lack of tenant protection and the struggle to maintain rent control) (Padeiro et al. 2019). "So, you know, I think that is a big thing that we would want to go back to planners and the city and say for neighbourhoods like Flemingdon Park or other neighbourhoods. When major transit or major city initiatives happen, it is wonderful on the one hand, but, on the other hand, without protective policies to make sure that the current tenants'

benefit, it becomes challenging," said the CHC director (personal communication, April 26, 2023).

Equitable Transit Oriented Developments

Equitable Transit-Oriented Developments can ensure TODs consider people with various income levels who are marginalized and left out of the conversation around affordable housing. Equitable Transit-Oriented Development (eTOD) is a "well-planned and implemented development near transit that accounts for the needs of low-and-moderate-income people, largely through the preservation and creation of affordable housing" (Hersey & Spotts 2015, p. 5 & 6). By viewing TODs with an equitable and fair lens, we can ensure that more affordable housing options within newly constructed transit-oriented developments, supporting existing small businesses, and providing more economic opportunities along newly developed transit lines (i.e., Eglinton Crosstown LRT) (All in Cities n.d.; Hersey & Spotts 2015).

ETOD Methods have been implemented in some U.S. cities, including the San Francisco Bay Region. There, TOD guidelines for the Bay Area Rapid Transit Authority (BART) seek to develop 7000 affordable housing units for low-income residents by 2040. Furthermore, San Francisco Bay Area Metropolitan Transit Commission, the regional planning agency for transit funding, created the "Transit-Oriented Affordable Housing Fund in 2011 with a \$10 million commitment to seed a \$50 million revolving loan fund in support of affordable housing at TOD projects throughout the region," (All in Cities n.d.).

One of the TOD projects that recently gained approval in June 2023 is the El Cerrito Plaza TOD, situated at El Cerrito Plaza station. In 2019, BART developed a series of meetings with the city council of El Cerrito. Once community feedback was gathered to develop the TOD Goals & Objectives (to support and guide the vision for El Cerrito Plaza Station), the next step entailed identifying a development team that would support the construction of housing near the transit station and other amenities, especially things like improving access to the station, building more affordable housing, and creating public space. In 2020, the BART Board brought on Holiday Development, Related California and Satellite Affordable Housing Associates (SAHA). The team is also looking to add a new library to the area and is undergoing a feasibility study to determine the next steps (City of El Cerrito n.d.). There will be six residential buildings that are proposed

for the site. The city council approved one of the residential buildings, a 70-unit affordable housing building. More recently, the development team has planned to apply to the City of El Cerrito for a series of planning approvals for the other five residential buildings (Bay Area Rapid Transit 2023). According to the City of El Cerrito, the proposed levels of affordability include “53% market-rate and 47% below market rate consisting of 31% affordable (30% - 60% of area median income) and 16% low income (up to 80% area median income)” (City of El Cerrito n.d.).

Austin is another U.S. city making eTODs a top priority, with CapMetro and the City of Austin involved in this project. CapMetro noted that although transit-oriented developments brought "significant benefits to many communities, subsequent growth around many of these developments has resulted in the displacement of many vulnerable residents" (CapMetro). Both CapMetro and the City of Austin are working with communities living near the planned transit corridors (Project Connect) to create equitable principles and policies. The community consultations would be ongoing, and the anti-displacement funds (developed with voters' help in 2020) will be used to support residents during these discussions.

Community input gathered during the community consultation would go towards developing the ETOD Study in collaboration with the City of Austin and the Austin Transit Partnership. The study puts forth a set of community-oriented policies and tools, plans to increase and implement TOD that addresses a wide range of needs for residents in the city, including reducing the wealth gap, connecting more communities to more sustainable and active modes of transportation, and creating housing that is affordable and attainable (Project Connect n.d.).

There have yet to be any eTODs in Canada. To remedy this problem, Mackaay (2018) makes the following six recommendations, "develop an affordable housing strategy that targets the housing needs of very low and low-income households, implement a transit-oriented inclusionary zoning policy, facilitate a collaborative policymaking process, continue to build a strong relationship with key housing stakeholders, create a revitalization tax exemption bylaw for affordable rental housing and lastly coordination of relevant stakeholders to discuss the potential of a transit-oriented structured fund." (p. 58 - 63).

Inclusionary Zoning within newer Transit Oriented Developments

Inclusionary zoning (IZ) is a "policy under which local governments require or incentivize real estate developers to provide some below-market-rate housing units in new housing development" (Hamilton 2021, p. 161). Inclusionary zoning (IZ) is a planning tool that addresses the need for more affordable housing for low-income earners in the face of a growing unaffordable housing crisis. Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) policy was introduced in the 1970s in the United States. Housing advocates also created and pushed for the policy to address the challenges that exclusionary zoning presented in the 1950s and 1960s impacted the type of housing that gets built and where (Hamilton 2021).

Inclusionary zoning soon expanded, with several U.S. cities implementing the policy to support the development of more affordable housing for low-income households and address several social and economic issues such as segregation, racial inequalities, and growth controls (Townsend 2018; Advocacy Center for Tenants Ontario 2021). In the year 2000, the city council of Sacramento passed the "Mixed-Income Housing Ordinance," which would require that "all residential developments of 10 or more units located in new growth areas of the city to set aside 15% of the housing as affordable, with 10% set aside for very low-income households and 5% for low-income households," (Keyser Marston Associates 2023). Sacramento also has incentives for developers, such as providing a density bonus of 25% and waiving fees associated with the application process and speeding up the permit processing for affordable housing units (Brunick et al. 2003; Keyser Marston Associates 2023).

Montgomery County, Maryland, is one of the oldest cities in the United States, where Inclusionary zoning policy (law) was adopted. The county adopted inclusionary zoning in the late 1990s and, at the time, was the only city that moved forward with the policy, later establishing the Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (Trombka et al. 2004). The program influenced other inclusionary zoning programs in cities like Denver, San Francisco, and New York, requiring a percentage of housing units in residential developments to be made available for low-moderate income households (Brunick et al. 2003). Fast forward to date, the MDPU has produced 11,000 affordable housing units in Montgomery County since the program's inception 30 years ago. While this was by far a challenging feat, it did show that it is possible to produce housing for all income levels, especially for low-moderate-income families living in different cities. The success of inclusionary zoning programs like the MDPU and the Mixed-Income Housing Ordinance has paved the way for other countries to adopt more inclusive housing

policies and address the growing challenges around producing affordable housing (Trombka et al. 2004; Keyser Marston Associates 2023).

In Canada, there have been various cities that have adopted Inclusionary zoning policies into their housing structures. Vancouver and Montreal are two Canadian cities that have implemented Inclusionary Zoning programs and policies in Canada, with Vancouver's history of Inclusionary Zoning dates to the late 1980s when the city designated "20 percent of the units in the new neighbourhoods designated for non-market housing, with at least 50 percent of these units geared towards families," (Mah 2009, p. 24). The goal was to diversify and include various housing options for low-moderate-income families to build a life in the city. There was also the Homes BC Affordable Housing Program in 2022 which supported the development of additional affordable housing units, so both government funding in 1993 towards building new social housing and the homes BC program supported the success of inclusionary zoning over the span of 21 years. However, as years passed, funding from the federal government substantially reduced the development of additional affordable housing developments in the city. The Performing Arts Lodge (PAL) - Bayshore Garden site highlights the impact of limited government spending towards housing as roughly 15% of affordable housing units were lost, significantly reducing the number of households that would have access to affordable housing in an increasingly unaffordable housing market. So, this reiterates one of many crucial things when it comes to delivering IZ Programs and legislations which, without adequate and consistent funding from the provincial government, "the extent of affordability [that the city] can achieve is very limited" (Mah 2009, p. 34).

In November 2021, the City of Toronto developed an inclusionary zoning policy that would "require new residential developments to include affordable housing units, creating mixed-income housing" (City of Toronto 2022). The city has conducted an in-depth study of housing needs and demands over the next ten years and discussed the need to establish more just and equitable cities where all residents can live in Toronto. Furthermore, the city had compiled some brief words illustrating how inclusionary zoning will be utilized as an "affordable housing tool" in Toronto, such as "ensuring units stay affordable for 99 years; requiring five to 10 percent of condominium developments as affordable housing beginning in 2022, depending on where the development is located and whether affordable ownership units or affordable rental units are secured; setting rents and ownership prices based on new income-based definitions of

affordable; and requiring developments located in a both a Protected Major Transit Station Area and an Inclusionary Market Area, as shown on Official Plan Map 37, to provide affordable housing," (City of Toronto 2022).

The city and the province have set ambitious goals to see IZ being implemented and successfully executed and its full potential proven. Recently, the province has set forth a proposed amendment to inclusionary zoning that would, "establish an upper limit on the number of units that would be required to be set aside as affordable, set at 5% of the total number of units (or 5% of the total gross floor area of the total residential units, not including common areas) ("Proposed Amendment to O. Reg 232/18: Inclusionary Zoning 2022). This proposed amendment also required affordable housing units remain affordable for a maximum of 25 years. However, how can these moderate changes make a substantial impact on the never-ending affordable housing crisis. With the province granting the city more power to implement IZ initiatives around major transit areas, it is difficult to say whether these proposed targets will have an influence in building equitable and sustainable affordable units within newer developments, precisely Transit Oriented Developments.

Despite the push for IZ initiatives with mandatory inclusionary Zoning being recognized as a tool that can create below-market-rent housing in cities such as New York, there is no guarantee that these houses remain affordable over the long term. The Green-Williamsburg Inclusionary Housing Program (IHP) is a notable example of how despite the initial plan ultimately falling short by the City of New York with not only affordable housing construction stalled, partially due to the financial crisis (2008-2009), the actual results of the IHP program were nothing short of a disappointment. "Of the 7,218 total units created in the IHP designated area, only 949 units (13%) were affordable housing" (Stabrowski 2015, p. 1126).

Inclusionary Zoning, again, although pushed as an alternative solution to our growing affordable housing crisis, comes with its unique challenges and can be seen as the policy that allows for gentrification and displacement to take shape. Relying on private developers to set aside more affordable units within newer developments not only shows the lack of urgency from the federal and provincial government but it again reinforces and reminds everyone that this crisis continues to have adverse outcomes against Indigenous groups, low-income, immigrants, newcomers, women, etc. (Kipfer & Sotomayor 2022).

The discussion then goes back to increasing affordable housing in newer developments. Can Transit Oriented Developments address the issue? The short answer is no. The surrounding land value can increase, creating profitable conditions for developers, but on the other side, it has gentrifying effects on racialized and low-income families in neighbouring communities. How can the solution to affordable housing still harm residents who live in private market rental units protected by rent control? That is why planning tools such as IZ need to be carefully re-examined and thoroughly researched as opposed to being thrown around and championed as the sole solution to what appears to be a never-ending affordable housing issue (Stabrowski 2015).

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT - Flemingdon Park

One of the most notable and visible large-scale transit-oriented development projects currently under construction will sit on 60 acres of land in the northwest corner of Don Mills Road and Eglinton Avenue E (also known as the former Celestica Inc site). Applications were submitted to amend the City of Toronto Official Plan and Zoning By-Law to permit the phased redevelopment of the subject site. The proposed mixed-use developments will include residential buildings, a community center (Don Mills Community Center), office and retail space, daycare, parks, and green spaces. The total number of proposed residential units is 4,921, with 383 affordable rental units (*Crosstown Community* n.d.; Landau 2020). The affordable rental units are more affordable for low to moderate-income households in comparison to market rental units that are available in the private market (City of Toronto n.d.).

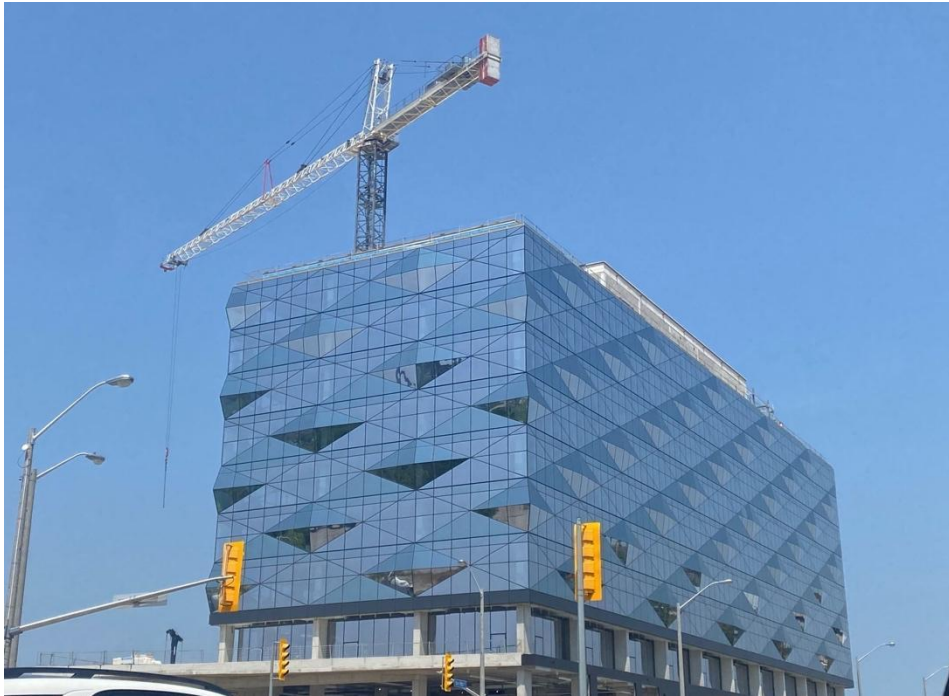


Figure 4: Crosstown Community: Crosstown Place (9-storey retail and office building)

Another development that is situated along the newly constructed Eglinton Crosstown LRT is at 1185 Eglinton Ave E. The Sonic and Super Sonic Condos are two residential buildings providing market rental units. They were completed in 2019 (*Sonic and SuperSonic Condos* n.d.). However, both buildings are still relatively new compared to most apartment buildings constructed in Flemingdon Park following the development of the 1958 Master Plan.

There are roughly 655 condo units spanning the two developments (1185 Eglinton Ave E and 2-32 Sonic Way). Based on some of the current rental and sale prices advertised, it is fair to assume they will not add to the affordable housing stock in the area. The sale prices for some of the condo units varies with one-bedroom units selling for anywhere between the low 500 '000s to mid-high 500' 000s. Two-bedroom units are selling for a much higher price with the lowest advertised unit going on sale between the mid 600's to the mid 700's. The units being advertised for rent are also expensive, with one-bedroom units being advertised between

\$1,850 to \$1,999. Two-bedroom units are being rented out between \$2,780 - \$3,200 (2 Sonic Way Condos n.d.). Furthermore, although some affordable housing units are set aside in some of the newer transit-oriented developments, it leaves people wondering if the amount of affordable housing projected will accommodate the larger Flemington Park community let alone future low-moderate income residents (Sonic and supersonic condos n.d.).

Another development application has been submitted for a parcel of land that includes an existing 17-storey rental building. The plans preserve the existing building while adding a new 37-storey tower-and-base building, 18-unit stacked townhouse (southern portion of the site), a 12-storey mid-rise building and 14 freehold townhouses (northern portion). In total, there will be 552 new units in addition to the 297 rental units within the existing 17-storey building. This adds up to a total of 849 units. The housing issues report that accompanies the zoning amendment and site plan application for 25 St Dennis Drive highlights the importance of rental housing and how the proposed development would address the need for more affordable housing in Flemington Park. The applicant claims that upon speaking with the existing owner, they have agreed, “as a condition of development approval [...] to secure all the rental units within the existing apartment building as rental housing for 20 years” (25 St. Dennis Drive - Zoning Amendment and Site Plan 2016) However, it is essential to ask whether the new landlord will be able to apply for an above-guideline rent increase if they wish to complete a series of renovations to the existing units,. How would this impact the cost of rent for existing households? Will this impact the affordable rental units in the building? And will tenants experience renovictions similar to what the tenants at 31-35 St. Dennis Drive has gone through? All these questions and more need to be addressed (Zigman & August 2021).



Figure 5: Proposed 37-Storey Development adjacent to 25 St. Dennis Drive

Therefore, with the construction of TODs in the area and the number of development applications looking to increase density in existing apartment buildings, we must reflect on what these new residential buildings mean for low-income families living in Flemington Park. One of the interviewed senior planners noted that all the existing development applications under review will either have “full existing rental unit retention or replacement with right of first return for existing residents.” (Senior Planner, personal communication, May 25, 2023) So, some work is being done to retain existing rental buildings and develop additional housing within those developments. However, I would argue that without strict policies to ensure the protection of tenants, long-term investments like the ones developers are proposing will not reach the people that need affordable housing the most.

Part 6: Reimagining our Approach to Community Based Participatory Planning Practices

The role of Community Consultations in Planning Transit Oriented Developments

The City of Toronto website has various public consultations each year ranging from local and city-wide subjects. Public consultations usually fall under the following groups: city planning projects, cycling and pedestrian projects, infrastructure and construction projects, park and recreation facility projects and planning studies. Residents living in Toronto have to sign-up via Webex to receive a link to a consultation meeting which is still being held virtually in many communities despite several in-person events and discussions being held late last year. There is a schedule of different public consultations for all city-wide projects. Public notices for some public projects have been sent to residents living only a couple of 100m away from the proposed development applications (transit-oriented developments) (City of Toronto n.d.).



Figure 6. Public Notice for a Proposed Development in Flemington Park (200 Gateway Boulevard)

Community consultations are used to inform citizens of developments (i.e. transit and housing) and infrastructure-related projects happening across the city. While consultations give residents a glance at the proposed changes, many often feel that they need to be more engaging and even reach out to folks not adequately consulted in the project (Lane 2005). S.J. (one of the first community members I interviewed) spoke about how information about upcoming consultations needs to be accessible and describes the challenges that might affect residents' participation in the planning process. Here is what she said: "They decided this [holding the consultation meeting] during COVID and the people who live in the building are low-income families who are on government support. They might not have the technology or the needs to go and there's also language barriers. That area is mostly Filipino, Hungarian, Syrian, Afghan, it is all diverse and there might be language barriers and financial issues. They couldn't make it to the meeting so they should have had other ways of informing members of the community and say: "this is what's happening in talks, do you agree or disagree?" Cause I just feel like it was straight up we did our best and I guess the members of our board [planners; developers; city councilor] are here and are in favour," (S.J., personal communication, February 15, 2023).

All of this has highlighted the ineffectiveness of solely posting a public notice without additional context or awareness around how a community member might access the information. And although public notices signify that developments are being proposed in the area, there needs to be more work done to ensure that residents understand the significance of engaging in these types of discussions.

Planners have also pointed out distributing flyers (as mentioned in the first interview with the community member) and explained the process and the work that goes into distributing countless flyers to residents in the area, especially in high-rise apartment buildings. One, senior planner I've interviewed noted that 4,000 public notices were distributed in the community, specifically in buildings surrounding a proposed development. However, we need to ask ourselves: Do flyers inform and engage communities in a meaningful way? Have we understood the nuances of participatory planning, let alone what public participation looks like beyond the usually organized discussions led by planners and developers working on development applications? Despite the challenges and barriers that are in place that prevent individuals and households from engaging in these discussions with planners and developers there are still

some residents that have not received public notices informing them of the different development projects happening in the community.

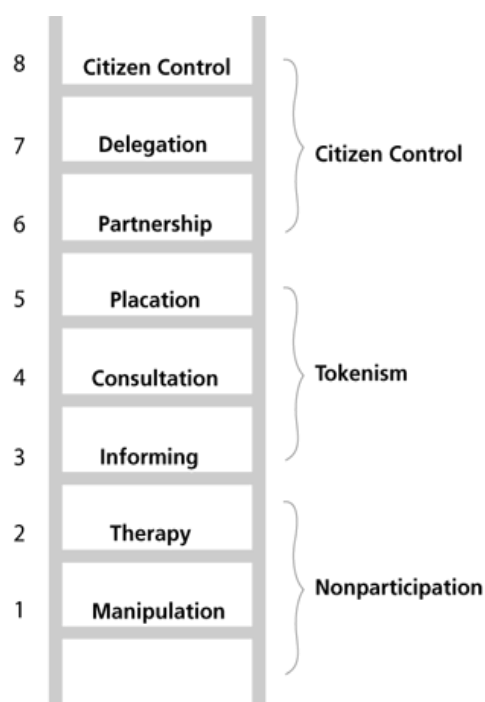
A community member living in Flemington Park, Lucas Vastani (2023), noted that he did not hear about the consultation until after the meeting concluded stating, “the only consultation I’ve heard about is the one in gateway - Preston Developments 25 St. Dennis Drive and there were issues with the community consultation process, they didn’t give proper notice for the meeting and translation processes were non-existent - I found out about it after the meeting happened” (L. Vastani, personal communication, March 1, 2023). These sentiments were echoed by another community member interviewee. They mentioned that despite living in proximity to one of the active development projects they were informed of the public consultation that was set to happen in the following summer. Not only does this affect whose voices are heard at the decision-making table, but it also highlights the trust issue and the barriers that further divide the public and the people instructed to serve them and their interests (Civic Plan Canada 2019).

There is no denying the shift that has taken place from a top-down to a bottom-up approach to planning. However, some argue that “engaging with the opinions and knowledge of members of the public is more problematic than simply setting up encounters or opportunities” (Atkin 2010, p. 263). This leads into my next section around citizen control and participation and how we can move away from strictly looking at good community planning practices as just merely inviting community members to the table. Instead, we should look at it as having community members lead and facilitate community discussions, integrate them into the decision-making process, and actively involve them throughout the planning process. What does citizen control look like as we move towards more meaningful engagement with Community Members?

Arnstein (1969), in Ladder of Citizen Participation, demonstrates the number of issues around engaging the public in a series of discussions around planning-related projects. What is missing from these conversations is the importance of recognizing the power imbalance in “community consultations” and the need to delegate and redistribute power to citizens who have traditionally only been looked at as other residents who attended a public forum. Lane (2005) states that Arnstein (1969) “conceived of power in public participation as a ladder of a spectrum ranging from ‘non-participation’ through to ‘degrees of citizen power’” (p. 285). It is important to note here that not only are there different levels of participation. Arnstein’s ladder is clear that public

consultations (which are often championed by planners and decision-makers as effective engagement tools) are tokenistic forms of participation.

Planners and developers could look at engaging residents throughout the planning process, from when the application is submitted and including details within the proposal to when the new development is potentially nearing the end of the construction phase. However, there is no reason for planners and developers to take the time and incorporate residents' feedback into the multi-step planning process, especially when there is a power imbalance and little to no effort put into relinquishing control to citizens to lead planning discussions. And as much as researchers, community advocates, and residents can encourage more open sessions to take place in the neighbourhood to workshop some of the challenges and issues that arise throughout the development phase, there continues to be a lack of urgency around how a lack of citizen control and engagement can result in inequalities in how the built environment is formed (Kolcak 2021).



Arnstein's Ladder (1969)
Degrees of Citizen Participation

Figure 7. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein 1969)

To reimagine how community consultations are held throughout the city, we need to look at and identify what roles community members play in the planning process from the beginning and how we can move towards partnering with the community rather than solely consulting residents. Because as much as public participation (sometimes used interchangeably to describe community consultations) is criticized as not deeply engaging residents in conversations around changes that are happening and are actively being proposed in the neighbourhood, I believe that there are other solutions than having participation from the public. More extensive community conversations and discussions can be developed to engage with the public and recognize the community as a key stakeholder and partner where they can influence the outcome. Power (going back to a previous point) is a critical element that reaffirms and reiterates the power imbalances and poses a significant barrier to genuinely influencing the built environment.

Furthermore, when it comes to specific planning-related projects in the city, such as Transit Oriented Developments, residents and researchers have already expressed grave concerns over the presence of TODs in the neighbourhood and what might follow (gentrification and displacement). Moreover, when public meetings are held to discuss some of these changes, it can already be seen as a development that will happen regardless of how community members feel about its presence and that minimizes my concerns and concerns of other residents when it comes to the future Flemington Park. Leading the conversation toward discussing what equitable transit-oriented developments look like in the community might incorporate and stress the need for more public voices to be included in the development processes. Having community organizations help lead some public consultations can also serve as an alternative method to deepening and meaningfully engaging with residents. Although issues around funding, support and capacity are genuine concerns that non-profit leaders have when it comes to holding space for these conversations, it is important to discuss ways in which planners and decision-makers can develop and incorporate principles and qualities traditionally found in advocacy and community planning (Lung-Amam et al. 2019).

Part 7: Conclusion

There has been a substantial increase in Transit Oriented Developments (TODs) along existing and newly constructed transit projects (i.e., Eglinton Crosstown LRT and the Ontario Line). While there is a need to accommodate the city of Toronto's ever-growing population, how we choose to build housing in the city and where precisely are questions that we need to discuss carefully. The changes created because of TODs and Transit-Oriented Communities (TOC) can include processes like gentrification and displacement. Gentrification can have various impacts, whether it be the social and emotional aspects of displacement (a loss of community and social connections) or the physical aspects of displacement such as the removal of existing tenants in neighbouring multi-family rental buildings. There must be a more in-depth analysis of what shapes and triggers these issues and examine theories that can help conceptualize how TODs unfold in racialized communities like Flemingdon Park.

Researchers who study gentrification, displacement, social advocacy and communities tend to be concerned with the investments made between major transit related infrastructure projects and changes made to the socioeconomic composition of neighbourhood along those corridors (Delmelle 2021; Rayle 2015; Revington 2015). When are we going to realize that although the relationship between gentrification and investment in transit projects is new, there is no denying that there is a strong correlation between the two and that it is necessary for planners, decision-makers, and transit officials to recognize ways we can examine the conditions that leave low-income and racialized communities susceptible to gentrification and displacement from TODs.

The overwhelming pressure to provide more accessible transit options to those that use it the most may very well be the same transit project that displaces existing residents who by far actively rely on public transportation in their daily lives. So it pushes me to beg the question that by having newly planned transit projects such as the Eglinton LRT be built so close to neighbourhoods like Flemingdon Park, is this ultimately going to result in residents like myself being displaced and at risk of losing housing and potentially limit my options when it comes to living somewhere else in Flemingdon Park in the future. "New transit access can bring

much-needed opportunities and investment to disadvantaged and disinvested neighbourhoods but can also raise the threat of gentrification and displacement" (Lung-Amam et al. 2019, p. 453).

Interviews and discussions with community members, planners, and community organization leaders have shown different perspectives regarding new high-rise towers in Flemingdon Park. Moreover, while there has been a consensus among community members when it comes to acknowledging that changes to Flemingdon Park seem somewhat inevitable, there are serious concerns regarding the affordability of many of these new apartment buildings. With a large immigrant community in Flemingdon Park that very much depends on critical social services (including settlement services) and has developed community networks that serve as lifelines and connections to their places of origin, we must not look at these changes more holistically and discuss if programs like inclusionary zoning (IZ) can ensure the availability of diverse housing options in the community (including units that accommodate larger families). The social inequalities that can be generated by large-scale infrastructure developments are often mentioned as a series of unfortunate events that disproportionately impacts racialized communities. However, they are a central feature embedded in many of our government policies, including policies that influence the rate of affordable housing.

Furthermore, while transit-oriented developments connect more people to transit and build developments where communities can work, play and live, there is a critical equity lens missing when it comes to evaluating the success and the sustainability of such developments. Equitable Transit Oriented Developments (eTOD) can help community members in their efforts to convince decision-makers to ensure that a) neighbouring apartment buildings remain affordable (especially given the history of rent strikes, renovations and the struggle to maintain rent control in buildings like 31-35 St. Dennis Drive) and b) keep and expand the number of affordable housing units that are being proposed in new and future developed TODs.

Reference List

- Aalbers, M.B. (2019). Housing and Financialization. In *A Research Agenda for Housing* (pp. 31–46).
- Aalbers, M.B. (2016). *The Financialization of Housing: A political economy approach* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315668666>
- Advocacy Centre for Tenants Ontario (ACTO). (2021). *Inclusionary zoning in Toronto: An Affordable Housing Solution? - Advocacy Centre for Tenants Ontario*. ACTO. <https://www.acto.ca/inclusionary-zoning-in-toronto-an-affordable-housing-solution/#:~:text=Inclusionary%20zoning%20policies%20were%20first,lower%2Dincome%20and%20racialized%20families>
- Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216–224. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225>
- Arnott. (1997). Rent Control. *IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc*.
- August. (2021). Financialization of housing from cradle to grave: COVID-19, seniors' housing, and multifamily rental housing in Canada. *Studies in Political Economy*, 102(3), 289–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07078552.2021.2000207>
- August. (2020). The financialization of Canadian multi-family rental housing: From trailer to tower. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 42(7), 975–997. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2019.1705846>
- August, & Walks, A. (2018). Gentrification, suburban decline, and the financialization of multi-family rental housing: The case of Toronto. *Geoforum*, 89, 124–136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.04.011>
- Aitken, M. (2010). A three-dimensional view of public participation in Scottish land-use planning: Empowerment or social control? *Planning Theory (London, England)*, 9(3), 248–264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095210366193>
- Bay Area Rapid Transit. (n.d.). *El Cerrito Plaza TOD*, <https://www.bart.gov/about/business/tod/el-cerrito-plaza>
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40. doi:10.3316/QRJ0902027
- Brown, E. (2021). *My Flemingdon Park: A milky conundrum*. Ed Brown Writer. <https://www.edbrownwriter.com/post/my-flemingdon-park-a-milky-conundrum>

Brown, E. (2021). *My Flemingdon Park: The life of Robert Fleming, the people's Bob*. Ed Brown

Writer. <https://www.edbrownwriter.com/post/my-flemingdon-park-the-life-of-robert-fleming-the-people-s-bob>

Brunick, N., Goldberg, L., & Levine, S. (2003). Large Cities and Inclusionary Zoning, Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, https://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ResourceUS_BPI_IZLargeCities.pdf

Carlton, I (2009): Histories of Transit-Oriented Development: Perspectives on the Development of the TOD Concept, Working Paper, No. 2009,02, University of California, Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD), Berkeley, CA

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2016). *Toronto - household income - average and median (\$)*. Housing Markets, Data and Research. <https://www03.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/hmip-pimh/en/TableMapChart/TableMatchingCriteria?GeographyType=MetropolitanMajorArea&GeographyId=2270&CategoryLevel1=Population%2C+Households+and+Housing+Stock&CategoryLevel2=Household+Income&ColumnField=HouseholdIncomeRange&RowField=Neighbourhood&SearchTags%5B0%5D.Key=Households&SearchTags%5B0%5D.Value=Number&SearchTags%5B1%5D.Key=Statistics&SearchTags%5B1%5D.Value=AverageAndMedian>

CHC Director. (2023). Personal Communication [Personal Interview]

City of El Cerrito. (n.d.). *Transit-oriented development (TOD) at El Cerrito Plaza Bart*,

<http://www.el-cerrito.org/1381/Transit-Oriented-Development-TOD>

City of Toronto. (2023). *Public consultations*. City of Toronto.

<https://www.toronto.ca/community-people/get-involved/public-consultations/>

City of Toronto. (2022). *Inclusionary zoning policy: Overview*. City of Toronto.

<https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/planning-development/planning-studies-initiatives/inclusionary-zoning-policy/inclusionary-zoning-overview/>

City of Toronto. (2022). *Updating the definitions of affordable housing*. City of

Toronto, <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/planning-development/planning-studies-initiatives/definitions-of-affordable-housing/#:~:text=Affordable%20rental%20and%20affordable%20ownership,than%20typical%20private%20market%20housing>

Clark. (1995). The Rent Gap Re-examined. *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, 32(9), 1489–1503. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989550012366>

Condos getting smaller, detached homes getting bigger. (2022). Municipal Property Assessment Corporation (MPAC), <https://www.mpac.ca/en/News/PressRelease/Condosgettingsmallerdetachedhomesgettingbigger0#:~:text=Ontario%20condominiums%20are%2035%25%20smaller,this%20decades%2Dlong%20pattern%20continues>

Crosstown Community. (n.d.). Urban Toronto, <https://urbantoronto.ca/database/projects/crosstown-community.23591>

Dantzler, P., Korver-Glenn, E., & Howell, J. (2022). Introduction: What Does Racial Capitalism Have to Do with Cities and Communities? *City & Community*, 21(3), 163–172. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15356841221103978>

Dawkins, & Moeckel, R. (2016). Transit-Induced Gentrification: Who Will Stay, and Who Will Go? *Housing Policy Debate*, 26(4-5), 801–818. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2016.1138986>

Delmelle. (2021). Transit-Induced Gentrification and Displacement: The State of the Debate. *IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc*. <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/5ka2g>

Doucett, B. (2021). “The ‘hidden’ Sides of Transit-Induced Gentrification and Displacement Along Waterloo Region’s LRT Corridor.” *Geoforum* 125: 37–46.

Doucett, B. (2022). Mapping displacement through lived experiences Counter-mapping transit-induced gentrification in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, *Radical Housing Journal*, 67-87 https://radicalhousingjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/RHJ_Issue-4.2_05_Long-Read_Doucet_67-87.pdf

Du Bois, & Eaton, I. (1899). *The Philadelphia Negro: a social study*. Published for the University.

Eglinton Crosstown LRT. (n.d.). Metrolinx, <https://www.metrolinx.com/en/projects-and-programs/eglinton-crosstown-lrt>

Eschner, K. (2023). *TVO Today: Current affairs journalism, documentaries, and podcasts*. TVO

Today | Current Affairs Journalism, Documentaries and Podcasts.

<https://www.tvo.org/article/the-future-of-rent-control-in-ontario>

Equitable transit-oriented development. (n.d.). All in Cities,

<https://allincities.org/toolkit/equitable-transit-oriented-development>

Equitable transit-oriented development. (n.d.). CapMetro,

<https://www.capmetro.org/plans-development/etod>

Farha, L. (2016). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*. Canadian Electronic Library.

Fischer, F. (2012). Participatory Governance: From Theory to Practice. In *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199560530.013.0032>

Gismondi, A. (2023). *Update: Legal battle brewing between Crosslinx Transit Solutions and*

Metrolinx - constructconnect.com. Daily Commercial News.

<https://canada.constructconnect.com/dcn/news/infrastructure/2023/05/verster-calls-crosslinx-legal-action-on-crosstown-an-unacceptable-delay-tactic>

Grube-Cavers, & Patterson, Z. (2015). Urban rapid rail transit and gentrification in Canadian urban centres: A survival analysis approach. *Urban Studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)*, 52(1), 178–194. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004209801452428>

Hamilton, E. (2021). Inclusionary Zoning and Housing Market Outcomes. *Cityscape*, 23(1), 161–194.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26999944>

Hersey, J., & Spotts, M.A. (2015). Promoting Opportunity through Equitable Transit-Oriented

Development (eTOD): Making the Case, Enterprise,

https://scholar.google.ca/scholar_url?url=https://www.academia.edu/download/3779416

5/Promoting-Opportunity-through-eTOD-Making-Case
 Web.pdf&hl=en&sa=X&ei=xZKQZMSiAojimgH2vJ6gDQ&scisig=AGIGAw-
 WGzXUMX63j47KbJps0Chh&oi=scholar

Higgins, C. D., & Kanaroglou, P. S. (2016). *Unbundling the Hedonic Price Effects of Rapid Transit and Transit-Oriented Development in Toronto*.
<https://doi.org/10.22004/AG.ECON.319266>

Hodge, Gordon, D. L. A., & Shaw, P. (2020). *Planning Canadian communities: an introduction to the principles, practice, and participants in the 21st century* (Seventh edition.). Nelson.

Hune-Brown, N. (2022). *The Roma of Flemingdon Park*. The Local.

<https://thelocal.to/the-roma-of-flemingdon-park-a6470d4ab453/>

Hunt, S., & Bruno, J. (2021). *Keele Street tenants face renoviction for second time*. CityNews.

<https://toronto.citynews.ca/2021/09/24/keele-street-tenants-renoviction/>

Jones, C. (2023) Transit-Oriented Development and Suburban Gentrification: A “Natural Reality”

of Refugee Displacement in Metro Vancouver, *Housing Policy Debate*, 33:3, 533-552,
 DOI: [10.1080/10511482.2020.1839935](https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2020.1839935)

Jones, & Ley, D. (2016). Transit-oriented development and gentrification along Metro Vancouver’s low-income SkyTrain corridor. *The Canadian Geographer*, 60(1), 9–22.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12256>

Kalinowski, T. (2018). *Removing rent control on new units won’t ease Toronto’s housing crisis, Tenant and Housing Experts Say*. thestar.com.

<https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2018/11/15/removing-rent-control-on-new-units-wont-ease-torontos-housing-crisis-tenant-and-housing-experts-say.html>

Keating. (1998). Rent Control: Its Origins, History, and Controversies. In *Rent Control* (1st ed., pp. 1–14). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429338465-1>

Keyser Marston Associates Inc. (2023). City of Sacramento.

<https://www.cityofsacramento.org/~media/Corporate/Files/CDD/Planning/Long%20Range>

/Housing%20Programs/Mixed%20Income/KMA_Market_Feasibility_Memo_2_08_13_FIN
AL11.pdf

Khan, A. (2023, June 9). *Tenants opposed to above-guidance rent increase go on rent strike,*

withhold payments. Global News. https://globalnews.ca/news/9747924/tenants-above-guidance-rent-increas-strike-withhold-payments/?utm_source=%40globalnewsto&utm_medium=Twitter

Knope, J. (2018). *Flemingdon Park tenants set to stage rent strike after landlord demands 4.8%*

hike | CBC News. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/flemingdon-park-tenants-set-to-stage-rent-strike-after-landlord-demands-4-8-hike-1.4769195#:~:text=CBC%20News%20Loaded-,Flemingdon%20Park%20tenants%20set%20to%20stage%20rent%20strike%20after%20landlord,rent%20by%204.8%20per%20cent>

Kolcak, M. (2021). *Community Engagement and Public Consultation through an Inclusive and Participatory Design.*

Kundnani, A. (2020). What is racial capitalism? <https://www.kundnani.org/what-is-racial-capitalism/>

Landau, J. (2020). *Affordable Rental Tower in planning as part of Crosstown Community.* Urban

Toronto, <https://urbantoronto.ca/news/2020/01/affordable-rental-tower-planning-part-crosstown-community.40734>

Lane, M.B. (2005). Public Participation in Planning: an intellectual history. *Australian Geographer*, 36(3), 283–299. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049180500325694>

Leroy, & Jenkins, D. (2021). Histories of Racial Capitalism. In *Illumina TPD EconLit - unstructured* (pp. xx–254). Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/jenk19074>

Letter from Councillor Paula Fletcher on Protection of Affordable Renting Housing Subcommittee. (2019). City of Toronto,

<https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2019/pa/comm/communicationfile-99205.pdf>

- Lieberman, C. (2018). *"We don't want to live like animals": Flemingdon Park Tenant Plans Protest Over Rent Hike - Toronto*. Global News, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4363651/flemingdon-park-tenant-plans-protest-over-rent-/2019/06/redesigned-celestica-midrise-impresses-design-review-panel.3755>
- Lierop V. D., Maat K., & El-Geneidy A. (2017) Talking TOD: learning about transit-oriented development in the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands, *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 10:1, 49-62, DOI: 10.1080/17549175.2016.1192558
- L. Vastani. (2023). Personal Communication [Personal Interview]
- Lung-Amam, Pendall, R., & Knaap, E. (2019). Mi Casa no es Su Casa: The Fight for Equitable Transit-Oriented Development in an Inner-Ring Suburb. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 39(4), 442–455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X19878248>
- Mackaay, A. (2021). The case for equitable transit-oriented development exploring the link between housing affordability and transit accessibility in Burnaby, British Columbia. Toronto Metropolitan University. Thesis. <https://doi.org/10.32920/ryerson.14653089.v1>
- Mah, J. (2009). *Can inclusionary zoning help address the shortage of affordable housing in Toronto?* Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc.
- Manu, M. (2023). The financialization of Transit Oriented Development in York South Weston, Toronto, Ontario. UWSpace. <http://hdl.handle.net/10012/19496>
- Martin, C., Bennington, M., & Smith, N. (2015). Portrait: Thorncliffe Park and Flemingdon Park, Toronto Center for Active Transportation, https://participatoryplanning.ca/sites/default/files/upload/document/projet/toronto_thorncifflemington_portrait_draft_20150305p1_0.pdf
- Mathieu, E. (2018). *Flemingdon Park tenants plan to withhold cheques in Rent hike protest*. thestar.com. <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2018/07/31/flemingdon-park-tenants-plan-to-withhold-cheques-in-rent-hike-protest.html>
- Melamed, J. (2015). Racial capitalism. *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1(1): 76–85.
- Minto. (n.d.). <https://www.minto.com/about-minto/Our-Story~741.html>
- Mirabelli, J. (2019). *Redesigned Celestica Midrise impresses at Design Review Panel:*

- Urban Toronto. News. <https://urbantoronto.ca/news>
- Mohamed. (2021). *The Impact of Transit Development on Racialized Neighbourhoods in Toronto: A Case Study of Little Jamaica*.
- Neighborhood Profile Data. (2016). City of Toronto,
<https://www.toronto.ca/ext/sdfa/Neighbourhood%20Profiles/pdf/2016/pdf1/cpa44.pdf>
- Nickle, D. (2021). *Timeline: A brief history of Toronto's Eglinton Crosstown LRT Project*. Toronto.com.
https://www.toronto.com/news/timeline-a-brief-history-of-torontos-eglinton-crosstown-lrt-project/article_3bcfe0b7-a1ae-5824-868d-d50967eb63c0.html
- Padeiro, Louro, A., & da Costa, N. M. (2019). Transit-oriented development and gentrification: a systematic review. *Transport Reviews*, 39(6), 733–754.
- Parkdale tenants declare victory, end strike saying they've "won" deal with landlord*. (2017).
- CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/parkdale-rent-strike-ends-1.4245237>
- Participatory Urban Planning: Planning the city with and for its citizens. (2016). Montreal Urban Ecology Center,
https://participatoryplanning.ca/sites/default/files/upload/document/participatory_urban_planning_brochure_2016.pdf
- Planning Act, R.S.O. 1990, O Reg. 232/18, <https://ero.ontario.ca/notice/019-6173>
- Project Connect. (n.d.). *Equitable Transit-Oriented Development (ETOD): Project Connect by CAPMETRO*, <https://www.projectconnect.com/projects/etod#:~:text=CapMetro%20is%20leading%20the%20Equitable,communities%20and%20enhancing%20their%20access>
- Rayle, L. (2015). Investigating the Connection Between Transit-Oriented Development and Displacement: Four Hypotheses. *Housing Policy Debate*, 25(3), 531–548.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2014.951674>
- Rent control makes Toronto affordability worse, not better, CIBC says*. (2017). CBC News,
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/cibc-rent-control-1.4053228>
- Revington, N. (2015). Gentrification, Transit, and Land Use: Moving Beyond Neoclassical

- Theory. *Geography Compass*, 9(3), 152–163. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12203>
- Robinson, C. (2000). *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Rolnik, R. 2013. Late neoliberalism: the financialization of homeownership and housing rights. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 37(3), pp.1058-1066.
- Rucks-Ahidiana. (2022). Theorizing Gentrification as a Process of Racial Capitalism. *City & Community*, 21(3), 173–192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15356841211054790>
- Saxe, S., & Miller, E. J. (2016). *Transit and land value uplift: An introduction - university of Toronto ...* University of Toronto. <https://uttri.utoronto.ca/files/2017/10/16-02-04-02-Transit-and-Land-Value-Uplift-An-Introduction.pdf>
- Schwartz, A. (2015). *Housing policy in the United States* (3rd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge
- Senior Planner. (2023). Personal Communication [Personal Interview]
- Slater, T. (2017). Planetary Rent Gaps. *Antipode*, 49(S1), 114–137. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12185>
- Smith, N. (1987). Gentrification and the Rent Gap. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77(3), 462–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1987.tb00171.x>
- Smith. (1979). Toward a Theory of Gentrification, A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 538–548. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002>
- S.J. (2023). Personal Communication [Personal Interviews]
- Sonic and supersonic condos*. (n.d.). Urban Toronto. <https://urbantoronto.ca/database/projects/sonic-and-supersonic-condos.18401>
- Sotomayor, L., & Kipfer, S. (2022). *Did someone say housing supply? A view from Toronto - the bullet*. *Socialist Project*. <https://socialistproject.ca/2022/11/did-someone-say-housing-supply/>
- Stabrowski. (2015). *Inclusionary Zoning and Exclusionary Development: The Politics of “Affordable Housing” in North Brooklyn*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(6), 1120–1136. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12297>
- Statement on the delay of Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Project*. (n.d.). Metrolinx,

<https://www.metrolinx.com/en/news/statement-on-the-delay-of-eglinton-crosstown-light-rail-project>

The Point: Renoviction and the invisible eviction crisis. (2022). ACORN,

<https://acorncanada.org/news/point-renoviction-and-invisible-eviction-crisis/>

31-35 St. Dennis Drive. (n.d.). Home, <https://www.31stdennisdrive.com/>

2 sonic way condos. (n.d.). 2 Sonic Way Condos| Condos.ca,

<https://condos.ca/toronto/sonic-1185-eglinton-ave-e-2-32-sonic-way>

Totale, R. (2018). *Support the flemingdon park rent strike!* libcom.org.

<https://libcom.org/article/support-flemingdon-park-rent-strike>

Townsend, M. (2018). *Inclusionary Zoning in Canada: Planning for Inclusion by Creating Affordable Housing.*

Transit-Oriented Development Case Study: Equinox, Toronto (Scarborough). (2009). Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC),

https://eppdscrmssa01.blob.core.windows.net/cmhcprodcontainer/sf/project/archive/publications/transit_oriented_development_case_study/66625.pdf

Transit-oriented communities. (2020). Infrastructure Ontario,

<https://www.ontario.ca/page/transit-oriented-communities>

Trombka, A. (2004). *Montgomery County, MD. Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) Program.*

<https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/DHCA/housing/singlefamily/mpdu/index.html>

25 St. Dennis Drive - Zoning Amendment and Site Plan. (2016). City of Toronto,

<https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2017/ny/bgrd/backgroundfile-107898.pdf>

Flemingdon Park: North America's first high-rise Newtown. (2008) Tower Renewal Partnership.

<http://towerrenewal.com/built-resource-guides-future-plans/>

Mendonça-Vieira, P. (2018). *Rent Control is Great: Revisiting Ontario's experience, the Supply of Housing, and Security of Tenure.*

<http://okayfail.com/assets/rent-control-great-2018.pdf>

Webber, C & Zigman, P. (2023). *Renovictions: Displacement and Resistance in Toronto.*

Renovictions TO, <https://renovictionsto.com/reports/RenovictionsTO-RenovictionsReport-Final.pdf>

What is participatory planning? Civic plan: Planning Engagement Strategies. (2022) Civic plan. <https://civicplan.ca/what-is-participatory-planning/>

Wijburg, G. (2021). The de-financialization of housing: towards a research agenda, *Housing Studies*, 36:8, 1276-1293, DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2020.1762847

Zigman, P & August, M. (2021). Above Guideline Rent Increases in the Age of Financialization, Renovictions TO, <https://renovictionsto.com/reports/RenovictionsTO-AGIRReport-Final.pdf>

Appendices

Appendix A) Interview Questions Community Member

1. Introduce yourself
2. Tell me more about your background.
3. How long have you lived in Toronto? Flemingdon park?
4. What made you move to Flemingdon Park, OR what aspects of the community/neighbourhood where you attracted to?
5. Living in the neighbourhood, what are some of the advantages and disadvantages of living/working in the community?
6. Did you know that the Eglinton LRT project was in development?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
7. Before the Eglinton LRT project construction, has your neighbourhood been adequately cared for (by the city), such as more services geared to low-income and middle-income racialized residents, immigrants, and refugees?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
8. In addition to the Eglinton LRT Project, there have been developments being built/earlier stages of construction: did you hear about or were you a part of the community consultations that happened this past year?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
9. Do you feel the city/Metrolinx has conducted appropriate outreach to your community?
10. Where you live (where you currently reside), have you experienced any changes to your monthly expenses (i.e., rent)?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
11. Will you be able to live in the community, experience the newly constructed LRT, and use it to go to work/run errands?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain

Appendix B) Interview Questions Planner

1. Introduce Yourself
2. What is your professional background
3. How long have you worked as a Planner in the City of Toronto?
4. What was the process like from creating this development proposal to submitting a development application to build a residential building near the Eglinton Crosstown LRT?
5. Do you think the Eglinton LRT will benefit both existing and new community members living along the transit corridor? Why or why not?
6. Several development projects are taking place, including creating an entirely new community (formerly Celestica). Once completed, will the goal be to encourage new residents to use the new Eglinton LRT to access their basic needs, go to work, and access resources and community services?
7. Do you think transit impacts the land use value for the surrounding communities (including Flemingdon Park)?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
8. Is there a relationship between access to transit and gentrification?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
9. Will affordable housing options be available in the new transit-oriented development for low-income residents living in Flemingdon Park?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
10. Are you familiar with the different racialized groups that live in Flemingdon Park?
 1. If yes, explain
 2. If no, explain
11. What are the larger implications of this project on racialized groups living in Flemingdon Park and how will new residents impact the existing social composition of Flemingdon Park?