

**The Erasure of Little Jamaica:
Exploring the Role of Design in the Gentrification
of Toronto's Eglinton Avenue West**

Debbie Gordon

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Interdisciplinary Studies,

York University, Toronto, Ontario

September 2018

© Debbie Gordon, 2018

ABSTRACT

Toronto is undergoing a series of neoliberal changes related to a large regional transit development initiative for the Greater Toronto Area and Hamilton (GTAH) (Freeman and Hume 2015). This has resulted in the construction of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT line and the accompanying EGLINTONconnects redevelopment plan through the Little Jamaica market area. This development signals the displacement of the marginalized and immigrant community in the Little Jamaica area and its erasure, and follows historical precedents of the erasure of Black spaces in Canada. Through photographs and interviews this study explores the role of design in the gentrification of Little Jamaica by analyzing its visual artefacts for insight on how the area is produced. The findings indicate that significant differences in power dynamics between the members of the Caribbean community and those with political power and capital affect how they use design for their benefit and are a driving force behind the displacement in the area.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support, kindness, and generosity of many people. I am grateful to the Graduate Program in Interdisciplinary Studies for the opportunity to undertake this research and for their support and guidance during this process.

I was privileged to have worked with my supervisory committee Andil Gosine, Angela Norwood, and Glen Norcliffe and to have had their guidance and endless patience throughout my research. I would like to thank them and their respective departments for their support.

This project could not have happened without the research participants graciously sharing their time, knowledge, and experiences. They were essential to my research, but perhaps even more so to me personally. It was an honour to have met and spoken with them.

Many others have helped me to stay focused, grounded, and motivated. I would like to thank Funke Aladejebi for her encouragement and feedback on my early chapter drafts; Robert Gill for his persistence that I ask more questions; Leslie Sanders for her encouragement and her Black Canadian literature course which was a game-changer for my research; Bryn Greer-Wooten from the Institute for Social Research for his invaluable guidance; and my peers Jacqueline Scott and Edward Thomas for their support. Lastly, I would also like to thank my family for their support. I could not have completed this thesis without them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Statement of the Problem</i>	3
<i>Purpose of the Study</i>	3
<i>Research Questions</i>	4
<i>Significance of the Study</i>	4
<i>Theoretical Framework</i>	5
<i>Research Method</i>	7
<i>Summary</i>	8
CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE ERASURE OF LITTLE JAMAICA AND TRANSIT DEVELOPMENT IN TORONTO	9
<i>History</i>	9
<i>Transit History</i>	13
<i>Transit and Gentrification</i>	15
<i>Multiculturalism and Belonging</i>	20
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY	25
<i>Data Collection/Procedures</i>	26
<i>Data Analysis</i>	28
<i>Reflexivity</i>	29
<i>Technical Difficulties</i>	36
CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS	37
<i>Analysis of Interviews</i>	38

<i>Summary of Interviews</i>	63
<i>Analysis of Photographs</i>	64
<i>Summary of Photographs</i>	97
CHAPTER 5. LITERATURE REVIEW	99
<i>Understanding Neoliberal Urban Development</i>	99
<i>The Intersection of Design and Gentrification</i>	110
<i>Summary</i>	120
CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION	121
<i>Summary of Findings</i>	121
<i>Limitations</i>	125
<i>Recommendations for Future Research</i>	126
<i>Conclusion</i>	127
BIBLIOGRAPHY	130
APPENDIX A	137

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Oakwood Village and Surrounding Neighbourhoods	10
Figure 2.2: Visible Minority and Black Population of Oakwood Village Compared to Adjacent Neighborhoods	11
Figure 2.3: Change in Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, Relative to the Toronto CMA, 1970-2005	12
Figure 2.4: Percentage of Visible Minorities by 2006 Census Tracts	13
Figure 2.5: Gentrifiable and Gentrifying Census Tracts in Toronto, 1961-2006	14

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Amber Valley in Alberta (Vernon 2014) and Hogan's Alley in Vancouver, British Columbia (Compton 2005) are two instances of neglect or purposeful erasure of Black communities in Canada. In Toronto, the Grange neighbourhood¹, Bathurst and Bloor², and more recently Regent Park^{3,4} are other Black communities that have had similar experiences. Unfortunately, the factors that heavily contributed to the disappearance of these Black Canadian communities both physically and from the narrative of Canadian history are currently present in Toronto's Little Jamaica.

Located just west of the geographic centre of the city of Toronto, the historical significance of Toronto's Little Jamaica has been as a transnational ethnic enclave; a space for new immigrants and successive generations of the Caribbean diaspora to connect with home. It's a "meeting place," [with] intersections of 'particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements'... set within a wider space" (Massey and Jess 1995, 218). It's a liminal space where one often finds that the cultural practices that define one's sense of self are influenced just enough by your new surroundings to ensure your estrangement from 'back-home' and your

1. Camille Turner, Performance Artist, "Miss Canadiana's Heritage and Culture Show: The Hidden Black History of the Grange", curated by Earl Miller for Queen West BIA, *Out of Site* exhibition, Toronto, ON, 2010.

2. Royson James, "Roots of Toronto's black community run deeper than you might think: James," *Toronto Star*, November 12, 2016, accessed March 23, 2017, https://www.thestar.com/news/city_hall/2016/11/12/roots-of-torontos-black-community-run-deeper-than-you-might-think-james.html.

3. Zoe McKnight, "Regent Park Residents find relocation unfair," *Toronto Star*, May 3, 2014, accessed May 22, 2017, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/05/03/regent_park_residents_find_relocation_unfair.html.

4. Novakovic, Stefan, "Checking in on Regent Park Revitalization Progress," *Urban Toronto*, March 4, 2016, May 22, 2017, <http://urbantoronto.ca/news/2016/03/checking-regent-park-revitalization-progress>.

new surroundings, simultaneously. Little Jamaica also embodies Iain Chambers' description of the experience of an immigrant finding one's self in an unfamiliar place in which you are subject to continuous changes around you of which you have no control, and constantly negotiating where you 'Belong' (1994, 6).

The cluster of Jamaican businesses that have been present along Toronto's Eglinton Ave. West for roughly the last 40 years, mostly concentrated between Marlee Ave. and Oakwood Ave, is disappearing. This area, colloquially known as Little Jamaica, is very different now from the lively space in Jenny Burman's description of a bus ride along Eglinton Avenue West. She describes it from the perspective of someone riding in the Eglinton bus,

“From the window, a bus traveller... catches fleeting glimpses of signs... A collection of fragments—Port Royal restaurant, Gus's Tropical Foods..., RAPID REMITTANCE, Natural Touch hair design, the colours of the Jamaican flag. Horns honk, Tre Stelle trucks block the road (there are many Italian businesses on this strip too), [and] dance-hall growls from Treasure Isle Records. [It] smells like curry, then Pizza Pizza, then jerk; always with an exhaust undercurrent. All this inflected by... the sound of patois, the accents of the Canadian-born, the patois of the Canadian-born (adopted consciously, [as] a gesture of affinity). The rider could get off at this point to walk the last few blocks among fellow walkers and objects (piles, barrels, racks of stuff spilling out on the side-walk). This may be 'Caribbeanness' or 'Jamaicanness' to an extent, not a stable thing but a collaboratively produced heat-warped mirage, sold and consumed, spoken and moved, seen, heard and tasted. To a passer-by who is not addressed, it is apprehended in

fragments, taken in through all the senses but in no real way 'understood' for ethnographic translation” (Burman 2010, 196).

Within the past few years many businesses have closed leaving behind empty store fronts, while others have been either replaced by other businesses or displaced by the construction of new Light Rail Transit (LRT) stations. With the decline of businesses, there has also been a decline in the “collaborative production of ethnicity” (ibid.); the smells, sights, sounds, and activity of a busy marketplace are not present as they once were. Collectively, the previous disinvestment in this area, its location along a prominent thoroughway, and its proximity to major transit points seems to have made it a prime candidate for new development.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Walking through Little Jamaica, there is a stark difference between the visual representation of the old and new elements and hints of broader societal implications behind the drastic shift in its cultural space. As a graphic designer and second generation Jamaican immigrant, what I saw visiting there made me question my understanding of the role and impact of design in relation to lived experiences that were closer to my own. For me, it seemed clear that Little Jamaica was being erased and that design in a broad sense—from signage and advertisements to architecture and urban systems design—had something to do with it.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

As a Black, second-generation Jamaican immigrant in Canada, I understand my personal experience to be one that is simultaneously disconnected from Canadian culture and Caribbean

culture. I also understand that my experience is overlooked in the conflation of Blackness in Canada with Blackness in the US. As a designer with a Eurocentric formal training, opportunities to engage these aspects of myself within my education and professional practice have been limited. This project provides an opportunity for me to explore the intersection of my Eurocentric design lens and Caribbean/ Black Canadian lens.

Focusing on documentation, visual analysis, and understanding nuance and intersectionality, this study explores the gentrification of the Little Jamaica community in the context of the historical erasure of Black Canadian communities and problematizes design and the effects of its Euro/Amero centricity and modernist leaning principles on marginalized communities.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions will help to address what the role of design is in displacement: *What can a visual analysis of this space reveal about the actors that are involved in its production and by extension, about the reasons behind its changes?; What's the significance of the erasure of the historical immigrant presence in the area?; and How does the proposed presentation of this area conflict with the reality of those that live and work here?*

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Drawing from Krase's explanation of the importance of paying attention visually to ethnic vernacular landscapes (Kruse 2004), this study is significant because it's an opportunity to visually document and read a current, ongoing instance of the erasure of a Black Canadian community "at a level not usually analyzed" (ibid., 9). Currently, the primary goal of the accounts of the erasure

of Black Canadian communities seems to be to unearth their existence and to insert them into the historical narrative of Canada. The prevalence and knowledge of these accounts, alongside the present heightened political atmosphere of social justice, has brought attention to current and similar issues that these communities still face. This study examines the role of design in the erasure of Little Jamaica and also highlights the fact that different groups construct their community spaces in different ways depending on their political or economic circumstances (ibid., 7), and the importance of economic and political power in shaping spaces.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

If, as Kevin Lynch states, a city is the product of self-interested builders (1960, 2), then the products they build reflect how they inhabit or navigate the space that constitutes a city. In this sense, the forms within a space aren't inconsequential but are in fact key components of the space. Understanding how these forms fit within a space, then, is important to understanding their builders. By extension, the designed forms within a space are not purely decorative, but in fact are a revelatory statement. As Victor Margolin says:

“By learning to look insightfully at... designed objects, services, and techniques in society we can... recognize the manifestations of social values and policies [;] ...we can see the representation of arguments about how life ought to be lived.” (Margolin 1989, 28).

The design within a space, i.e. a city, neighbourhood, or market area in relation to this thesis, is an expression of the evolving, collaborative, and hegemonic discourse about what should be happening in that space.

Margolin's statement begins to address the use of design as a means to control space. From this statement, a theoretical framework can be established that begins by drawing from Lefebvre's Spatial Triad as an abstraction of space, and Bourdieu's Aesthetics of Taste. Taking into account Little Jamaica and the researcher's position as a Black Canadian designer, Naturalistic research methodologies, and Diasporic Place-making and Belonging are also important to the framework.

The relationship between space and objects is exemplified in Henri Lefebvre's work on spatial practices. It outlines a triad that includes a Conceptual space, a Material space, and a Lived space (Strabowski 2014, 798-799). Conceptual space 'is abstract and mental', referring to the ideas and beliefs that shape a space. Material space refers to the tangible objects of a space, including architecture, signage, and infrastructure. Lived space is where people navigate, affect, and are affected by the conceptual and material spaces. Within this "superimposed" triad, ideas and beliefs take material form and become practices. By extension, political, economic, sociological, and ideological beliefs, and their various combinations, also take material form, i.e. are designed—that is, deliberately given a form or structure to serve some purpose—as objects and practices.

Margolin's statement aligns with Pierre Bourdieu's observations that aesthetic 'taste' is used to denote, among other things, class (Krase 2004, 191). According to Bourdieu, aesthetic taste can be divided into the 'taste of luxury' and the 'taste of necessity', with the former expressing abstract ideals and wealth (and the power to do so), and the latter being more functional. In gentrification, aesthetic 'taste' is often used to make "spaces more attractive to more advantaged consumers of housing, goods, and services" (ibid). However, there seems to be an assumption that what is good for "advantaged consumers" is also good for everyone else. If, in the case of Little Jamaica, the

new aesthetic falls under the 'taste of luxury', then the current aesthetic, with its melange of signs and structures, would generally fall under the 'taste of necessity' making Little Jamaica susceptible to change that can result in its erasure.

The Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) is the main catalyst for the development in Little Jamaica and the central feature of EGLINTONconnects, the City of Toronto Planning study⁵ that evaluated the potential redevelopment of Eglinton Avenue West along the LRT line. The Eglinton Crosstown LRT development and EGLINTONconnects plan are examples of the intersection of the abstraction of space and the use of aesthetic taste in Little Jamaica for advantaged consumers. These developments embody an 'aesthetic of progress' and their primary focus is on developing infrastructure to maximize profit opportunities along the Eglinton Crosstown's route for commercial and real estate investors. Considering historical precedents around disruptive transit development (Miles 2001, 33-34; Freeman and Hume, 2015), these developments most likely foreshadow Little Jamaica's displacement and erasure rather than its improvement.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research methods used include semi-structured interviews that draw from a Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz 2015) and photography. The intent of the interviews is to "[tell] a story about people, social processes, and situations... that reflects the viewer as well as the viewed" (ibid., 522). For the photographs, the goal is to document the area to take a closer look at what's there, to visually analyze the artefacts in the space for evidence of different actors and their impact, and to document changes over time.

5. City of Toronto, "EGLINTONconnects Planning Study." City of Toronto. Toronto (Ont.). City Planning Division, issuing body (2013-2014).

SUMMARY

Through the example of Toronto's Little Jamaica, this study contributes to a multifaceted view of gentrification by using the visual representations of an area not only as documentation of gentrification, but also as a way of identifying key elements of how the area is produced. This study also attempts to focus on design as a practice in relation to the effect of gentrification on immigrant communities, particularly the erasure of Little Jamaica. It questions, although perhaps indirectly, the idea that design can be used to substantively address social issues when as a practice it is premised on similar values of the systems that it is trying to oppose. To begin this study, the following chapter provides a historical context of Little Jamaica, the Black community in Canada generally, and their experience with displacement as they try to achieve a sense of belonging within Canadian society.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE ERASURE OF LITTLE JAMAICA AND TRANSIT DEVELOPMENT IN TORONTO

The erasure of Little Jamaica, a low-income, immigrant neighborhood with a large Black population, is marked by the installation of the Eglinton Crosstown LRT line. Little Jamaica's forced dispersal has its roots in the historical development of Toronto and surrounding communities which featured the spatial encoding of economic and social discrepancies, the use of transit to encourage urbanization and economic development, and the maintenance of the narrative that Canada is a white nation. A better understanding of Little Jamaica warrants a historical contextualization of the neighbourhood and the people in it in relation to Canada, immigration, belonging, and the intersection of transit and gentrification in Toronto.

HISTORY

Eglinton Avenue can be traced back to 1794 when the present-day intersection of Yonge Street and Eglinton Avenue began to be cleared north towards Lake Simcoe (Ritchie 1992, 62,63).

Although it remained unnamed until 1889 (Boylen 1954, 9), by 1850 the surrounding area had developed into Eglinton Village and the location of the newly incorporated Township of York (Ritchie 1992, 62,63). The Township was bounded by the Humber River to the West, present-day Victoria Park Avenue in the East, Steeles Avenue in the North, and Bloor Street just north of Toronto city boundary at that time in the south (Shadd, Cooper, et al., 2005, 39). It was separated by Yonge Street into York Township West and York Township East (ibid.).



Figure 2.1: Oakwood Village and surrounding neighbourhoods. Google Maps 2018

The eastern and western sides of the township developed unevenly. The already well developed eastern side of Yonge Street benefitted from a series of incorporations and annexations by Toronto and by the prosperity brought on by WWII. On the western side of Yonge Street, which was more rural than the eastern side, the remainder of York Township after the annexations and incorporations found itself in a dire situation as its main source of income, taxable land, had been reduced significantly. It went bankrupt and was placed under provincial supervision until 1941. The effects of this early developmental discrepancy between York Township East and West are still visible today with east of Yonge Street still being the home of a much wealthier population, economic development, and infrastructure overall compared to that of west of Yonge Street. The

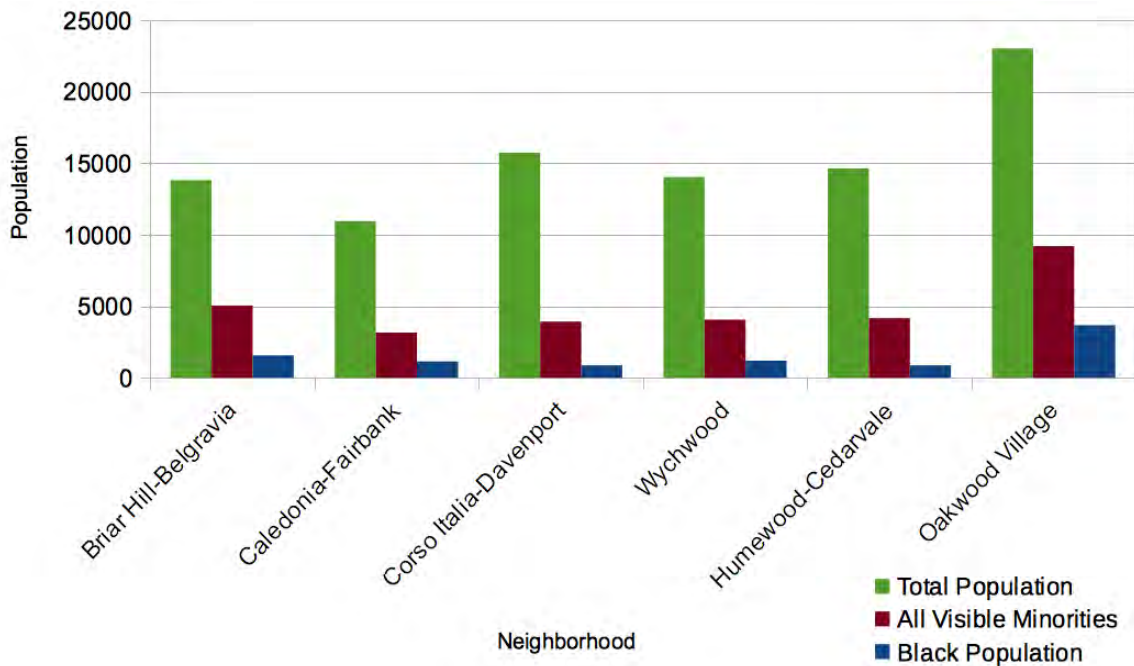
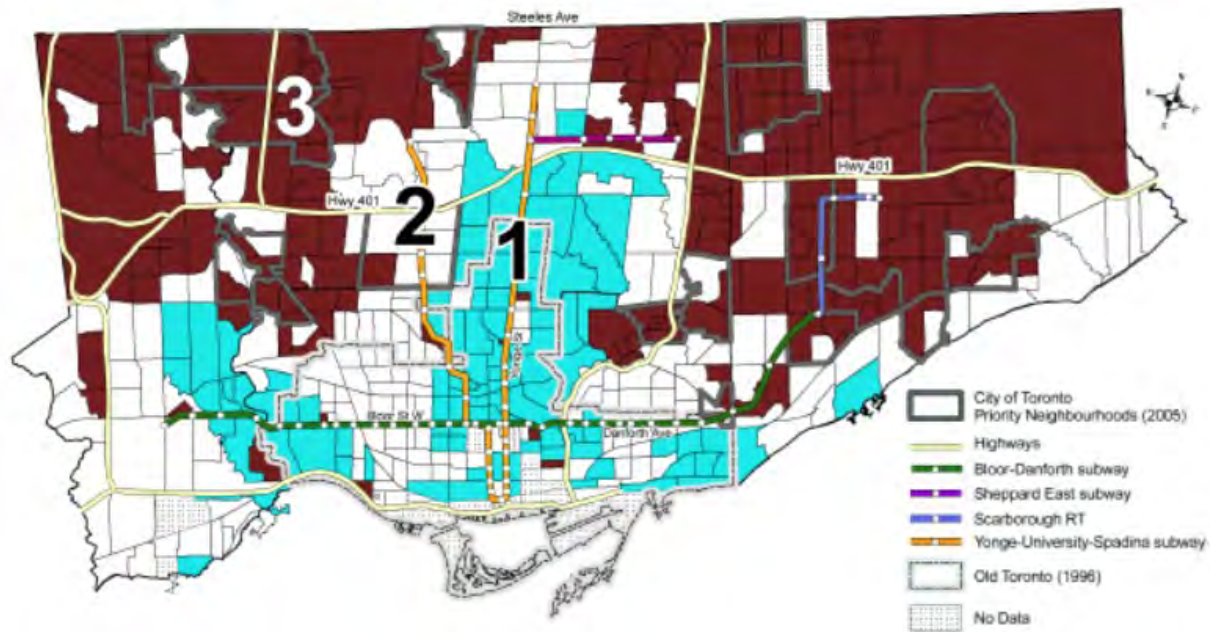


Figure 2.2: Visible Minority and Black Population of Oakwood Village Compared to Adjacent Neighbourhoods. Statistics Canada 2001.

intersection of Dufferin Street, Eglinton Avenue, and Vaughan Road has its beginnings in the early 1800s (Brown 1997, 137). It was a stop for travellers from Yonge Street journeying west along Eglinton Avenue to Dufferin Street eventually heading north, and for travellers from Davenport Road journeying northwest along Vaughn Road towards Dufferin Street (ibid). However, it wasn't until after WWI that the area began to have subdivisions and stores (ibid, 138). In particular, to meet the needs of the rapidly growing community, between 1924 and 1946 the area around Dufferin Street, Oakwood Avenue and Vaughan Road began to add schools, libraries, parks, and other community features (Boylen 1954, 81-111). Today, this is the neighbourhood that surrounds Little Jamaica, which is located along Eglinton Avenue West, on the northern border of the Oakwood Village neighbourhood.



Change in the Census Tract Average Individual Income as a Percentage of the Toronto CMA Average, 1970-2005

<p>City #1 Increase of 20% or More 100 Census Tracts, 20% of City</p>	<p>City #2 Increase or Decrease is Less than 20% 208 Census Tracts, 40% of City</p>	<p>City #3 Decrease of 20% or More 206 Census Tracts, 40% of City</p>
--	---	--

Figure 2.3: Change in average individual income, City of Toronto, Relative to the Toronto CMA, 1970-2005

Immigration in York Township

Historically, the area west of Yonge Street and north of Bloor Street, the geographic area of York Township West, was an area new immigrants settled. Particularly in the early 1900s, a new wave of European immigrants settled into Toronto's suburbs creating communities to the south of St. Clair Avenue West (Byers and Myrvold 1997, 5). The proximity to industrial work and services provided by Toronto, and the relatively affordable housing made the area an ideal space to live (ibid., 58). Today this area would include the Corso Italia-Davenport, Wychwood, West Toronto Junction, Earls court, and Dovercourt neighbourhoods among others. This new wave of immigrants was similar demographically to the population of North Toronto in 1939, which was east of Yonge Street, described as being over 90% English, Irish, Scottish, or German descendants

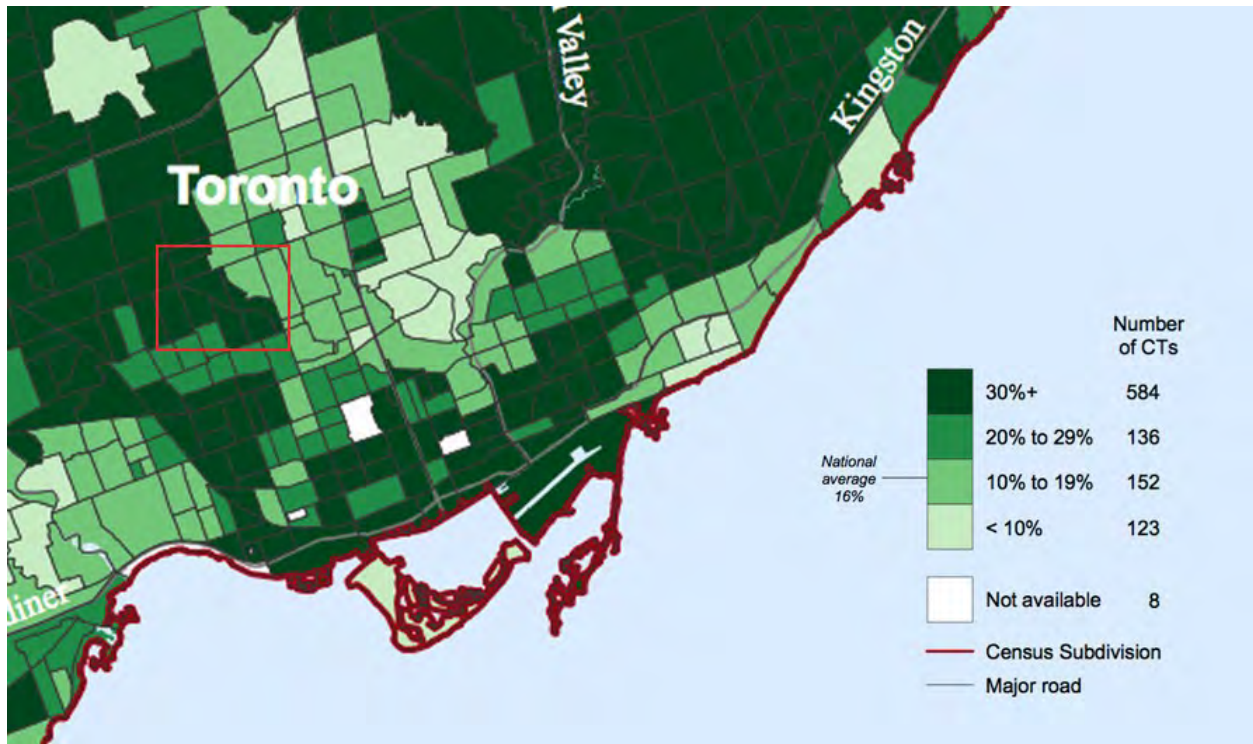


Figure 2.4: Percentage of visible minorities by 2006 census tracts; Source: 2006 Census of Canada.

(Ritchie 1992, 148). Both groups of immigrants can be taken as a fair estimate of the demographics of York Township on a whole as the immigration policies of Canada did not permit otherwise (Mensah 2002, 69).

St. Clair West has been and continues to be an immigrant neighbourhood. For example, in terms of demographics, in the 1940s and 1950s the Regal Heights community consisted mostly of Jewish families. By the 1960s, it consisted mostly of Italian families and by the 1980s, the Jewish and Italian families had given way to newer immigrants like Latin Americans and the Portuguese (Byers and Myvold 1997, 59). From 1991-2006 immigrants were 54% of the population of St. Clair West with most coming from European countries other than the United Kingdom and the rest coming increasingly from Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Asia (ibid., 94).

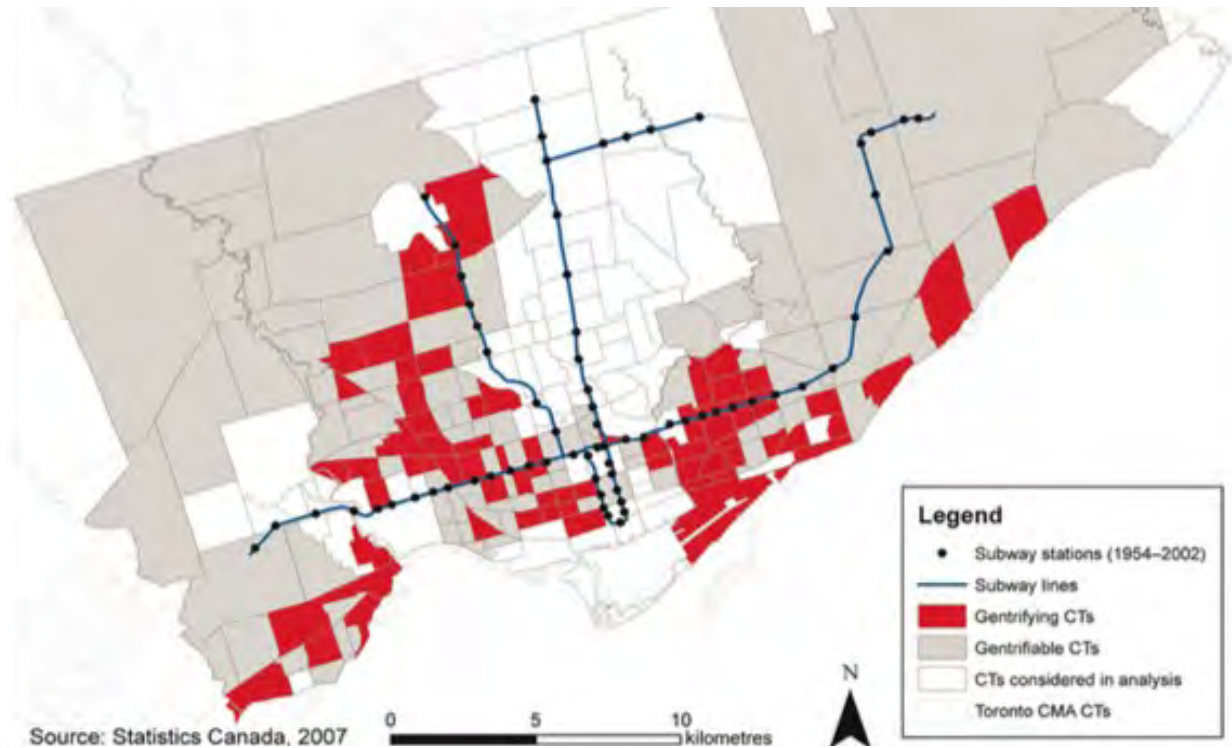


Figure 2.5: Gentrifiable and gentrifying census tracts in Toronto, 1961-2006; Source: Statistics Canada, 2007

Blacks in York Township West

Blacks have been in Canada since the 1600s, first in Atlantic Canada and Quebec, then Pacific Canada by the 1850s, and the Prairies by the early 1900s (Mensah 2002, 43-52). They were slaves, indentured servants, Loyalists, refugees from US slavery, settlers from the US, labourers, and immigrants (ibid., 43-54). Many were from Jamaica (ibid., 98). With regard to York Township, by 1861, of the total number of Blacks in York Township, a mix of African American immigrants and African Canadians, most lived in York Township West, second only to St. John’s Ward in Toronto (Shadd, Cooper, et al., 2005). The concentration of Blacks in the rural York Township West was not coincidental as “physical exclusion and economic, social, legal, and residential segregation”,

were among the forms of racism exercised towards racial minorities in Canada (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008, 42).

Until the 1960s, Canada's immigration policy was openly racist preferring white immigrants. It was open to Black students from the Caribbean beginning in 1920 (Mensah 2002, 99), only offering temporary visas; and to Black labourers to fill labour market needs, like the West Indian Domestic Scheme which began in 1955 (*ibid.*, 98). In 1962 Canadian immigration became more favourable to Jamaican immigrants with the most immigrants arriving between 1973 and 1977. By 1978, the immigration policy's requirements of Caribbean immigrants shifted from an educational requirement to "occupational and employment experience" and placed more weight on independent immigrants and refugees rather than family-class immigrants (Mensah 2002, 98).

This resulted in a sharp decrease in immigration from Jamaica (*ibid.*, 101), with a small increase in immigration from the island between 1984 and 1994 (*ibid.*, 100). Most of these immigrants settled in Toronto, Ontario in concentrations around Bathurst Avenue, the community around Jane Street and Finch Avenue, Eglinton Avenue West, and Danforth Avenue (*ibid.*, 105). Also making note of the growing concentration of people of Caribbean descent in Rexdale, sections of Scarborough, and the Eglinton-Vaughan Road area (now known as Oakwood Village), Frances Henry (1994) cites studies that attribute these concentrations and the resulting undesirable social effects to housing discrimination and questionable practices by the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority⁶ (275). This concentration is still present in recent years. In the reported ethnicities and visible minorities of the 2001 census, specifically concerning Oakwood Village and

6. Since 1997, along with the amalgamation of the City of Toronto, this has become a part of the Toronto Community Housing Corporation

its surrounding neighbourhoods (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2)ⁱ, Oakwood Village has the greatest percentage of visible minorities and Blacks. In other words, the presence of these communities is not coincidental, but rather based in the compounded effects of being Black and immigrant in Canada.

TRANSIT HISTORY

Drawing from Edward Soja, Todd (1995) states, “economic restructuring is linked to the spatial restructuring of the urban built environment” (ibid., 121). Using this insight as a guide, the changes over time in transit development in York Township, Toronto, and in relation to Eglinton West—from suburban public transit in the form of streetcar-centred development, to suburban car-centred development, and finally to urban public transit in the form of subway and light rail development—can be linked to economic activity at the time of their development.

Transit was key to the development of York Township. As stated above, there was an influx of immigrants into communities around St. Clair Avenue in the early 1900s. For health concerns and in an effort to be an industrial competitor with Montreal, these communities were annexed to Toronto (Byers and Myvold 1997, 58). Although there were a number of private bus and streetcar companies that provided service to the area, the private company that provided Toronto’s transit refused to extend its service to St. Clair Avenue which at that time, in 1891, was beyond the city’s limits. Feeling that these communities needed to be served, and also to promote development in these newly annexed areas (ibid., 124), Toronto created the precursor to the TTC, the Toronto Civic Railway Company (TRC), and built streetcar lines along St. Clair Avenue that were operational by 1911 (ibid., 75-77). Similarly, in York Township East, the annexation of North

Toronto resulted in regular streetcar service by 1922, and an Eglinton bus route by 1930 (Ritchie 1972).

As Todd (1995) explains, the shift towards Fordist-Keynesian capitalism after WWII, as the rest of the world was rebuilding, and the accompanying wealth, prosperity, and stability resulted in the development of a high production, high consumption society with a generous safety net. With cheap fuel and a mandate to create opportunities to consume, communities were developed around the car instead of, as previously done, the streetcar. The suburbs were no longer areas for the rural poor, but where the growing middle class could own their own homes, and escape the confines of the city and proximity to industrial manufacturing plants, and by extension, the poor. However, Fordist-Keynesianism began to lose its hold as the main economic ideology of the day as economies recovered globally, gas prices rose, and the idea of continual economic growth became increasingly unrealistic. By the mid 70s to the early 90s, Canada and the US became less focused on manufacturing and more focused on service industries, which was further helped by an emerging technology sector. This shift from manufacturing coincided with a shift in the 1970s away from the suburbanization and expressway developments of the 50s and 60s. Former Ontario Premier William Davis' statement about the construction of Allen Road, which now ends at Eglinton Avenue instead of continuing on to downtown Toronto, marks this shift well. He said,

“[i]f we are building a transportation system to serve the automobile, the Spadina Expressway [former name of Allen Road] would be a good place to start. But if we are building a transportation system to serve the people, the Spadina Expressway would be a good place to stop” (Marshall 2016).

By 1985 Metro Toronto and the TTC jointly introduced a transit plan called *Network 2011* (Osbaldeston 2008). One of its suggestions was to build an Eglinton West line subway extension to the border of Mississauga from the then recently opened, in 1978, Eglinton West station (TTC). Unfortunately, it was one of many transit projects that were stopped or limited by years of disagreements between municipal governments, provincial party changes, and community members protesting elements of proposed projects (Marshall 2016, par. 34). The amalgamation of the City of Toronto in 1998 and the coordination between the provincial and municipal transit governing bodies seems to have overcome these past issues making it possible for projects like the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, and other extensions of the TTC to exist. Considering that most of the existing subway stops are within the previous limits of Toronto proper, the new ease with which transit can be built in Toronto is a welcomed change, but it also poses new problems.

TRANSIT AND GENTRIFICATION

Studies on transit development in Toronto show a correlation between the outer limits of the city; the location of communities where high numbers of immigrants, racialized people, and low-income people live; areas that currently lack adequate public transportation; and areas that have an increased probability of gentrification. When census data of the percentage of visible minorities across the Greater Toronto Area (GTA)⁷, Figure 2.3, is superimposed onto maps that show income distribution across the same census tract areas (Hulchanski 2010), Figure 2.4, a correlation is shown between where immigrants and low income residents live in the City.

7. Percentage of Visible Minorities by 2006 Census Tracts (Cts), Map 2 of 2, 2006 Census of Canada. Geography Division, Statistics Canada, 2008.

Additionally, the Grube-Cavers and Patterson (2015) study produced a map that shows gentrifiable and gentrifying areas in Toronto and their relation to the subway line, Figure 2.5. Superimposing this map onto the previous two mentioned above shows the development of a wealthy core in Toronto with most of the gentrifying areas being near the subway line. In fact, the Grube-Cavers and Patterson study found that if a census tract had no previous access to transit, if a subway station was built only 550 metres away from it, it became five times more likely to gentrify. Considering that the section of Eglinton Avenue West that is Little Jamaica is not only deemed a gentrifiable area in Toronto⁸, but also currently has three LRT stations under construction: one at the eastern end of Little Jamaica, another at its core at Oakwood Avenue, and the third at Dufferin Street at its ambiguous Western end, it seems that gentrification is very likely to occur.

EGLINTONconnects

The Eglinton Crosstown LRT has an accompanying development plan called EGLINTONconnects. EGLINTONconnects is a study that was conducted over a period of about 2 years, 2012-2014, concerning the growth and development opportunities along the proposed LRT line. It focused on the 19 km stretch of Eglinton Avenue where 25 LRT stations would be placed. With the LRT line planned to be complete by 2020, the revitalizing work based on recommendations by EGLINTONconnects is to take place between 2025-2050.

The EGLINTONconnects study produced a substantial document that outlines in two parts its parameters, considerations, and recommendations. The second section of the first part of the

8. Defined by the Grube-Cavers and Patterson study as census tract areas with family income and degrees per capita averages lower than the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA).

study is entitled “Study Basics” and outlines the framework and scope of the study. It provides insight into the disconnect between the revitalization project and some of the communities along Eglinton Avenue. Within the “Study Purpose” and “Study Area” sections, it makes three statements,

“EGLINTONconnects is about city building and the evolution of Eglinton Avenue. The Study aims to determine the best ways to leverage public investment in the Crosstown LRT” (Part 1, Section 2-4).

“Though the Study includes wide ranging background analysis, directions for the future will fall into three major themes: Building Eglinton, Greening Eglinton and Travelling Eglinton” (ibid).

“Although the neighbourhoods adjacent to Eglinton Avenue have been considered during the Study, recommendations will generally only deal with the properties fronting on Eglinton Avenue and their immediate neighbours” (Part 1, Section 2-6).

These statements are reflective of the goals, reductive framing, and power relations that guide the study.

The first statement is a bit vague as it’s not immediately clear whether it is referring to financial investment or general interest and support. However, the latter two statements’ reduction of Eglinton Avenue to real estate clarifies that they are primarily about financial investment. The language used to describe the focus of the work to be done on Eglinton Avenue i.e., Building, Greening, and Travelling, and the general focus on the “properties fronting” the Eglinton corridor

is reductive, extracts businesses from the communities they serve, and strips them of their cultural value. This phrasing overlooks the fact that, as Toronto poet Trevlyn Kennedy⁹ (2017) explains, buildings hold memories and locations hold stories. In relation to communities like Little Jamaica, businesses that serve the community are key to site-specific cultural practice and production. The changes that this study proposes will have a significant effect on the communities that depend on the market areas along the Eglinton corridor.

The significance of this reduction is also seen in the way that the stakeholders are listed and taken into consideration. The external stakeholders are listed as the general public and community including local businesses and cyclists, etc., and the internal stakeholders are listed as the technical advisory committee, the planning reference group, the design review panel, other agencies and city divisions, like Toronto Water and Toronto Parking Authority (Part 1, Section 2.8). The placement of the general public and community as external stakeholders to the development of the spaces around the LRT is not only troubling, it frames the spaces around the LRT as an investment product, and provides an excellent example of power relations in the city. Just who are these external stakeholders and what do they have at stake that is considered more of a liability with this project than the residents' and local business owners' stake in this area? Although the EGLINTONconnects study also states engagement objectives and principles to be followed when addressing the public, they are framed in such a way that it is clear that the internal stakeholders are the driving force, and that the engagement itself is an intricate public relations/marketing activity.

9. Trevlyn Kennedy, Spoken Word Artist. Performance at Robin D.G. Kelley & Fred Moten, In Conversation at University of Toronto, April 3, 2017

The ideal outcomes described in the Executive Summary not only reflect a neoliberal sentiment towards city building, they are outright descriptions of gentrification. This includes the coopting of the term ‘diversity’ to refer to the variations in streetscape design between different communities, the “infrastructure renewal” that will occur as the spaces between stations are slowly outfitted with new streetscapes, and the development of new connections with Toronto’s parks and ravines, which taps into the ways that access to nature has been privileged. The goal of these changes, is to attract a “new population looking for a high quality of life that is contemporary in its urban vision”, and to use the transit and new streetscape to “set the stage for long-term intensification of Eglinton to... accommodate... 31,000 new employees and 76,000 new residents”. All of this is made possible by investments from the provincial government in the amount of \$5 billion, the City of Toronto in the amount of \$100 million, potentially, for the new streetscape, and from the private sector in the potential amount of \$10 billion, over time, in real estate development. In other words, EGLINTONconnects is primarily about private sector development.

While city infrastructures need to evolve and change over time, projects that are based on neoliberal principles of producing the city as a product for consumption by a distinct group of people are not the best way to go about it. This type of development aligns with Richard Florida’s principles of developing a city to cater to the Creative Class (Florida 2002), an idea that he has come to refute himself (Florida 2017). In the case of Little Jamaica, one of the blindspots of catering to the Creative Class is that the likelihood of the average resident being apart of the

Creative Class is greatly reduced due to the accumulated and compounded effects of systemic racial and economic exclusion.

By separating and abstracting people from their community spaces and prescribing changes to the infrastructure of the Eglinton corridor for the benefit of ideal citizens in the form of the Creative Class, the EGLINTONconnects study facilitates the displacement and erasure of the Black and immigrant communities in and around Little Jamaica. These recommendations perpetuate narratives of otherness regarding Blackness in Canada.

MULTICULTURALISM AND BELONGING

There has been a dominant narrative, especially within Canadian historical geographies that Canada is white and that race or racial concerns are not only anomalies, but in fact ‘contradict’ Canada (McKittrick 2006). This stems from the presumption that “subaltern populations have no relationship to the production of space” (ibid., 92). Canada not only has a history of “eras[ing] and demolish[ing] Black places and spaces”, and refusing to acknowledge the historical presence of Blacks in Canada (ibid., 94), but the practice of concealing this history “coincides with intentions to put blackness out of sight” as Black spaces and communities that are unseen depict a more “truthful” visual of a white Canada (ibid., 96). The discourse in Canada on Blackness and race communicates that “to belong as black in Canada is ... to necessarily belong elsewhere” (ibid., 99), to be detached from any physical geography, and to be placed in a state of perpetual displacement, affirming that blackness in Canada is “always other”, “impossible”, and “simultaneously invisible and visibly non-Canadian” (ibid.). Historic examples of this erasure and displacement includes,

“The demolition of Africville in Nova Scotia and Hogan’s Alley in Vancouver; threatening and administering black diaspora deportation; the renaming of Negro Creek Road to Maggie Road in Holland Township, Ontario; the silence around and concealment of Canada’s largest invisible slave burial ground, Nigger Rock, in the eastern townships of Quebec; racist immigration policies; the ploughing over of the black Durham Road Cemetery in southwestern Ontario; the relocation, and recent renaming, of Caribana; and the commonly held belief that black Canada is only recent and urban” (McKittrick 2006, 96).

The gentrification of Little Jamaica could also be added to this list, especially considering that the Study indicates that Eglinton West station will be renamed Cedarvale station, the effect of which will be the dissociation of the gentrified space from the history and narrative of Little Jamaica that the name Eglinton West is synonymous with. The gentrification of this area also ties in with deep-seated beliefs in a link between the Other, lower classes, and uncleanness (Markel and Stern 2002), as well as the practice of expressing these differences through class-coded aesthetics (Forty 1986). Unfortunately the Jamaican community in Toronto has not been able to escape these beliefs as the stigma and fear of Jamaican criminals has led to discourses about “invasions”, or a “spilling over” Blackness in the City (McKittrick 2006, 102). The gentrification of Little Jamaica addresses these concerns.

Considering that the recommendations of the EGLINTONconnects study—which are not unique among redevelopment plans in Toronto—align with the historical narratives of a white Canada in that they undermine practices of belonging by non-white immigrants and racialized people, it

seems that multiculturalism as a policy is not as effective as it could be. While Anthias (2006) explains that the concept of belonging is complex and is found somewhere between the ever changing boundaries and hierarchies of an individual, the intersectional communities that they participate in, and the State, for the many cultural groups within Canada, multiculturalism institutionalizes belonging. As McKittrick (2014) explains multiculturalism is “a series of policies and reminders, set up by the nation-state, Canada, through which its citizens can access and share diversity and institutionalize heterogeneous Canadian narratives” (ibid., 243). The failure of multiculturalism to prevent displacement or the systemic practices that create the conditions and opportunities for gentrification to occur is in line with criticisms of multiculturalism.

As a policy in Canada, multiculturalism is criticized as an inadequate policy that “fosters cultural relativism and social division; creates ethnic ghettos; commodifies ethnic culture; ... reinforces cultural stereotypes; ... undermines the distinctiveness and special claims of Québécois and First Nations people in Canada, [respectively]” (Mensah 2002, 209), and makes “Others” adjuncts to a nation with French and English founders (Walcott 2003, 139). It is viewed as “a regressive ideology that endorses the symbolic, ornamental, and situational aspects of minority demands” (Mensah 2002, 209), and is essentially a misrepresentation, because it is unattainable as most ethnic groups do not have the “necessary social structures to perpetuate cultural traditions” (ibid., 221-222). Those that agree with symbolic ethnicity argue that, the goal of the policy is not to “enhance the collective rights of minorities or to create autonomous minority groups with parallel institutions and power bases within Canada... [but to] ... promote symbolic ethnicity” (ibid., 228). The argument continues,

“Multiculturalism has not only made it possible for minorities to identify with their cultural backgrounds and at the same time participate in Canadian society, but it has also helped Canada manage its race relations in such a way as to avoid the violent ethnic clashes so prevalent in contemporary geopolitics” (ibid., 229).

Despite its previous use by Blacks and others to push past racial barriers towards full participation in Canadian society through initiatives like the Multiculturalism Directorate (Mensah 2002, 230), the policy is written in such a way, with future infinitive verbs, that it speaks to a perpetual state of anticipation for the justice that it calls for (McKittrick 2014). The 1980s “heyday” of identity politics (Hudson and Kamugisha 2014), and the following period of anti-Blackness follows the intervals that constitute what McKittrick calls a politics of waiting, wherein we are offered glimpses of what a realized state of multiculturalism could be between cycles of colonial violence (ibid., 214). In this sense, perhaps multiculturalism is working as planned; a symbolic representation of belonging, never to be achieved in practice, but to serve as a facade and tool for the management of race relations for a tolerant, white Canada.

Spaces like Little Jamaica are important for the practice of belonging for Caribbean communities (Henry 1994, 268), as opposed to community, because they foster institutions and relationships for culture, community, and collective resistance to inequity (Krase 2004, 8), and also help to strengthen ties, perhaps ironically, to Canada. The recommendations of the EGLINTONconnects study undermine this practice by extracting people from their communities and their historical context to design a system and aesthetics that is used to perpetuate marginalization.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter provides a historical context of Little Jamaica that includes the development of its infrastructure, the growth of its immigrant community, the correlation of transit development and gentrification in Toronto, and issues with multiculturalism and belonging in relation to Black Canadians. It highlights spatially encoded economic disparities and racist ideologies that continue to affect the area today and also brings attention to the EGLINTON connects development plan's neoliberal approach to urban development which commodifies spaces for specific groups of people. This context provides a framework that supports inquiry about the changes happening in Little Jamaica around questions of the visual displays of how immigrants have made the space their own, of visual elements that make the area gentrifiable, and visual evidence of the effect of transit development on immigrant communities.

The general question that I am attempting to answer is *What can be learned about the current changes in Little Jamaica from analyzing its visual artefacts?* The secondary questions that I am trying to address are *What does a visual analysis of this space reveal about the actors that are involved in its production and the reasons behind its changes?; What ideals and cultural paradigms are reflected in these changes?; and How does the proposed future presentation of this area relate to the reality of those that live and work there?*

Because of the open nature of my questions, my methodology is qualitative and uses design, reflexivity, and the “marginalized” person's point of view as points of departure to conduct

interviews and take photographs. Below is a description of the data collection procedures that I used and some of the key ideas that informed my methodology, particularly those gained from introspection and reflexivity.

DATA COLLECTION/PROCEDURES

Setting

The study took place along an urban market area that is about four blocks in length. It is a multi-ethnic business community in Toronto and has been in place for many decades. Within this multi-ethnic space, numerous Caribbean businesses have been established over the past 30-35 years. In recent years this has been in decline. Currently, this area is undergoing the installation of a light rail transit system.

Photographs

Around 1500 photographs were taken with a DSLR camera over a period of 13 months. They began in November 2014 and ended in December 2015. There are four sets of photos, three of which detail both sides of Eglinton Avenue West in wide and close up views, and one set of photos that detail attributes of the area like street furniture, store signs, store facades, community art, etc. Photographs of people were avoided when possible to focus on the built environment.

Interviews

Using convenience sampling, potential interviewees were approached first and then contacted at a later date to set up a time for an interview. The participants were limited to business owners and people that were based in or were familiar with the International Market Area. The participants

included five business owners and one community member. The interviews took place between February and May 2015 at the interviewees places of business, except for one which took place at a public library. Of the participants, five were of Caribbean descent, one was of European descent, four were fifty or over, two were in their forties, and one was a woman.

The participants signed and indicated their approval to be recorded before their interviews began. Each interview was digitally recorded and lasted between 30 minutes to an hour. They were conducted using an approved questionnaire and protocol (see Appendix A) and were anonymized.

The semi-structured interviews consisted of eight interview questions, five main questions and three supplementary questions. The questions were intended to guide a conversation about the changes in the area through the interviewee's experience. They draw heavily from a constructivist Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz 2015). In this qualitative approach the goal is to move away from a positivist research approach to one that uses “flexible, heuristic strategies rather than formulaic procedures” (ibid., 510). It relies on ethnographic research, but is not immersive. It looks at slices of social life, and “tells a story about people, social processes, and situations... that reflects the viewer as well as the viewed” (ibid., 522). As Charmaz explains,

“A constructivist grounded theory recognizes that the viewer creates the data and ensuing analysis through interaction with the viewed. Data do not provide a window on reality. Rather, the “discovered” reality arises from the interactive process and its temporal, cultural, and structural contexts. Researcher and subjects frame that interaction and

confer meaning upon it. The viewer then is part of what is viewed rather than separate from it. What a viewer sees shapes what he or she will define, measure, and analyze” (ibid., 524).

Considering my relative closeness to the research topic and concerns with the effects of various perceptions on what is understood to be happening in the area, this approach seemed most appropriate for addressing them. Additionally, the interviews were recorded using the program Soundbooth on a laptop and the VoiceRecorder phone app for backup. Jot notes were also taken throughout the interviews.

Observations

I took a bus ride east and west of the immediate area along Eglinton Avenue West, eastward to Yonge Street, and westward to Keele Street to explore possible comparative differences along Eglinton Avenue West of the effects of the LRT construction, as well as other things like types of businesses, economic health, maintenance etc. to that of Little Jamaica.

DATA ANALYSIS

Being a member of the Jamaican community in Toronto, it was necessary for me to document my personal thoughts to be able to differentiate them from that of the interviewees. I made notes on how I would answer the interview questions personally and what I noticed about the photographs. The photographs were printed as contact sheets and then reviewed for obvious attributes or peculiarities. Examples include empty store fronts, design and architecture

anomalies, cultural displays, and general signs of change or decay. These attributes/peculiarities were noted, organized into categories, and then analysed.

After the interviews were transcribed, the responses were organized based on the research question they corresponded to. The tangential and more conversational responses were also organized based on the question they addressed. If they addressed a new topic not covered by the interview questions, they were organized separately according to the new topic or theme they addressed. The responses were then coded for common themes and notes were made of specific visual artefacts that were mentioned. These artefacts were then compared to the photographs.

REFLEXIVITY

In this project, I tried to work reflexively to acknowledge and address the dissonance that I experienced in the early stages of this project, and as a methodological approach and analysis throughout the study. What I have realized is that reflexivity is an ongoing practice that can result in significant shifts in one's perspective and research approach throughout a project. Below, I point out a few key things that were influential to my methodology including how little I had questioned the principles of design outside of the framework that it had been taught to me, specifically concerning the extent of the entanglement of the experiences of the researcher/designer and their subjects within complex socio-political contexts; as well as my realization of the hidden ubiquity of worldviews and values and just how complex and nuanced their expressions can be.

Shawn Wilson states that “[r]esearch is all about unanswered questions, but... also reveals our unquestioned answers” (2008, 6). This made me wonder what my research revealed about my unquestioned answers concerning design. When I began this thesis project, I wanted to look at how designers worked in international development spaces by analyzing the work they produced. In particular, I wanted to look at how Western designers navigated the cultural perceptions and often unrealistic expectations held by themselves and their clients. I saw a clear cultural distinction between “them” and “us” but I could sense that personal values also had a significant role in the outcome of these interactions. In an attempt to find a similar situation closer to home, I began to explore Toronto as a transnational space, as opposed to a cosmopolitan space. What I found was that the 'otherness' of my community and myself became more exaggerated to me. It also became more obvious that I navigated society through multiple facets and a high level of dissonance. I found the statement “[w]e cannot remove ourselves from the world in order to examine it” (Wilson 2006, 14) to be helpful because it offered an explanation of some of the dissonance that I was experiencing and it also gave me the opportunity to engage with my personal lens in an academic setting. I eventually made a shift from a transnational lens to a diasporic lens, in which there were still strong elements of transnationalism but also place-making; a narrative that I felt was inclusive of aspects of my lived experience.

When I first visited Little Jamaica, the changes that I saw happening there were not only similar to other instances of erasure in the city, they resonated with me personally. For example, the socio-political atmosphere of Toronto in 2014 and 2015 was filled with narratives of disenfranchised and minority groups asserting their issues with police harassment and state indifference through

movements like Black Lives Matter Toronto and Idle No More. At the same time, the increase in 'revitalization projects' that coincided with the rapid rise in housing prices and condo developments in the city triggered the creation of organizations within communities like Moss Park¹⁰, Parkdale¹¹, and Lawrence Heights¹² to represent their interests and participate in the negotiation of the terms of development. The intersectionalities of the people involved often meant they were involved in both struggles, which collectively can be viewed as efforts to resist erasure. I found myself able to relate to both the Creative Class (i.e. potential condo buying professionals in the city) and "the Marginalized", which meant that I could participate in erasure while simultaneously being erased.

Erasure is more than just being pushed out of a space and made to go some place else. McKittrick explains, "[t]o belong as black in Canada is therefore to necessarily belong elsewhere" (2006, 99). She continues,

“...the geographies of black Canada also tend to be constructed according to narratives of absence or elsewhere... If black geographies are, according to Canadian nationalism and its citizens of white and European descent, irrelevant and elsewhere, then the active production of black spaces in Canada is necessarily bound up with a contradiction: black Canada is simultaneously invisible and visibly non-Canadian. This contradiction demonstrates the subtle ways in which domination shapes what has been called “the

10. Moss Park Community Roundtable, May 31, 2016. John Innes Community Centre, Toronto.

11. Parkdale neighbourhood Land Trust, accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.pnlt.ca>.

12. Peter Goffin, "Lawrence Heights Poised for Revitalization: Toronto Community Housing planning large-scale, mixed-income makeover for the neighbourhood." *Torontoist*. August 8, 2014, accessed June 8, 2016, <https://torontoist.com/2014/08/lawrence-heights-poised-for-revitalization/>.

absented presence” of black Canada and black Canadian geographies: black people *in* Canada are geographically un-Canadian—their bodies (and therefore their histories) tell us so.” (ibid.)

In this sense, erasure is about having your historical presence in a space, your stories and claim of belonging to a space not respected or acknowledged and purposefully ignored and forgotten to perpetuate a narrative that does not include you.

For me the practice of reflexivity, of being aware of and acknowledging the significance of one's subjectivity in relation to your academic lens, necessarily extended to the practice of design. In terms of unquestioned answers, it wasn't until I entered Little Jamaica that I realized I held a lot of assumptions about design. I had never questioned the ideals or cultural paradigms that were influential to the core principles of design, nor had I questioned the impact of a design solution beyond the goals of the client. I had no reason or ability to question and critique design outside of the context that it had been taught to me. I had never questioned how the ideologies of design specifically related to me.

Throughout the literature review, those affected by gentrification were generally referred to as “the marginalized” which simultaneously flattens their agency and their complex experiences in relation to gentrification. Because I consider myself to be a member of this marginalized group, especially within the context of this project, it concerned me that I wouldn't be able to be neutral. Beloo Mehra (2001) also speaks of her methodological concerns in relation to her positionality as a researcher. She quotes James Scheurich who says that

“one's historical position, one's class (which may or may not include changes over the course of a lifetime), one's race, one's gender, one's region, one's religion, and so on—all of these interact and influence, limit and constrain production of knowledge” (71).

In other words, my complex relationship within the context of Toronto as well as to gentrification is not something that I can work around. And, even if I was far removed from the socio-political issues within Toronto, that wouldn't be a neutral position either. Not only is neutrality not possible, how we make sense of our research is based on our biases. Krieger states, “...we ought to acknowledge, more honestly than we do, the extent to which our studies are reflections of our inner lives” (Mehra 2001, 71). Similarly, Denzin states that “[i]nterpretive research begins and ends with the biography and self of the researcher” (Mehra 2001, 70). These statements are also applicable to designers and therefore are applicable to me.

Biased research is not negated through “objective” approaches. This is shown through the biased research that “objective” approaches have produced that affect how “marginalized people” have been represented historically in academic studies (Henry 2001, 67) as well as the “objective” views that are often used to accuse researchers that are members of the marginalized groups they are studying of bias towards their own experiences (ibid.). In countering these accusations, Henry speaks about a 'Janus-like' bias in which marginalized researchers doing work on the marginalized groups that they belong to bring their biases and inclinations to the front of their work making them known, and also making them an accessible resource to be used alongside their training and expertise. She says:

“I acknowledge that I may consciously or unconsciously tap into various elements of my background as I conduct my research and work with participants. Certain dimensions of my personal history may bring certain intersubjective understandings into the research moment, as well as, perhaps, engender certain blind spots. Each researcher is part of a collective historiocultural memory in the social world that she investigates” (ibid., 64).

This 'Janus-like' bias is similar to Bello Mehra's “outsider-insider” perspective in which she recognizes the values and shared experiences that she has with those in her study that give her insight, while at the same time being “more attentive, reflective, and critical of what she observed” (2001, 74). This is my goal with my use of reflexivity in this paper, but I also believe that it is an approach that can also be used by researchers/designers who are not marginalized.

Aside from biases, trying to work within a context where the researcher is an outsider-insider is not without its problems. Working in “minority contexts” where there are cultural similarities, is “not enough to abate tensions created by power relations between researchers and participants” (Henry 2001, 65). For example, class and education which are constructed through language, “carries their own set of ideological framings” (ibid.). In my research, an example of this would be the use of Jamaican patois and standard Canadian English. Like in most countries with a colonial history, in Jamaica there is a discernible difference in the use of language relative to class. When interviewing business owners of Jamaican descent, my use of standard English, in addition to being a researcher and presenting them with a confidentiality agreement, has the potential to put me in a position of power. In this case, standard English filters the interview through the lens of the 'master discourse' (ibid). This master discourse is “[a] language that categorizes and positions

us all in a 'polyphonic discourse' that is, a 'discourse that reflects the realities of those who must speak through more than one language/culture at once'"(ibid.). This changes how the participants interact with the researcher from the language they use and the manner they express themselves to the content they choose to share. In my case, purposefully using patois isn't the obvious solution. Not only does patois carry a stigma for some people, my use of it is not authentic and may come across as pandering. Its use would also leave me in the role of an interpreter, which can be difficult in that it can require an awareness of contextual nuances that I am not confident I have. At the same time, I won't discourage its use by the interviewees or make any conscious effort to not use it myself as my goal is to have relaxed and open conversations. If anything, these interviews are an example of how rich and challenging navigating a polyphonic discourse can be.

A major part of the dissonance that I encountered entering Little Jamaica was being confronted with the fact that what I believed to be standard, inclusive design practices were actually just a master discourse of design. I realized that despite all of the well planned out methodologies, participatory research, etc. there are always a set of unquestioned answers and assumptions that stem from invisible, ubiquitous principles that are not often associated with the issues that they produce.

To begin to navigate these issues, in addition to the use of a "Janus-like" bias, (on one hand being of Jamaican descent, i.e. an insider, and on the other hand being a Canadian trained designer and researcher, i.e. an outsider), I will draw from Naturalistic research, an approach that negates the claims of positivistic research that "'valid', 'reliable' studies exist in which the researcher is objective, detached, disembodied, and without bias: without blindspots that distort data" (ibid.,

67). For the researcher using the naturalistic paradigm, there is no single, objective reality. People are believed to “perceive and construct their own realities based on their experiences and understandings of the world around them” (Mehra 2001, 74). Additionally, the naturalistic researcher believes that “the inquirer and the object of inquiry interact to influence one another, and that the knower and known are inseparable” (ibid., 69). “The researcher... is not just an observer; he or she both disturbs the research setting and is also disturbed by it” (ibid.). Thinking reflexively is complementary to a Naturalistic research approach. It has changed how I framed my thinking about the information I gathered and my approach to its analysis in attempting to make sense of what is happening in the area. It has helped me to question “[w]ho's knowledge [am I] trying to learn?” (Agar 1996, 128) and subsequently decide what to focus on. My focus is on the point of view of those being displaced, on exploring their complex relationships with the city, and how they make sense of the changes happening around them.

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES

One of the files of my recordings became corrupt and was not accessible. I used my notes and memory of the interview to replace the lost recording.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to try to understand how Little Jamaica and its surrounding community are produced by analyzing its visual artefacts. The study consists of interviews and photographs that were taken for over a year. For the interviews, six interviewees participated in the study. They were five business owners and one member of the general public, including five men and one woman, five were Black and one was white. All of the participants were over 40 years old and they were all familiar with the study area, having frequented it for at least 20 years. Their responses include direct and tangential answers to the interview questions, and answers to follow-up questions that were based on what they shared. For the photographs, four sets were taken over a period of one year, documenting the area along Eglinton Avenue West between the Eglinton West subway station and Dufferin Street. Wide angled as well as more zoomed in photos were taken of the streetscape and its artefacts. Photos of people were avoided.

The study area, Little Jamaica, and International Market are spaces that overlap but that are not necessarily synonymous. *The study area* includes Eglinton Avenue West between Marlee Road and Dufferin Street and is primarily a physical space, but, to a lesser extent is also inclusive of neighbourhood and electoral boundaries. *Little Jamaica* is a little more difficult to define, but it generally begins at Marlee Road and then dissipates gradually just before Dufferin Street. It's an amorphous cultural space with dimensions that are dependent on who is in the space at any given time. Its boundaries were previously much bigger, at one time being synonymous with the market

area once known as Eglinton West which extended westward, past Dufferin Street towards Keele Street. *International Market* is a business area that is associated with the York-Eglinton BIA. The International Market area is much smaller than what Eglinton West was. It begins at Marlee Road and Eglinton Avenue West and ends in the Dufferin Street area. Its dimensions, especially around Dufferin Street, exceed the study area, as the latter is primarily limited to Eglinton Avenue West.

The ease at which the spaces can be distinguished from each other conceptually proves to be more difficult in practice as the spaces are superimposed. No distinction between the spaces was intentionally made during the administration of the interviews. However, in the interview responses and photographs, references are made to or seen of the three distinct spaces.

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

The interviews were analyzed by organizing the interview questions and their answers by the research questions that they addressed. The additional responses that were given were categorized by themes and then analyzed for content that was applicable to each research question.

The general research question posed is *what can be learned about the current changes in Little Jamaica by analyzing its visual artefacts?* Two additional questions are posed in an attempt to answer it. The first asks *what does the visual analysis of this space reveal about the actors that are involved in its production?* The second question asks *how do the forthcoming changes to this area relate to the reality of those that live, work, and shop here?*

Research Question #1

Addressing the first question, the responses from the interviewees reveal how they see,

experience, and participate in this space; the significance of this space to them and perhaps the wider community; and their perceptions of the changes that are happening in the area, including the actors and factors behind them. The interviewees primarily see this space as a series of personal and business relationships, and as a significant Caribbean community locus, but not necessarily a permanent one. How the interviewees participate in this space is evident in the specific stores and specific types of stores that they point out, as well as the stores they omit. The latter includes quite a few that are in the area, some that are Caribbean, but a lot that serve other cultural communities.

In terms of the significance of Little Jamaica, the interviewees point out that it is representative of the state of relationships within the Caribbean community. For example, for some of the interviewees, the many barbershops, hair salons, and beauty supply stores represent the fact that Caribbean business owners are too focused on competing with each other rather than working together to strategize against the larger Toronto market. For others, these barber shops and hair salons represent community spaces that continue to bring Caribbean people back into the area.

With regard to the interviewees perception of the changes in the study area, the interviewees speak about loss, and an increase in elements that seem out of place. The loss includes the loss of Black owned grocery shops (i.e. something they began seeing less of), and increased competition from other ethnic groups. Most of the interviewees also mention the Maria Shchuka library because it stands out aesthetically. For one interviewee, the library represents a vision of a future when the area would no longer be as culturally diverse as it is now. The out of place elements include stores and developments like a McDonald's restaurant, a Cash Money payday loan store,

and a condominium development. These examples are representative of the actors—inclusive of renters—who see the area as a strategic space for infrastructure and future earning potential, or for whom the cultural diversity in the area is something to be commodified. Other examples that are representative of external actors in the study area include the LRT line that is currently under construction, and the effects on local businesses caused by incongruent by-laws and property tax increases. The external actors behind these effects include government entities, developers, and can include those who seem to have both an internal and external relationship to the area, like the York-Eglinton BIA.

The interview questions that correspond with the first research question are 2, 3, 4, and 5. The additional points brought up by the interviewees about businesses in the study area and their interaction with the community and the BIA were also applicable. Because of the conversational nature of the interviews, often times answers to previous questions were mentioned in later questions. These answers were also included with their respective questions.

Question 2 asks the interviewees about what brought them into the study area. The interviewees reasons varied. Some came to the study area to open their businesses. They were drawn by the affordable store front rents. Others found themselves here much later because of the established Caribbean community or because they grew up in or had family in the area. Participant 4 shared,

“...because Eglinton is known as Little Jamaica, and I'm a descendant of Jamaica, so you know, when you want your Jamaican patties, when you want your Jamaican groceries,

when you want to connect with other peoples of your culture, this is definitely on of the only places where, um, to come”.

Participant 2 initially came to the area to connect with its Caribbean community, however, they also connected with the Latino presence through a Latino book store that was helpful to them for a Spanish class.

Question 3 asks the interviewees to identify any building, sign, structure, etc. that stands out to them for any reason. Along Eglinton Avenue West, the main things that stood out to the interviewees were stores, including restaurants, and the library. The main stores that they mentioned were barbershops and beauty supply shops. They stood out for a few reasons including that there were so many of them now compared with the past, that the interviewees got their hair cut there, or that the stores had been in the area for so long. For example, Participant 5 said

“You know, at that time, there was not that many barbershops. There was more vinyl stores than there were barbershops. And now there's more barbershops than there are vinyl”.

And from Participant 6, “It's been here for quite a number of years. Over 40 years as a barbershop”. Specific barbershops that were named included KC's Barbershop and Wisdom's Barbershop. Monica's, Just Incredible, More Than a Haircut, and Discount Beauty Supplies were the beauty supply stores that were mentioned by name. There were also stores with which the interviewees were very familiar. These were stores that their parents had taken them to as children

such as a tailor shop on Oakwood Avenue, or stores where they knew the owner personally way. For example, Participant 2 explained “...there's a photography place, a friend of mine actually owns the building there”. Or from Participant 3,

“...like Anthony's over there? It was his father who had that, he died... We came out here and see him out here. The father, he passed away and the kids still run it.”

About another building:

“That building there in the white... the guy who was in there selling, he had an accident and he had to leave. So since then, it's Anthony who is using it as a storage. But that's where Share [newspaper] used to be”.

And from Participant 5, “... the disc jockey, Sunrise. That's another place you should go to. His father, the owner, has been here on Eglinton a long time”. Other stores mentioned were Tre-jah-ise, and OneStop Restaurant. Finally, there were stores that stood out either for historical reasons or a variety of others. For example, for size and ethnicity, Participant 2 shared, “...they had an African store that was there, a huge African video store that was there....”. Aesthetically, the library stood out from the other buildings around it because it had been redesigned/rebuilt recently. Stores like Jade Chinese Restaurant, Pasquale's Music store, the British Methodist Episcopal church, and the McDougall and Brown funeral home were mentioned because of how long they had been in the community. Participant 5 reflected, “The funeral home has been here from since I can remember. That was a historical place”. Randy's Take-Out was also mentioned, although not for its popularity, but because of the bootleg cd sellers that used to be in front of it. The

interviewees also identified places that were relatively new to the area, like the clothing store In My Closet and a wellness centre, or the Toronto Latino Restaurant; or because they seemed out of place, like the McDonald's and Cash Money store. There are many stores, spaces, and objects that the interviewees did not mention, so their omission of them is very telling of how they navigate the study area. Generally speaking, the interviewees primarily saw the space as a cultural one; as a set of relationships they maintained, and stores or entities that disrupted that space.

Question 4 asks about the changes that the interviewees noticed over the past 10 years. The changes that the interviewees mentioned include a shift in store ownership by Black owners, especially of grocery stores; an increase in stores that cater to a more general demographic, making the study area increasingly international; and an increase in drug addicts in the study area. Regarding the shift in Black grocery store ownership, Participant 2 stated,

“Actually, in that area there, yeah,.. I used to notice that most of the (pause) well grocery stores... that were there were not owned by (pause) people of African descent. Right? I mean, the majority of the stores that were there, is”.

Participants shared that the decrease in Black grocery store owners seems to be caused mostly from financial issues, ill and aging owners, outside competition, and displacement. One store, Gus' Tropical Foods, was a well known, long standing, Black owned grocery store that was mentioned. It closed recently because the government bought out the building it was in to make way for an LRT station. Because it was a preferred store, its closure resulted in many patrons

going to Spadina Avenue or Weston Road to shop. Another grocery store that also recently closed was People's Choice. However, it seems that they closed because they were unable to afford the rent. Fischer's was yet another long standing West Indian grocery store in the study area. But the owner, Mr. Fischer, sold off the store and moved out of the area a few years ago. In comparison, Golden Market, a Chinese owned grocery store, which was located in the set of buildings bought by the government for the LRT station, managed to relocate a few stores down. Another Chinese-owned Caribbean grocery store that was displaced by the LRT station construction eventually began renting space beside one of the beauty supply stores, bringing back a few more patrons into the study area, but not as many as before. In addition to the fewer Black owned grocery stores in the area, there are fewer Jamaican/Caribbean patrons coming to the area because other areas around the Toronto have developed where they can shop for culturally specific items. Participant 2 explained,

“Because you have, um, other places too that have opened up that has given Eglinton West some competition too...Brampton... Not so much Scarborough anymore”.

Participant 4 shared their frustration with the community in the face of competition,

“...say 20 years ago, you used to have the little Jamaican stores selling their little Jamaican foods and things, and over the times you had the big Ocean's come in, the Nicey's, and there's several of them now, Bestco and all of them. ...and also, No Frills, you go into No Frills...”

... No Frills have a yam section, a banana section, and breadfruit, seen!? Anything that they see that we consume, they put in their place right now. And what they do, they sell it for less. So what are we supposed to do? Why would I pay \$5 a pound for yam when I can go to No Frills and get it for \$3 a pound?

... But true we nuh have no solidarity.”

For the clothing stores, Participant 6 shared,

“...a lot of the businesses, like for instance, like the clothing businesses, some of them kind of shut down because you know, like online shopping, and everybody goes online...”

The interviewees also shared their thoughts concerning the change in the demographics of shoppers in the study area,

“...cause other people come in, right?, with different businesses, like say, for instance, Popeye's and those franchises come in... They came in lately like maybe 5, 6, 7 years now. So, you know, that draws a different crowd... from the West Indian food that we sell, you know what I mean?

In addition to the condominium development, the interviewees spoke strongly about drug rehab centres that have opened in the vicinity bringing with them drug addicts that sometimes vandalize the stores. From Participant 3,

“Another thing that is happening around here... is the drug heads. We have so much out here because there's one centre up there and there's one centre at Vaughan Road. So

everyday, if you go to the back lane, you see them, and the police can't do anything because the only time they can do something is if they're on government property... if you should hang around here you see how many of them was here and that's what we're having problems with. Because they break in all the windows some mornings... Last week Thursday, a barber guy up there, when he came, they break the door, open it, go inside and take out things out of his place, and that's the second time they break his place...Yeah. As it is, we are enduring a lot around here”.

Overall, there are a lot of changes happening in the study area. Some changes are just the natural evolution of a marketplace and of an immigrant marketplace, where new people are constantly coming in and others are constantly integrating into the mainstream society. And other changes can stem from issues that sometimes intersect with low income, such as mental health issues and drug abuse. The LRT construction seems to have had the most immediate and defining effect on the study area, exerting change on its physical and economic landscape.

Question 5 asks about the changes that the interviewees predict will happen in this area. The changes predicted by the interviewees centre around the development of the LRT and condominium. With the LRT and condominium, more people are expected to frequent the study area that aren't Black or of Caribbean descent. Participant 2 predicted,

“...in terms of... the new construction that's coming there, the subway, I don't know if that is going to make it any easier for people to get there... That might bring in more people

because it's more accessible. But then again, it's...the new people that will be in the area, right? That will definitely change,... unless there's a whole bunch of Caribbean people that going to be buying condo's there, right?"

To meet their needs, it is believed that new businesses will come in addition to more apartments being available for rent. The area will then become more prominent, basically a proper mid-town.

Participant 2 continues,

“So real-estate going to taxes is going to be much more higher, because the area's going to be much more prominent so, how is that going to affect rents in the area there? You have a condo that's going to go up, the zoning in the area might change”.

Major contributors to this, in addition to the LRT, include the current rising costs of utilities, the instability caused by the LRT construction (in terms of landlords of commercial spaces having reliable/consistent tenants), and rising property taxes that will result in the current renters, businesses and residential occupants being displaced. Participant 5 explained,

“Hydro is going up by 20%, water is going up by 20%, so when a landlord has to be forced with that, you know he was happy at one time that he's paying 10 thousand dollars for his property tax, he's only charging one thousand dollars a month, he's making 12 thousand dollars he's offsetting that income because he's making money from the rental property after all when he's clean and done, if he made three thousand dollars he was kind of happy, because he's got a property that he's paying for. But coming now here it's going with the

expenses coming they have to be pushing that increase so I think change is happening, yes.”

It is thought that if current business owners, particularly Black owners, don't take advantage of ownership opportunities now, not only will they be displaced when the LRT construction is complete, Black owners in general will be priced out from owning buildings in the study area.

Participant 6:

“So usually, for instance like if you don't take control of maybe like owning the building, then the landlord could kick you out. So that's another possibility, right? So that's one of the main things. Most of the people, some of them they don't own the building. So when the landlord see certain opportunities, he's going to get rid of you. That's one of the things.”

The interviewees are predicting displacement as well as an economic disruption for the Caribbean and Black business owners in the study area as a result of the gentrification spurred by the construction of the LRT.

Additional Insights

The additional comments given by the interviewees that were applicable to the first research question centred on the many empty store fronts, the BIA, and the area that the BIA covers. A lot of Black owned businesses in the study area have closed recently and the interviewees shared their thoughts on the reasons for these closings. The interviewees believe that in addition to some

patrons moving out to the suburbs, that poor business practices, a lack of community support, and the unique policy situation that the amalgamation of the City of Toronto left the study area in prevented business owners from doing well. Participant 1 spoke about the difference in the complexity and necessary foresight needed to run a business in Jamaica compared to running a business in Canada. According to them, not only is it more complicated to setup a business in Canada, they speculated that business owners that used to be on Eglinton Avenue West at its economic height took money out of their businesses as soon as they were profitable to buy houses in the suburbs, leaving them little savings to ride out economic low points. Some of the interviewees also feel that there is a lack of unity, organization, and strategy among business owners, particularly when it comes to competing against other ethnic communities' businesses (i.e. the Chinese), in addition to what they feel is a lack of support from the wider Caribbean community. Addressing this point, Participant 2 spoke of the Asian control of the grocery store market, and their ability to undersell their competitors. Along the same lines, Participant 1 said that,

... it seems like the Jamaican community values individualism more than it values community [collaboration and unity], compared to other communities like the Filipinos and Chinese. Unlike these communities, Jamaicans didn't strategize to have more of a physical and political presence, despite at one point being the majority minority in the city.

Participant 3 said something similar, “...the problem about it, our Black people won't come together. I have to be honest with you, they won't come together”. These sentiments of a lack of collaboration and community organization were echoed across the interviews. Addressing the lack of support in the wider community, Participant 4 brought up the fact that a dollar circulates in Black communities fewer times than compared to other communities. The impact of this, especially considering the enormous collective buying power of Black communities, simultaneously prevents Black communities from progressing while enriching other communities. As Participant 4 said, “... every nation see's our people as consumers. That's all we are”.

This point is interesting because although the interviewees are clearly aware of the issues that affect their community and businesses, they still internalize and blame themselves for the ensuing negative effects. For example, considering the comparison to the Chinese community, not only are there many more Chinese in Toronto than Blacks, Caribbeans, and Black Caribbeans (Statistics Canada 2017), the economic resources and community infrastructure available to them are also arguably much greater than that available to all of Toronto's Black communities combined. The idea that Little Jamaica could compete long term and successfully in an historically and perpetually anti-Black environment, without equitable provisions or strict community economic insularity, is highly unlikely.

Despite the challenges, there are businesses that managed to stay open. They achieved this by adapting and reinventing themselves. Participant 4:

“A lot of businesses just closed down. And um, unfortunately never opened again. We were very fortunate um, we went through so many changes [...] we had to be innovated and start to create different things, implement different things into our business in order to survive”.

Aside from community dynamics, municipal affairs have also played a role in the economic decline in the study area. The study area is located within the old City of York boundaries. This caused a problem with how the area developed because stores that were established after the amalgamation of the City of Toronto were bound to a new set of by-laws that required much more from new store owners. As Participant 5 shared,

“... And that's the one thing that we're really sad to see today that [...] people don't realize that the hardship that this area's faced is the fact that it's always still driven by the City of Toronto with its mandates. We're still under the City of York rules. We're not under the City of Toronto rules. So one of the biggest problems we have and we face here on Eglinton is that there's still a lot of bylaws and grandfathered rules that are on Eglinton that are not allowed in the City of Toronto. [...] the restaurants on Eglinton, are the grandfathered restaurants. Today if a restaurant wanted to open on Eglinton, they would have to put up almost 70 thousand dollars. Just to have a new store open up. [...] I mean today if somebody wants to have a sit down restaurant before they can even get a permit or demolishing permit or developing permit, they have to buy parking spots to meet the capacity for a sit down restaurant. So well, “theres a restaurant across the street, [...] there's this and this”, “Yeah, that building, that unit's been a restaurant since the 1970s”. [...] It's a

bad thing. Because what's happening is that there's only certain establishments that today can allow or house restaurants. [...] you won't find anybody willing to put up future money into an area where they won't see a growth of foot traffic; consumers. So the density, this is the bad thing and the good thing”.

The York-Eglinton BIA and its role in the study area historically was also mentioned. Participant 5 explained that the BIA was established in the 80s and had covered a much larger area than it currently does. It had its problems as was explained,

“I think it was due to the fact that we were a small board that was doing everything their best to keep everything going in the area, so we could never do something that was fair to everyone”.

It eventually dissolved and was re-established in the late 90s covering a much smaller area—the current area between Marlee Road and Dufferin Street. Currently, there still seems to be a disconnection between some of the store owners and the BIA. Participant 6 shared:

“... You know we can't agree with everything. Like anything else, right? They have their own vision and the business have the other vision, right? So sometimes, not everything you're going to agree on”.

When it re-established itself, the BIA branded the area it covered as International Market in an attempt to reflect its diversity. This is despite the fact that a significant portion, of the area it covers has been colloquially known as Little Jamaica. Participant 5:

“What was happening was that during that confusion where the City was doing the amalgamation getting rid of the bureaus and so forth, we started getting into where we wanted to brand the community. And we basically hired an independent person to come out and actually do town hall meetings. And the name came up of International Market because we were a real mixed bag of community basic multicultural people. So we didn't have a particular group in this area. Oakwood and Eglinton was always known as the Caribbean area. It was nicknamed Little Jamaica by a professor at, I want to say, University of Toronto, or Ryerson, I don't remember, or it was George Brown. Somebody nicknamed it at the time Little Jamaica in a report, and the name since then ever stuck because this area at that time between early 90s this corridor had a very strong Caribbean grocery community.

[...] And then at that point from basically from Oakwood going down, you still had a mix at the time. Portuguese, and then as we started going we started seeing a strong community of Filipinos coming in, Chinese [...] and then we started seeing a strong Latino infusion was happening at the time [...] of Columbians, Dominicans, [and] Guatemalans [...] in the Dufferin corridor”

The BIA has tried other initiatives in the past in an attempt to revitalize the market area. One of these, done in its previous iteration, resulted in a blue statue with a globe, on Eglinton Avenue West. The project was not successful. Participant 5 explains:

“we tried to do a massive revitalization of the whole entire Eglinton strip. And what was really amazing was that globe, you'll see it at Keele and Eglinton. You'll see it at Bathurst and Eglinton. We were trying to turn Eglinton from Bathurst to Keele into a revitalized community of commerce and cultural, and it was a big drain. And unfortunately it didn't [...], it didn't work out as well because there was a lot of chiefs and no Indians. So the globe was a way of, the final step we did was to keep the revitalization going in a way we felt that was a branding was the three bureaus at the time, which was Upper Village, our BIA, and Keele's BIA: The Hill BIA.

Finally, the origin of the Reggae Lane mural was also addressed. It was initiated and carried out by Josh Colle, the elected City of Toronto councillor for Ward 15, which includes the study area. His intentions are unclear but they seem to be focused around creating something to attract tourists to the area. The BIA found this to be mutually beneficial for themselves and supported it by applying for funding for a laneway reclaiming project. Participant 5 explains,

“Yeah, spearheaded by Josh Colle. He came about it because he felt that was another way of bringing back and uh, that's what I believe, we're partnering with it because we found opportunities when they did that [...]. [T]here's not much [that] came out of it, I don't know what made him do it, I don't know how, I just know that [...] he brought [it] to our attention and we kind of say, wow this is something new, this is an attraction to the area, we're on board. During that period they had announced [...] the federal government laneway projects, [...] to develop laneways in the City of Toronto. [...] So the BIA went ahead, and [...] put [in] an application ...[to help] develop a more actionable plan of how

we can really change this community, change the laneway, or change this concept into creating into a tourist attraction.”

Care was taken to make sure that the mural, or any other future accompanying murals, were not of a political nature. Participant #5 continues,

“And if you look at reggaelane.com, or go to laneway projects, you actually can get the proposal. So if you saw that, you saw there's a picture of Bob Marley, [...] if all goes well, [...] the BIA's put another application in to get another grant for a mural. [...] they don't want to put the Bob Marley face up there because they feel it's a little political. So I think their going to try to change the image so that it has more relations to reggae, [...] something like a real “concept” mural.”

This approach is interesting especially since the foundations of reggae music are deeply political, often speaking out against oppression. Along these lines, the murals are actually presenting a sanitized version of the history that they are purportedly honouring.

With regard to Question #1, *what does the visual analysis of this space reveal about the actors that are involved in its production?*, the interviews revealed a lot about the interests of groups in the study area and the power dynamics between them. The Caribbean businesses in particular represent personal, commercial, cultural, and community connections. They also represent a living history of the area. Their failure reflects severed relationships, shifts in daily routines, and for the Caribbean community, a prediction of future displacement. The primary cause of these changes, the LRT construction, is a reflection of government and corporate interests. Competition

with other cultural groups is also visible but seems to have less impact compared to the LRT. Overall, there are many levels of discourse happening simultaneously, but power, especially government and money-backed, profit driven power, seems to be the main driving force behind the areas significant changes.

Research Question #2

The second question asks *how do the forthcoming changes to this area relate to the reality of those that live, work, and shop here?* The goal of this question is to try to understand if the interviewees 'see' a role for themselves, or a place for themselves in what they anticipate will be the culmination of these coming changes. The forthcoming changes to the study area, as understood by the interviewees, will result in a space that overall does not cater to them culturally or economically. When they consider the LRT installation and the changes that it signals, like rising rents, and new and wealthier residents and patrons, their displacement seems inevitable. Despite this, there are those that intend to persevere and do what they can do to stay put.

The interview questions that correspond with the second research question are questions 5, 6, and 7. The points raised by the interviewees that relate to space, including its importance, its representation, and how it is/has been used and occupied, are also applicable.

Question 5 asks about changes that the interviewees predict will happen. This question was explored with the first research question, however, in relation to this second research question,

the amount of change that will be required of the interviewees is more prominent. Participant 5's statement captures the general sentiment of the interviews:

“I think Eglinton is going to be the new downtown and I can honestly say that. Um, what's going to change? I think what's going to change is that the businesses that are on Eglinton are realizing the dynamics are changing”.

Question 6 asks the interviewees what they think is the cause of the changes. The decline in the area seems to have been happening before the LRT development. It seems to be the result of the recent economic recession, from 2007-early 2010^{13,14}, and class division within the Caribbean community as a significant amount of people purchased houses and moved out to the suburbs. For example, before the LRT, regular patrons began to move out to the suburbs. Participant 2 explained,

“...partly because the population has grown up, too. [...] a lot of people that use to patronize the area, have kids and move away, moved out of the city to Ajax, you know?”

Participant 4 agreed,

13. Adrian Wyld, “Canada 'entering a recession,' central bank slashes key rate to 1.5 per cent.” *The Canadian Press*. December 9, 2008, accessed December 11, 2016, https://www.google.com/hostednews/canadianpress/article/ALeqM5ia5C99Ii_uqnHOU7Jladal5X55qA.

14. Rita Trichur, “Bank declares recession over. The end of the recession is nigh, according to the Bank of Canada.” *Toronto Star*. July 23, 2009, accessed December 11, 2016, https://www.thestar.com/business/2009/07/23/bank_declares_recession_over.html

“What changed? I think about um, let me say, 20 years, 15 years ago, you started to have, a lot of our people started to migrate out to what was so called the suburbs. Such as Brampton, Mississauga. Um that was the first that started to take away a little bit from the area”.

Participant 3, however, believes otherwise, “Well, to be honest with you we never used to have such a drop until they start to talk about the subway line”. The recession also seems to have had a significant effect on the area. Participant 4:

“the major thing that I see that played a role was a recession. [...] A lot of businesses just closed down. And um, unfortunately never opened again. We were very fortunate...”

There was also mention of drugs and gun violence and aggressive bootleggers. These were perhaps not a cause of the decline, but a sign that the area was in decline. Participant 3:

“and what used to happen, the guys used to sell drugs and they shooting. [...] Not at this moment. But it used to happen. And that makes people be afraid of coming to Eglinton. Not that it was humongous but, that stopped most of them from coming in here”.

And finally, another reason given for the changes is ethnic succession or competition between ethnic communities, as discussed earlier.

Question 7 asks how these changes relate to or affect the interviewees. Some of the business owners share that while they expect to have more business, they will have to make changes to

meet the needs of the new patrons. Others expect that they will have to face more challenges and will have to fight to stay as long as they can. Participant 4:

“Oh well, I've definitely seen a decline in the number of people that come and support our business. We're barely surviving now. As I said if it wasn't for our innovativeness we would have been out a long time ago. But um, we're persevering and we don't want to give up what we have and we want to keep this culture down here. [...] And so, we're sticking in, wi dig in wi claws. We a “ride out di storm”, and you know dem kind a way dere?”

And Participant 3,

“nobody get me to move from here. [...] I wouldn't move for love or money from here. [...] to say because of what is happening I wouldn't leave. No, I have no intention. I give you the plain truth, they can't get me”.

There is also a fear of a loss of community space to 'be' Jamaican/Caribbean in. Participant 2:

“Well it affects me, you know, because um, I've lived in the city 40 years, um end of January past this year. It's 40 years that I've been in the city. And sometimes you feel sort of left out, in terms of places to go where you can feel apart of a community. I don't, I don't see it. It's not here within the city. [...] I always said that if I won the lottery or something I would put up a huge community centre. Where people can go and unwind and just relax. [...] Because, you know it's not just personally but it for generations to come. What's going to happen with the next generation? They have to have some sense of community. [...] So

it does effect me in that way where I need somewhere to go culturally. And I find that places are just slowly dying out.”

Additional Insights

Aside from the answers to the interview questions, the interviewees brought attention to the significance of the space within Canadian history and to the Caribbean community. Within Canadian history, the interviewees point out that the area that Little Jamaica is in has always been a multicultural area. This is primarily because it was, and arguably still is, an area where new immigrants settle in. Prior to the 80's when Caribbean businesses began moving in in high numbers, the area was colloquially known as the Italian Pocket, and before the Italians came, it was a Jewish area. Participant 5's response in particular, offers a snap shot of ethnic succession in the study area and its occurrence within neighbourhood boundaries. Participant 5 remembers,

“...it was once known as the Italian pocket, where the Caribbeans were on the South [Oakwood Village], and the Italians were on the North [Briar Hill-Belgravia].”

“[...] it was multicultural [...]. There were at the time, I remember Chinese, Portuguese, Jewish, Caribbean, I want to say the Caribbean's strong roots were more in, I want to say the 80s. But there were Caribbean businesses in the area at the time. It just became more predominant in the 80s specifically with Tropical Foods. Uh, Grace [Gus] Tropical Foods was just coming in at the time in Canada.”

In terms of the significance of the space to the Caribbean community, there has been a major shift from a once prominent community hub. In the height of the Caribbean activity in the area, it became iconic for its reggae music scene. Participant 4:

“[...] reggae music has always been an intricate part of our culture in this area too, because this is where the record stores were. Um, back in the days the big reggae bands used to rehearse like right across the street.[...] I'm talking about major stars Leroy Simples, the Jackie Mctwo's, and all of them huge people, you know.”

However, now this area is no longer a central shopping area for the Jamaican community and other spaces have developed in the suburbs where a large portion of the community lives now.

Participant 1 says,

Change happens. Eglinton Avenue West isn't the central point for shopping for the Jamaican community in Toronto because it doesn't have to be. Jamaicans can now find the things they need in more places than in the 80s; in Pickering, Whitby, Ajax; all of those places have now been built up. Not to mention Mississauga, Scarborough, and Brampton. The decline of Eglinton West doesn't mean the decline of the Jamaican community in Toronto. It probably means the opposite. Eglinton West is not central or essential to the Jamaican community.

Participant 1, in the latter part of the response of the above, asserts that Eglinton West is not significant to the wider Jamaican community. However, Participant 2 feels differently. For them, this area is still significant to the Jamaican community because of the historical invisibility of

Black people in Canada and the importance of seeing one's self reflected in the society that they live in.

“We've been here for a long time. I've just been reading something in the Share magazine, I can't remember if it's Share or if it's Pride, but Murphy Browne [...] she was speaking about slavery in Canada and it went all the way back to 16 something. [...]

There's a professor,[...] Her name slips me but she wrote a book about the hanging of Angelique... and [...] slavery in Montreal, Canada. [...] It ties into landmarks. For example um, yes they're for profit but they're also for social obligations, businesses. Because you see yourself reflected in that, right? When you see um, locations, people in business, you can see yourself reflected in that but if you don't see that, if all you see is other cultures being successful, then unless you're a very strong person then that, you're not encouraged.

There's no encouragement there. I mean, there's a lot of successful Black folks that are in the city. I know quite a few of them too. [...] But for the most part, you need to see more visible. And when you see these landmarks, these spaces that are disappearing, you wonder “wow, what's going on?, what's happening?” It goes to being successful, I would think or not.”

Because of the significance of Little Jamaica, not just any representation of it will do. For example, the new Reggae Lane mural is questioned as an adequate memorialization of the historical reggae presence in the area. Participant 4:

“So they have um, allocated, um, behind Raps them there, as Reggae Lane. Yo, all of the record stores were right out here on main street. [...] You see back there? You wouldn't want to walk past there past 6 o'clock in the evening because as I said before, crackheads. So you allocate, in this major city one of the shittiest, grimiest avenues for one of the best music ever. You know what I'm saying?”

With regard to Question #2, *how do the forthcoming changes to this area relate to the reality of those that live, work, and shop here?*, the interviews reveal that the planned changes will undermine the multicultural/immigrant space that the area has become, and will move it towards becoming an ephemeral reduction of the primary cultural hub for the Caribbean community that it once was.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

The effects on and changes to the study area caused by its visual artefacts are reflective of how different actors occupy the area, including the power they wield, and how they interact with each other. Because of this, the discourse of the study area is visible through its visual artefacts. For those interviewed, their history, including the loss and frustration that they speak of, and their perseverance, is visually evident in the study area in Reggae Lane, the closing businesses, new developments, and the settlement patterns of its immigrant communities. For them, Little Jamaica is more than a place of commerce. It's a space that represents community, relationships, histories, and visual representations of self. This conclusion offers an alternative perspective to the

meaning of the space with respect to the tastes of those in power behind the EGLINTONconnects plan. It also is key to the illustration of the dichotomy of Little Jamaica as a social space and Eglinton Avenue West as an opportunity for real estate investments, the main disconnect that underlies gentrification.

ANALYSIS OF PHOTOGRAPHS

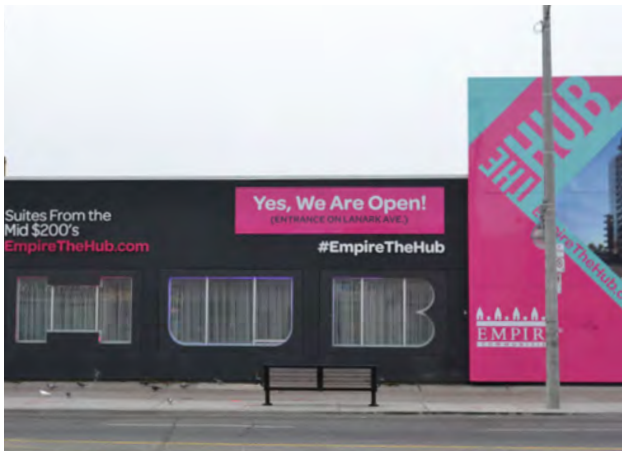
The following analysis addresses the content of the photographs taken of Eglinton Avenue West between Marlee Avenue and Dufferin Street from July 2014 to December 2015, and places an emphasis on the area colloquially known as Little Jamaica. It also addresses the main research question, *what can be learned about the current changes in Little Jamaica by analyzing its visual artefacts?* through two secondary questions, the first asking *what does the visual analysis of a space reveal about the actors that are involved in its production?* and the second asking *how do the forthcoming changes to this area relate to the reality of those that live, work, and shop here?*

The analysis of the photographs begins by reviewing them for and sorting them by obvious attributes, peculiarities, or focal points. Some of the areas identified include apartment buildings, churches, LRT construction, advertisements, street art, way-finding signage, store signage, empty store fronts, encroaching development, wide perspective, street furniture, decay, graffiti, etc. From these groups of attributes, peculiarities, and focal points the photographs were organized into seven categories. They include Larger Context; Physical and Systemic Infrastructure; Flow of People; Commercial Businesses; Social/Community Services; Communication; and Care and Maintenance. The photos were then analyzed again within and across these categories to better understand the space and how its various elements interact.

I understand and am aware that this analysis is influenced by my drive to make sense of the cognitive dissonance that I feel as a Black designer of Caribbean descent, educated with a Eurocentric design lens. I am also aware that in this analysis my lens is biased towards identifying the effects of design decisions that negatively affect the Caribbean community in the study area. This includes attributes that are considered to be Black culture but are in fact the result of systemic prejudices, and disingenuous efforts to “improve” the space that result in the community’s displacement. I consider this bias to be positive as it offers an alternative interpretation of the effects of refurbishment and design in an urban space.

The Larger Context category includes photographs that capture how the study area fits within the wider context of Toronto. For example, these images provide a glimpse of the development encroaching on the study area, showing numerous construction cranes in the distance eastward, near Yonge Street, as well as about 3 to 4 new multi-storied buildings. These buildings stand out against the mostly low-storied buildings, at least 85%, that line Eglinton Avenue. Understanding that the new LRT route will also follow this path, and considering the condo development at Oakwood Avenue, it's difficult to not conflate the LRT construction with the approaching development in the distance. Other images show the traffic that flows down Eglinton Avenue that stems from and is heading to Allen Road. Allen Road terminates right into Eglinton Avenue just west of the Eglinton West subway station, which is 3 blocks east of the border of Little Jamaica. Both the subway and Allen Road have a significant influence on the traffic flow and volume of people in, or at least travelling through the study area, and technically convert this commercial

LARGER CONTEXT



TOP ROW

1. Jul 2015
E of Marlee Ave. on the N side of
Eglinton Ave. W, facing SW
2. Aug 2015
E of Marlee Ave. on the N side of
Eglinton Ave. W, facing E

BOTTOM ROW

3. Dec 2015
At the SW side of Eglinton Ave. W
and Oakwood Ave., facing N

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

PHYSICAL AND SYSTEMIC INFRASTRUCTURE



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave. facing E
2. Jul 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Marlee Rd., facing W

BOTTOM ROW

3. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Glenholme Ave., facing E
4. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Farleigh Ave., facing S
5. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W at
Oakwood Ave., facing S

***IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT**

strip from a local space to a regional one. This increase in traffic is amplified by the delays caused by the LRT construction.

The Physical and Systemic Infrastructure category includes photographs that capture the framework of the study area. Based on the photos, it seems that the infrastructure of the study area is better suited to pedestrians. For example, images in this category show wide sidewalks which can accommodate large numbers of pedestrians, patio settings for restaurants, or outside displays of products for stores. Other photos show supports for pedestrians like bike parking, TTC bus routes, public benches, and, currently being added to these supports, the LRT. In fact, the infrastructure of the study area seems to be poorly suited to cars, and at times can look overwhelmed. For instance, while there are two ‘Green P’ parking lots and dedicated parking for some stores, Eglinton Avenue is only a two way street with two lanes on either side. While there are occasional left turning lanes, there are no centre turning lanes. Eglinton Avenue has to accommodate bicycles—without bike lanes—delivery trucks, public transportation, and curb-side parking in addition to traffic during rush hours.

Although the location of the Eglinton West subway station seems well planned, the terminus of Allen Road is not. The amount of through-way traffic that it channels from the northern suburbs through Little Jamaica affects the dynamic and ease of walking in the space, making it difficult to cross streets, particularly north to south and vice versa.

FLOW OF PEOPLE



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
Eglinton Ave. W, E of Marlee Ave.,
facing W
2. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing E

BOTTOM ROW

3. Jul 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Marlee Ave., facing W
4. Aug 2015
Eglinton Ave. W, W of Alameda Ave.,
facing E

***IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT**

The Flow of People category relates to the Infrastructure category above, by focusing on how people move through the study area influenced by or in spite of its infrastructure. Although the infrastructure is better suited to pedestrians, at any given time there are not many pedestrians in the area¹⁵. Additionally, as stated above, when there is a high volume of traffic flowing through the study area, the roads are overwhelmed resulting in the two lanes on either side of the road essentially being reduced to one lane in either direction. One thing that stands out is that the Oakwood Avenue and Eglinton Avenue West intersection has become a problem as its relatively high pedestrian and car traffic, especially during rush hours has resulted in a common occurrence of pedestrians being struck. Oakwood Avenue provides access to major roads in the surrounding area, specifically St. Clair Avenue West and Vaughan Road. The volume of car and TTC bus traffic headed towards these roads from Allen Road and Eglinton West subway has resulted in frustrated and anxious drivers who, being tired of waiting in traffic, turn and hit unsuspecting or aggressively crossing pedestrians.

The Social/Community Services category includes photographs of churches, residential spaces, and organizations that provide various services. There are quite a few in the study area including the 13 Division police station near the Eglinton West Subway station; multiple worship spaces including a synagogue, a Canadian-Korean Buddhist Centre, a Roman Catholic church, several store front churches, and a Black methodist church located at Dufferin Street; the office for the York-Eglinton BIA located at Oakwood Avenue; the Maria Shuchuka branch of the Toronto Public Library located two blocks West of the BIA office; a halfway house, a drug rehab centre;

15. The photos were taken at various times during the day and week.

SOCIAL/COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
NE corner of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Dufferin Ave., facing S
2. Dec 2015
SW side of Eglinton Ave. W at
Glenholme Ave. facing N

MIDDLE ROW

3. Aug 2015
Just E of NE corner of Eglinton Ave. W,
at Dufferin Ave., facing S
4. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing W
5. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Dufferin, facing S

BOTTOM ROW

6. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Dufferin Ave., facing S
7. Oct 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Oakwood Ave., facing S
8. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
across the street from Farleigh Cres.,
facing SW

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

and a funeral home near Dufferin Street. There are also framed arts projects on a few tree planters near the library, and a Caribbean newspaper, the Jamaican Gleaner, located just before Marlee Avenue. Residentially, on Eglinton Avenue West between Eglinton West subway station and Dufferin Street, mostly on the south side, there are low rise rental units, most above commercial spaces, and at Marlee Avenue, on the north side, there are townhouses and on the south, high rise apartment buildings. There are also Toronto Community Housing units near the library and more low rise and high rise rental units approaching Dufferin Street.

The location of the 13 Division police station is just across from the Eglinton West subway station and Allen Road at the old border of the former City of York that existed before the 1998 City of Toronto amalgamation. The placement of the police station, is interesting because it has been there since the late 1970s¹⁶, around the time when the Caribbean population in the area started to increase significantly. At the very least it emphasizes the economic divisions on either side of the border and raises questions of the intent behind the placement of the police station in relation to the stigmatization of Eglinton Avenue West and over policing of visible minorities, Blacks in particular.

The multiple worship spaces are reflective of the many communities that are in the study area and their historic ties to it. The larger worship spaces include the Beth Shalom synagogue, the British Methodist Episcopal Christ Church St. James (B.M.E Christ Church), and the St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church. The Beth Shalom Synagogue¹⁷ has been in the neighbourhood, at the

16. As marked on the building

17. Beth Shalom Synagogue, accessed December 20, 2017, http://www.bethsholom.net/BSS/About/Our_History/BSS/About_Pages/Our_History.aspx?hkey=8b8ab5e1-b7ad-4c01-b5d7-a3a6b417cc8b.

SOCIAL/COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Northcliffe Blvd, facing N.
Located on tree planters
2. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Alameda Ave., facing NE
3. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Alameda Ave., facing W

MIDDLE ROW

4. Nov 2014
SE corner of Eglinton Ave. W at
Northcliffe Blvd., facing W
5. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Northcliffe Blvd, facing N.
Located on tree planters

BOTTOM ROW

6. Nov 2014
SE corner of Eglinton Ave. W at
Northcliffe Blvd., facing W
7. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Glenholme Ave., facing N

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

location where it first opened, since 1947 serving the Jewish community in the Forest Hill and Cedarvale neighbourhoods. It underwent a major renovation in 1990 to take its current form. The B.M.E Christ Church¹⁸, goes back to 1845 where it was first located on Chestnut Street, near University Avenue and Dundas Street in downtown Toronto. It moved to Shaw Street in the 1950s where it remained until the building was destroyed by fire in 1998. The congregation used other churches until the opening of their own building at its current location at Dufferin Street and Eglinton Avenue West. Its service to the Black community includes providing a space for Black worshippers at times when they were not welcome in other congregations, participating in the Underground Railroad, and advocating for and providing help to immigrants, particularly Caribbean immigrants in the 1960s. The St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church¹⁹ has been in the area for at least 80 years, first serving the Irish community but eventually serving a more diverse congregation including Latino and Italian parishioners as these communities began to settle in the study area. The smaller worship spaces include the Deliverance in Christ Ministries and Toronto Break Through Tabernacle storefront churches, and the Canadian Korean Buddhist Centre which was founded in 1995²⁰.

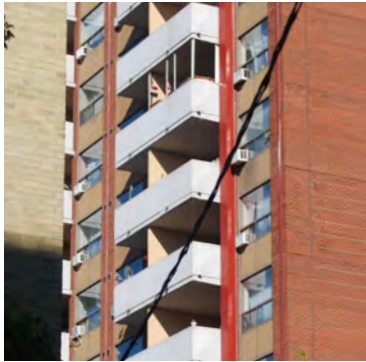
The Weekly Gleaner newspaper is published by The Gleaner Company Inc., one of the subsidiary companies of the Gleaner Company Ltd. which is based in Kingston, Jamaica (The Gleaner Company Inc. 2017). It's other companies are in the U.S.A and the U.K. It has been serving the

18. British Methodist Episcopal Christ Church St. James, accessed December 20, 2017, <http://www.bmechristchurch.org/?i=1239&mid=3>.

19. St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church, accessed December 20, 2017, <http://www.stthomasaquinasparish.com/history.html>.

20. Canadian Korean Buddhist Association, accessed December 28, 2017, http://www.bulgyoin.ca/bbs.php?table=board_01&query=view&tuid=1.

SOCIAL/COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
Rear view of building located on S side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Northcliffe Blvd., from E Northcliffe Blvd facing NW
2. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, E of Oakwood Ave., facing N
3. Dec 2015
E side of Farleigh Cres., NE of Eglinton Ave. W, facing SW

MIDDLE ROW

4. Aug 2015
NW side of Eglinton Ave. W, facing S, W of Northcliffe Blvd
5. Dec 2015
E side of Oakwood Ave., at Eglinton Ave. W

BOTTOM ROW

6. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Glenholme Ave., facing N

***IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT**

Jamaican community since it began in 1834. It provides both local and international news about or important to the Jamaican community. Its location in Little Jamaica is representative of the centrality of Little Jamaica to the Caribbean community in Toronto.

The halfway house, drug rehab centre, and concentration of low rise rental units in combination with the demographics of Eglinton Avenue West—low income, immigrant, high concentration of visible minorities—contrasts the demographics of the communities found on the east side of Eglinton West subway station. Eglinton Avenue West is figuratively “on the other side of the tracks” and attracts a variety of people like artists, immigrants, entrepreneurs, people working precarious jobs, as well as people who are struggling in other ways or who may feel ostracized from mainstream society, like substance abusers and gangs. These attributes are used by those who stand to gain from investments in the study area, like developers and their municipal partners, to frame the study area as in need of revitalization and by extension the displacement of its marginalized population.

The Commercial Business category focuses on photographs of the stores in the study area. The photos give insight into the causes behind and the speed of the store closures, an overview of the diversity of the types of stores in the study area, and perspective on just how Jamaican/Caribbean that the study area is. In the span of just over a year, the photos show that many stores have either closed, were in the process of closing at the time the photos were taken, or have relocated. Some of the reasons behind the store closures include displacement by the construction of LRT stations

COMMERCIAL BUSINESS



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
SE side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing N
2. Jul 2015
SE side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing N
3. Aug 2015
SE side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing N

MIDDLE ROW

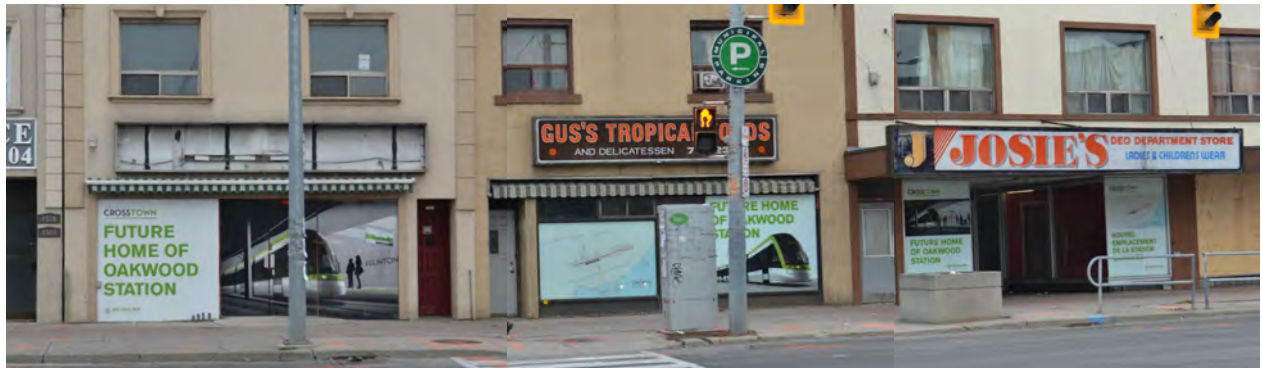
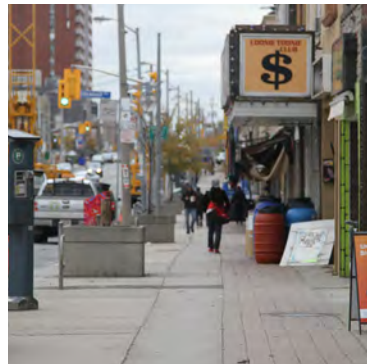
4. Nov 2014
NW side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Marlee Ave., facing E
5. Dec 2015
NW side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Marlee Ave., facing E

BOTTOM ROW

6. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Locksley Ave., facing S
7. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Locksley Ave., facing S

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

COMMERCIAL BUSINESS



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Oakwood Ave., facing S
2. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Oakwood Ave., facing W
3. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Oakwood Ave., facing W

MIDDLE ROW

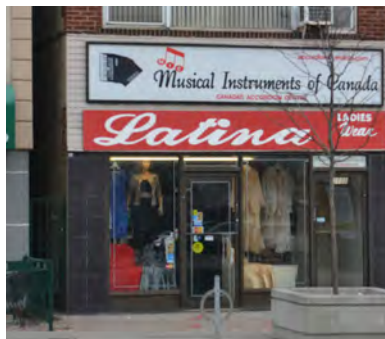
4. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Oakwood Ave., facing S
**Composite image; 3 photos*

BOTTOM ROW

5. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Oakwood Ave., facing N
6. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Oakwood Ave., facing N
**Composite image; 2 photos*

***IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT**

COMMERCIAL BUSINESS



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Alameda Ave. and Reggae Ln,
facing S
2. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Northcliffe Blvd., facing S
3. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Oakwood Ave., facing N

MIDDLE ROW

4. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing S
**Composite image; 2 photos*

BOTTOM ROW

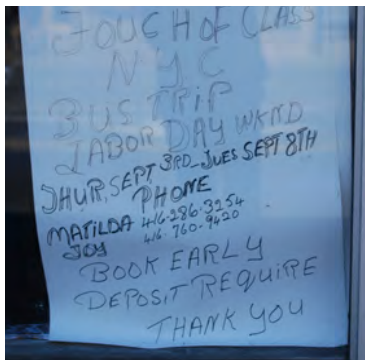
5. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing N
6. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Times Rd., facing N

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

and the increase in traffic due to reduced lanes caused by construction which makes shopping inconvenient. The effects of the recent recession were certainly amplified by this disruption and may have been a significant factor in why so many places closed in such a short period of time. Additionally, looking at the stores collectively, there is a wide variety and balance in terms of the services, products and food offered. The study area is also shown to be very multicultural, and not primarily Jamaican, at least not now. It does however have a relatively high concentration of Jamaican/Caribbean stores near Oakwood Avenue, but also generally between Marlee Avenue and Dufferin Street. These stores are mostly salons, barbershops, beauty supply shops, Rastafarian focused stores, and restaurants or grocery stores. These photos also capture the speed at which the changes in the area are happening, the loss of a market area that had diverse and niche stores, and a visible loss of the self-sufficiency of groups of people who are usually overwhelmingly portrayed as perpetually dependent.

The Communication category focuses on photographs of the many types of communication in the study area. This category is divided into three subcategories: short term advertisements, long-term/official signage, and subversive communication. Short term advertisements are ephemeral and include advertisements for commercial, personal, and community events like flyers/posters, and billboards. Longterm/official signage includes store signs and branding for the BIA. Subversive communication focuses on graffiti and the Reggae Lane murals.

COMMUNICATION



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Glenholme Ave., facing W
2. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W at
Dufferin Ave., on the SE side
3. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing E

MIDDLE ROW

4. Nov 2014
SW side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Glenholme Ave., facing E
5. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., on the SE side
6. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Alameda Ave. and Reggae Ln,
facing S

BOTTOM ROW

7. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Times Rd., facing N
8. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Northcliffe Blvd., facing W

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

The short term advertisements include commercial advertisements, like billboards promoting various things including vacation packages; food, like snacks and wine; convenience stores; movies; and cars. The TTC shelter advertisements promote more of the same. There are also many real estate ads of residential properties, like townhouses and commercial properties, like storefronts. These commercial advertisements, especially considering the general size and the high number of billboards, are aimed more at those who are driving through the study area, rather than pedestrians. The personal advertisements in the study area include flyers for parties organized by entrepreneurial promoters that are taped or stapled to streetlamps, and ads for services like hair braiding posted in TTC bus shelters or on message boards by individuals. The ads are not limited to these surfaces as they can be found on many flat surfaces in the study area. Community advertisements consist of promotions of festivals, similar events hosted by the BIA, and other events and activities that are hosted by the library. The personal and community advertisements are aimed at the pedestrians and are periodically removed, or in the case of the streetlamps, sometimes just posted over. Finally, it's worth noting that the content between the commercial and personal advertisements differ, with the personal advertisements being more cultural and specific to the community, while the commercial advertisements speak to a more general and wider audience.

The longterm/official signage sub-category includes branding for the future LRT, past and present branding efforts of the BIA, and the visual display of store signs in the study area. The store signs were addressed earlier in the Commercial Business category and are also addressed later in the

COMMUNICATION



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Glenholme Ave., at Times Rd.
facing E
2. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Northcliffe Blvd., facing W
3. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing N
(Building demolished for LRT station)

MIDDLE ROW

4. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Glenholme Ave., facing W
5. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing W
6. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Glenholme Ave., facing S

BOTTOM ROW

7. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Glenholme Ave., facing E
8. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Glenholme Ave., facing W

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

Care and Maintenance category, however, only the business, physical state, or service that the signs represent are discussed in the other categories. Here, the content and aesthetics of the signs will be addressed. The branding for the future LRT stations includes the full window pane advertisements in the buildings where the stations will be built. They stand out in sharp contrast to the buildings and streetscape that surround it. For the BIA, the history and influence of their rebranding/revitalization efforts as explained in the interviews, is evident with the blue Eglinton West landmark and the street signs between Marlee Avenue and Dufferin Street labeled as “International Market”. The store signs show, generally speaking, that there are relatively few stores targeted to the Caribbean community that have signs that reflect a Caribbean or island aesthetic or concept. For those that do, there is a distinction between those that are a generalized or stereotypical Caribbean aesthetic/concept and those that are more culturally nuanced. For example, while some signs use the standard red, green, and yellow and other signs use words like “Tropical”, or “Caribbean” in their name; there are signs like that of “OneStop” restaurant’s—referring to what a passenger on a mini-bus in Jamaica would yell out to the driver to indicate that they would like to get off at the next stop—or that of “Wailer’s Connection” clothing store, which seems to be a reference to the reggae group that featured Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, and Bunny Wailer. Both of the latter signs use colours other than the standard red, green, and yellow. OneStop just uses red and white, focusing on a stop sign concept, and Wailer’s Connection references a wider tropical island theme with a bright blue and white sign. In terms of the forms that the signs take, there are those that are the standard rectangular signs above the store, with some that protrude so that a pedestrian walking perpendicular to the store will be able to see a side panel of the sign, there may also be a sandwich board that is on the ground in front of the

COMMUNICATION



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Times Rd., on the W side
2. Aug 2015 (TOP)
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Alameda Ave. and Reggae Ln, facing N
3. Dec 2015 (BOTTOM)
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Glenholme Ave., facing S
4. Dec 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, E of Oakwood Ave., facing N

MIDDLE ROW

5. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Times Rd., on the W side, facing E
6. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, W of Alameda Rd. and Reggae Ln, facing S (*Now closed*)
7. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Times Rd., on the W side
8. Aug 2015
SW corner of Eglinton Ave. W at Alameda Ave., facing E

BOTTOM ROW

9. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at Oakwood Ave., facing S (*Now closed*)
10. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, E of Dufferin Ave., facing S (*Both stores now closed*)

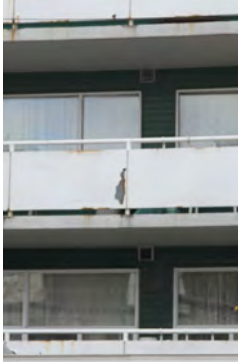
*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

store, or even a sign in the window. The signs use a wide variety of typography including standard typefaces and hand painted brush scripts. An example of the latter includes the Leroy and Dennis barbers sign. There are also a variety of colours used across most stores in the study area, with the most prominent being yellow, red, blue, green, and orange. Multicultural stores, especially restaurants, generally have the more colourful signs. The stores that have been there the longest, particularly the Caribbean stores, seem to have more handmade signs. Additionally, some of the signs have a lot of information in them, for example, in addition to the name of the store, they also have the address, phone number, and what the store sells.

Finally, there is the subversive communication category. It includes the graffiti in the study area and the Reggae mural that are on the walls of Reggae Lane. The graffiti, which occurs mostly on buildings, but also shows up elsewhere, gives a glimpse into the subculture of the study area.

Looking more closely, some tags occur more frequently and over a wider area than others, some occur larger than others more often, and some occur in more visible areas than others. Examples of tags that fit these descriptions are “KOOK” and “LOON”. There are also instances where tags are crossed out in such a way that they are still legible and another tagger has placed their tag nearby, suggesting that they are responsible for crossing the other tag out. Whatever the meaning, in this sense, the tags and their placements on the walls or other surfaces seem to be more complex than just marking a spot or an act of defacement. Other observations include the fact that some tags are also more legible than others. This observation is also applicable to the tags mentioned above. While illegibility in terms of communicating to specific or limited groups of people is understandable, especially considering the anonymity that illegibility provides from

CARE AND MAINTENANCE



TOP ROW

1. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Glenholme Ave., facing NW
2. Nov 2014
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Glenholme Ave., facing E
3. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Dufferin Ave. and Reggae Ln,
facing S

MIDDLE ROW

4. Nov 2014
S side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W at Winona Ave., facing N
5. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Northcliffe Ave., facing E
6. Dec 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing S

BOTTOM ROW

7. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Locksley Ave., facing S
(Restaurant with red signage
has closed)
8. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Times Rd., facing S
9. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
E of Alameda and Reggae Ln.,
facing W

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

mainstream culture, the legibility of some of the tags seems to be challenging this, and perhaps is a way of being even more subversive.

Although the Reggae Lane murals appear to be a part of a community effort to reclaim the laneway that they are in and to honour the Reggae history of the area, a closer look reveals that they are not. Due to the intentions behind them, their visual aesthetic, and their spatial and community context, the murals instead fetishize the area into an experience for outsiders. As explained in the interview analysis, the murals are the result of efforts by the study area's city council representative and the BIA to bring cultural tourists into the study area. Concerning the visual aesthetic and spatial and community context of the murals, there is generally nothing offensive about placing murals in laneways, especially since laneways are generally poorly lit, hidden from the main streets, and sometimes considered to be dangerous. The positive aspects of the idea of taking back these spaces are easily appreciated. However, the Reggae Lane murals fall in line with the aestheticized poverty that is often used for Caribbean and Black communities, like the romanticized salt water distressed, sun-bleached driftwood aesthetic of the islands and the 'authentic' urban blight of the inner city. Instead of honouring the reggae history of the area, the murals instead make a spectacle of the negative reputation of the area and its otherness for the pleasure of outside visitors. Reggae Lane is a simulacrum of the reggae history, the low-income, and the inner suburban blight of the area. It's branding in the form of cultural packaging for the sake of creating novelty. Additionally, it gives insight into the shift in the BIA and municipality's interests from the local community and commerce centred on the community's cultural production, towards more mainstream consumers.

INTERESTING FINDINGS/JUXTAPOSITIONS



TOP ROW

1. Aug 2015
SE side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave.,
(Now demolished for the
construction of the LRT station)
2. Aug 2015
N side of Eglinton Ave. W,
W of Oakwood Ave., facing S

MIDDLE ROW

3. Aug 2015
NW corner of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Times Rd., facing E
4. Dec 2015
E side of Oakwood Ave. at
Eglinton Ave. W, facing W

BOTTOM ROW

5. Aug 2015
S side of Eglinton Ave. W, at
Oakwood Ave., facing N

*IMAGES ARE LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY AS THEY APPEAR FROM TOP-LEFT TO BOTTOM-RIGHT

The Care and Maintenance category focuses on the general upkeep of the study area. Overall, especially in comparison to Eglinton Avenue East, the study area looks neglected. The neglect emphasizes the recent economic hardships that the study area is going through as well as the prolonged lack of investment that has primed it for gentrification. This neglect is exaggerated in the winter months as the tree planters, some of which have had the trees removed, are empty. In the spring and summer months, the planters have flowers placed in them, which helps with visually reducing the blight in the area. The store signs and awnings show their age as they are missing, old, or weather damaged. The old doors and mailboxes of some of the low-rise rental units above the businesses, and the poor state of some of the billboards in the study area also add to the visual of general neglect. Some of the apartment buildings also show wear and tear with rusting balconies. The graffiti on the buildings could also be considered in this category as it is representative of a subculture that often emerges out of neglect. However, a closer look into the framed arts projects on a few tree planters near the Maria Shuchuka library reveal that they are the work of StreetARToronto (StART), a group of programs that were put into action in 2012 as a part of Toronto's Graffiti Management Plan with the goal of helping to reduce infrastructure maintenance costs²¹. They are concentrated around the library which identifies at least selective points of maintenance in the study area.

Observing the study area also reveals insightful and interesting juxtapositions. These juxtapositions highlight the mini discourses happening within the study area. For instance, the photo of the get-away vacation advertisement on the billboard beside a halfway house calls

21. StreetARToronto (StART), City of Toronto, 2012, accessed March 20, 2017, <https://www.toronto.ca/services-payments/streets-parking-transportation/enhancing-our-streets-and-public-realm/streetartoronto/>.

attention to social and economic disparities in the study area. Other images are of store fronts that have multiple signs of the stores that occupied them before. One photo in particular shows a store front with a fresh seafood sign above a Chinese take out restaurant sign, while in the window of the store there are Rastafarian themed items being sold. This store front and its signs document the history in this area, but is also a reminder of the economic issues in the area as the latter occupants, it seems, haven't been able to change the signage. There is also a Pizza Pizza located in an old bank building (formerly the location of a CIBC bank branch) in the heart of Little Jamaica at Oakwood Avenue and Eglinton Avenue West. It is across the street from a Cash Money payday loan store and beside the sales office of the condominium that will soon displace it. While there is a TD bank at Marlee Road, it is located on the western border of the Forest Hill neighbourhood, which is across the street from where the Little Jamaica stretch begins. Other than the TD at Marlee Road, the only other banks in the area are west of Dufferin Street. This means that there are no banks in Little Jamaica, or in International Market. Considering the above, this juxtaposition of the Cash Money and Pizza Pizza is indicative of the fact that Little Jamaica is a banking desert. Banking deserts leave low-income communities vulnerable to predatory lending and other alternative financial services (Holland, Steinhoff, and Bickerton 2014). This seems to be the case here because the Cash Money store is not alone. There are similar businesses in the area, including Cash 4 You, Money Mart, a Money Transfer, and a Cash 4 Gold business.

Addressing the first research question, *what does the visual analysis of a space reveal about the actors who are involved in its production?*, the photos reveal the nature of the power dynamics in

the area and how they contribute to the erasure of Little Jamaica. There are those who exert power over the space in a way that reflects their fears or concerns of the space, especially in relation to who lives there, and interests in the area as it relates to its geography, i.e. its location in proximity to the city-centre and the suburbs and others who are making efforts to be resilient in the face of the decisions and preferences of those with power.

City planners and government entities are among those whose decisions about road and transit construction, placement and density of affordable rental housing and community housing units in an area, and bylaws addressing commercial activities, affect the flow of traffic, concentration of poverty, or how business development occurs in the area. Others, like the police and the absent banks, speak more to the racial, social, and economic marginalization of the area. For example, the location of the police station at the border of the wealthier Forest Hill neighbourhood and the low-income immigrant neighbourhoods that Little Jamaica serves, the timing of when it was placed there—during the height of Jamaican immigration to the area, hints at over policing, and reflects a fear that instigated the need for a police presence in that area. It also hints at the use of police to address problems that arise in the presence of social and economic issues/ injustices. The absence of banks leaves people vulnerable to predatory banking alternatives and the resulting cycle of debt that leads to increasingly dire and precarious situations.

Residents, business owners, and community members—who might not live in the area but are connected to it—have a significant history in the area. For example, with the understanding of the importance of places of worship to communities, the fact that there are so many within the study area with such long histories speaks to the length of time that immigrants and visible minorities

have been living in the area, but also raises the question of why is it that so many different immigrant and visible minority communities lived/live in such a small area, especially when this proximity and density is not representative of the rest of Toronto?

A visual analysis of the area also makes neighbourhood borders more visible. For instance, the aesthetics and types of buildings change once you get to Marlee Road, which marks the boundary of Forest Hill to the east. There is also a noticeable difference in the number of apartments and rental units on the south side of Eglinton Avenue compared to the north side, which aligns with the fact that Eglinton Avenue West is the border between Oakwood Village to the South and Briar Hill-Belgravia to the North. This division is also spoken about in the interviews in relation to the settlement patterns of Italians on the north side of Eglinton Avenue West and Caribbeans on the south. This division is further visible in the housing behind the marketplace on either side of Eglinton Avenue West where an economic difference in favour of the north side of Eglinton Avenue West is visible. Eglinton Avenue West is therefore an ethnic community border, a neighbourhood border, and an economic border.

Specifically considering the Caribbean community, its history and decline in the study area seems to be reflective of larger changes happening within Toronto in that the city's centre is shown to be expanding. The study area, geographically, used to be on the margins of Toronto proper until relatively recently, which is why it was so “welcoming” —more-so than other areas in and around Toronto towards non-desirable immigrants— and affordable. The margins are still just as welcoming as they ever were, they are just being pushed further out from their current location. The photos of Little Jamaica offer a snapshot of the evolution of this space, with the older stores

being evident of the resilience of the community in the face of the discrimination that had pushed them into the margins, and the empty store fronts perhaps reflecting another opportunity for the community to practice resilience once more.

The number and type of stores that have closed, and the fact that this has happened recently points to a shift in the demographics of the area, a shift in the demographics of the patrons that frequent the area, and a shift in the economics of the area. For example, Caribbean restaurants and grocery stores seem to be in decline, but beauty supply stores, barbershops, and salons, even despite their high density in the area, are doing well. It appears that grocery stores may have been a significant reason for Caribbean patrons to visit the area and their decline suggests that patrons are finding their groceries, which were once hard to find anywhere else, elsewhere. Economically, when this demographic shift is considered alongside the York-Eglinton BIA's history of failed rebranding, and revitalizing attempts,—in spite of the high volume of traffic flowing through the area, there seems to be something much larger going on.

Taking an account of the significant artefacts in this space, like the placement of Allen Road, the placement of the police station, the placement of rental and community housing, and placement of the LRT, in addition to the withdrawal of the banks from the area, and even the creation of Reggae Lane, their accumulated negative effects on the study area are clearly not organic, or coincidental. They can be viewed as the result of intentional systemic and business decisions, and design choices, that either undermine or leave few choices to those that are marginalized.

The second research question, *how do the forthcoming changes to this area relate to the reality of those that live, work, and shop here?*, can be addressed primarily by looking at the heart of Little Jamaica, the Eglinton Avenue West and Oakwood Avenue intersection. Here, the photos show the placement of an LRT station and the development of a condominium which has already resulted in the displacement of a number of stores, and foreshadows a significant change in the demographics of the study area, respectively. These changes are indifferent to the reality of those that live, work, and shop in the area and exemplify the issues of taste and neoliberal urban development addressed in the literature review. While these changes ‘improve’ the area, it’s not for the benefit of the Caribbean and immigrant communities.

SUMMARY OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Overall, the photos show a concerted effort to take advantage of the infrastructure and mid-town location of the study area, and highlights the use of real estate, transportation infrastructure, and the direct or indirect targeting of key culturally specific hubs like grocery stores, to displace Toronto's low income and racialized communities to the city’s peripheries. This displacement is reflective of how this area is perceived by those in power, leaving it subject to the economic preferences, ideals, or plans that benefit the wider city, often at their expense.

CONCLUSION OF FINDINGS

The experiences, observations, and concerns of the interviewees are supported by visual evidence from the photographs. The struggle for their businesses to stay in the area is undermined by the physical and systemic infrastructure of the area. Physically, traffic being funneled into the area and the construction of the LRT has resulted in congestion that has contributed to the failure of

many of the Caribbean businesses. Any future decongestion afforded by the finished LRT line will not benefit these businesses. Those that manage to not to be pushed out will have to contend with increased property values and rents. Systemically, the gamut of businesses and services in the area collectively cannot sustain a healthy community. For instance, the area is a banking desert with only cheque cashing services available, an exploitative service that leaves few options for struggling business owners, not to mention the larger community. Even in terms of communications the Caribbean community's voice is overpowered by others. Their comparatively limited size and access to funds results in their communications being not as dominant as others in the area. The results of the interviews and photographs point to multiple levels of displacement occurring in Little Jamaica.

CHAPTER 5

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study is to analyze the products of design in Toronto's Little Jamaica, i.e. its visual artefacts, in an effort to gain some insight into design's role in its erasure. The findings of the previous chapter show that the heart of the market space of Little Jamaica has been disrupted by new transit and residential developments. The changes that mark this disruption are more than just an aesthetic upgrading; they also replace ethnic and low income characteristics in the area—including visual cues of the political, economic, and social struggles of immigrant and visible minority communities—with characteristics that represent neoliberal interests and Eurocentric tastes.

These findings and the historical context of the area raise questions around how gentrification through neoliberal urban development affects marginalized communities, and how design can be used by neoliberal development to continue the exclusion of marginalized communities. Using these questions as a departure point, this literature review explores the intersection of neoliberal urban development and design in relation to the erasure of these communities. It points out that it is key for designers to understand the power of their work, their role in displacement, and the historical context that they are working in.

UNDERSTANDING NEOLIBERAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT

What is Gentrification?

At the core of the neoliberal urban development approach that is causing the erasure of Little

Jamaica is gentrification and its ability to separate experiences and relationships from property and spaces. Ruth Glass, from whom the term gentrification originated, observed that areas of London were being “‘invaded by the middle classes’, i.e. the gentry, who were ‘up-grading’ residential properties and ‘displacing’ the ‘original working-class occupiers’” (Phillips 2001, 285). Her observations are echoed in later definitions in that they also refer to investment, refurbishment, and displacement. Examples of these definitions include,

“...a process of social upgrading and/or social displacement; ...the uneven, and increasingly globalized, movement of capital into ‘rent-gaps’; ...the movement of people to realize their consumption or lifestyle choices; ...the refurbishment of property by economically and/or socially ‘marginalized groups’ employing so-called ‘sweat equity’; ...a consequence of the rise of female paid employment and the commodification of reproductive labour; ...the development of retail, financial and consumption spaces; and ...a symbolic and ideological construction” (ibid., 283-284).

Rural gentrification is also included (Phillips 2001), but *ethnic-succession* (Qadeer 2003, 17), when “one [ethnic] group invad[es] and succeed[s] another as the latter moves upwards economically and outwards spatially” (Murdie and Gosh 2010, 295) is not, because economically, the area stays the same.

Gentrification is also an example of what David Harvey describes as “Spatial Fix” which is a way of producing maximum profit by perpetually producing new geographies to exploit to avoid crisis

(Cresswell 2013, 128-129). Stated another way, gentrification is a spatial function of capitalism that helps to perpetuate its exploitative status quo. As Neil Smith explains, it

“is part of a larger class strategy to restructure the economy, a strategy which leaves the basis of exploitation (the wage-labor relation) intact. Just as economic restructuring (in the form of plant closures, runaway shops, social service cuts, etc.) is carried out to the detriment of the working class, so too is the spatial aspect of restructuring at the urban scale-gentrification and redevelopment” (ibid., 153).

Understanding space through the lens of gentrification is key to understanding the erasure of Little Jamaica and how it fits in with a larger social narrative.

Space in Relation to Gentrification

For Lefebvre space is the means by which capitalism advances through abstraction by eliminating the “organic connection to urban and social space” reducing social life to minimal necessary functions and associated spaces (Strabowski 2014, 799). For example, the abstraction of a residence to “a 'mere box' for living” (ibid.). This abstraction is done through the separation of space into three parts including *spatial representations*: space that is perceived or concrete and material; *representations of space*: space that is conceived or abstract; and *representational space*: lived space or the space of inhabitants (Strabowski 2014, 798-799). Viewing gentrified spaces as superimpositions of *Material, Conceptual, and Lived spaces* provides a means of dissecting how capitalist spaces are produced and understanding what makes spaces gentrifiable.

Material space correlates to property, i.e. the tangible objects of a space—designed aspects of a space—including architecture, signage, and infrastructure. Property boundaries abstract space by defining “inside” from “out” and by defining ownership through “a tacit agreement... [that] 'places and things belonging to you do not belong to me'” (Strabowski 2014, 799). Property “is not a spatialized thing”... but is instead “a bundle of social relationships (with reference to a thing)” and requires a process of “continually ‘doing’ or ‘enacting’” (ibid.). A material analysis of gentrification requires the consideration of these physical and social boundaries in relation to who has the right or power to assert claims of ownership. Because of this, gentrification can be viewed as an enactment of opposing views on property relations (ibid.). An argument between absolute ownership, in which exclusion and alienation for the sake of profit is embraced, subverts the collective ownership claims of low-income and long-time residents who feel that their claims of ownership are justified based on economic and moral grounds as well as their time in an individual house or collectively in a neighbourhood (ibid.). Because their collective sense of ownership is rarely if ever acknowledged, they are left vulnerable to displacement. Little Jamaica is caught in a similar predicament. Despite the fact that over the past 40 years a distinct community has developed, their claim to the space is easily subverted by the absolute owners of the residential and commercial properties that they live and work in.

Conceptual space is 'abstract and mental'; It is “the space of scientists, planners, urbanists,... and social engineers” (ibid., 798-799). It brings attention to ideological framing, the subjectivity of knowledge, and how certain types of knowledge and knowledge creators are valued over others. For instance, individual definitions of gentrification primarily speak to the subjectivity of

researchers including their intents, life experiences, blindspots, loyalties, and political interests (Slater 2008, 216). Those that look to benefit from gentrification, like developers seeking to cater to the tastes of potential gentrifiers, often seek out research that aligns with their goals. This research often ignores gentrification, claims that it cannot be quantified, or obfuscates it (ibid., 217) with the use of terms like 'reurbanization' and 'residentialisation' (ibid., 214). These terms speak favourably of the movement of the middle classes into an area, and along with the accompanying design aesthetics, helps to minimize the experiences of those who are negatively impacted (Slater 2008, 217). Viewpoints like these, which are also present in the EGLINTONconnects redevelopment plan, are exploited to benefit “gentrifiers, city managers and particularly the owners of capital” (ibid., 216).

Lived space is where people navigate, affect, and are affected by conceptual and material spaces. It's in this space that displacement occurs. Displacement can take forms other than spatial relocation including Everyday Displacement and Double Displacement. Everyday Displacement is the idea that “spatial relocation can occur with no lived sense of displacement, and [that] displacement can be experienced even in the absence of spatial dislocation” (Strabowski 2014, 798). It's a process that enables “[the colonization of] ... the lifeworlds of working class residents” and the production of a “lived experience of ongoing loss—of the security, agency, and freedom to “make place” (ibid., 796). It can take the form of “indirect economic displacement, community displacement, and neighbourhood resource displacement” (ibid., 798). As the displacement of communities becomes increasingly reflected in their visual artefacts, the result is spaces that do not visibly or structurally reflect or support their communities. This Everyday displacement is

exemplified in the hierarchy of communications and the lack of a community sustaining gamut of businesses and services revealed in the analysis of the photos taken in Little Jamaica. “Double Displacement” refers to displacement from a residence as well as a community unit, like an enclave (ibid., 797). These concepts are important in relation to Little Jamaica because they give value to the phenomenological aspects of displacement, which when overlooked, prevents the development of an understanding of “how the agency and security of tenants to ‘make place’ are significantly diminished as property relations are transformed” (Strabowski 2014, 800).

Neoliberal Urban Development’s Methods of Abstracting Communities

Neoliberal urban development takes the abstracted identities, relationships, and property from gentrification and employs methods that reframe and commodify them in the pursuit of economic gain for gentrifiers and owners of capital. These methods include the use of Social Mix to create communities, the use of ethnic packaging, and a focus on the Creative Class.

In relation to Little Jamaica, Social Mix and ethnic packaging are key methods to understand because they align with the tenets of neoliberal multiculturalism. This is multiculturalism that has been altered by neoliberalism away from its original ideals of redressing past grievances and “negotiating, as equals, the terms of belonging” (Kymlicka 2012, 103), to a:

“... vision of multiculturalism [that] is largely indifferent to both progressive equality-seeking components and national boundedness... and that is not focused on [the creation of] a tolerant national citizen who is concerned for the disadvantaged in her own society

but a cosmopolitan market actor who can compete effectively across state boundaries (ibid., 111).”

For neoliberal multiculturalism, the inclusion of immigrants is centred on economic participation that aligns with its immediate and specific goals. In this sense neoliberal multiculturalism tries to “‘manage diversity’ for competitive success”. It

“...affirms—even valorizes—ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship, strategic cosmopolitanism, and transnational commercial linkages and remittances but silences debates on economic redistribution, racial inequality, unemployment, economic restructuring and labour rights” (ibid., 2012, 112).

Unfortunately the debates that it silences concern issues that disproportionately affect the Black immigrants in the Little Jamaica community.

Social Mix is based on the idea that an area will benefit from the addition of middle class residents because it is assumed that they are better at advocating for improved infrastructure and resources than their lower income counterparts (Kelly 2013, 181), or that their habits will alienate the “underclass” enough that they will eventually move (Slater 2008, 213). It alienates complex relationships that are contextual to specific spaces and “is an example of... urban sanitization at work” (Kelly 2013, 181-182). Social Mix also reflects a “diversity discourse” (ibid., 178) in that the language it uses “e.g. 'revitalization', 'regeneration', ...neutralizes the politics of class and race” (ibid., 181) thereby perpetuating issues that it claims to be negating. Because of this, Social Mix often results in the displacement and erasure of people of colour and their communities.

Ethnic packaging is the commodification of culture, arts, and ethnic diversity. In neoliberal urban development it turns the practice/performance of identity and the navigation of a sense of self into a product for the Creative Class to consume. Although neoliberal urban development didn't invent ethnic packaging, it does fit within the cosmopolitan vision of neoliberal urban development and is easily taken advantage of by it. An example of ethnic packaging is the commodification of a community's market area to attract outsiders, i.e. tourists (Rekers and Hackworth 2005). It may seem to represent an ideal situation of an owner of an ethnic store serving their community and the wider public simultaneously; however, ethnic packaging can skew the types of stores in a market area from those that serve the needs of a community to stores that primarily cater to outsiders. In other words, ethnic packaging embodies Everyday Displacement (Strabowski 2014) resulting in “the symbolic representations of people and their activities [being replaced]” (Krase 2004, 207) by commodified representations.

The Erasure of Race

Although there are ethnic market areas in Toronto where deliberate acts of ethnic packaging seem to have happened, for example Greektown on the Danforth and Corso Italia, in relation to Little Jamaica, this doesn't seem to be the case. The photographs taken of Little Jamaica show the area labelled as International Market and the EGLINTONconnects study explains that when the LRT construction is complete, Eglinton West station will be named Cedarvale. This change signals a distancing from the Jamaican community, which is essentially synonymous with the name Eglinton West.

This opting out of the ethnic packaging of Little Jamaica can be linked to the fact that neoliberal multiculturalism's management of diversity for economic success silences debates on issues, like anti Blackness, that disproportionately affects Black people in the Little Jamaica community. This silencing is also present in the language of the works referenced earlier where those affected by gentrification and neoliberal urban development have been described as “working-class”, “low-income”, “marginalized”, “displaced”, “poor”, “immigrants”, “ethnic”, and “multicultural”. Race is not explicitly mentioned except as something that is ignored, excluded, and neutralized by practices within neoliberal multiculturalism.

While race can be inferred from these terms, its exclusion allows for the dismissal of its historical impact on the ability of specific groups of people to participate in society. Even though gentrification is primarily defined as an economic issue, the intersection of racism and class has historically meant that people of colour have been systemically excluded from various economic and political activities, making them more susceptible to gentrification. Considering the historical context provided by chapter 2, in relation to Little Jamaica this exclusion of race as a descriptor of those affected by gentrification has contributed to its erasure because it makes it easier to overlook issues of displacement that are related to race.

Neoliberal Urban Development Projects

Examples of neoliberal urban development projects include the government designed and implemented HOPE VI housing program in New Orleans (Slater 2008) and the Creative City in Toronto (City of Toronto 2003). HOPE VI demonstrates how various political and economic interests have justified “the large-scale displacement of predominantly Black working class

people” not just in Louisiana, but across the country, and the world, under the guise of “poverty 'deconcentration’” (Slater 2008, 213). Toronto’s Creative City is the result of a shift that began in the 80s and 90s to embrace gentrification as a means of transforming itself into a global city (Lehrer and Wieditz 2009, 145-146). Instead of poverty deconcentration, its goals are to carry out an economic internationalization strategy (ibid., 147) that identifies revitalization as a strategic means to create a space that attracts businesses and by extension, wealth. Similarly, Toronto’s Culture Plan for the Creative City (City of Toronto 2003) also advocates for the commodification of cultural capital for use as a marketing strategy to further private economic interests (Lehrer and Wieditz 2009, 148). These projects are examples of how “cities are scrubbed and cleansed in preparation for capital... in real estate development” (Kelly 2013, 182)

The Creative Class is a very particular type of labour force with particular types of jobs and tastes. Neoliberal cities, via the Creative City ideal, try to cater to the Creative Class because of the consumption habits of its members and the economic value of their work. Those being displaced by the development of the Creative City are caught in the effects of its 'diversity without difference' paradigm...” (Levin and Solga 2009, 42) which “actively ignores the fact that ethnically, racially, and socially charged bodies can never “inhabit” public space [or any space, for that matter] in neutral ways...” (ibid.). This paradigm flattens “complex webs of ethnic, religious, racial, and economic difference [by] masquerading as a smiling multicultural mosaic” (Levin and Sola 2009, 38). These identities, now devalued, are given marginalized positions while other identities that are more 'normative' are put in a more privileged position (Kelly 2013, 190).

Toronto's Regent Park is an example of a Creative City development project. With regard to the Creative Class, while the previous design of Regent Park was based on perceptions of inherent issues with the area's poor, racialized, and immigrant inhabitants, the new development is centred around the Condo Owner persona (Kelly 2013, 174), with the difference being that the Condo Owner is placed in a 'normative' and privileged position (ibid., 190). The Condo Owner persona is a key role within the Creative Class that has been defined by city planners to aid in the development of the Creative City. This persona is "meant to embody the 'metropolitan mainstream'" (ibid., 175), and is tasked with "normalizing" the area (ibid., 174). It carries out its role by contrasting the previous Regent Park tenants by inviting potential buyers to "[buy] into the vision of a revitalized community" (ibid., 183).

Regent Park's problems stemmed from major design decisions in that its original design was influenced by an "environmentally determinist view that an ordered built environment could inspire 'proper' social behaviour" to counteract the "degeneracy and immorality" that was fostered by the slums that it replaced (Kelly 2013, 177-178). Unfortunately, it was designed as a self-contained neighbourhood, which left its tenants physically separated from the rest of the city. This exacerbated the issues within the community, and contributed to its stigmatization as a racialized space (ibid.). Despite an admission by former Toronto Mayor Sewell of the design's failure to bring about intended improvements (ibid., 175), the current revitalization of Regent Park once again looks to design, this time to undo the issues cause by the previous design. Doing so is holding on to the belief that a healthy socio-spatial environment, which usually develops organically overtime, can be planned and designed to take a more immediate effect (ibid., 188-

189). Across its various iterations, the design of Regent Park gives insight into the role of design in development and how it can be used to perpetuate displacement.

THE INTERSECTION OF DESIGN AND GENTRIFICATION

“The material forms of design,... are... means not ends; design is never complete for it never ceases to have consequences, large or small” (Kalantidou and Fry 2014, 1).

Toronto’s Regent Park and EGLINTONconnects are urban development plans that demonstrate design’s role in gentrification. Through design these spaces are objectified and codified aesthetically with values that are reflective of a particular class, status, or ideology. In the case of Regent Park, its’ previous design was based on the Garden City model (Kelly 2013, 177-178), a “self-contained neighborhood without through streets or sidewalks, but with ample green space”. It was built to “inspire proper social behaviour” in contrast to the “degeneracy and immorality” of the slums it replaced (ibid.). Regent Park’s most recent development aims to remedy the effects of the previous design by once again introducing elements that embody different values. These elements include open streets to foster pedestrian and vehicular traffic, the introduction of market-priced housing, and new community facilities like “an aquatic center, park, community center and arts and cultural center” and retail developments (ibid., 178-179). The EGLINTONconnects plan is similar in that it aims to use transportation to set the stage for long-term intensification of Eglinton Avenue. In these spaces values are encoded aesthetically in infrastructure created for pedestrians, vehicles, and public transportation; architecture, including housing and community facilities; green spaces, and retail.

Pierre Bourdieu refers to this process of encoding values aesthetically as 'taste' and distinguishes between the taste of “necessity” and of “luxury”. For him:

“Taste is the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs, of continuous distributions into discontinuous oppositions; it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions... Taste is thus the source of the system of distinctive features which cannot fail to be perceived as a systematic expression of a particular class of conditions of existence, i.e. as a distinctive life-style, by anyone who possesses practical knowledge of the relationships between distinctive signs and positions in the distributions—between the universe of objective properties, which is brought to light by scientific construction, and the no less objective universe of life-styles, which exists as such for and through ordinary experience” (Krase 2012, 189).

Krase goes on to state the significance of this in relation to class distinctions and place making:

“Taste... is a mechanism by which subtle distinctions between things have greater resonance in terms of class divisions. The middle class has a source power in its ability to define what is “good taste”. They thusly make their aesthetic distinctions into barriers between social divisions. We can think of gentrification, then, as a shift in the meanings of the changed spaces and places as opposed to merely the physical and social alterations of them” (ibid.).

In summary, design is used by various classes to communicate their preferred tastes. The preferred tastes of those with power underlie gentrification.

History and Definition of Design

The use of design to define and communicate the preferred tastes of those in power is based in the construction of design's history and its definition, both of which have been framed either with strict limitations or so ambiguously that they are easily aligned with the preferences of those with power.

Design historians have used their ideological preferences towards science and technology to codify a distinction between art and design in ways that are similar to the middle class use of aesthetic preferences to codify class distinctions. By anchoring the history of design in modernization and industrialization, they've delimited its definition to practices aimed for mass production, a distinction that has had both political and social effects. Politically, this definition includes a global hegemonic separation between places that have used mass production in their industrial economic systems from those who haven't (Margolin 2005, 237), i.e. the developed and developing nations. Socially, this definition includes a failure to consider intersecting social aspects like the role of race and gender in design particularly in relation to how design has been used to reinforce racism and social values, and with regard to designers as social actors (ibid., 240). An example of the social effects of this definition is the exclusion of the works of non-western, particularly African, cultures from design. This exclusion is the result of their work being labelled as "primitive, traditional, or exotic". Similarly, the exclusion of the contribution of [white] women to design is due to the elevation of mass produced goods over crafts (Buckley 1986). This

exclusion also extends to the fact that, for reasons not yet widely explored by design researchers, there have only been a “few designers of color in industrialized nations” and a lack of emphasis on their contributions to design (Margolin 2005, 240). Recent design histories have made a shift away from the Euro/Amero centred Modernist narrative that frames the history of design as male, Western, and centred around mass production, toward a more inclusive one (Adamson, Riello & Teasley 2011, 2). There is much work to be done to acknowledge the range of contributions of women and non-western designers.

The ambiguity of the definition of design is expressed by its practitioners. For Herbert Simon design is about “changing existing situations into preferred ones” (Margolin 1989, 16). For Moles, designers are creators of environments that allow humans to derive “the greatest possible satisfaction from their position in the world” (Margolin 1989, 15). Ralph and Wand (2009) distill design down to a technical process that requires an agent making a specific object that is based on the environment it will function in, goals, requirements, “component types”, and limitations for possible solutions (ibid., 125). Perhaps the most relevant definition to this study is that of Hobday, Boddington *et al.* (2011) and Yasemin Soylu (2015), who define design as the creation of an artefact for consumption or use with consideration given to its aesthetics, or the creation of a system. Other definitions are less tangible. Howard, Culley *et al.* (2008, 175) and Sunderland (2010, 18) describe design as a “link” between creativity and innovation. Richard Buchanan describes it as rhetorical “just as speech is...” (Margolin 1989, 23). For Robin Kinross it’s ideologically grounded (ibid., 21) and for Ellen Lupton, our perception of design is not as straight

forward as the modernist division “between perception and interpretation, between objectivity and subjectivity” (ibid.).

Perhaps the most revealing definition of design is one that is based in the etymology of the word. Flusser (1995) demonstrates that the word design is simultaneously related to earlier forms of the words machine, technique, and art; “one concept is unthinkable without the others” (51). In this sense, especially in a modern context where they are perceived as separate (ibid.), design bridges art and technique (i.e. technology). Additionally, all of these words also have latin or greek roots that mean 'manipulative', 'deceptive', and 'cunning', or at least take on those meanings contextually (ibid., 50-51). Design, then, for Flusser, is the process that “[manipulates laws of nature to free us from our natural condition]” (ibid., 51-52). For Flusser, design is essentially a deceptive technique used to present or create situations that are not as they are, but ideal.

Considering the results of the findings, if creating or presenting situations as ideal is a significant part of the design process, since the Caribbean community lacks the political and economic inclusion necessary to create this ideal for themselves, are the signage and advertisements created by the community functionally considered to be design? This question is less about dismissing the community created visuals and more about highlighting that the ideal mentioned is a hegemonic ideal and may not recognize the community’s visuals as legitimate.

These definitions also collectively demonstrate that design lacks a cohesive practitioner/ discipline-generated definition. The ambiguous “creative”, “rhetorical”, “deceptive”, “ideal-seeking” process they describe explains how easily design has been adapted to the needs of anyone who has the power to use it for their benefit.

Erasure by Design

The detached point of view of taste underlies the combination of modernist design and neoliberal ideals that results in a city narrative that excludes “marginal economies and their representations in the city’s physical form” (Burns 2000, 68). Designers, planners, architects, etc., look at spaces on large scales that often exclude specific experiences (ibid., 34), resulting in a difference between the “representation” of and the “reality” of the living experience (ibid., 32). Doreen Massey identifies the view of designers/planners etc. as a utopian view, a

“pure view within urban planning [that] assumes a viewpoint above the city,... a distant, detached view, ‘the position of omniscience and omnipotence’”.

“In the remoteness of the view, the exclusion of sounds, smells, and tactile qualities, is a distancing which allows a perception of unity; the same distancing, at a conceptual level, enables the suppression of individual experiences of dwelling and the recognition of their diversity as conditions of city development” (Miles 2001, 35).

This detached viewpoint is at the core of the “real power” used by urban planners/ designers etc.

“to conceptualize the city and implement their concept through civic institutions, a process in which the dominance of professionals over non-professional ‘users’ is affirmed through the opacity of the planning process”,

and includes the use of technical language and limited access to information which leads to the exclusion of those who might not agree (ibid.).

Miles (2001) provides examples of urban development projects where the detached viewpoint of the designer creates spaces that despite embodying idealized values were not successful. He subsequently makes suggestions of how to avoid the issues that a detached viewpoint creates. In England, he gives the examples of the town of Milton Keynes and the Thamesmead neighbourhood. Milton Keynes was designed with a preference for a car culture, and Thamesmead was essentially a social engineering project that placed residential, market, and work activities into separate areas leaving no room for any spontaneous social organization. Both projects resulted in the creation of dysfunctional spaces. In the United States, Miles gives the example of the grid system in Los Angeles that “emphasiz[ed] street frontages and intersections rather than social spaces within built areas...” (Miles 2001, 47). To address these issues, Miles suggests the role of planners and urban developers needs to be more about listening and suggesting incremental and adaptable ways to improve the city, rather than leading grand, disruptive developments (ibid., 48). He suggests that the expertise of the inhabitants needs to begin being valued as much as that of the designers and calls for policies that “grant real power” to inhabitants to affect change in the appearance of their communities (ibid., 52). Miles also calls for the framing of a space as not just physical, but also as a “social and psychological entity” and suggests that this can be achieved through “the adoption of personal narratives rather than technical specifications as the point of departure for development” (ibid.). Overall, he is suggesting that real systemic and ideological change is needed with regards to design and urban development. A step towards Miles’ suggestions is the adoption of reflexivity within design.

Almost 35 years ago Clive Dilnot stated that design as a practice and a discipline had not “pursued the historical, cultural, or philosophical-analytical study of itself” (Dilnot 1984, 5). The changes happening in Little Jamaica seem to indicate that very little has changed. In other words, design has not been reflexive in order to recognize that it is more than a purveyor of the tastes of those with power. It has failed to acknowledge its historically hegemonic role in economic and political development, its use in neoliberal development, or even to take a closer look into exactly how it functions. This lack of reflexivity enables design to foster the erasure and implicit biases that are ingrained in gentrification and that have serious implications for communities like Little Jamaica.

Reflexivity can help to “combat the modernist tendency to mythologize [design] theory into a metalanguage whose principles exist outside of historical determination” (Margolin 1989, 28). In this sense, reflexivity can prevent the objectification of marginalized communities that can result from design solutions that prioritize the application of ideal methodologies. This study aims to subjectify effected communities and to look critically at design’s role in gentrification from outside of the intents of its disciplinary practices by contextualizing its effects historically.

Designers and Reflexivity

Critiques of design often problematize the lack of reflexivity within the practice and by the practitioners of design (Dilnot 1984; Burns 2000; Hudson 2005; Degan, DeSilvey, and Rose 2007). Advocates for reflexivity argue that if design was as reflexive as other disciplines it would recognize that beyond persuasion and material consumption, it has ties to the social, economic, and political happenings of a society and that it is an integrated practice that frames life itself

(Margolin 1989; Miles 2001; van der Beek 2012). In relation to erasure through gentrification, reflexivity is important for understanding the impact of design on marginalized people (Margolin 2005). It is also important for designers/researchers to be more aware of how they filter the experiences of others through their own perceptions (Mehra 2001, 74).

One way that design effects marginalized people is through its use of methodologies that produce reductive representations (Miles 2001, 32, 39). Examples of this reduction range from line drawings of areas or buildings (i.e. sketches, plans, elevations, etc.), to case studies (i.e. the language used and the reduction of experiences to objects) (ibid., 36). Lefebvre describes these abstractions as violent and as objectifications that marginalizes users of spaces (ibid., 32-39), because they are “radically different from expressions of urban experience or the appropriation by dwellers of urban spaces” (ibid., 32). They operate from within “a single hegemonic conceptual framework” which, by its own nature and despite any well intentioned, self-directed imperatives to help (Heron 2007), “cannot account for and recognize all the diversity and conflicting notions of urban culture, its forms and social processes” (Burns 2000, 67). Reductions, like the simplification of Eglinton Ave. W to a business-lined corridor instead of as a central part of a series of communities, are key to the EGLINTONconnects plan and are shown as illustrations throughout the document. Being aware of and addressing the impact of reductive representations will also help to address the grand, disruptive developments that Miles speaks of above.

In contrast to the reductive and scientific/objective ideals of modernist design, which encourages the pursuit of or belief in the possibility of an unbiased designer, Ausra Burns (2000) believes in the “inclusion and discussion of unscientific relations between urban experiences and emotions”

to “develop design strategies that work in specific socio-physical conditions” (ibid., 68). For instance, the historical lack of diversity in design, particularly among its practitioners, perhaps provides a reason as to why nuances in perception and representations of experiences that can only be addressed in limited ways if not drawn from intuition are often missing, particularly concerning marginalized groups. This is not to say that only designers from specific groups can design for those specific groups, but rather that there needs to be more diversity in the groups represented in the design process so that more of those nuances can be incorporated. In situations like this, in the absence of diversity, reflexivity is important to understand “[w]ho makes these choices and why?”, and “What views of the world underlie them...[?]” (Margolin 1989, 28).

This inclusive approach also presents an opportunity to “critically analyze the standpoint of the researcher” [used interchangeably with 'designer'] “as a detached observer”, as the “researcher may become a more involved participant whose own stake in the issues at hand is raised and uncovered” (Burns 2000, 68). Burns continues on to explain the effects of this analysis:

“Inevitably, when designers become more involved in the issues that concern people affected by design changes, they open themselves up to professional scrutiny and the challenges of self-definition. In order to follow and refine such a direction in professional and intellectual practice, one must identify the ontological, epistemological, and methodological aspects embedded in one’s theoretical orientation” (ibid.).

If design reflects “arguments about how life ought to be lived” (Margolin 1989, 28), then whose arguments are being represented in any given project? (Burns 2000, 68) In urban development, it

can be argued that it is that of the designers, who although they believe they are working in the best interests of the client, have been shown to place their intuition and ‘professionalism’ over the lives and experiences of the users they are designing for (Miles 2001, 40). Even when surrounded by interdisciplinary teams, designers tend to reference research that “[affirms] the hegemony of professional knowledges and abstract representations” (ibid., 41). Considering that design is a “reflective conversation with the situation” (Bacic 2007), and primarily directed by the agency of the designer (ibid.), designers need to be much more aware that their worldviews and personal biases have a large effect on the outcome of their projects and they need to question the ways that their worldviews manifest in their work (Margolin 1989, 28).

SUMMARY

The literature review explores how design is used in neoliberal urban development to communicate the preferred tastes of people in positions of power. It explores how the communication of these tastes perpetuate gentrification and the erasure of marginalized communities from urban spaces. It explains that this erasure occurs from class-based power differences and from the use of reductive practices that objectify and abstract complex relationships to spaces. Referencing the historical context and findings chapters, the literature review also highlights parallels between the wider discourse of the role of design in gentrification to the erasure of Little Jamaica. Finally, the literature review suggests that one way to begin to address these issues is through the use of reflexivity in design practices.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The literature review highlights the use of design to give form to the ideologies and preferences of people in positions of power in neoliberal urban development projects. It addresses how these ideologies, interests, and preferences, i.e. tastes, are used to displace marginalized people. It explains that gentrification results from the commodification of properties such that whole neighbourhoods may be seen primarily as real estate investments rather than social spaces and that design is used to give shape to ideal forms that bolster investment interests. There are also issues with how gentrification is currently studied, in that while marginalized people are discussed, the literature tends to overlook their complexity in terms of their political, social, and economic experiences and histories within the state; they are rarely participants in the actual discussions about decisions that affect them. To address these issues, a recurring suggestion is for researchers and designers to work reflexively in their practice in addition to using meaningful ways to be inclusive of the people they are studying, or in the case of design, who their designs affect.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Summary of Interviews

The interviewees responses reveal that they do not believe that there will be a place for the Caribbean community in Little Jamaica once the changes that are taking place are complete. These beliefs are based on the fact that the interviewees see changes in the study area that are

closing the businesses that Caribbean patrons frequent, that are altering the infrastructure of the area in ways that don't benefit them, and that barely acknowledge the Caribbean history in the area. When the interviewees compare themselves and the larger Caribbean community to other ethnic communities in Toronto, they blame themselves to some degree for lacking the solidarity that they see in other ethnic communities, especially in terms of being able to withstand the current changes. For the Caribbean community's role in these changes, the interviews highlight that apart from the more visible effects of the LRT construction, the class divide within the community may have contributed to priming the area for gentrification. For example, the movement of a significant number of community members out to the suburbs just after the amalgamation of the City of Toronto may have amplified the impact of the 2008 recession on the study area. There also seems to be conflicting opinions about the significance of Little Jamaica to the larger Caribbean community in Toronto. For some, Little Jamaica is important but not essential, especially with the increasing ability to find Caribbean products elsewhere in Toronto. But for others, its loss speaks to the larger issues of Black representation and Black spaces in Canada, considering that Little Jamaica has one of the highest, if not the highest, concentrations of Black businesses in the City of Toronto.

While the concerns of displacement seem to be correct²², the interviewees' self criticism does not. When the interviewees' observations are contextualized with details beyond their lens, the power dynamics in Little Jamaica are made more obvious. For example, the displacement of the

22. The perpetual displacement of similar communities in the United States by comparable methods is referred to as 'Serial Forced Displacement'. Its effects are described by Fullilove and Wallace (2010) and include fragmented families, the decline of social organization, and the emergence of violent behaviour (384). Fullilove, Mindy Thompson, and Rodrick Wallace. "Serial forced displacement in American cities, 1916-2010." *Journal of Urban health* 88, no. 3 (2011): 381-389.

community seems to have been inevitable once the City of Toronto amalgamated in 1998. Historically, areas annexed by Toronto have undergone increased urbanization and infrastructure development, particularly with transit. As well, the use of transit development to economically exploit poorer, and culturally diverse areas is also a common historical practice. Solidarity may be an issue within the Caribbean community, but there are factors beyond their control that makes the Caribbean market space susceptible to gentrification.

Summary of Photographs

Photographs of Little Jamaica show that the changes it is undergoing are underscored by power struggles that are evidenced by a range of artefacts including systems/urban design, communications, and infrastructure. The placement of services in the study area in relation to its surrounding neighbourhoods gives some insight into the racial stigmatization and economic marginalization of Little Jamaica. For example, the placement of the police station and the closest bank outside of the study area but near the border between Eglinton Avenue East and the less wealthy and ethnically diverse Eglinton Avenue West highlights this border as both an economic and racial border. Power struggles and marginalization are also evident in the visibility and impact of the communications by the Caribbean community and local businesses' which not only show a difference from that of large corporations, developers, and government entities, but also to fall into a hierarchy. The communications by developers, and government entities at the top of the hierarchy are representative of large projects in the study area, and also communicate to a large, general audience. The communications by large corporations are next in the hierarchy; they also communicate to a large, general audience. However, their message is not specific to the study

area. At the bottom of the hierarchy are the communications by the community and local businesses. Unlike the previous examples, they speak primarily to the local community or to ethnic/cultural communities that patronize the area; essentially these are groups that are susceptible to change rather than initiators of it. Aesthetically, the communications in the top two levels of the hierarchy are more representative of standard, trendy, or institutional principles of designs compared to that of lower ranks in the hierarchy. Finally, power struggles and marginalization are also evident in the infrastructure of the study area. The proximity of the terminus of the Allen Road expressway and the location of Eglinton West subway station to Little Jamaica has a significant impact even though they are outside of the neighbourhood. They tend to bring people through Little Jamaica instead of to it, which seems to be reflective of the discourse that has continued to define this area primarily as a throughway despite the development of a community/neighbourhood within it. The photos also contextualize the knowledge provided by the interviews of how the Caribbean community sees itself in the study area. The fact that this strip of Eglinton Avenue West is a border between neighbourhoods that divides wealth, culture, race and ethnicity, and infrastructure is reflective of the liminal ways that marginalized communities occupy it as a space. They are literally “in-between”.

As a Black Canadian-trained designer, I used my lens to guide my research, the analysis of my findings, and my critique of design. The strength of this biased approach is that it allows for an alternative view on the impact of design especially in relation to the social and political context my identity entails. My engagement with this work has helped me to better understand the underlying sources of the dissonance I felt between design and my cultural lens and the difficulty

of identifying and countering ingrained hegemonic ideologies particularly within my own understanding of design and its practice.

LIMITATIONS

The study's limitations concerning the interviews include the sample size of the interviewees, the phrasing of Question #8, and the familiarity of the interviewees with previous research in the study area. The sample size of the interviewees was very small at only 6 participants, with the majority of them being Black Caribbean men or business owners. The small number of interviewees was the result of scheduling conflicts and some potential interviewees making it clear that their main concern was to voice grievances about issues that were not related to the research topic. Another limitation resulted in the omission of Question #8 from the findings. A major factor in this question's failure was the way it was phrased. Each interviewee understood it differently resulting in the responses being too broad or over simplified in comparison to what the intent was in asking it. A third limitation was that the majority of the interviews were conducted with people who seemed to be aware of, had been approached by, or had participated in research by other researchers or reporters that had done work in the area before, potentially skewing their responses based on their previous experiences. For the photographs, the limitations concern the method of photography. The inconsistent framing of the photos made it more difficult to track changes in the area from one set of photos to another. Additionally, the large size of the study area meant that there were many artefacts to keep track of. While this broad sample provided more details for the study, the sample area could have been much smaller and still provided comparable information.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the results of the research, to address the limited size and variation of the interviewee pool, the use of different outreach methods would be helpful. Different interview methods like focus groups or an online survey might also be helpful in getting more variation in respondents, and may also help those who were intimidated by one-on-one interviews to be more inclined to participate. As well, a test run of the interview questions would be helpful to ensure that they are generally understood as the researcher intended. Follow-ups with the interviewees about their responses would also be helpful to confirm if the researchers interpretation accurately represents what they intended to share. Regarding the scope of the project, there could be a more targeted focus on specific visual artefacts or systems in the area to highlight more specifically the role and impact of design in gentrification. Similarly, the focus of the study could be solely on the changes in the central point of Little Jamaica at the Eglinton Avenue West and Oakwood Avenue intersection to better understand the impact of design specifically on Little Jamaica or the Jamaican community. With regard to reflexivity in design practices, although the nature of this project and the researcher's proximity to the subject matter made reflexivity unavoidable, considering that this may not always be the case, a study into practical ways to include reflexivity into the design process needs to be explored in more depth. Shawn Wilson's writings on reflective indigenous research methods (2008) were insightful in the early stages of this study and perhaps might be a good place to start. Other areas to explore, but that may be considered as tangential to the study, include researching how systemic changes in Toronto set the stage for activities that affect marginalized communities, i.e. the role of the amalgamation of Toronto in gentrification.

CONCLUSION

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that design's role in the erasure of Little Jamaica has been to cater to interests and tastes that align with a larger neoliberal plan for Toronto. This is seen through the fact that the erasure of Little Jamaica has not been a passive event but instead the culmination of a deliberate set of actions and inactions centred around an institutional use of design. For instance, the use of design to improve or maintain systemic and physical infrastructure elements that are crucial to a healthy community in the area is seriously lacking and has been for some time. In fact, presently the most impactful design in the area, from the LRT to communications in general, is backed by capital and interests outside of the community and is aimed primarily at audiences outside of the community. Additionally, the Caribbean community in Little Jamaica in particular has had limited access to design that benefits them regarding their representation and communication in terms of meaningful impact outside of the community. This exclusion has its roots in Canada's historic treatment of socially and economically marginalized people including the promotion of cultural assimilation and the preservation of the myth of a white Canada.

This finding brings attention to the need for efforts to be made for the meaningful inclusion of marginalized communities in development plans in Toronto beyond just token or arms length inclusion, as their exclusion has serious repercussions and contributes to the unstable environments that perpetuate their marginality. Efforts are also needed beyond practices and initiatives that leave significant decisions about communities to coalitions of designers and the developers and politicians that fund them. The absence of these efforts enables the development

of projects like EGLINTONconnects which use design to obfuscate the displacement of socially and economically marginalized communities in the name of improvement. This is not to say that these communities are helpless, but rather that they need to be respected, acknowledged, and included in matters that might significantly affect them.

The inclusion described above is dependent on design practitioners acknowledging that access to design services or to the tools that designers use does not in and of itself negate systemic oppression or its enculturated effects. This is particularly true when it comes to the influence and reach of design, aspects that are dictated by factors other than the design itself. Design practitioners also need to understand that when they fail to ask larger questions of context within their projects that they position themselves to unknowingly perpetuate systemic issues. As an illustration, design can be looked at not just as a set of tools for problem solving, but as a language. Like any other language, it reflects the culture that it developed in, for example, in phrases and cliché expressions. Unfortunately, often the offensive origin of certain expressions is not recognized because of familiarity. In relation to marginalized communities today, like Little Jamaica, the context of the development and framing of design as a discipline makes it necessary that its “grammar²³” be re-examined to challenge and re-phrase offensive terms.

The design field needs to recognize intersectionality not just for designing specific products or systems but in relation to questions concerning how intertwined the principles and practice of design are with unspoken or ingrained preferences and prejudices including in this case specifically, race and economic status. Additionally, design practitioners need to consider how the

23. An adaptation of academic Rinaldo Walcott’s “grammar of black” from his book. *Black Like Who?: Writing Black Canada*. Insomniac Press, 2003.

way design is carried out prevents communities like Little Jamaica from creating spaces that look like them or from maintaining neighborhoods that are affordable and that provide services, opportunities, and safety. Addressing questions like these and similar ones that question the tenets of design will strengthen the discipline, enabling it to incorporate a wider range of experiences, applications, and agents, and evolve it beyond a tool primarily for the wealthy and powerful, to the more egalitarian tool that it purports to be.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamson, Glenn, Giorgio Riello, and Sarah Teasley, eds. *Global Design History*. Routledge, 2011.
- Agar, Michael H. *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1996.
- Anthias, Floya. "Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World: Rethinking Translocations." In *The Situated Politics of Belonging*, edited by Yuval-Davis, Nira, Kalpana Kannabiran, and Ulrike Vieten, 17-31. Sage, 2006.
- Bacic, Monique. "From Chaos to Clarity: The Central Role of the Designer's Appreciative System in Socially Situated Design Activity." Diss. University of New South Wales, 2007.
- Boylan, John C. *York Township, an Historical Summary, 1850-1954*. Toronto, Municipal Corporation of the Township of York and the Board of Education of the Township of York, 1954.
- Brown, Ron. *Toronto's Lost Villages Toronto*. Polar Bear Press, 1997.
- Buckley, Cheryl. "Made in patriarchy: Toward a feminist analysis of women and design." In *Design Issues* (1986): 3-14.
- Burman, Jenny. "At the Scene of the Crossroads, 'Somewhere in this Silvered City:' Diasporic Public Spheres in Toronto." *Public 22-23 (2001):Cities/Scenes*. (2010):195-202.
- Burns, Aušra. "Emotion and Urban Experience: Implications for Design." *Design Issues* 16, no. 3 (2000): 67-79.
- Byers, Nancy, Barbara Myrvold, and Toronto Public Library. *St. Clair West in Pictures: A History of the Communities of Carlton, Davenport, Earls court and Oakwood*. Toronto Public Library, 1997.
- Chambers, Iain. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. Routledge, 2008.

- Charmaz, Kathy. "Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods." In *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Edited by NK Denzin and YS Lincoln, Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage. 2000:509-535.
- Compton, Wayde. "Hogan's Alley and Retro-speculative Verse." *West Coast Line* 39, no. 2 (2005): 109-115.
- Cresswell, Tim. *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction*. John Wiley and Sons, 2012.
- City of Toronto. *Culture Plan for the Creative City*. 2003. Accessed 20 March 2018.
<http://www.torontocreaticity.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/2003-Culture-Plan-for-the-Creative-City.pdf>.
- Degen, Monica, Caitlin DeSilvey, and Gillian Rose. "Experiencing Visualities in Designed Urban Environments: Learning from Milton Keynes." *Environment and Planning A* 40, no. 8 (2008): 1901-1920.
- Dilnot, Clive, "The State of Design History, Part I: Mapping the Field." *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*. Edited by Victor Margolin. University of Chicago Press, 1989: 213-232.
- Florida, Richard. *The New Urban Crisis: How our Cities are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class and What We Can Do About It*. Hachette UK, 2017.
- Flusser, Vilem. "On the Word Design: An Etymological Essay." Translated by John Cullars. *Design Issues* 11, no. 3 (1995): 50-53.
- Forty, Adrian. "Hygiene and Cleanliness." *Objects of Desire*. Cameron Books. 1986: 156-181.
- Freeman, Bill. *The New Urban Agenda: The Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area*. Dundurn, 2015.
- Gosine, Andil, and Cheryl Teelucksingh. *Environmental Justice and Racism in Canada: An Introduction*. Emond Montgomery Publications Limited, 2008.

- Grube-Cavers, Annelise, and Zachary Patterson. "Urban Rapid Rail Transit and Gentrification in Canadian Urban Centres: A Survival Analysis Approach." *Urban Studies* 52, no. 1 (2015): 178-194.
- Hackworth, Jason, and Josephine Rekers. "Ethnic Packaging and Gentrification: The Case of Four Neighborhoods in Toronto." *Urban Affairs Review* 41, no. 2 (2005): 211-236.
- Henry, Annette. "Looking Two Ways: Identity, Research, and Praxis in the Caribbean." *Multiple and Intersecting Identities in Qualitative Research*. Edited by Betty Merchant, and Arlette Ingram Willis, 61-68. Psychology Press, 2012.
- Henry, Frances. *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*. University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Heron, Barbara. *Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender, and the Helping Imperative*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.
- Hobday, Mike, Anne Boddington, and Andrew Grantham. "An Innovation Perspective on Design: Part 1." *Design Issues* 27, no. 4 (2011): 5-15.
- Holland, Jim, Katherine Steinhoff, and Geoff Bickerton. "The Banks Have Failed Us: Postal Banking to the Rescue." *22nd Rutgers University Conference on Postal and Delivery Economics*. Frascati, Italy, June 4 -7, 2014
- Howard, Thomas J., Stephen J. Culley, and Elies Dekoninck. "Describing the Creative Design Process by the Integration of Engineering Design and Cognitive Psychology Literature." *Design Studies* 29, no. 2 (2008): 160-180.
- Hudson, John R. *Appreciative Systems*. 1995. Accessed 20 March 2018.
https://johnrhudson.me.uk/systems/Appreciative_systems.pdf/
- Hudson, Peter James, and Aaron Kamugisha. "On Black Canadian Thought." *The CLR James Journal* 20, no. 1/2 (2014): 3-20.

- Hulchanski, John David. *The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto, 2010.
- Kalantidou, Eleni, and Tony Fry, eds. *Design in the Borderlands*. Routledge, 2014.
- Kelly, Sharon. "The New Normal: The Figure of the Condo Owner in Toronto's Regent Park." *City & Society* 25, no. 2 (2013): 173-194.
- Krase, Jerome. "Gentrification in Poland and Polonia". In *Seeing cities change: Local culture and class*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012
- Krase, Jerome. "Visualizing Ethnic Vernacular Landscapes." In *Race and Ethnicity in New York City*, 1-24. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2004.
- Kymlicka, Will. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism." *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era* (2013): 99-125.
- Lehrer, Ute, and Thorben Wieditz. "Condominium Development and Gentrification: The Relationship Between Policies, Building Activities and Socio-Economic Development in Toronto." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 18, no. 1 (2009): 140-161.
- Levin, Laura, and Kim Solga. "Building Utopia: Performance and the Fantasy of Urban Renewal in Contemporary Toronto." *The Drama Review* 53, no. 3 (2009): 37-53.
- Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Vol. 11. MIT Press, 1960.
- Margolin, Victor. "A World History of Design and the History of the World." *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 3 (2005): 235-243.
- Margolin, Victor. "Introduction." *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*. Edited by Victor Margolin. University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Markel, Howard, and Alexandra Minna Stern. "The Foreignness of Germs: The Persistent Association of Immigrants and Disease in American Society." *The Milbank Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2002): 757-788.

- Marshall, Sean. "The Expressways of Toronto (Built and Unbuilt)." *Transit Toronto*. Accessed 20 March 2018. <https://transit.toronto.on.ca/spare/0019.shtml>.
- Massey, Doreen B., and Pat M. Jess. *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with the Open University, 1995.
- McKittrick, Katherine. "Nothing's Shocking: Black Canada." *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, 91-119. University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
- McKittrick, Katherine. "Wait Canada Anticipate Black." *The CLR James Journal* 20, no. 1/2 (2014): 243-249.
- Mehra, Beloo. "Research or Personal Quest? Dilemmas in Studying My Own Kind." *Multiple and Intersecting Identities in Qualitative Research*. Edited by Betty Merchant, and Arlette Ingram Willis, 69-82. Psychology Press, 2012.
- Mensah, Joseph. *Black Canadians: History, Experiences, Social Conditions*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Pub., 2002.
- Miles, Malcolm. "Picking Up Stones: Design Research and Urban Settlement." *Design Issues* 17, no. 2 (2001): 32-52.
- Murdie, Robert, and Sutama Ghosh. "Does spatial concentration always mean a lack of integration? Exploring ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 2 (2010): 293-311.
- Osbaldeston, Mark. *Unbuilt Toronto: A History of the City that Might Have Been*. Vol. 1. Dundurn, 2008.
- Phillips, Martin. "The Production, Symbolization and Socialization of Gentrification: Impressions from Two Berkshire Villages." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, no. 3 (2002): 282-308.

- Ralph, Paul, and Yair Wand. "A Proposal for a Formal Definition of the Design Concept." *Design Requirements Engineering: A Ten-Year Perspective*, 103-136. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, 2009.
- Ritchie, Don. *North Toronto*. Boston Mills Press, 1992
- Schon, Donald, A. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. Vol. 5126. Basic Books, 1984.
- Shadd, Adrienne, Afua Cooper, and Karolyn Smardz Frost. *The Underground Railroad: Next Stop, Toronto!*, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2005.
- Slater, Tom. "A Literal Necessity to be Re-Placed': A Rejoinder to the Gentrification Debate." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (2008): 212-223.
- Soylu, Yasemin. "Design Awareness of Non-Designer Professionals." *Online Journal of Art and Design* 3, no. 1 (2015).
- Stabrowski, Filip. "New-Build Gentrification and the Everyday Displacement of Polish Immigrant Tenants in Greenpoint, Brooklyn." *Antipode* 46, no. 3 (2014): 794-815.
- Statistics Canada. 2017. *Toronto [Census metropolitan area], Ontario and Ontario [Province]* (table). *Census Profile*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. Accessed March 20, 2018.
<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CMACA&Code1=535&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Caledon%20East&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Visible%20minority&TABID=1>
- Sunderland, Nick. "Help! I'm Not Sure What Design Means." *Design Week*, 25, no. 35, (2010): 18.
- Todd, Graham. "Restructuring Toronto: Post-Fordism and Urban Development in a 'World Class' City." *Problématique* 3 (1995): 114-43.
- van der Beek, Sanne. "From Representation to Rhizome: Open Design from a Relational Perspective." *The Design Journal* 15, no. 4 (2012): 423-441.

Vernon, Karina. "Black Civility: Black Grammars of Protest on the Canadian Prairies 1905–1950."
The CLR James Journal (2014).

Walcott, Rinaldo. *Black Like Who?: Writing Black Canada*. Insomniac Press, 2003.

Wilson, Shawn. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Fernwood Publishing: Nova Scotia, 2008.

APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

STUDY NAME

The implicitness of design in the gentrification of the International Market Area

RESEARCHERS

Debbie Gordon, Angela Norwood, Glen Norcliffe, Andil Gosine

MASTER'S CANDIDATE

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

EMAIL ADDRESS:

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The purpose of the research is to explore the changes occurring in the International Market Area through a visual lens. The purpose of this interview is to identify visual points of interest in the International Market Area, and to get a more formal sense of the changes that are occurring. These points of interest will eventually be researched further to provide insight on the changes occurring in the International Market Area. As a person that works in the area, you will be asked to respond to five questions about your community. Your answers will be audio recorded and used to inform the researcher of potential subjects for a written thesis.

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO IN THE RESEARCH

You will be asked to answer the following questions:

1. On a scale of 1-5, 1 being very little and 5 being alot, how familiar are you with Eglinton Avenue West between Eglinton West Station and Dufferin St.?
2. What brought you to Eglinton Avenue West?
3. Along Eglinton West between Eglinton West station and Dufferin St., please identify any building, sign, structure, etc. that stands out to you for any reason. Please explain your choice.
4. Over the past 10 years, what are the changes that you've noticed in this area? What is the visual evidence, both obvious and not so obvious that you see in relation to these changes?
5. What are the changes that you predict will happen in this area? What visual evidence both obvious and not so obvious currently predict/foreshadow these changes?

6. What/who seems to be the cause of, or responsible for these changes?
7. How do these changes relate to or affect you?
8. Would you please draw a quick map of how you got to where we are now in relation to Eglinton Avenue West?

This interview should last between 15-20 minutes. You will also be asked to provide a signature indicating your consent. If you do not wish to provide a signature, you may also provide verbal consent.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no anticipated risks associated with your participation.

BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH AND BENEFITS TO YOU

The benefits of this research include the documentation of the significant changes of the International Market Area. For you, the participant, benefits include participating in this documentation as well as acquiring a different point of view of the changes occurring in the area.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. You can also skip questions that you do not want to answer. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE STUDY

You can withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. Your decision to stop participating will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Interviews will be audio recorded and associated with identifying information. The recordings will be encrypted and securely stored on a USB flash drive, only accessible by the researchers indicated above. The recordings and identifying information will be stored securely in a locked drawer at York University for two years after which any digital files with the identifying information will be deleted and any notes shredded.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH

If you have any questions about the research or your role in it, please contact:

Debbie Gordon (Principle Investigator) by email at ____ or
Andil Gosine (Research Supervisor) at (416) xxx xxxx ext. xx or by email at ____

If you wish, you may also contact the Interdisciplinary Studies graduate program office at
Phone: (416) xxx xxxx E-mail: ____

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University’s Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca

LEGAL RIGHTS AND SIGNATURES:

I _____, consent to participate in _____

conducted by Debbie Gordon. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Participant

Signature: _____ Date: _____
Principal Investigator

ADDITIONAL CONSENT

I consent to have my responses to questions related to the research outlined above to be audio recorded by Debbie Gordon (Principal Investigator).

NOTES

i. Oakwood Village is bounded by the Briar Hill-Belgravia neighborhood to the north, Caledonia-Fairbank to the northwest, Corso Italia-Davenport to the southwest, Wychwood to the south, and Humewood-Cedarvale to the east. Corso Italia-Davenport and Wychwood are both south of St Clair Avenue West, the southern border of Oakwood Village.

In the 2001 census, in Briar Hill-Belgravia Italians were the top reported ethnicity, the Portuguese were #3, Filipinos #4, and Jamaicans were 10th. Of visible minorities, Blacks were number one at 11%. In Caledonia-Fairbank, the Portuguese were the top reported ethnicity, Italians were second, Jamaicans were 5th, and Filipino 7th. Blacks were again the number one visible minority group at 10.5%.

In Corso Italia-Davenport, Italians made up most of the population followed by the Portuguese. Jamaicans were not reported in the top 10. Of the visible minorities, Blacks were 2nd to Latin Americans at 5.6% and 8%, respectively.

In Wychwood, English and Canadian were the top two ethnicities reported. Italians were the third most populous group, and Jamaicans were again not reported in the top 10. Blacks were the number one visible minority group at 8.5%, and the Chinese were second at 8%.

In Humewood-Cedarvale, the most populous group were the Jews, followed by Filipinos at the 4th most populous and Italians at the 7th most populous. Jamaicans were again not reported in the top 10. Filipinos were first at 11% of the visible minorities, and Blacks were 2nd at 6%.

In comparison, in Oakwood Village English and Canadian were the top two ethnicities reported followed by Jamaican at second, and Filipino in 5th place.

Of visible minorities in the entire area, Blacks are at 16%, with Filipinos in second at 7%. The English/ Canadian, Italian, Portuguese, and Jewish populations are still present in great numbers in these neighborhoods, but Blacks and Filipinos were next, particularly in terms of visibility, especially in Oakwood Village.