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Taking the Pulse:
Gauging Neighbourhood Change in Toronto's Downtown West End

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Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

The goal of *Taking the Pulse: Gauging Neighbourhood Change in Toronto's Downtown West End* was to construct, administer, and analyze a household survey that will provide St. Christopher House (SCH) with a better understanding of the issues facing the residents they serve. This research was designed to address three main questions:

- How do the residents perceive the changes occurring within the neighbourhood?
- How are these changes affecting their way of life in terms of housing, commercial activity, new residents, and safety?
- What can be done to respond to these perceived changes?

This research allowed residents to voice their concerns and views about neighbourhood changes. These concerns and views will be translated into policy and planning recommendations for the city, as well as for SCH, the main social service provider in Toronto's West End.

To inform this research, 108 surveys were completed in the South Parkdale, Little Portugal, and Niagara neighbourhoods. Sixty-two percent of those surveyed are homeowners, and 55% of respondents are between 35 and 65 years of age. Our sample presented a relatively high household income with 30% of the respondents earning above $80,000 a year.

Our findings are divided into themes that address housing market, commercial activity, perceptions about new residents in the neighborhoods, and safety. These themes were defined by reviewing current literature on gentrification, consulting with our client and advisors, and assessing community concerns and demands.

The changes occurring in the three neighbourhoods are indicators of gentrification. We believe that the three neighbourhoods are at different stages of gentrification. People are aware of the dynamics of the changes in housing and commercial activity and perceive that gentrification affects them both positively and negatively.

The Niagara neighbourhood, compared to Little Portugal and South Parkdale, has undergone the greatest change in terms of commercial activity and the influx of higher-income residents.

Low-income residents tend to be more vulnerable to changes in the housing market and commercial activities than more affluent residents.

We provide recommendations for SCH and the City of Toronto including suggestions for housing, local economic development, community-based activities, advocacy, and safety.

The findings of this report will provide the building blocks for a larger study on gentrification by the Centre for Urban and Community Studies and St. Christopher House and a bridge between the concerns of neighbourhood residents, SCH, and the municipal policy makers.

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1.   Introduction

"The character of the neighbourhood is changing; it is good for some, and bad for others…"
(Niagara Resident)

To address the needs of its community and reassess its role as the largest social service provider in the area, St. Christopher House (SCH) requires an understanding of the concerns of the people they serve and how gentrification is affecting them. To meet this goal, SCH asked the research team to carry out a study of residents' concerns.

Our research illustrates the changing demographics within the SCH neighbourhoods and builds on previous research by adding the voices of residents. These voices illustrate the extent to which the perceived changes are occurring within their neighbourhood with respect to the housing market, commercial activity, new residents, safety, and socio-economic profile, and how residents are affected by these changes.

Our literature review suggests a lack of research on the experiences of people living in gentrifying neighbourhoods, particularly those at risk of being displaced. Campbell-Mates et al. (2003), Community Sweeps conducted by SCH (described below), and the Community University Research Alliance (CURA) grant proposal (submitted by the Centre for Urban and Community Studies and SCH, 2004), all suggest that the catchment area is undergoing changes that correspond to indicators of gentrification, which include change in the housing market, socio-economic profile, household composition, and levels of racial diversity.

Through our survey, we have provided a venue for residents to voice their opinions about policy issues that directly affect them. This engagement, we believe, is an integral part of the planning process.

Objectives

The goal of this project was to construct, administer, and analyze a household survey to identify residents' perceptions of the changes that are affecting their neighbourhoods. In addition, this exploratory research will provide the basis for a larger study on gentrification in Toronto's Downtown West End by the Centre for Urban and Community Studies and SCH.

This research sought to address three main questions:

- How do the residents perceive the changes occurring within the neighbourhood?
- How are these changes affecting their way of life in terms of housing, commercial activity, new residents, and safety?
- What can be done to respond to these perceived changes?

St. Christopher House (SCH)

SCH is a neighbourhood organization in the downtown West End of Toronto, which offers a range of programs for socially and economically disadvantaged children, adults, and seniors. Since 1912, SCH has helped immigrant and refugee communities, the working poor, and un-employed and socially isolated groups and individuals. SCH seeks to provide opportunities and resources to enable individuals and groups to gain greater control over their lives.

Given the changing dynamics in the catchment area, SCH is reassessing its role as a social service provider. Some of its key questions are:

- Is the target population changing?
- If so, how relevant are SCH's services to the current demographic and socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood?
- How can SCH best serve the needs of the existing population, especially vulnerable populations?

Community Sweeps

As part of its annual activities, SCH conducts a Community Sweep during which multilingual teams of staff and volunteers knock on doors in the catchment area and speak to local residents. The purpose of the Community Sweep is to distribute information about SCH programs to raise the organization's profile and build relationships with residents. In addition, the Community Sweep seeks to identify unmet needs of local residents by gaining an understanding of residents' concerns.

The research team participated in the Community Sweep in 2004, which enabled us to identify a few key areas in which people perceived changes in the neighbourhoods in addition to themes identified in the literature. Even though rarely highlighted in the gentrification literature, safety was an issue that was repeatedly mentioned by residents as an area of concern. Hence, we devoted a section in our questionnaire to safety.

The Centre for Urban and Community Studies

The Centre for Urban and Community Studies (CUCS) at the University of Toronto promotes and distributes research and policy analysis on urban issues. In partnership with SCH, CUCS successfully applied to the Community-University Research Alliance Program (CURA) of the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada. The purpose of this research alliance is to explore the ways in which both global and local forces affect urban neighbourhoods, and develop models that promote community engagement and help low-income communities influence public policy.

2. Literature Review

The nature of recent development in some of Toronto's Downtown West End neighbourhoods (Campbell-Mates et al., 2003), constitutes a form of gentrification (CURA, 2004, Slater, 2003). The term "gentrification" was coined to describe the influx of "gentry," that is, a class higher than the existing class of residents, into urban areas (Glass, 1964). At first, the term was used to refer to changes produced through reinvestment in the residential housing market. Today, gentrification refers to processes that result from a series of complex changes at the neighbourhood level (Smith and Williams, 1986; Badcock, 1996; Rose, 1996; Smith and Keating, 1996; Ley, 2000; Hackworth, 2001; Slater, Curran, and Lees, 2004).

Gentrification can be defined as (1) reinvestment in and (2) the movement of higher-income populations to areas in which lower-income populations reside that result in socio-economic upgrading within these neighbourhoods. Consumption explanations of gentrification argue that demands of higher-income consumers are key to understanding gentrification, whereas supply-side explanations focus on the flow of capital into particular (poorer) urban areas for residential or commercial improvement.

However, the causes of gentrification are not simply reinvestment or the socio-economic status of incoming residents. Urban policy may intentionally or unintentionally drive gentrification through revitalization efforts as well as economic restructuring. Neighbourhood-level social, economic, demographic and cultural trends and dynamics may also produce gentrification (Harvey et al., 1999; CURA, 2004).

Although some may argue that gentrification benefits a neighbourhood, many researchers point to the negative impacts of gentrification, particularly among lower- or fixed-income residents in gentrifying communities. Atkinson's 2002 review of gentrification literature from 1964 to 2002 concluded that the costs of gentrification are more widespread than the benefits. Nevertheless, revitalization discourse often legitimizes gentrification and its effects.

Gentrification is often seen by policy-makers as a solution to the problems of poor neighbourhoods because of the increase in social mix, increase in property values, increase in city tax revenue, and improvements to local services and physical infrastructure (Atkinson, 2002). Housing renovations, condo developments, and the appearance of restaurants, galleries, hotels and entertainment services transform the appearance of the neighbourhood and attract higher

income residents. The physical transformations are encouraged by many policy makers as revitalization tools, despite the social pressures that result.

One of the negative impacts of gentrification often cited in the literature is displacement. Gentrification refers to a "process whereby households have their choices constrained by the actions of another social group" (Atkinson, 1998). Direct displacement is a result of low-income households being evicted from housing because of transportation or urban renewal projects. Secondary, or indirect, displacement results from more subtle changes in the neighbourhood. The gradual move of one social group into the neighbourhood leads to the development of shops and services that serve this group. Long-term residents find it increasingly difficult to obtain goods and services they used to be able to afford. Property values also increase due to market pressures, raising both property taxes and rents. As a result, existing lower-income residents may end up leaving the neighbourhood.

Two key challenges arise in our review of gentrification and displacement literature. First, there is no consensus on how to quantify displacement (Marcuse, 1986; Smith, 1996; Atkinson, 2002) and second, there is little research on the experiences of "displacees," the people being displaced or the residents in communities undergoing gentrification (Cybriwsky, 1978; Rogers, 1989; Freeman and Braconi, 2004).

Given the negative effects of gentrification, particularly on poorer residents, it is unfortunate that literature has generally neglected to explore their experiences (Van Weesep, 1994; Lees, 2000; Atkinson, 2002; Slater, Curran, and Lees, 2004). With a few exceptions (Rogers, 1989; Harvey et al., 1999; and Freeman, 2004), researchers rarely explore how residents feel, what they observe, and how they experience change. They tend to focus on census tract and housing data to trace demographic and physical changes (DeGiovanni, 1984; Henig, 1984; Marcuse, 1986). This study intends to fill this gap by exploring the perceptions of residents in gentrifying or gentrifiable neighbourhoods.

Research on the experiences of long-term residents highlights safety, housing, building conversion, reinvestment, displacement, and changes in ethnicity and socioeconomic profiles as key trends that affect or concern residents (Cybriwsky, 1978; DeGiovanni, 1984; Henig, 1984; Marcuse, 1986; Rogers, 1989; Slater, 2003). Although previous studies did not directly engage residents, the literature was useful in highlighting key trends and these trends affect residents.

3. Method

We used a stratified systematic random sampling approach. We selected three neighbourhoods from the area to focus the study. Within each of these neighbourhoods, we used a random selection process to determine the street segments to be visited; and within each street segment, we used a systematic random approach to select the houses to be surveyed. This approach ensured an adequate representation of residents within the SCH-selected neighbourhoods without biasing the sample.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire is a structured data collection tool that gathers systematic information from a sample population. Three main stages took place in the development of the questionnaire: the selection of the main themes, construction of actual questions, and evaluation and pre-testing of original questionnaire, followed by revisions.

Themes

The questionnaire was divided into five main sections: housing market, commercial activities, safety, new residents, and socio-economic trends. According to the literature review, these variables were found to be the most important in revealing the effects of gentrification.

Pre-testing

In order to pre-test our questionnaire, we administered a draft to eight people. The respondents who participated in the pre-test are all residents of the area and were approached at the SCH facilities at Dundas and Ossington. After the pre-test, we removed some questions and modified others to better capture people's perceptions and beliefs.

The final version of the questionnaire includes five sections and 33 questions. Completion time is approximately 15 minutes, including time to read and sign the consent form (see Appendix A).

St. Christopher House catchment area

The SCH catchment area covers more than 250 hectares with a total population of more than 107,000 in 2001. It comprises eight neighbourhoods: South Parkdale, Liberty Exhibition, Niagara, Trinity Bellwoods, Little Portugal, Roncesvalles, Dufferin Grove, and Palmerston/Little Italy; and is characterized by cultural, demographic, and income diversity (see Figure 1).

The catchment area has many of the attributes that make it vulnerable to gentrification. These attributes, highlighted by Ley (1986 and 1993) and Freeman (2004), include a good central location with easy access to arts, leisure, and the consumer service opportunities (Ley, 1993), proximity to downtown workplaces, proximity to other gentrified communities, a supply of cheap housing stock or devalued property (Hackworth and Rekers, 2005), and older properties with distinctive architectural signatures (Ley, 1993).

Figure 1: St. Christopher House catchment area
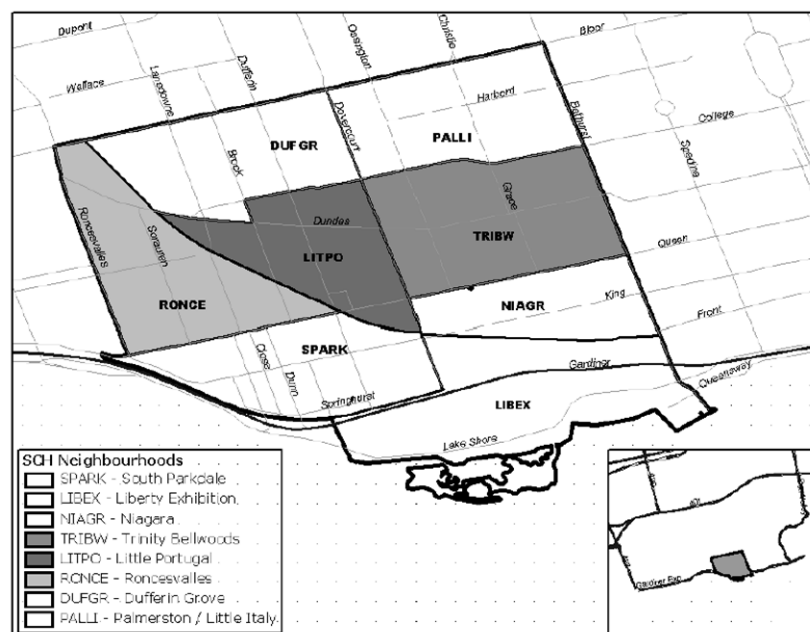
Source: Campbell-Mates (2003). Planning for the Future: Profiling the Community

Research study area

To inform our decision about which neighbourhoods should be the focus of our survey, we used the study *Planning for the Future: Profiling the Community* (Campbell-Mates et al., 2003), which highlights the demographic changes occurring in the catchment area. The research team, in consultation with SCH and advisor David Hulchanski, selected three neighbourhoods: Niagara, South Parkdale, and Little Portugal. These neighbourhoods show a variety of characteristics regarding residents' age, income, level of education, employment status, household composition,

and ethnicity.[1] The literature links these socio-demographic characteristics to gentrification (Ley, 1993).

In addition to the connection between the demographic changes perceived in the three neighbourhoods and gentrification processes, the objective of neighbourhood selection was to gather information from a mixture of owners and renters, old-time residents and newcomers, one-person households and six-person households, lower- and higher-income residents, seniors and young adults, single-parent families, and conventional nuclear families (see Figure 2).

Niagara

Niagara has many one-person households. Between 1996 and 2001, this area has seen the greatest increase in lone-parent families and the highest increase in university attainment (an increase of 216% in the number of residents with at least a bachelor's degree) and the greatest increase in average household income (an increase of 58%).

South Parkdale

This neighbourhood has the lowest number of one-person households and the greatest proportion of families that fall within the lower-income ranges.[2] South Parkdale's unemployment rate is three times higher than that of the City of Toronto. Over the past five years, this neighbourhood has received a large number of new immigrants.

Little Portugal

This neighbourhood has the largest proportion of households with six people or more and is one of the neighbourhoods with the highest concentration of seniors. Residents have the lowest level of formal education, and also lag behind the rest of the city with respect to household income.

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[1] Changes in education level, socio-economic status, household composition and race have been highlighted in the literature as indicators of gentrification. These changes accompany gentrification processes, which we have broadly defined as "a combination of socio-economic upgrading of an area with influx of a more affluent constituency." Given the complexity, however, of the way in which how gentrification manifests itself in different contexts, and the varying nature in the changes associated with gentrification today, it is hard to use specific demographic changes to define gentrification changes.

[2] Characteristics found in South Parkdale, such as a large number of low-income residents, represent an attribute of gentrifying neighbourhoods. According to Harvey et al. (2000), low-to-median income in a neighbourhood is related to low property and housing values, which leave a neighbourhood vulnerable to speculation and higher-income housing seekers, and hence to gentrification.

Figure 2: Selected neighbourhoods surveyed in the SCH catchment area
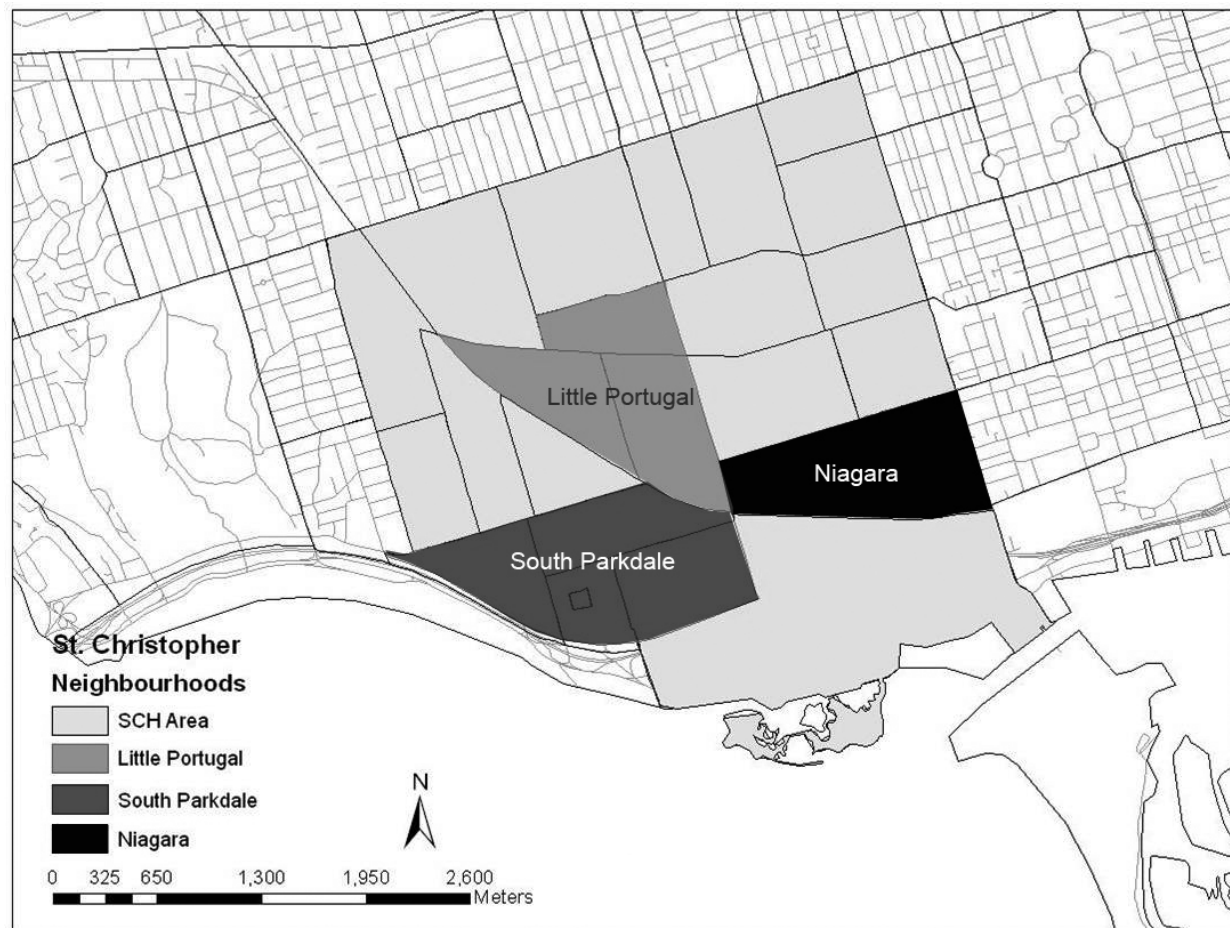
Survey

Selection of streets

Street segments were selected by a computer-generated random sequence. Using www.random.org, 20 random street segments were selected in each neighbourhood. Selected streets were organized numerically, which generated the order in which we would visit these streets. We visited the streets in their ascending order from 1 to 20 until we reached the number of households required within a neighbourhood. (For a map of the selected street segments in Niagara, South Parkdale and Little Portugal, see Appendix B).

Selection of houses

On each selected street segment, houses were chosen through a systematic random process. To guarantee a random start on each street, we drew a number to determine the first house to be selected for each street. From the first selected house, we then went to every other house on the street. If the person refused to participate, or was not at home, we went to the next

house. The same process was repeated on the other side of the street. Choosing every other house ensured a mix of household types.

Sample size

The study consisted of 108 interviews: 30 interviews were carried out in Niagara, 42 in South Parkdale, and 36 in Little Portugal.

We limited our survey to people over 18 years of age. Due to safety concerns and difficulties accessing apartment buildings, these units were excluded from our sample. This included rental apartment buildings, condominiums, and residences above commercial properties.

Recruitment method

Residents were recruited from homes across the three neighbourhoods. The survey was conducted over three weeks between mid-October and mid-November 2004. We carried out the surveys every Thursday between 5:00 p.m. and 7:30 p.m., and Saturdays from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. to ensure that household members who worked during the day were not excluded from the sample.

Surveys were carried out in two ways: in-person interviews with the participants, or by dropping off the questionnaire at a participant's house and picking it up at a later date.

Compensation

Each person who completed a survey was compensated $10 for his or her time. From our experiences in the field, this money provided an extra incentive for participation.[3]

Volunteers

With the help of SCH, we recruited volunteers who helped us conduct the surveys. The volunteers were extremely helpful in providing Portuguese language skills to interviewees in the Little Portugal neighbourhood.

We provided training to volunteers who assisted with interviews. The research team explained the objectives of the project, reviewed the content of the questionnaire, and explained the method.

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[3] Eighty-six out of 108 interviewees accepted the $10 honorarium

4. Main Findings

We divided our questionnaire into five major themes: housing market, commercial activity, new residents, safety, and socio-economics status. Questions were divided into "perceptions of changes" and "how residents are affected by those changes."

Overview

The research team interviewed 108 residents in South Parkdale, Little Portugal and Niagara with men and women equally distributed. Thirty-seven percent of our sample consists of adults between the ages of 25 and 34, and 55% between 35 and 64 years of age (see Appendix C, Figures 1 and 2).

Of the respondents, 30% earned more than $80,000 a year and 13.5% earn less than $20,000 a year. Further, over 60% of respondents in all neighbourhoods are employed full time (see Appendix C, Figure 3).

Respondents represented a diversity of ethno-cultural groups including Portuguese, British, Italian, Chinese, and Indian (see Appendix E, Figure 5a).

The level of education varies across the catchment area. Of those living in Parkdale and Niagara, 37% have at least a bachelor's degree compared to only 20% of those in Little Portugal. Little Portugal also has the highest percentage of respondents whose education level is high school or less.

Sixty-two percent of respondents are homeowners (see Appendix C, Figure 4). Respondents from Little Portugal had lived in their neighbourhood the longest, with an average tenure of 15.8 years. South Parkdale has the largest mean household size of 4.4, followed by Little Portugal and Niagara (see Appendix C, Figure 5).

Housing affordability was most often cited as a reason why people moved into the three neighbourhoods, followed by closeness to work, closeness to family members or friends, and available public services. However, many respondents chose "other," which suggests that our categories did not capture several important considerations. Among the "other" reasons cited,

"born in the neighbourhood or moved with parents and like the neighbourhood" were most fre-quently mentioned (see Appendix C, Tables 1 and 2).

Regardless of the changes occurring in all three neighbourhoods, 75% of respondents men-tioned that they enjoy living in the neighbourhood, and 24% enjoy living in the neighbourhood to some extent (see Appendix C, Figure 6).

Compared to the Census data, our sample was over-representative of adults, young adults, and those with higher levels of education, and under-representative of seniors and low-income households (see Appendix D).

Changes in the housing market

Changes perceived

Most respondents (83%) perceived changes in the housing market. Specifically, 73% were aware of housing renovations, while 64% perceived there was more buying and selling of homes within their neighbourhoods (see Figure 3). Problems of housing deterioration were cited most often in South Parkdale (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: Perceived changes in the housing market
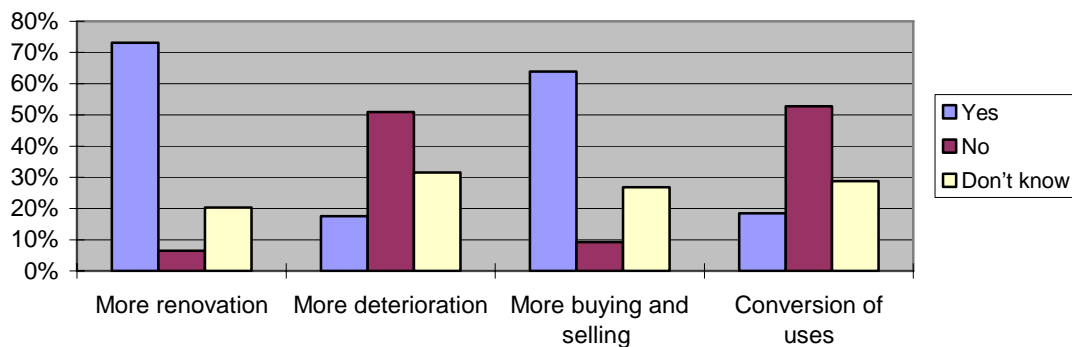
Figure 4: Perception of housing deterioration, by neighbourhood
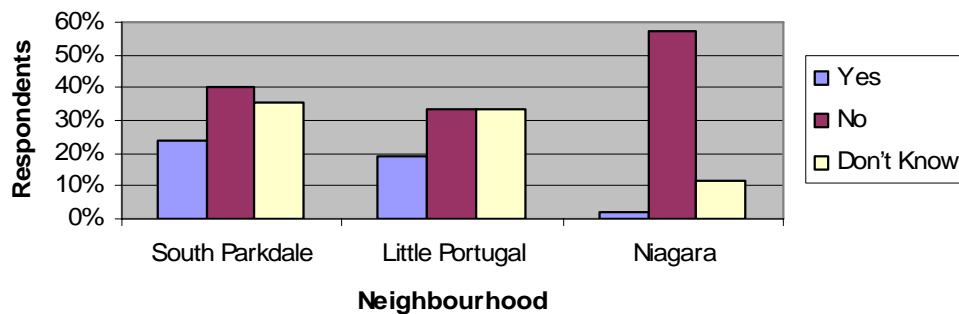
Effects of changes on residents

Thirty-seven percent of residents said they were affected by housing market changes and 49% said they were not affected. Among those affected, over 50% said they were positively affected, and 33% said they were both positively and negatively affected (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Perceived effects of neighbourhood change
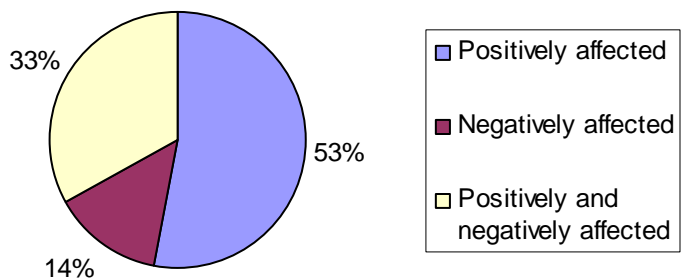
Among the positive effects, 59% of the respondents cited increases in property value as a positive impact of housing market changes occurring in the area. This was followed by renovations and property improvement, more amenities, a nicer environment, and less crime (see Figure 6). Among the negative effects, 44% cited an increase in housing prices. Other negative effects cited were displacement of residents and businesses, higher density, and a lack of parking[4] (see Figure 7).

Figure 6: Perceived positive effects from neighbourhood change

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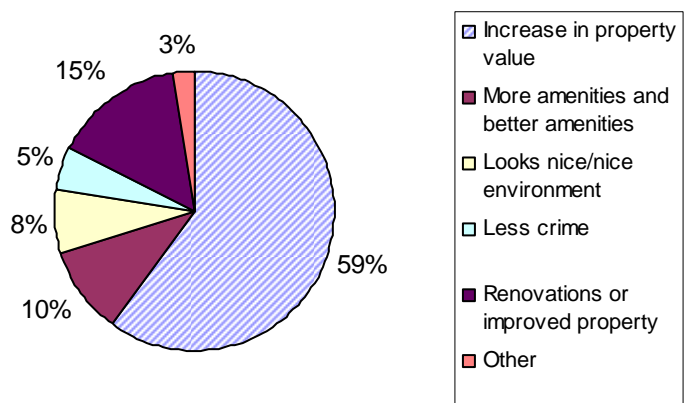
[4] Expressed concern about the lack of parking may be an effect of the larger scale changes such as housing market, and increased commercial activity occurring within the neighbourhood.

Figure 7: Perceived negative effects from neighbourhood change
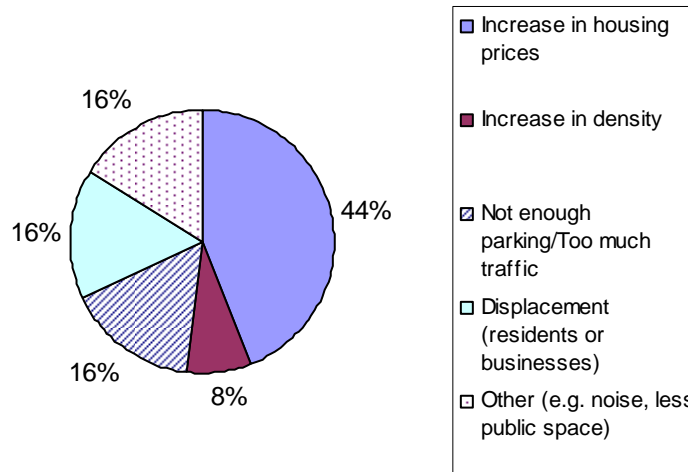
The effects of housing market changes do not seem to directly influence residents' decision to move or remain in their current residence. Generally, 41% of respondents said they planned to remain in their current address for the coming five years, and 13% said they planned to move within the same neighbourhood, while only 19% said they planned to move to a different neighbourhood[5] (see Appendix F, Figure 5).

We analyzed these decisions based on income and tenure, and found no significant association between household income and the decision to move or stay. The results based on tenure are described in a subsequent section.

Changes in commercial activity

Changes perceived

Commercial activities are increasing in all three neighbourhoods. When asked if they have no-ticed any changes in commercial activity, residents usually identified new stores, restaurants, entertainment establishments, and art galleries. Independent family stores were cited as being in decline.

Residents of the Niagara neighbourhood perceived more changes than the other neighbour-hoods, and Little Portugal residents observed the fewest. This finding corresponds to the neighbourhood study by Campbell-Mates et al. (2003) which states that compared to the SCH catchment area, "Niagara is the epicentre of growth, driven by young professionals choosing an urban lifestyle" (see Table1).

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5 More details describing the analysis of the responses by neighbourhood and the complexity involved in residents" choices are provided in Appendix F.

Table 1: Changes perceived, by neighbourhood

Changes perceived	South Parkdale	Little Portugal	Niagara
Change from commercial to residential	38%	33%	60%
Entertainment establishment	60%	53%	70%
Hotel construction and renovation	48%	33%	60%
New Stores	74%	69%	90%
Restaurants	64%	56%	87%
Art Galleries	67%	39%	73%
Independent family stores	26%	28%	37%
Major chain-retail establishments	40%	42%	67%
Services for higher-income tenants	50%	39%	70%

Effects of changes on residents

Contrary to our expectations, few residents were affected by changes in the commercial activities. Most said they can afford to shop at the new stores, they do feel welcome the new stores, and they like to shop at the new stores. Also, they do not find it more difficult to find the goods that they wanted (see Figure 8). These findings could be biased by the large number of high-income respondents in our sample. Therefore, we have analyzed this data based on income alone and on number of years living in the neighbourhood.

Figure 8: Effects of changes in commercial activity on residents
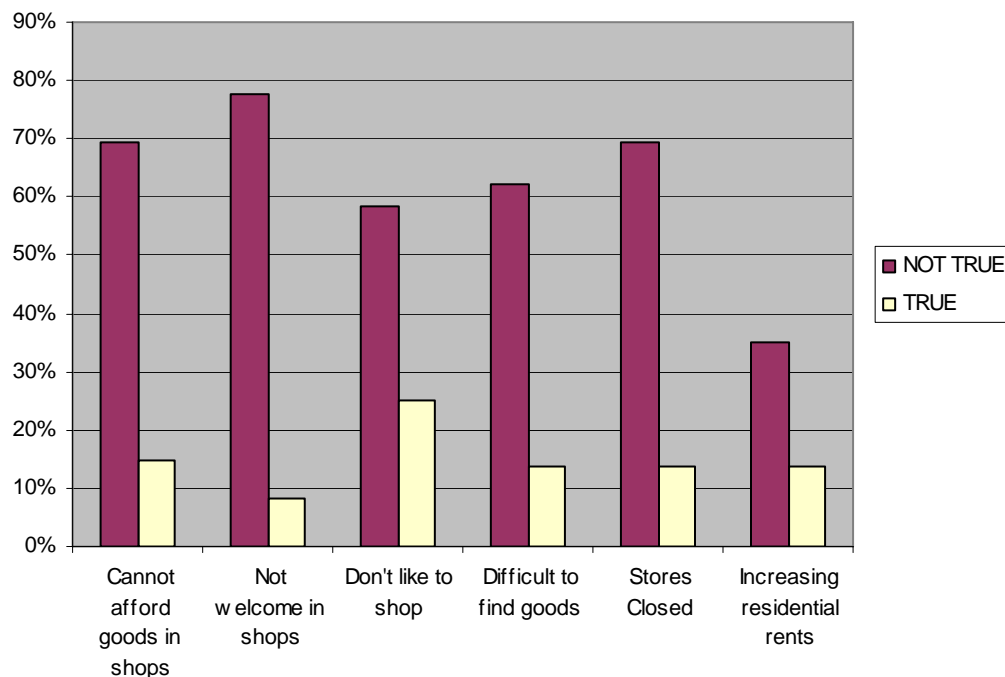
When broken down by neighbourhood, the only significant change in relation to duration in neighbourhood is in the response to the statement, "The stores I used have closed." More stores seem to have closed in Little Portugal and in South Parkdale than in Niagara (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Perception that stores have closed, by neighbourhood
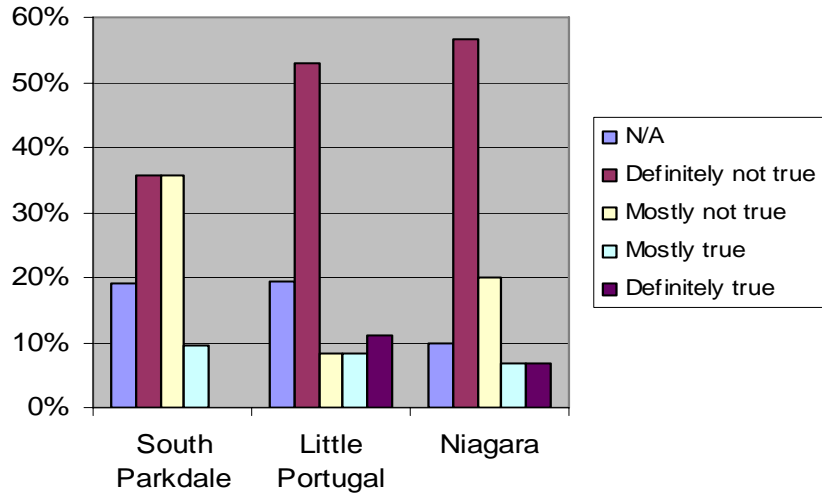
One resident commented, "*I like this neighbourhood because I am close to downtown without being right in it…There are lots of unique shops and restaurants. I'm really happy about the new Dominion.*"

Residential turnover

Respondents felt that there was turnover in all three neighbourhoods. Overall, 89% said that residents are moving in and out of the neighbourhoods. Of these residents, 53% feel that "some" are moving, and 40% feel "many" residents are moving in and out. It is interesting to note that in Niagara the degree of mobility seems to be the highest, whereas there seems to be less mobility in Little Portugal (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Perceptions of residential turnover, by neighbourhood
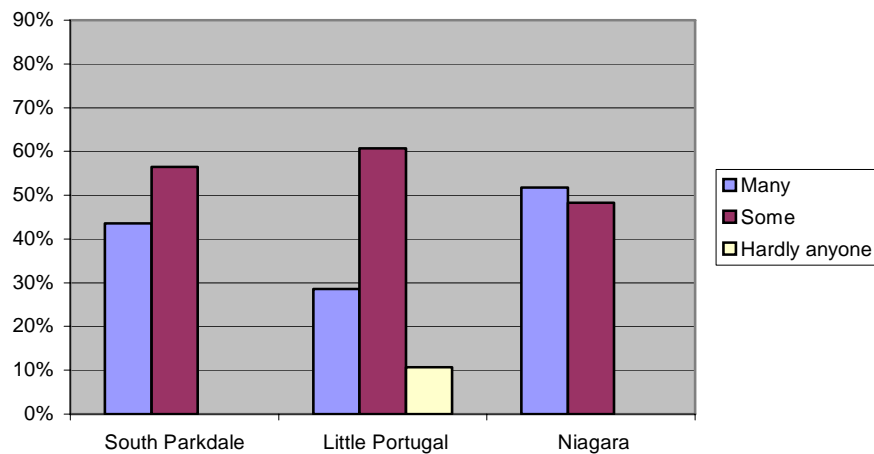
New residents

When asked about the age of new residents, 43% of respondents in all three neighbourhoods believe that the new residents are young adults between the ages of 25-35. If broken down by neighbourhood the relationship is not statistically significant, however, we found a higher percentage (60%) of respondents in Niagara perceived new residents to be young adults compared to the other neighbourhoods. In addition, 25% of respondents in Little Portugal perceived new residents to be adults between 35-55 (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Perceived age of new residents, by neighbourhood
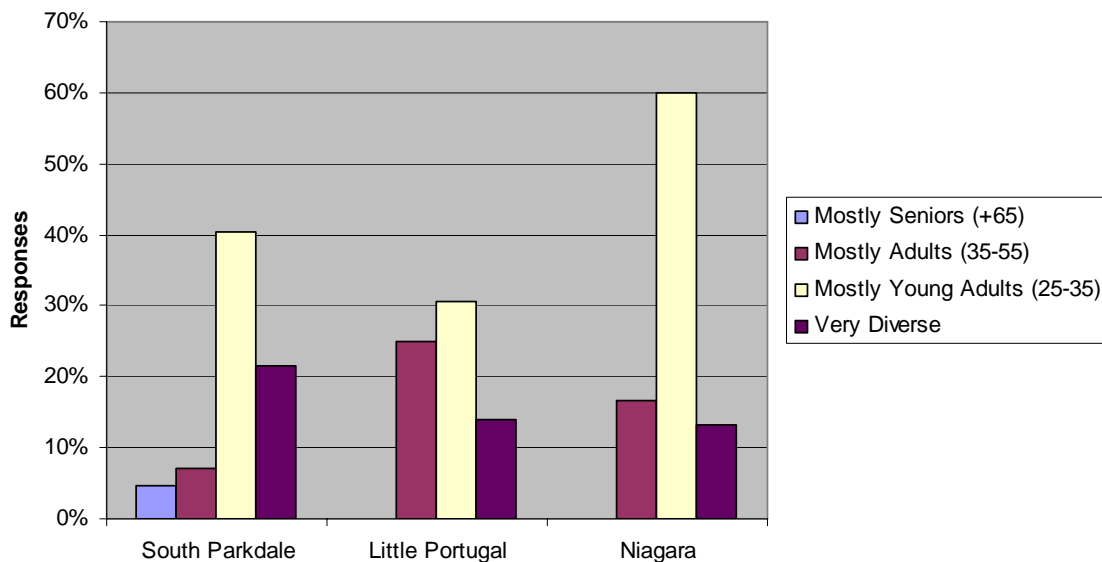
Household type

Overall, 29% of respondents believed that new residents coming into the neighbourhoods consisted of couples without children. However, an almost equal number of respondents (28%) said that incoming residents represent diverse household types. If we break these responses down by neighbourhood, the differences are significant. In Niagara, the highest percentage of respondents (53%) said that new residents are couples without children, compared to 22% in Little Portugal and 12% in South Parkdale. In Little Portugal, 31% of respondents said new residents are two-parent families with children, whereas in South Parkdale the 38% of respondents feel that new residents consist of diverse household types (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Perceived household type of new residents, by neighbourhood
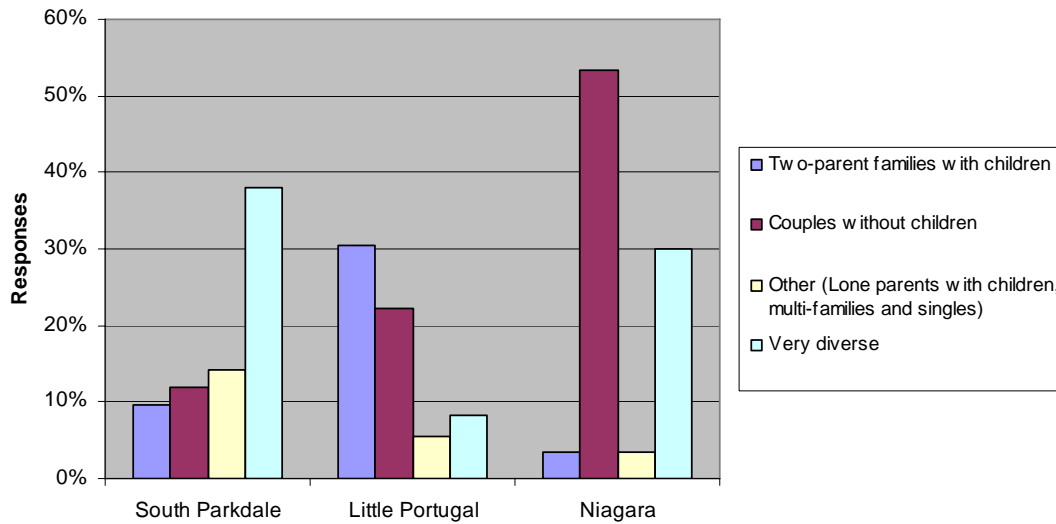
Tenure type

Most respondents (36%) said new residents coming into all three neighbourhoods are home-owners, whereas 14% said new residents are renters and 26% said they are diverse. Responses varied across the three neighbourhoods. While 67% of respondents in Niagara said newcomers are homeowners and 3% said they are renters, in South Parkdale only 12% said newcomers are homeowners and 24% said they are renters. A significant percentage (38%) in South Parkdale also believed that new residents are diverse in their type of tenure.

According to respondents in Little Portugal, there seems to be fewer new homeowners and more new renters than in Niagara (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Perceived tenure of new residents, by neighbourhood
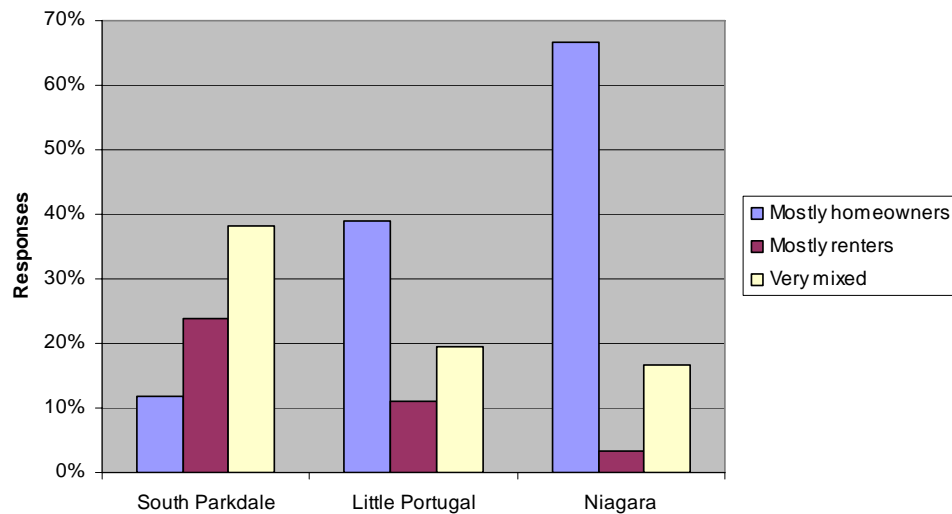
Income

In all three neighbourhoods, most respondents (40%) perceived new residents as middle-income, while only 7% said new residents are low-income. Only in South Parkdale did respondents mention that new residents were low-income. Niagara has the highest percentage of respondents (33%) who said that new residents are high-income (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Perceived income level of new residents, by neighbourhood
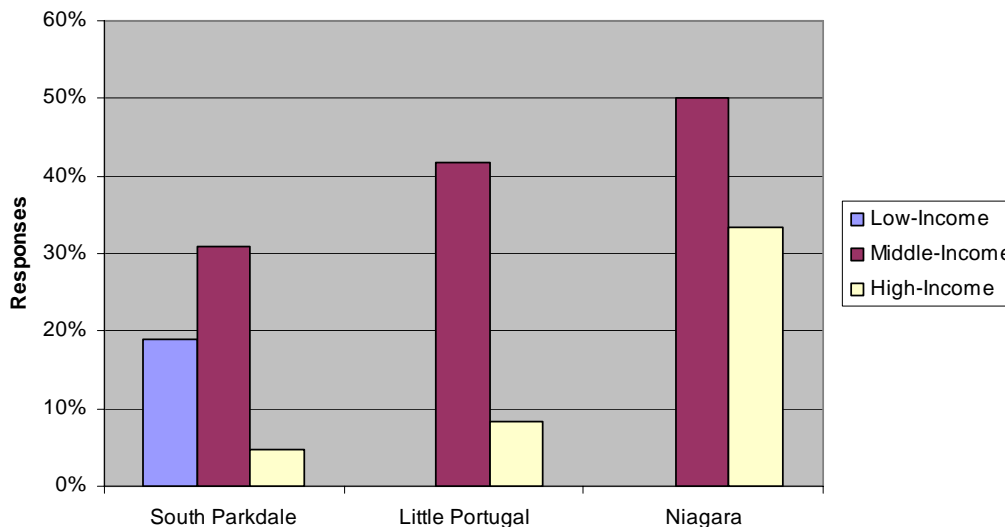
Ethnicity

In terms of ethnicities of new residents, overall most respondents (67%) felt that new residents are ethnically diverse. If the responses are broken down by neighbourhood, a larger percentage of Niagara's respondents (55%), relative to the other two neighbourhoods, thought that new residents are more homogeneous in their ethnic backgrounds. Most said that new residents tend to be white Canadians. Conversely, South Parkdale has a very high percentage (83%) of respondents who said that new residents represent diverse ethnicities (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Perceived ethnicity of new residents, by neighbourhood
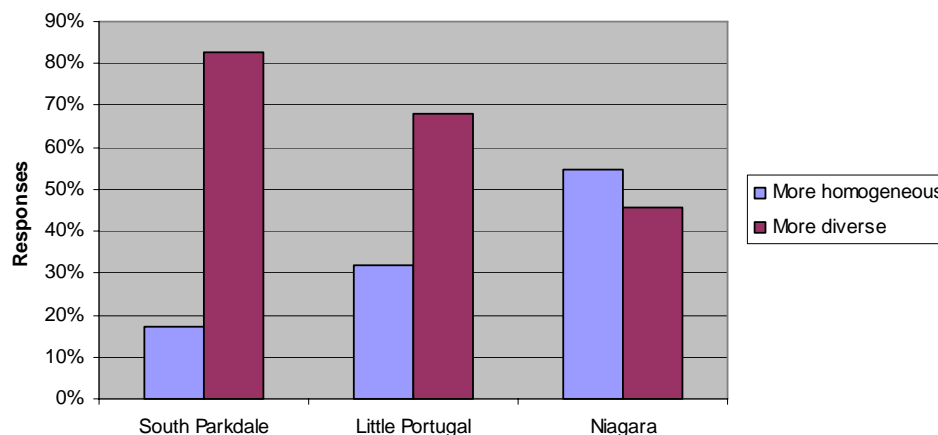
Newcomers in Niagara reflect a specific type of resident (white, Canadian, middle- to high-income, homeowner, young adult or couples without children). South Parkdale, on the other hand, seems to be receiving a variety of residents in terms of income, household type, tenure, and age. Finally, Little Portugal is still attracting a mixture of ethnic backgrounds, adult two-parent families with children, more renters, and fewer high-income people than Niagara.

Relation to neighbours and satisfaction with the neighbourhood

"*I like the neighbourhood, it's interesting and connected.*" (South Parkdale resident)

"*There is an eclectic group of people from artistic to the homeless; I like the diversity and friend-liness.*" (South Parkdale resident)

When asked about the characteristics of new residents and their relation to their neighbours, 63% of respondents said that the changes in the characteristics of residents are not affecting their relation to their neighbours. In fact, 52% like their neighbourhood more (see Figures 16 and 17). The perceived effects of new residents' characteristics on current residents, based on age and number of years living in neighbourhood, are discussed further below.

Figure 16: Effect of new residents on relationships with neighbours
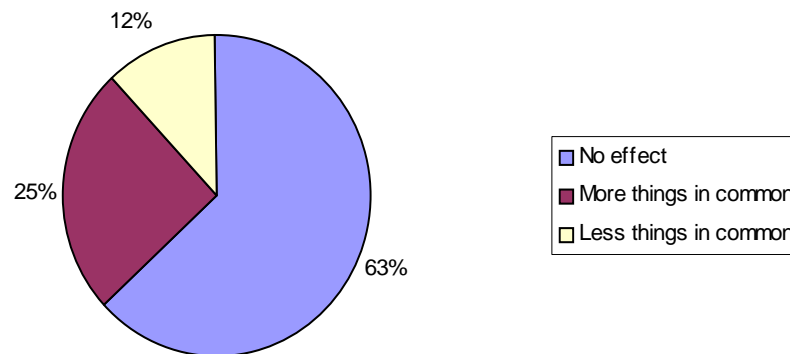
Figure 17: Effect of resident characteristics on satisfaction with the neighbourhood
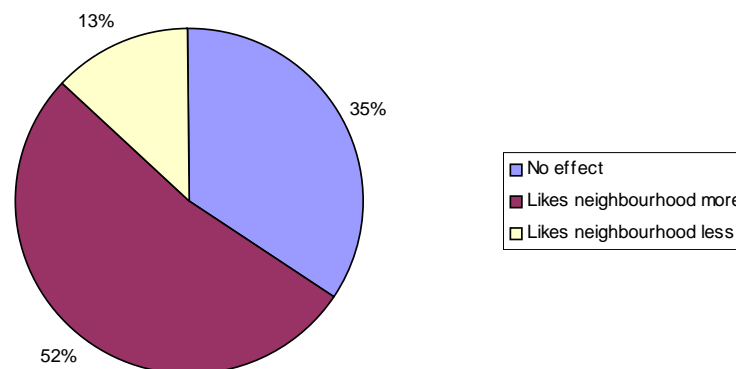
Feelings of safety

"It is a violent society. It is easier to be violent here. There is a polarization of income in this neighbourhood." (South Parkdale resident)

In general, most respondents (80%) feel safe walking alone after dark. Among these respondents, 39% said they feel very safe, and 41% said they feel fairly safe (see Figure 18). This is interesting, considering that almost 50% of respondents said they personally know someone who has been a victim of crime.

Figure 18: Feelings of safety in all three neighbourhoods
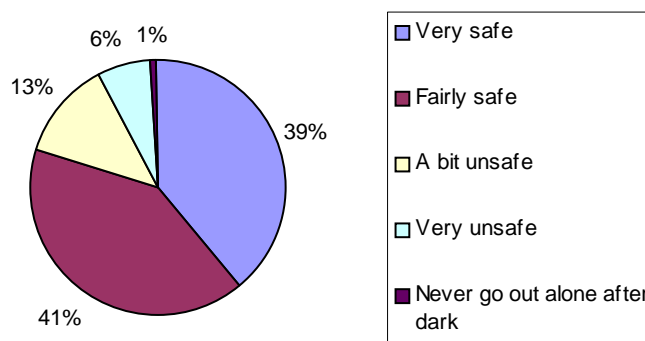
Perceptions of safety varied considerably by neighbourhood. Niagara residents seem to feel the safest; 57% of respondents said they feel "very safe" and 43% said they feel "fairly safe" and "a bit unsafe." South Parkdale residents, on the other hand, feel the least safe; 69% respondents felt "fairly safe" and "a bit unsafe" and 14% respondents said they feel "very unsafe and never go out after dark" (see Figure 19). Women tend to feel less safe than men.

Figure 19: Feelings of safety, by neighbourhood
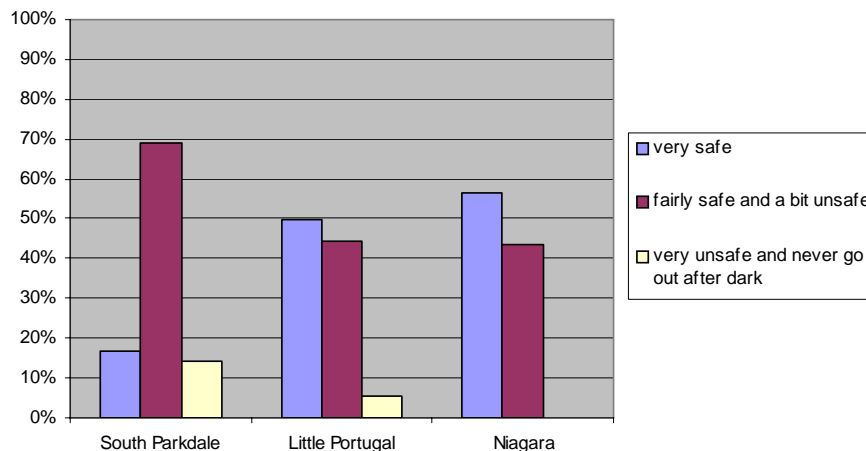
When asked whether residents personally know anyone who has been a victim of crime, we found that the answers varied according to neighbourhood. Surprisingly, in Niagara, the

neighbourhood that is perceived as the safest, half of the respondents said they personally knew someone who has been a victim of crime. In Little Portugal, which is perceived as being less safe, only 28% of residents said they personally knew someone who has been a victim of crime. In South Parkdale 69% of respondents said they personally knew someone who has been a victim of crime (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: Percentage of respondents who personally knew a victim of crime, by neighbourhood
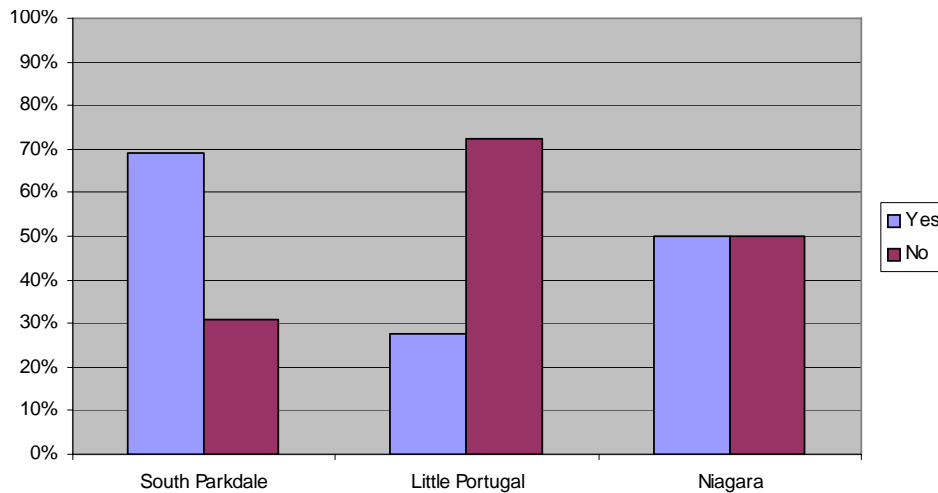
Perceived changes in safety

Since safety is a hard notion to capture, we asked residents about specific variables that might affect their perception of safety. These variables are: increase in police presence, increase in local prostitution, increase in local drug activity, and increase in local crimes.

In each neighbourhood, most respondents said there is no increase in all of the variables mentioned above. This finding is hard to interpret, since we cannot infer whether this means there is a decrease or simply no change in the amount of crime, prostitution, drug activity, or police presence. It is possible that the incidence of these activities was already high but had not increased. Hence, we will analyze only increases in these variables and not their actual incidence.

Residents' perceptions of changes in safety vary by neighbourhood. South Parkdale seems to be experiencing the highest increase in local crime (29%), local drug activity (36%), and local prostitution (29%). South Parkdale residents also perceived the highest increase in police presence (43%) and 29% of respondents believed there is an increase in safety. Niagara residents perceived the highest increase in safety (37%), and the lowest increases in local crime (10%), local drug activity (13%), and local prostitution (17%) (see Table 2).

Table 2: Percentage of respondents who perceived a change in safety, by neighbourhood

Perceived changes in safety	Percentage of respondents who perceived a change, by neighbourhood		
	South Parkdale	Little Portugal	Niagara
Increase in safety	29%	17%	37%
Increase in police's presence	43%	31%	13%
Increase in amount of local prostitution	29%	14%	17%
Increase in amount of local crimes	29%	19%	10%
Increase in local drug activity	36%	22%	13%

Among the three neighbourhoods, South Parkdale had the highest police presence. It is unclear whether an increase in police presence results in a greater feeling of safety among residents or whether it is a sign of an increase in local crime and drug activity. In Niagara, for example, there is a perception of a high increase in safety, but a low increase in police presence, whereas in South Parkdale, the increase in police presence has resulted in an increased perception of safety.

Effects of changes based on income[6]

Neighbourhood choice

In terms of why people moved into the neighbourhood, generally the reasons cited were not significantly associated with income. Only closeness to work was highly related to income. Higher-income respondents chose closeness to work as a main reason for moving into their neighbourhood. This is especially evident in Niagara. This finding supports gentrification literature that suggests that one attribute of gentrifying neighbourhoods is proximity to downtown workplaces.

On the other hand, contrary to what we expected, housing affordability was not related to respondents' income. We expected that lower-income residents would be more likely than higher-income residents to move into a neighbourhood because of its affordability. However, from the findings we infer that housing affordability is equally important for different income groups in the three neighbourhoods (see Appendix C, Figures 7 and 8).

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6   Income in our report refers to "household income." We were unable to set the household income against household size to get a sense of the income level of the household, due to the $80,000+ category, which is not specific enough. We have defined high-income as households earning over $65,000, and low-income as households earning under $35,000.

Changes in the housing market

Income level did not influence whether respondents were affected by housing market changes. However, the extent to which they are affected does vary in relation to income.

Respondents with incomes under $35,000 mainly noticed the negative impacts of housing changes (increases in rent and property taxes). Respondents with incomes between $35,000 and $65,000 perceived both negative and positive changes in the housing market. On one hand, they might benefit from housing renovations and increased property values, but they might also be harmed by higher property taxes.

Most respondents with incomes of more than $65,000 focused on the positive impacts of housing market changes. They are pleased about the increase in property values and very few complain about the increased property taxes. Higher-income residents were mostly concerned about the physical effects of new development: lack of parking space, higher densities, and more traffic (see Appendix F, Table 1).

Although lower-income respondents are generally more negatively affected by housing changes, lower-income respondents said they were aware of the positive impacts of the changes occurring, highlighting an improved environment and better retail services.

Changes in commercial activity

Changes in commercial activity affected respondents differently depending on their income. Most respondents with higher incomes said they can "definitely" afford to shop at the new stores. Middle-income residents generally said they can "mostly" afford to shop at the new stores. For the people with low incomes, the responses are polarized: 47% said they can definitely afford to shop at new stores while 29% said they definitely cannot afford to shop at new stores (see Figure 21).

Figure 21: Percentage of respondents who cannot afford to shop at new stores, by income level
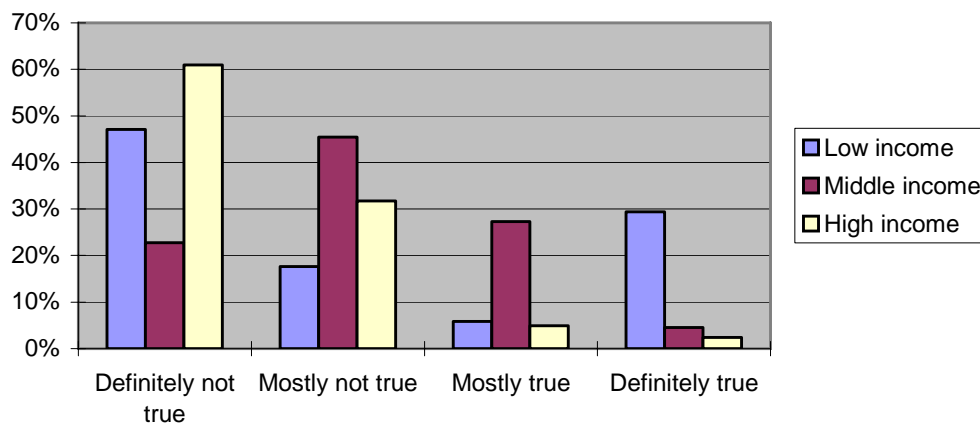
Effects of changes based on number of years in the neighbourhood

Neighbourhood choice

We analyzed the reasons for moving into the neighbourhood based on how long residents have lived in their neighbourhood. Our findings confirm that housing affordability and closeness to work are the most important factors attracting new residents to the neighbourhoods in recent years. By comparison, long-term residents said "They were born in the neighbourhood" or "They moved into the neighbourhood with their parents" as some of the reasons for having living in the neighbourhood (see Appendix C, Figures 9 and 10).

Changes in housing market

Residents who have lived in the three neighbourhoods for a longer time are more aware of housing changes than new residents. There was no significant association between the number of years they have been living in the neighbourhood and whether they intend to move or remain.

Changes in commercial activity

Compared to new residents, long-term residents noticed more shop closings, particularly the shops they patronized.

New residents' characteristics

Neither long- nor short-term residents seem to be affected by the changing characteristic of newcomers. Similarly, the newcomers affect old and new residents similarly with regard to their satisfaction with their neighbourhood.

Effects of changes based on tenure

Neighbourhood choice

We analyzed the reasons for moving into the neighbourhood based on tenure. Our findings show that closeness to work is more important for owners than renters. Closeness to family members or friends was cited more by renters as an important reason for choosing the neighbourhood. Housing affordability was one of the most important reasons why renters and owners moved into their neighbourhoods (see Appendix C, Figures 11 and 12).

Changes in housing market

When analyzing effects of housing changes, more owners than renters said they are affected (see Figure 22). How they are affected also differs according to tenure. Most owners (57%) believed the effects are positive only, because of increased property values. Only 12% of owners thought that all the effects of housing changes are negative.

Renters cited the negative impacts of housing changes more often than owners. They were particularly concerned about rising rents. Within the renters' group, we find low-income renters were more likely to give negative comments about the effects of change, while higher-income renters commented both positively and negatively. These findings suggest that renters with low incomes are more vulnerable to housing changes than others.

Figure 22: If changes have affected respondents' housing situation, by tenure type
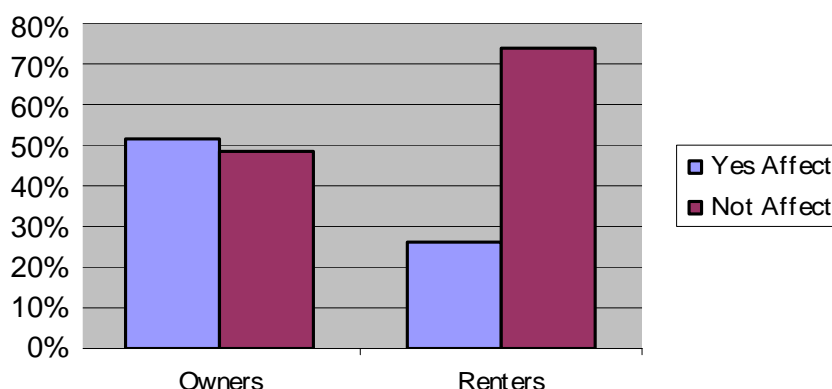
When we analyzed plans to stay or move out of the neighbourhood based on tenure, we found that most owners said they intend to remain while more renters said they want to move to a different neighbourhood or they didn't know (see Appendix F, Figure 6). This reflects the expected stability of owners, but it does not imply satisfaction with the neighbourhood, as owners may find it harder to sell even when they are unsatisfied with the neighbourhood. However, the reasons owners gave for wanting to remain were mainly because they liked the neighbourhood. Renters who want to move cited safety issues and plans for buying a house outside the city as the main reasons.

Effects of changes based on respondents' age

Our data show that there is no significant association between age of residents and how they are affected by changes in housing market and commercial activities. However, the characteristics of new comers are affecting old and young residents differently.

New residents' characteristics and relation to neighbours

Contrary to what we had assumed, our findings show that the effect of new residents' characteristics on their relation to their neighbours changes based on the age of respondents. Throughout our discussion with residents, some seniors said they felt they had fewer things in common with their neighbours since they were young couples with children. At the same time, some new residents did not feel welcome in their new community, especially in the case of Little Portugal, where some sustained that the existing community is very "tight knit."

Satisfaction with neighbourhood

When analyzing the satisfaction with neighbourhood (due to new residents' characteristics) based on age, we find that more younger respondents said they like their neighbourhoods than older respondents (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Satisfaction with neighbourhood, by age of respondent
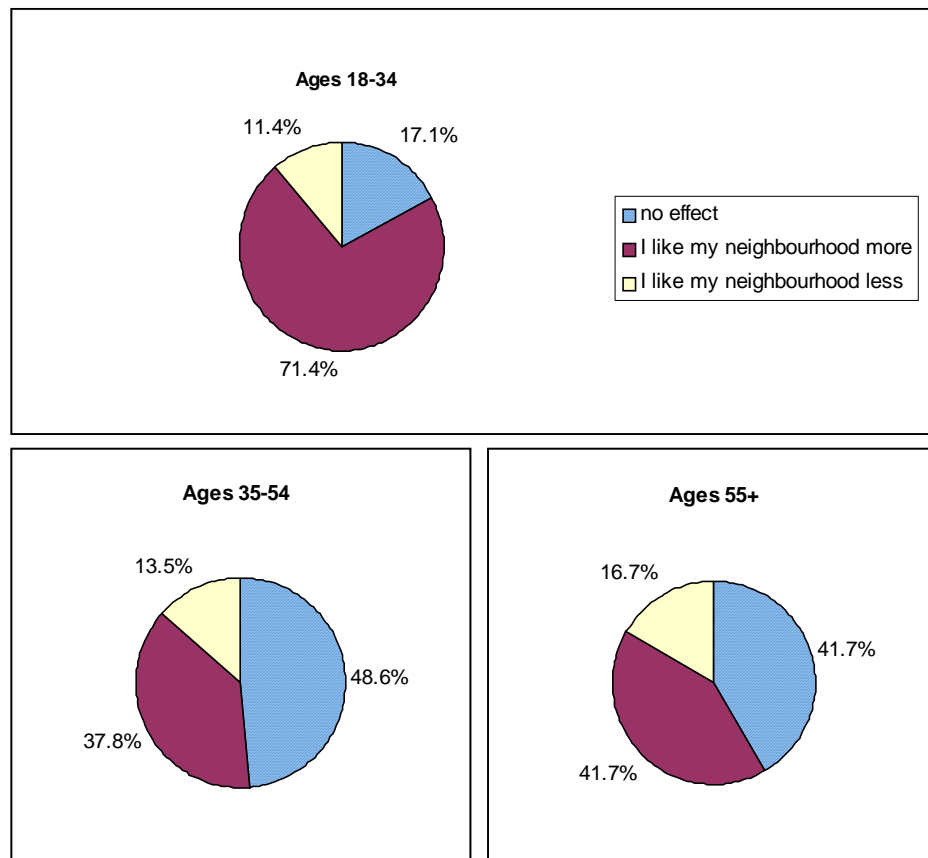
Conclusions

The following conclusions emerged from our findings:

- Generally, most people are aware of the changes in their neighbourhoods.

- Residents perceive gentrification impacts as both positive and negative. The positive impacts include an improved physical environment, more and better amenities, increased housing values, and less crime. Among the negative impacts are the increase in housing market prices, displacement of residents and businesses, higher density, reduced parking space, reduced public space, and more noise.

- Low-income respondents tend to be more vulnerable to changes in the housing market and commercial activities than more affluent residents.

- Changes in the three neighbourhoods are indicators of gentrification. Given our definition of gentrification: "reinvestment coupled with an influx of higher-income residents into

lower-income neighbourhoods leading to socio-economic upgrading," we believe that the three neighbourhoods are at different stages of gentrification.

• Niagara has been gentrified the most. Its residents are most homogeneous with regard to ethnicity, income, tenure, and household composition. South Parkdale, on the other hand, still has very diverse residents. Little Portugal is experiencing similar demographic patterns to Niagara, but has not reached the homogeneity of Niagara. It still consists of diverse residents, but to a lesser degree than South Parkdale.

• In Niagara, most people are aware of new developments and their induced impacts (such as lack of parking space). In South Parkdale, residents perceive more housing deterioration, and are most concerned about safety due to an increase in crimes, drug activity and prostitution. In Little Portugal, residents perceive both housing deterioration and new retail developments along with their induced impacts (like a shortage of parking). They also have concerns for safety issues.

• "*It is a violent society. It is easier to be violent here. There is a polarization of income in this neighbourhood*" (South Parkdale resident). As we infer from this quote, according to some residents, South Parkdale has become stigmatized as a low-income neighbourhood and hence is receiving minimal attention from the City with regard to maintenance.

• The three neighbourhoods are experiencing different changes, therefore they should be treated differently. In Niagara, efforts should be made to accommodate the needs of the new young professional residents, while supporting the remaining medium and low-income residents. Efforts in Little Portugal should be concentrated on supporting the large group of middle-income residents, since as market prices increase, they are more vulnerable to be displaced by these changes.

• Finally, the change in demographics is also affecting residents of different neighbourhoods differently. In Little Portugal, the change in ethnic composition is an important issue. As the neighbourhood changes, there is a high risk of social isolation between incoming white Canadians and the original Portuguese families. Efforts should be made to foster social cohesion between old and new residents. In South Parkdale, the change in income composition of residents is putting existing residents at a greater risk of displacement. Efforts in South Parkdale should be geared at creating social cohesion between high- and low-income residents.

5. Lessons learned and challenges

Method

We were successful in selecting neighbourhoods that effectively captured some of the changes that are occurring within the entire catchment area. The Geographic Information System tool we used to select streets with houses was generally effective. A drawback to this system was that it did not allow us to identify only streets with large numbers of houses. Sometimes the randomly selected streets were filled with commercial or apartment buildings. Not having an idea of the street composition before our visits resulted in some wasted time.

In cases where residents did not have time to complete the survey during our visit, we dropped off the survey and retrieved the completed form at a later date. While drop-offs could increase the number of respondents, the reliability of the responses was sometimes compromised.

For instance, in many cases, potential respondents did not fulfil their commitment to complete the survey and our second visit to the house was in vain. As this occurred frequently with the drop-offs, this method proved to be inefficient. However, in a few cases, respondents provided richer details and evidently spent more than 15 minutes completing the survey.

We were most successful in reaching people at home on Saturday mornings. The weather was a factor in how successful we were. For instance, on a bright Saturday afternoon, we found few people home, and on a rainy Saturday, we saw evidence of people being home, yet few answered the door.

Compensation proved to be a good incentive for participation in the survey. Eighty-six out of the 108 respondents accepted the $10 honorarium.

It was difficult to balance the type of details we sought to capture and the limited length of the questionnaire. Some questions, for example, could have been supplemented with follow-up questions to collect more accurate information. The questions asked were sometimes relevant to particular populations, and not relevant to others. In particular, the questions on affordability were difficult to ask in a way that captured the diversity of perspectives from different populations.

Research team

Our team was multilingual with a language base of Mandarin, Spanish, and Arabic. Our volunteers complemented the team with the addition of Portuguese and French. This was very important when visiting Little Portugal, where many of the residents speak Portuguese as their mother tongue.

Having a research team composed of young women likely had an effect on our ability to engage respondents. A more diverse team both in terms of age ranges and gender might have broadened the demographic representation of our sample.

Scope of study

Due to limited time and resources, it was not feasible to conduct surveys in the entire catchment area. Although our sample size of 108 limited our selection of variables, it did provide us with a variety of perspectives valuable to this research. A larger sample would be required to get a more representative sample of the population in all eight neighbourhoods. In addition, the scope of our study was bound by the fact that only residents of houses were included in this research.

We employed a stratified random sampling approach and selected neighbourhoods based on their demographic characteristics to capture perceptions of a wide range of residents. However, this approach may have led to the under-representation of some groups.

The length of time the residents were living in the neighbourhood affected the degree to which residents were able to answer questions regarding changes in the neighbourhood. Hence, such a study may need to include criteria that ensured respondents have some experience with the changes occurring in the neighbourhood. Limiting participation to those who have been living in the neighbourhood for at least one year could rectify this challenge.

Finally, because our survey explores the perceptions of individuals, which are fluid, we recognize and understand that there may be a gap between individual perceptions and reality. It is, however, useful to capture the divergence between policies and individual perceptions to inform policy-makers whether existing policies are actually relevant to people's lives. Our study indirectly allows individuals to better understand how policy affects them, while giving them an opportunity to engage in the policy-making process in a meaningful way.

6. Recommendations

Previous studies (Marcuse, 1986; Kennedy and Leonard, 2001; Seguin and Divay, 2002; Melles, 2003; Freeman, 2004) highlight specific actions that can be employed in the face of gentrification processes. Often these studies focus on the negative effects on long-term or lower-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods, which may threaten their ability to continue to live in these neighbourhoods. At the same time, gentrification does yield some positive results, even though the benefits are not distributed equally to residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods.

It is important to ensure that costs of gentrification are reduced, and the benefits more widely distributed. Based on our findings, we will make recommendations to SCH, policy makers and planners. We begin with some of the recommendations suggested by our respondents.

Residents' recommendations

We asked participants: "In your opinion, what is (are) the most important thing(s) that should be improved in your neighbourhood? What do you think should be done to improve them?" Their responses generated the suggestions below.

South Parkdale residents

"*Clean-up of crimes such as drugs, prostitutes, theft… With regard to housing, landlords should ensure safety of people in homes and maintenance of the buildings. City should be more effective such as building speed bumps, more lighting, garbage pick-up).*"

"*More community health centres, social services, recreational centres and parks. Provide more support for newcomers such as affordable housing.*"

"*Get rid of rooming housing and get the city to reinvest in the neighbourhood with schools, parks, programs, jobs, environment, clean up, police, by-law enforcement.*"

"*Better integration between owners and renters.*"

Little Portugal residents

"*Not a real sense of neighbourhood here. The Portuguese residents have a sense of them-selves, but this doesn't extend to other, newer residents in the neighbourhood.*"

"*Support more independent businesses… Make arts more apparent here.*"

"*McCormick Arena has less services and is more expensive. More safety and activities for chil-dren.*"

"*Shops on Queen are getting rundown… Maybe provide some type of financial assistance or in-formation programs about benefits of renovating.*"

"*Parking… Industrial land is being converted to condos. We need parking for everyone because new condo residents will be using street parking, and the old residents won't find places to park.*"

Niagara residents

"*More communication regarding changes within the community: loft conversions, CAMH (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health) redevelopments, etc.*"

"*More community events in which old and new residents could meet and interact.*"

"*The character of neighbourhood is changing; good for some, bad for others; SCH should help low-income residents find affordable housing and adjust to changes.*"

"*More grocery stores are needed close by.*"

"*This is a great neighbourhood. Parking an issue for residents due to increasing number of resi-dents – suggests city intervene for more efficient use of space. The congestion is due to new developments.*"

Recommendations for the City of Toronto

Housing Affordability

It is important to preserve affordable housing in all three neighbourhoods, as housing afforda-bility was highlighted as a key reason for both renters and owners to move into these areas. Further, our results suggest that both low- and middle-income residents may be at risk if prop-erty taxes and rents increase faster than household incomes.

We recommend the City of Toronto facilitate policy changes that help preserve and increase the supply of, access to, and quality of affordable rental housing. This may include the following:

•   providing adequate rent subsidies for low-income renter households;

•   educating senior homeowners about the City's tax deferral program;

•   extending subsidies to low-income homeowners;

- providing grants for asset-rich, cash-poor residents to repair housing;

- improving the stock of low-cost rental housing;

- providing incentives for landlords to renovate, repair, and improve housing.

In addition, we recommend preserving and acquiring properties that are at risk of demolition, as well as using acquired properties and existing landholdings to develop non-market housing and community spaces.

Finally, we recommend the City of Toronto adopt zoning bylaws to regulate development and limit the type, quantity and location of development through:

- inclusionary zoning, by requiring any new development or redevelopment to include an increased percentage of affordable units;

- demolition/conversion controls, by discouraging the demolition of buildings that house low-income households and the conversion of lower-priced housing to higher-priced housing;

- anti-displacement development zones, by requiring any (re)development to be tailored to meet specific requirements (this approach would be similar to density bonusing, in that (re)development would need to provide community benefits and meet specific zone requirements);

- rent control, by reinstating rent control and extending provisions to residential units that are rented or vacant.

Commercial Activity

We recommend the City of Toronto support collaborative activity among local businesses to improve commercial activity. This may include:

- encouraging businesses to apply for City funds through the Employment Revitalization Program to repair or improve the appearance their buildings and storefronts;

- supporting independent, specialized, and locally-owned businesses that have recently closed or are at risk of closing.

Recommendations for St. Christopher House

These recommendations fit with SCH's current mission to enable less-advantaged individuals, families, and groups in the community to gain greater control over their lives. Given the changing demographics in the area, recommendations also suggest how SCH might expand their services to meet the changing needs of the neighbourhoods.

Community-Based Programming

Creating community networks

- Support or establish neighbourhood-based programs that sustain existing relationships and encourage new networks among residents. Such networks will help control gentrifica-

tion and may include information-sharing among residents, local business owners, and investors inside and outside the community.

• Preserve the character of neighbourhoods by promoting activities that recognize the mixture of residents and businesses in the area such as community celebrations and gatherings. This will provide the opportunity for networking within these neighbourhoods.

• Apply for funds through the Employment Revitalization program to develop local festivals and special events in order to promote community identity.

Building the local economy

• Partner with the private sector to leverage benefits for community and provide incentives for social responsibility. Specifically, draw on existing networks with community members and local businesses that can act as a catalyst for locally based business initiatives.

• Support mentorship programs to build bridges between long-term residents and newcomers to the neighbourhood.

• Provide incentives for local businesses to participate in socially responsible investment. These incentives may include promotions and linking local businesses with City investment initiatives.

Promoting safety

Initiate a "safewalk" program throughout the neighbourhoods SCH serves to increase safety while building awareness of safety issues. The "safewalk" program would be volunteer-run, similar to those implemented on university campuses.

Maintaining property

• Launch a mentorship program between builders and apprentices in the area, to build upon local skills in the neighbourhood while improving the standard of living for seniors who cannot maintain their homes.

• Work with landlords to identify appropriate incentives to maintain property

Advocacy

Parking shortage

• Promote alternative modes of transportation, such as transit.

• Explore the option of car-free days, similar to Pedestrian Sundays in Kensington Market, for some SCH neighbourhoods.

Housing

• Solicit provincial and federal government funds to increase the supply of and access to affordable housing development.

• Advocate for structural changes in planning policies.

• Work closer with area planners to address local issues.

Future research

Sample size

To gather a wider spectrum of responses, future research should explore housing mobility of condo and apartments dwellers over a five-year period. Research could be extended to include marginalized populations such as social housing residents and homeless people, and those who have already been displaced through gentrification. This research could include methods such as focus groups or interviews that may be more effective in capturing the views of vulnerable populations.

Case studies

Research the experiences of cities with similar demographic trends and geographic qualities that are going through similar transitions in Canada and overseas. Learning from best practices can provide a vision of the challenges that Toronto may face in the future. The City and SCH can also learn from the tools other cities have used.

Development trends

Collect data on conversions and demolition in the area and conduct research that focuses on the displacement of residents. This data is available from the City of Toronto's Urban Development Services. It would be helpful in identifying the type and trends of development and how this may affect gentrification.

Business closures

Conduct interviews with business owners who have recently closed their businesses. This would provide insight into the factors that lead to this decision. These interviews could also be extended to the local community to better understand the effects of these closures on local residents.

Safety

Explore whether police presence is usually a reaction to existing crime or is proactive in preventing neighbourhood crime.

7. Conclusions

Based on our definition of gentrification – reinvestment coupled with an influx of higher-income residents into lower-income neighbourhoods leading to socio-economic upgrading – the three neighbourhoods studied are at different stages of gentrification. Gentrification is most advanced in Niagara.

Survey respondents are aware of the dynamics of the housing and commercial markets. They are also aware of increasing property values and increased density in the areas and of how these changes affect them positively as well as negatively.

Gentrification is affecting housing, recreational facilities, education, parking, public transportation, and social services. However, the three neighbourhoods are experiencing change differently, therefore they should be treated independently. For instance, in Niagara, efforts should be made to accommodate the needs of the new young professional residents, while supporting medium- and low-income residents. Efforts in Little Portugal should be concentrated on supporting the large group of middle-income residents, because as market prices increase, they are more vulnerable to be displaced by these changes.

In spite of the changes going on in the area, people are satisfied with where they live and want to stay in their neighborhoods. Seventy-five percent of residents in all three neighbourhoods indicate that they enjoy living in their neighbourhood.

This research has captured the voices and experiences of those living in gentrifying neighbourhoods. We hope that it will provide one of the building blocks for future research on gentrification while helping SCH meet the changing needs of the communities it serves.

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Appendix A: Survey Questions

Street: _____**House No._____ or Apt. No. _____**

Closest major intersection: _____

HOUSING MARKET

Background

1. How long have you been living at your current address?

2. How long have you been living in this neighbourhood?

3. Why did you move to this neighbourhood? (Check all that apply)

    ☐ Housing affordability

    ☐ Closeness to work

    ☐   Closeness to family members or friends

    ☐ Available public services (schools, hospital, clinics, shops)

    ☐ All the above

    ☐ Other (specify)

4. Would you say this is a neighbourhood you enjoy living in?

    ☐ Yes, definitely

    ☐ To some extent

    ☐ No

    ☐ Not at all

5. Why?

Changes in housing market conditions

6.   Have you noticed any changes in the housing market in your neighbourhood?

☐   Yes (Go to question #7)   ☐   No (Go to question #10)

7.   How would you describe the changes of housing in your neighbourhood since you have lived here?

Changes	Yes	No	Don't know/ Does not apply
There are <u>more</u> housing renovations happening			
There is <u>more</u> housing deterioration			
There are <u>more</u> people buying and selling their houses			
I have noticed change of housing to other uses (industrial, commercial)			
I had to move because I could no longer afford rent			
I had to move because my building was being renovated for another use			
Other(s)? (Please describe):			

8.   In your opinion, have these changes affected your housing situation?

☐   Yes (Go to question #9)   ☐   No (Go to question #10)

9.   If yes, how are you affected?

☐   Positively (please explain)

☐   Negatively (please explain)

10. In the next five years, do you plan to…

☐   Move to a different neighbourhood

☐   Move to another house in the same neighbourhood

☐   Remain at your current residence

☐   Don't know

Why?

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

Changes in commercial activity

11. Have you noticed any changes in the following, since you have been living here?

Changes	More	Less	No Change
Change in use of properties from commercial/industrial to residential			
Entertainment establishments			
Hotel construction and renovation			
New stores			
Restaurants			
Art Galleries			
Independent (family) stores			
Major chain-retail establishments			
Services for higher-income tenants			

12. Please describe how the following changes affect you.

Changes/ Ranking	Defi-nitely true	Mostly true	Mostly not true	Definitely not true	Not rele-vant/ n.a.
	5	4	3	2	1
I cannot afford to shop at the new stores/ busi-nesses					
I do not feel welcome at the new stores/businesses					
I like to shop at the new stores					
Now it is more difficult for me to find the specialized goods that I use					
The store(s) that I use(d) has/have closed					
I now pay higher rent for my home/business					

RESIDENTS

Residents' mobility

13. Are residents moving into and out of the neighbourhood?

☐ Yes (Go to question #14)   ☐ No (Go to question #15)

14. If yes, how many?

☐ Many people   ☐ Hardly anyone

☐ Some people   ☐ No one

Residents' changes

15. Do you think the characteristics (i.e. ethnic background, age, household composition, etc) of residents in the neighbourhood have changed?

    □   Yes (Go to question #16)   □   No (Go to question #19)

16. According to the following criteria, how would you describe your impressions of the new residents coming in to the neighbourhood compared to existing residents?

   Age of household of new residents

   □   Mostly seniors (+65)

   □   Mostly adults (35-55)

   □   Mostly young adults (25-35)

   □   Mostly youth (15-25)

   □   Very diverse

   Type of household of new residents

   □   Mostly two-parent families with children

   □   Mostly couples without children

   □   Mostly single/lone parents with children

   □   Mostly multi-families

   □   Mostly singles

   □   Very diverse

   Ethnicities of new residents

   □   More homogeneous (newcomers are mainly from the same ethnic background)

   Which one?

   □   More diverse (newcomers are from different ethnic backgrounds)

   Which ones? (list a few)

   Type of tenure of new residents

   □   Mostly homeowners

   □   Mostly renters

   □   Very mixed

Income level of new residents

- ☐ More low-income
- ☐ More middle-income
- ☐ More high-income
- ☐ Don't know

Effects of residents' changes on you

17. How are these changes affecting you with regards to….

Your relationship with your neighbours:

- ☐ The changes are not affecting my relationship with my neighbours
- ☐ I have more things in common with my neighbours
- ☐ I have fewer things in common with my neighbours

Your satisfaction with the neighbourhood:

- ☐ I like my neighbourhood more
- ☐ I like my neighbourhood less
- ☐ Changes haven't affected my satisfaction with the neighbourhood

SAFETY

Perception of Safety

18. How safe do you feel walking alone in this neighbourhood after dark?

- ☐ Very safe
- ☐ Fairly safe
- ☐ A bit unsafe
- ☐ Very unsafe
- ☐ I never go out alone after dark

19. Do you ever worry about the possibility that you or anyone else who lives with you might be the victim of crime (robbery, being attacked, mugged)?

- ☐ Yes, definitely   ☐ No
- ☐ To some extent   ☐ Not at all

20. Do you personally know anyone who has been a victim of crime in your neighbourhood?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

21. Due to the changes in your neighbourhood, have you noticed any of the following?

Changes	Yes	No	Don't know
I have noticed an increase in the safety of the neighbourhood			
I have noticed an increase in police presence			
I have noticed an increase in the amount of local prostitution			
I have noticed an increase in the amount of local crimes			
I have noticed an increase in local drug activity			

SOCIO-ECONOMICS

22. Gender

☐ Male

☐ Female

23. What language do you usually speak at home?

☐ English

☐ English and another language, specify which

☐ Other language(s), specify which

24. How do you identify your ethno-cultural background?

25. What is the last grade of education you completed? _____

Family/Household composition

26. How many people live in your household with you most of the time?

27. How many of these are members of your family?

28. How many people in your household fall into each of the following age categories?

Age groups	No. of people
13-18	
19-39	
40-65	
Over 65	

29. What best describes your current employment situation? (You may check more than one).

- ☐ Working full-time
- ☐ Working part-time
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Looking after family at home
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ Assisted income (OW, ODSP,CPP, OAS etc)
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Volunteer work
- ☐ Other (describe)_____

30. What is your age?

- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 45-54
- ☐ 55-64
- ☐ 65+

31. What is your average household income (before taxes)?

- ☐ Under $10,000
- ☐ $10,000 - $19,999
- ☐ $20,000 - $34,999
- ☐ $35,000 - $49,999
- ☐ $50,000 - $64,999
- ☐ $65,000 – $79,999
- ☐ $80,000 +

32. Is your residence…

- ☐ Social housing
- ☐ Cooperative housing
- ☐ University residence
- ☐ Owned
- ☐ Rented from a private owner
- ☐ Other (explain) _____

33. In your opinion what is (are) the most important thing(s) that should be improved in your neighbour-hood? What do you think should be done to improve them?

Appendix B: Street segments selected

Randomly selected street segments in Little Portugal

Little Portugal Streets Selection

Randomly selected street segments in Niagara
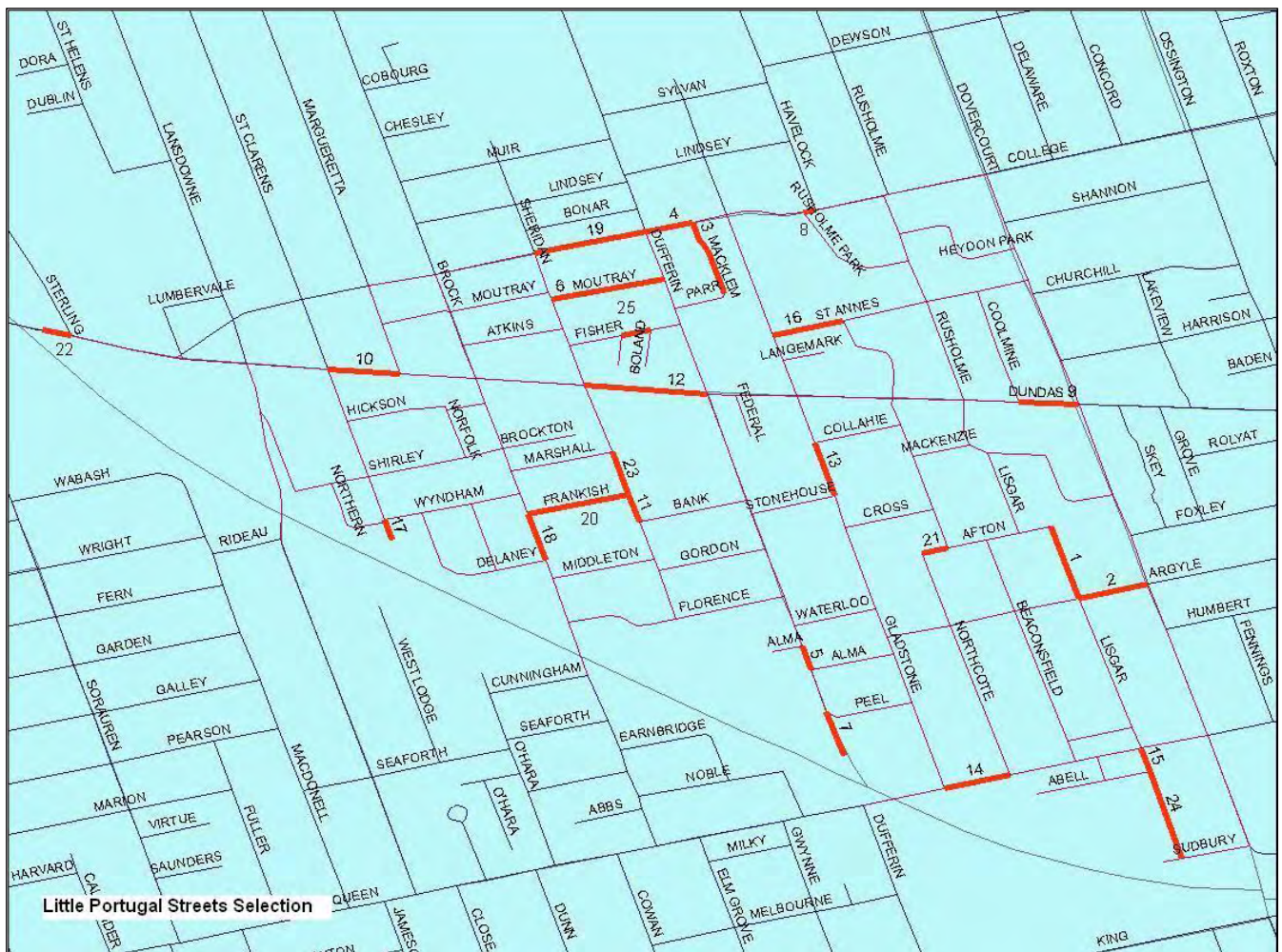
Niagara Streets Selection
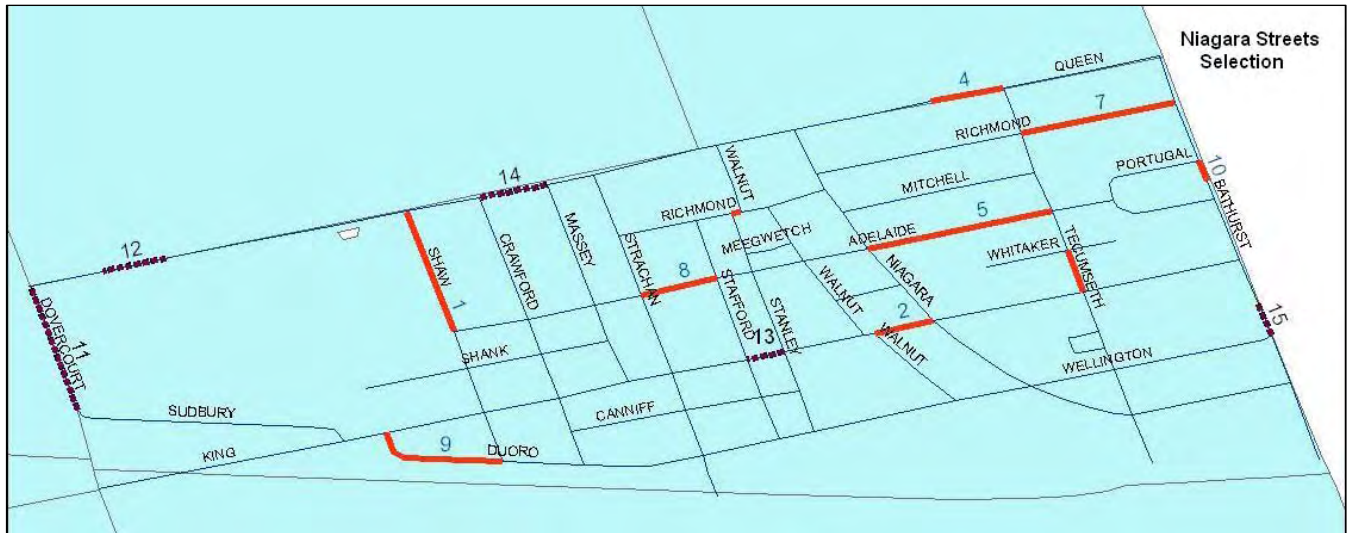
Randomly selected street segments in South Parkdale

South Parkdale Streets Selection

Appendix C: Sample Overview

Age Distribution

Figure 1

All Three Neighbourhoods: Age Distribution

Figure 2

Age Distribution: Neighbourhood Comparison

■ South Parkdale ■ Little Portugal □ Niagara
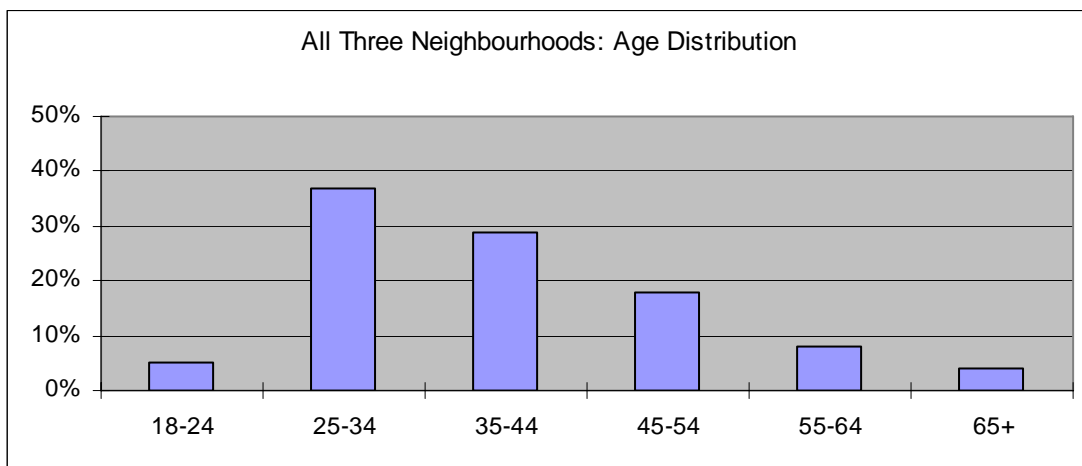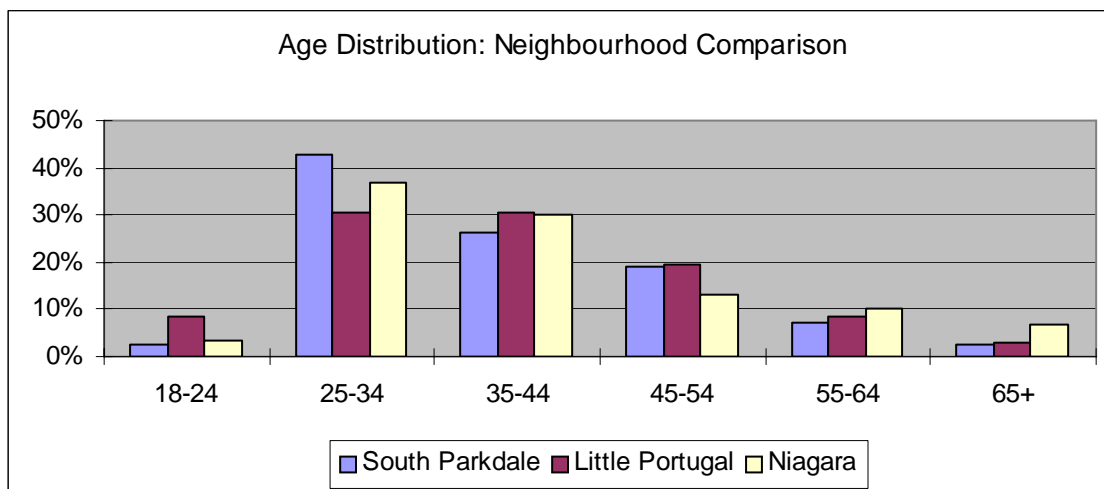
Employment Status

Figure 3

All Three Neighbourhoods: Employment Satus

Figure 4

Average Years Living in Each Neighbourhood
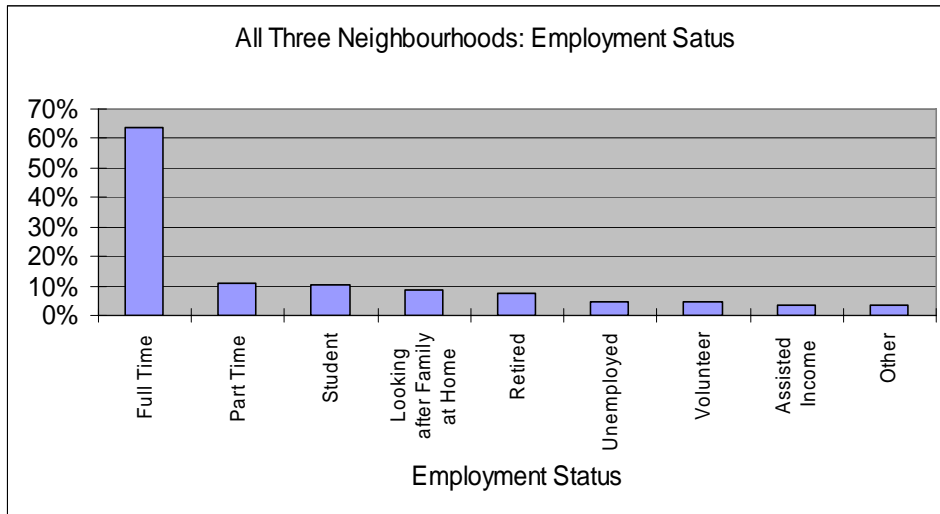
Tenure
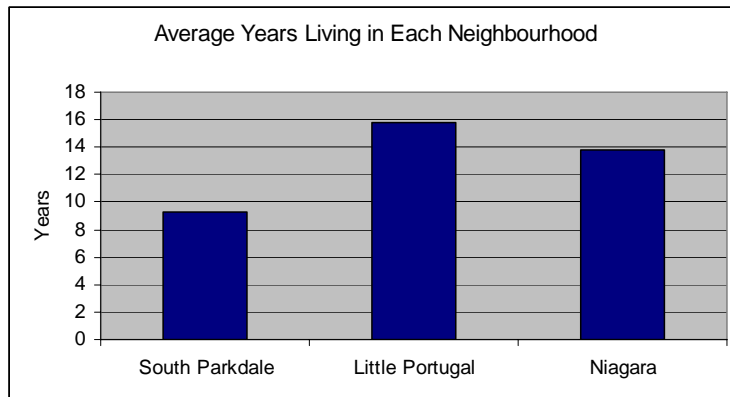
Figure 5

Tenure vs. Neighbourhood
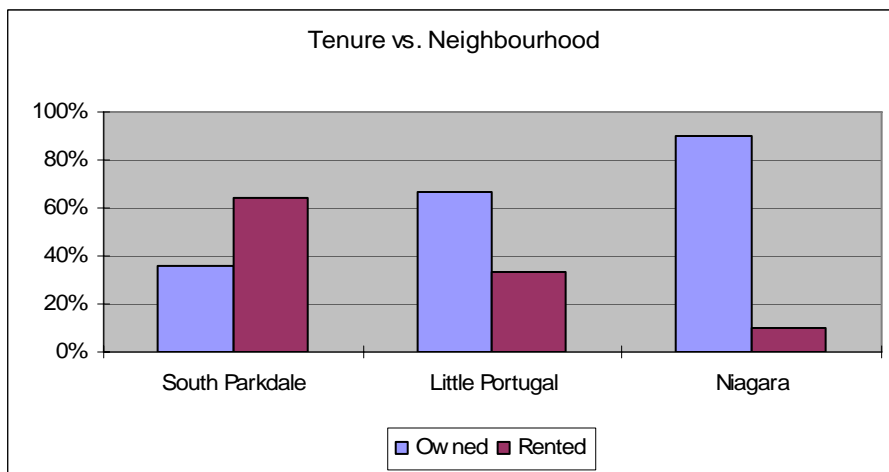
Do you enjoy living in this neighbourhood?

Figure 6

All three neighbourhoods

24%

75%

Yes ■ To some extent □ No

South Parkdale

2%

36%

62%

Yes ■ To some extent □ No

Little Portugal

22%

78%

Yes ■ to some extent □ No

Niagara

10%

90%

Yes ■ To some extent □ No
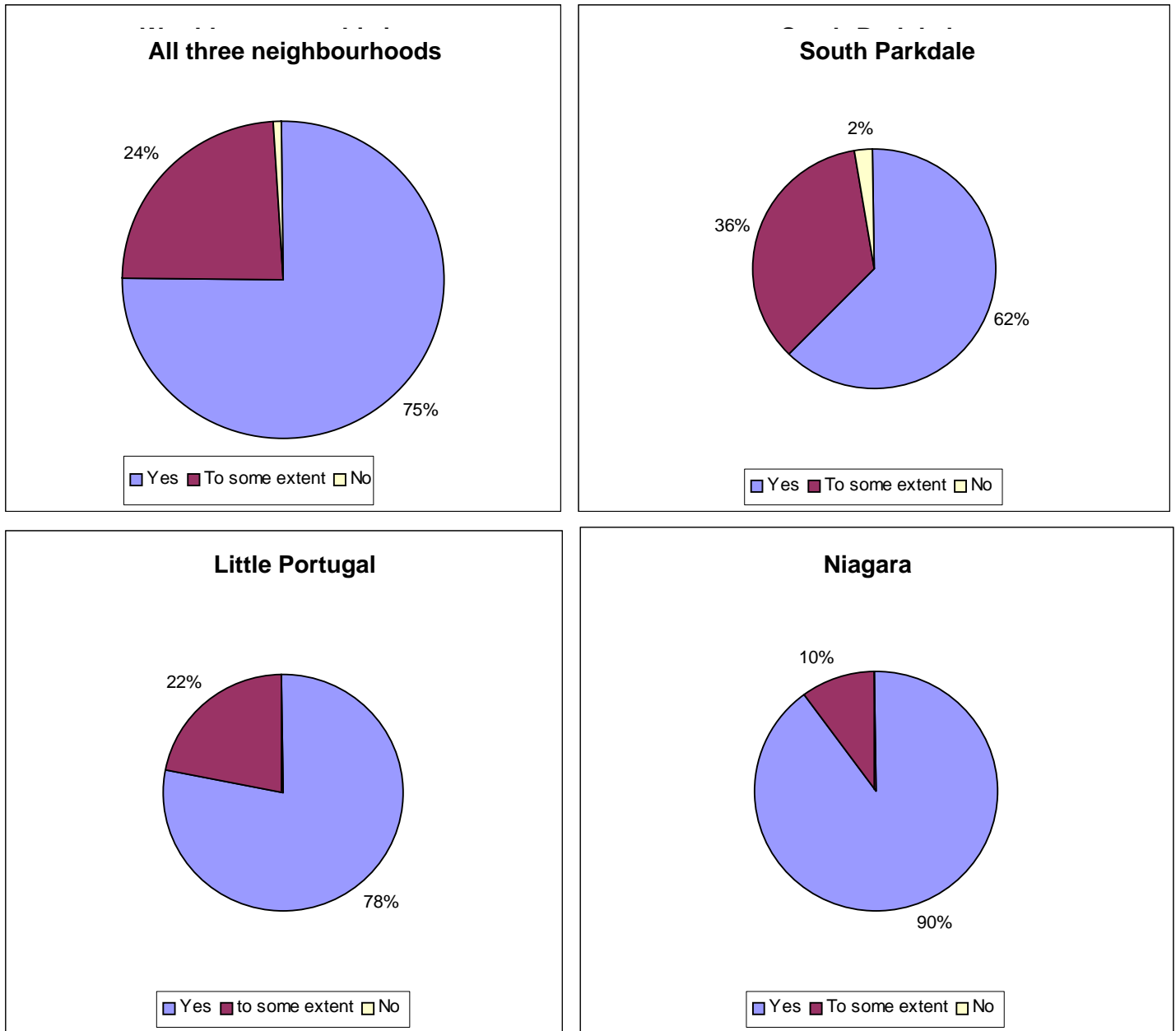
Choice of neighbourhood

Table 1: Reasons for moving into the three neighbourhoods

	Frequency	Percentage of total sample
Housing Affordability	47	44%
Closeness to work	37	34%
Closeness to family members or friends	21	19%
Available public services (schools, hospital, clinics, shops)	14	13%
All the above	11	10%
Other	37	34%

Table 2: Reasons for moving into each neighbourhood

	South Parkdale	Little Portugal	Niagara
Housing affordability	27	11	9
Closeness to work	15	4	18
Closeness to family members or friends	11	6	4
Available public services (schools, hospital, clinics, shops)	2	6	6
All the above	2	7	2
Other	13	15	9

Choice of Neighbourhood

Based on Income

Figure 7

Low Income: Reasons for Moving into the Neighbourhood

Figure 8

High Income: Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood
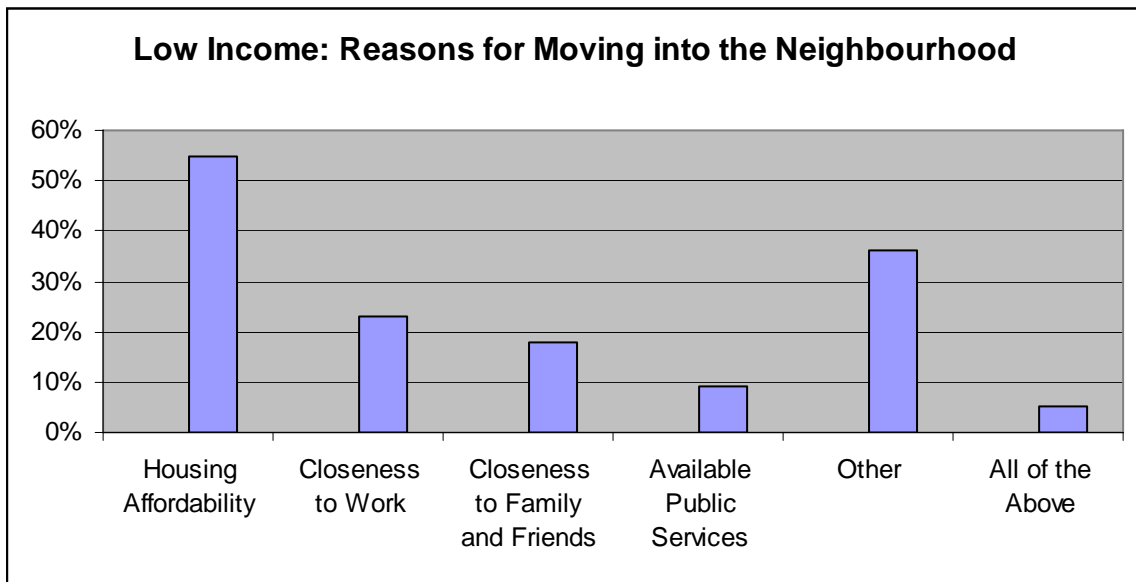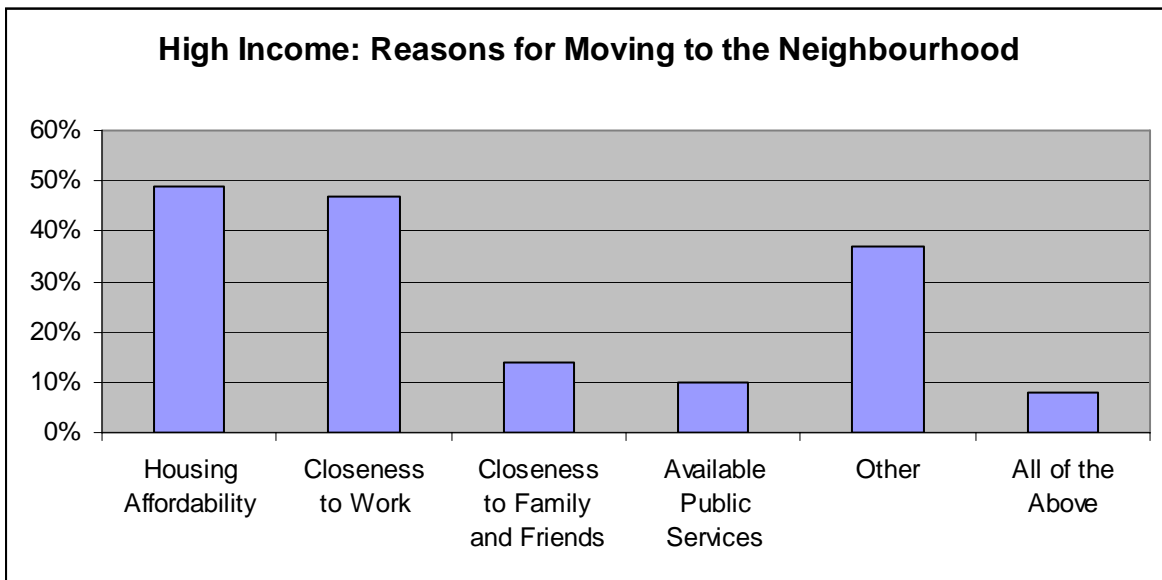
Choice of Neighbourhood

Based on Number of Years in Neighbourhood

Figure 9

Newcomers: Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood

Figure 10

Longterm Residents (20yrs+): Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood
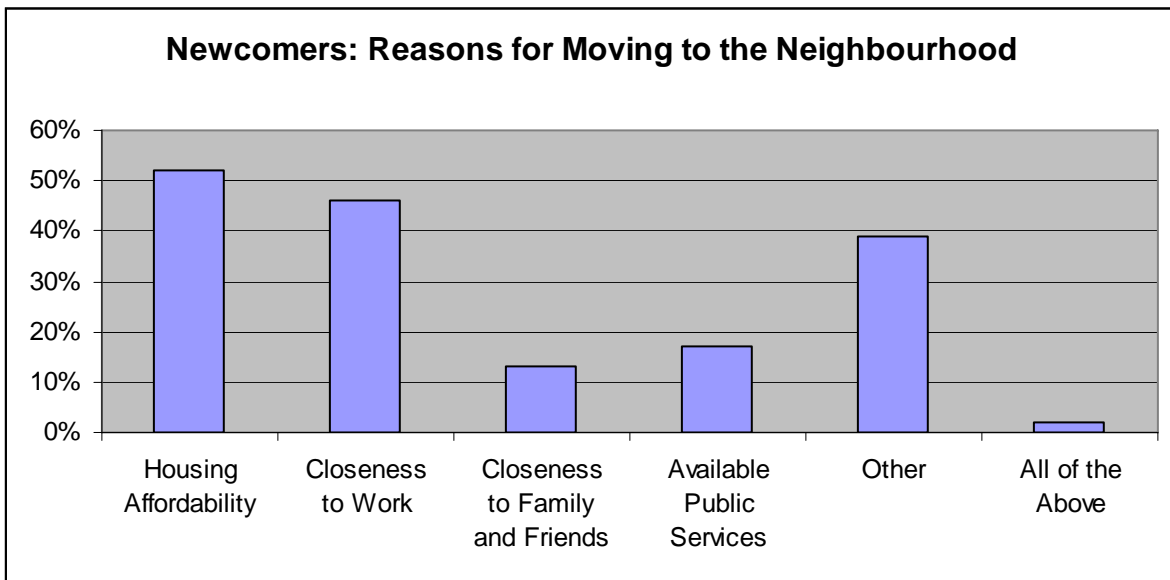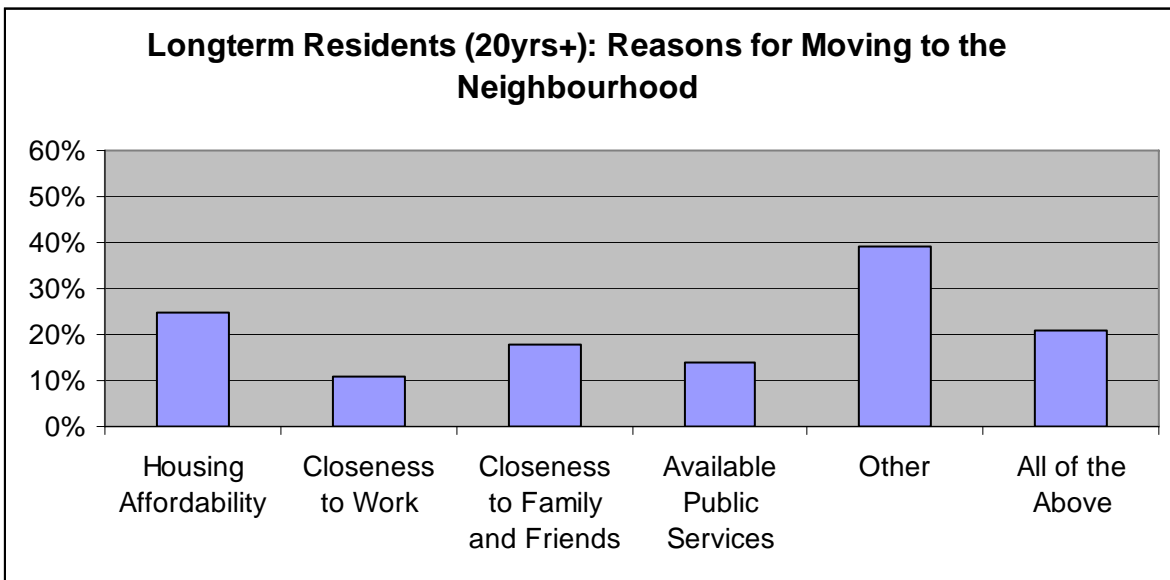
Choice of Neighbourhood

Based on Tenure

Figure 11

Owners: Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood

Figure 12

Renters: Reasons for Moving to the Neighbourhood
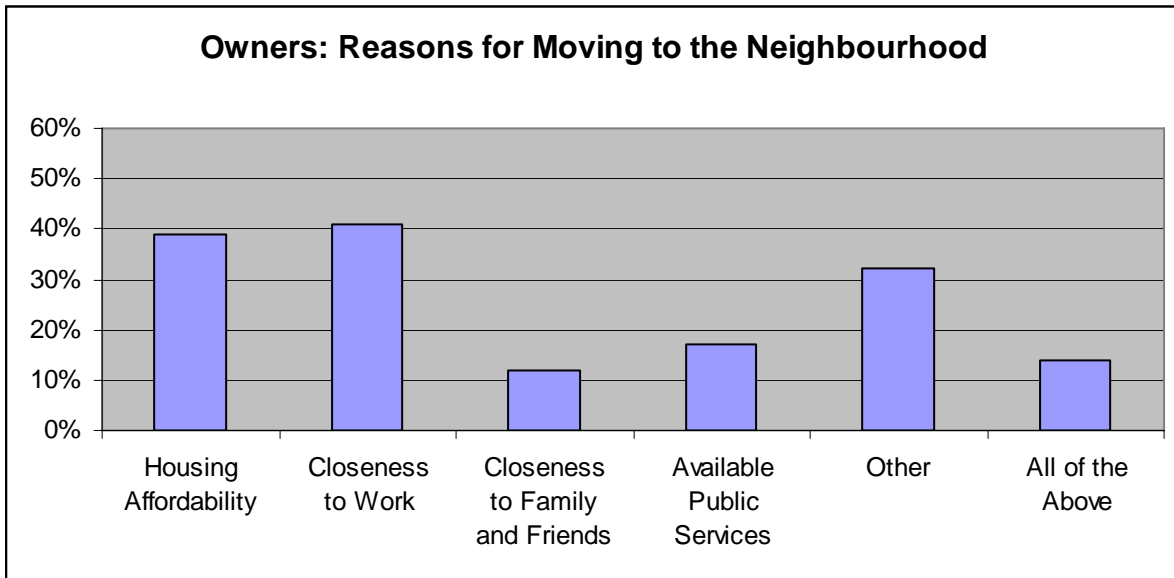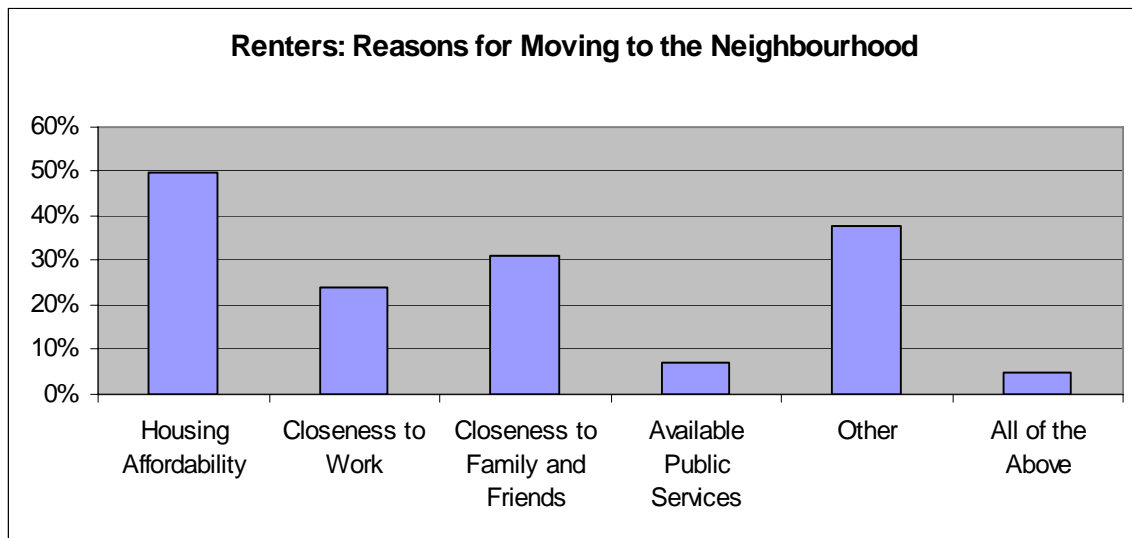
Appendix D: Comparison of our sample to the Census data for each neighbourhood

We compared our sample to the Census data for each neighbourhood in order to find out the representational value of our sample. It is important to note that the Census data, to which we are comparing our sample, represents the 2001 Census. Neighbourhoods in the SCH catchment area are undergoing change at a rapid pace, and therefore demographics may have changed significantly since 2001. Comparing our sample to more recent data in the three selected neighbourhoods may lead to more accurate results.

In terms of age, our sample is very close to what is represented in the Census data in the case of Niagara only. In Little Portugal and South Parkdale, adults and young adults are over-represented in our sample whereas seniors ages 65+ are largely under-represented (Figure 1a,b,c).

The reasons for the under-representation of seniors are various:

- Seniors are generally more reluctant to open their doors to strangers. Therefore, not many seniors participated in our survey.
- Seniors may be less likely to participate in surveys. This may be exacerbated if they had some reading or writing disabilities.
- Even though several volunteers assisted us with language skills to access residents in Little Portugal, many Portuguese seniors showed skepticism to the purpose of the survey.

In all neighbourhoods, our sample is over-representative of higher-educated residents who have attained a university degree (see Figures 2a, 2b, 2c).

Our sample is generally well representative of the household size in South Parkdale. Whereas in Niagara and in Little Portugal, single-person households are under-represented and 4-5 person households are over-represented (see Figures 3a, 3b, 3c).

Our sample, in all three neighbourhoods is over-representative of high-income households and under-representative of low-income households than the census. This is particularly true for South Parkdale and Niagara neighbourhoods (see Figures 4a, 4b, 4c). There are three main reasons for this over-representation of high-income households in our sample:

- The three neighbourhoods are changing and more high-income residents have moved to the area since 2001, while many lower-income households may have been displaced already.

- Lower-income households may be likely to participate in surveys, therefore our participants consist mostly of middle and higher-income residents.

- The exclusion of apartment buildings from our survey could be excluding lower-income tenants who may be more likely to rent in apartment buildings than in houses.

In order to have a more representative sample in terms of income and age, research methods should be chosen in a way to target specifically vulnerable communities. This may include conducting focus groups among users of SCH services, accessing affordable apartment buildings, or targeting seniors in community centres.

Age

Figure 1a: Young adults

Young Adults Ages 25-34: Sample v. Census

Figure 1b: Adults

Adults Ages 35-64: Sample v. Census
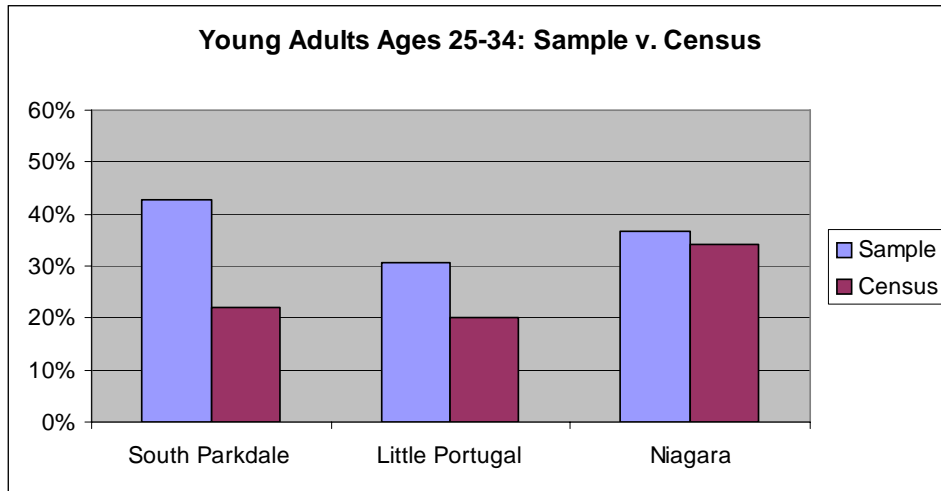
Figure 1c: Seniors
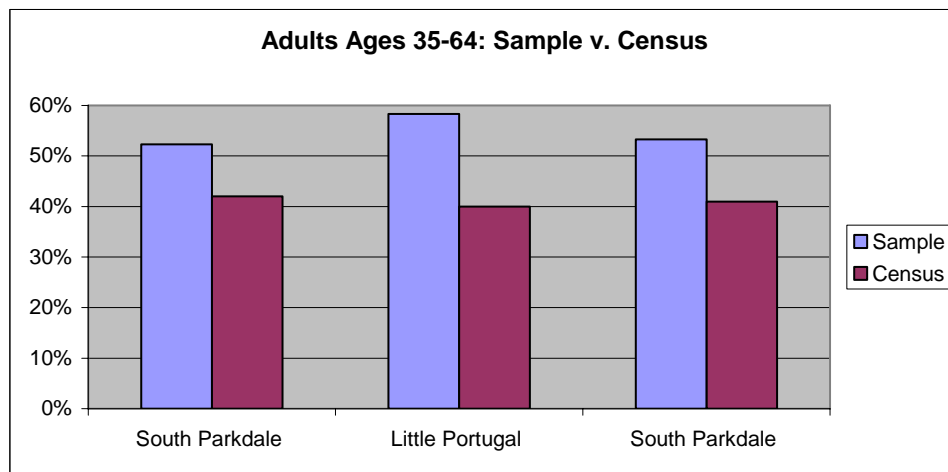
Seniors Ages 65+: Sample v. Census
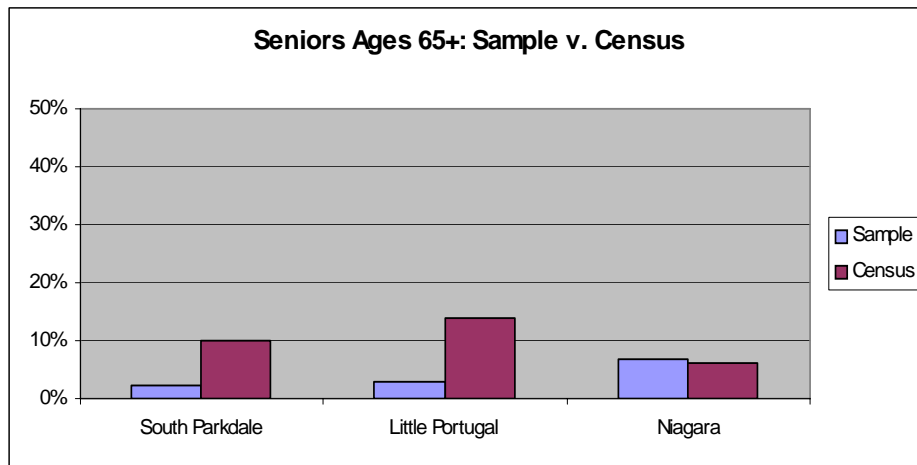
Education

Figure 2a: South Parkdale

South Parkdale - Highest Level of Education of Sample V Census
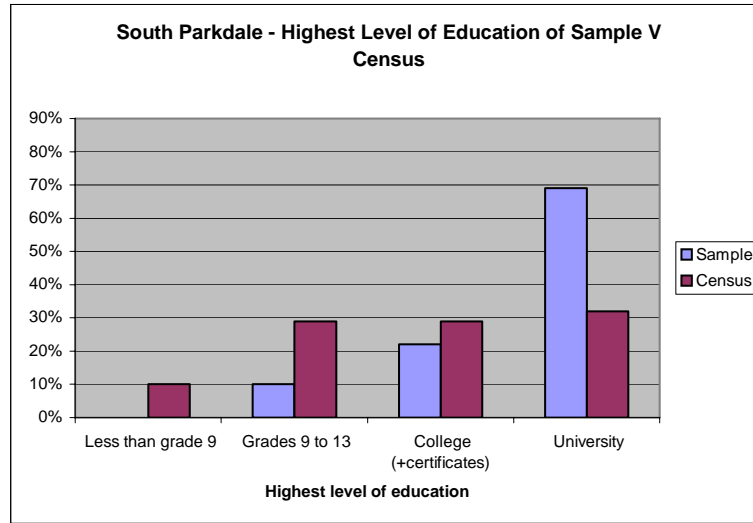
Figure 2b: Little Portugal

Little Portugal - Highest level of education of sample v. census

Figure 2c: Niagara

Niagara - Highest Level of Education of Sample V. Census
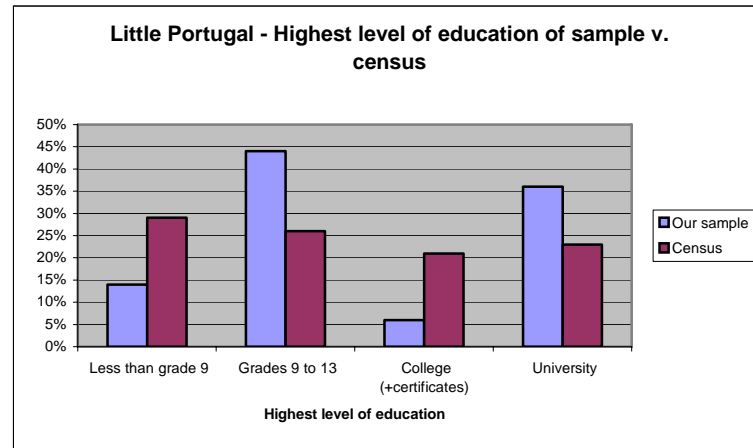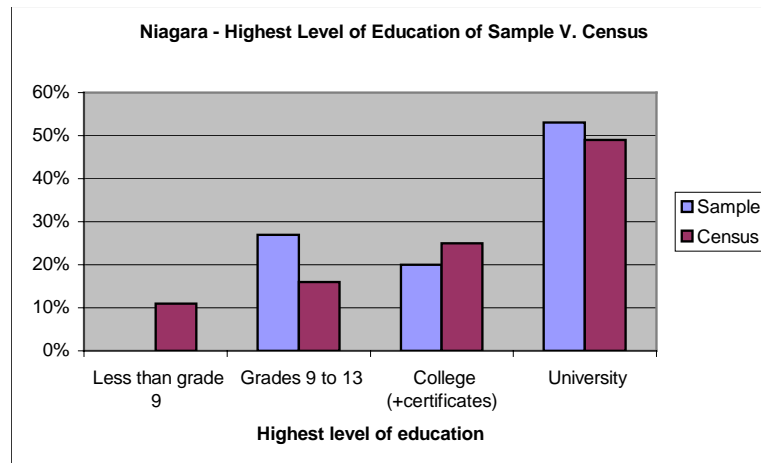
Household size

Figure 3a

South Parkdale - Household size of our sample compared to Census

Figure 3b

Little Portugal - Household size of our sample compared to Census

Figure 3c

Niagara - Household size of our sample compared to Census

Household Income

Figure 4a

South Parkdale - Household income of our sample compared to Census

Figure 4b

Little Portugal - Household income of our sample compared to Census
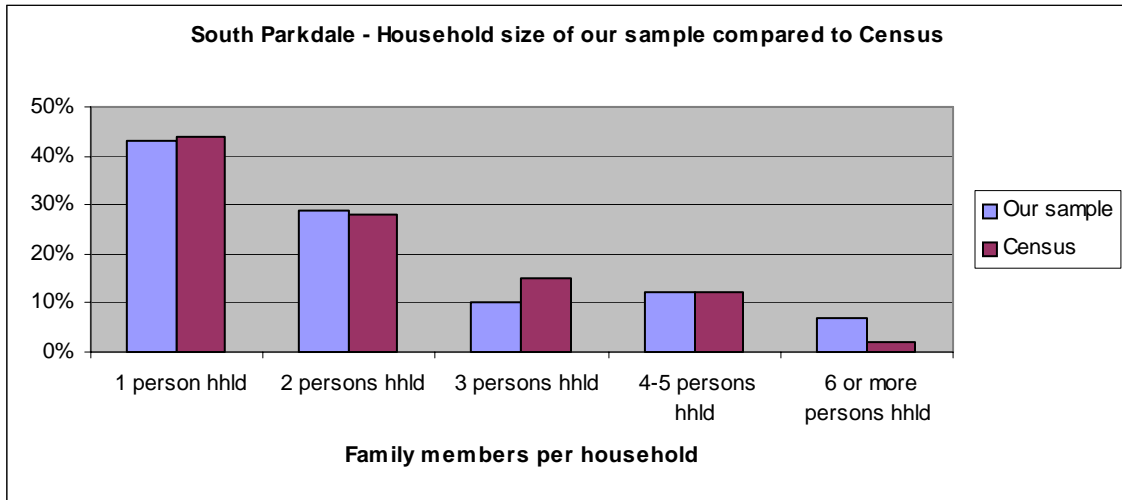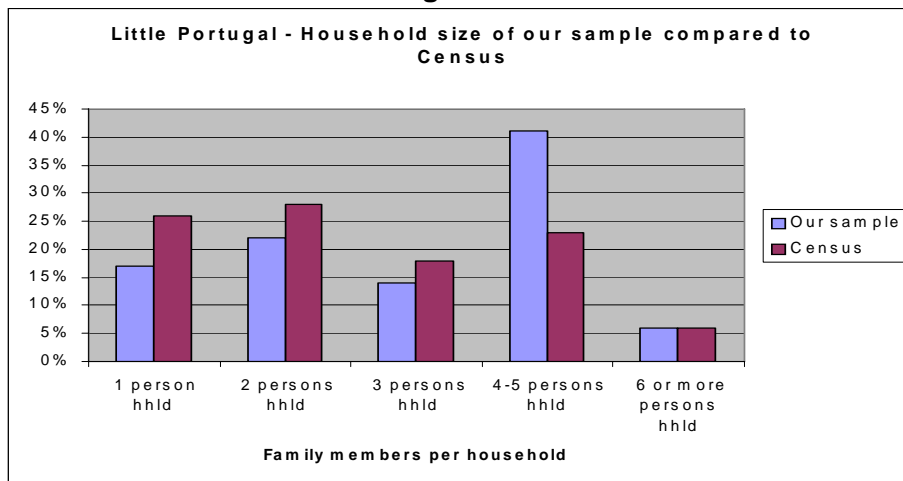
Figure 4c
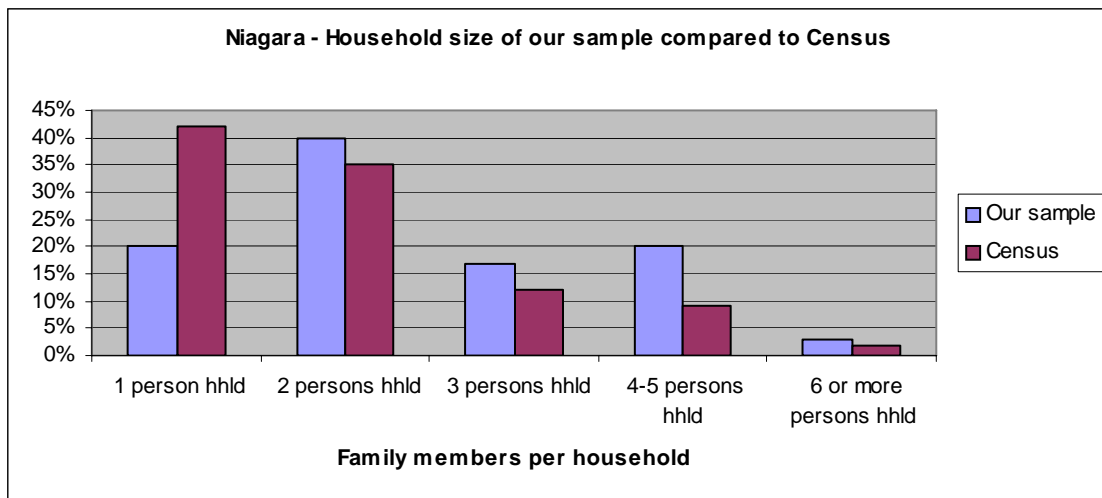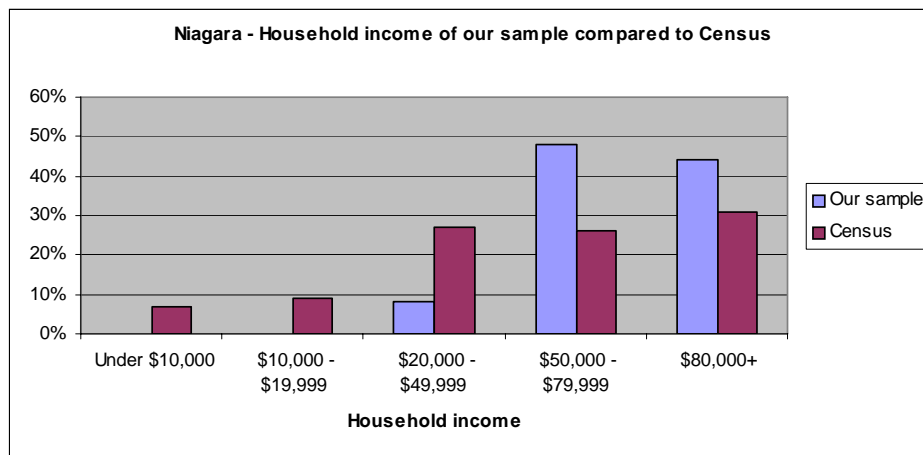

Niagara - Household income of our sample compared to Census
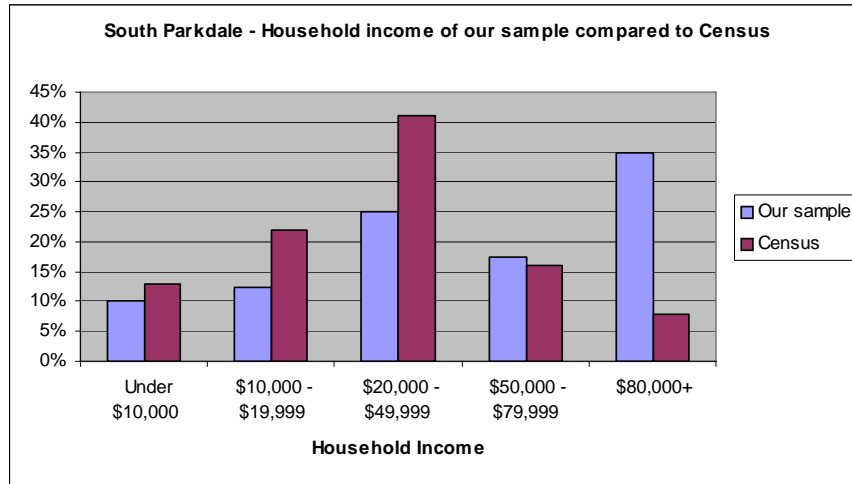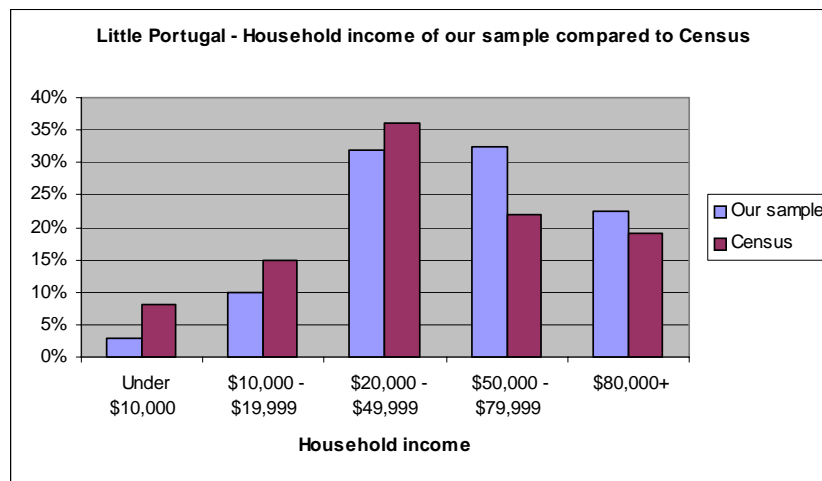
Appendix E: Comparison of sample to SCH catchment area

We compared our sample to the catchment area in order to find out the extent to which our findings can be applied to the whole SCH area. Our objective, in the selection of the three neighbourhoods, was not to be representative of the whole catchment area, but to find out the perceptions of a wide variety of residents living in the SCH catchment area. The neighbourhoods were therefore selected based on their demographics to represent residents with high and low income, seniors and younger residents, highly educated and less-educated residents, old-time residents and newcomers, and homeowners and renters.

In relation to the SCH catchment area, our sample has a larger proportion of young adults aged 25-34 and of adults ages 35-44 and a much lower proportion of seniors ages 65+ (Figure 1). It is very similar to SCH catchment area with regard to household size, although our sample has more 4-5-person households than the overall catchment area (Figure 2). The sample has more residents with higher household incomes of $80,000+ and $50,000 to $80,000 incomes than the SCH catchment area, but similar proportions of low household incomes (Figure 3). The sample includes more residents with higher levels of education than the SCH catchment area. More people in our sample have finished university (Figure 4). The sample has a higher proportion of Canadians and Caucasians than the SCH catchment area. More Canadians may be moving into our selected neighbourhoods, especially Niagara, than the rest of the catchment area (Figures 5a and b).

The SCH catchment area data, to which we compared our sample, comes from the 2001 Census. Neighbourhoods in the SCH catchment area are undergoing rapid change, therefore their demographics may have changed significantly since 2001. Comparing our sample to more recent data on the SCH catchment area may lead to different results.

On the other hand, some differences between our sample's characteristics and the characteristics of SCH catchment area can be attributed to the specific neighbourhoods we selected. Niagara specifically has received a larger proportion of white Canadians of higher income than the rest of the neighbourhoods.
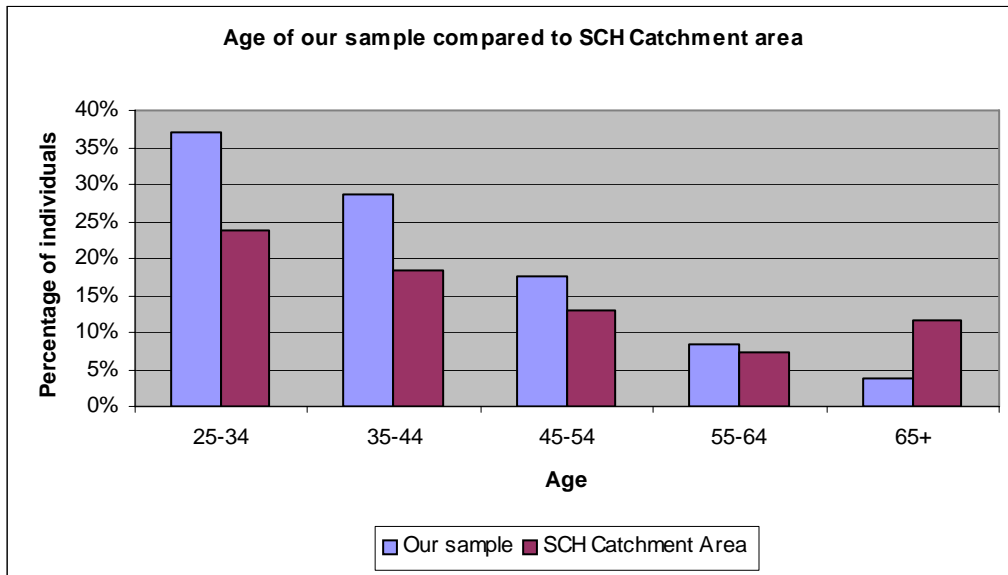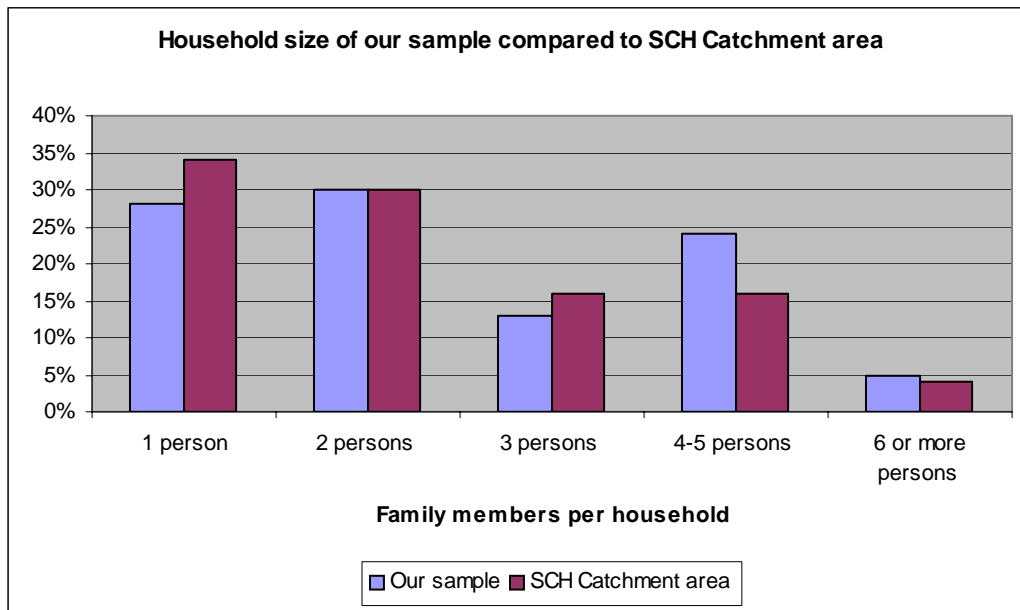
Figure 1: Age

Age of our sample compared to SCH Catchment area

Figure 2: Household size

Household size of our sample compared to SCH Catchment area

Figure 3: Household income

**Average household income of our sample compared to
SCH Catchment area**

Average household income

Figure 4: Education

Education of our sample compared to SCH Catchment Area

Highest level of education attained
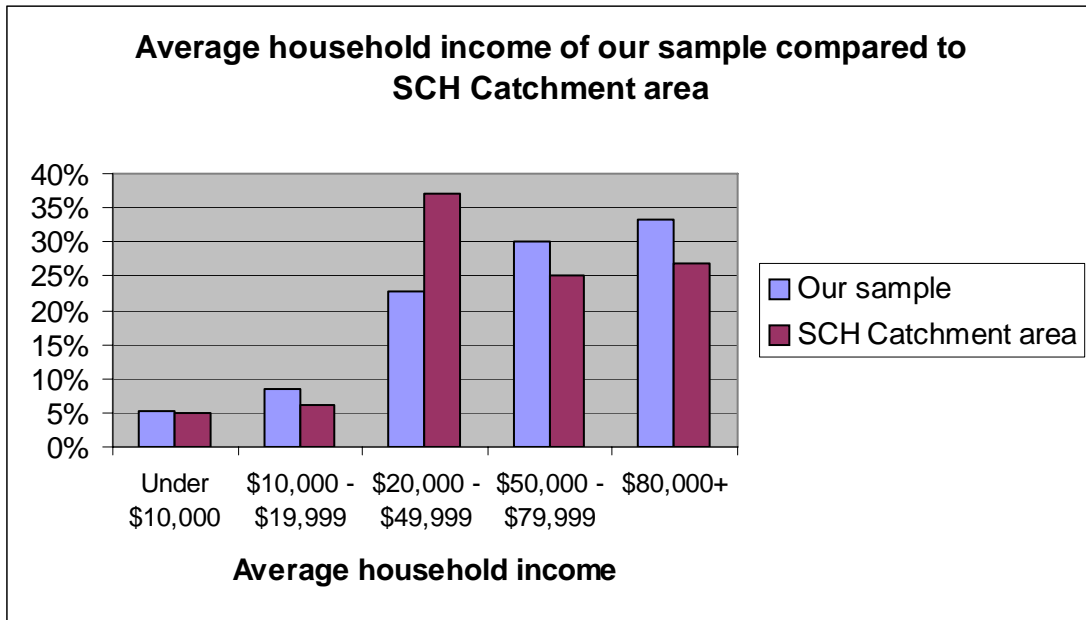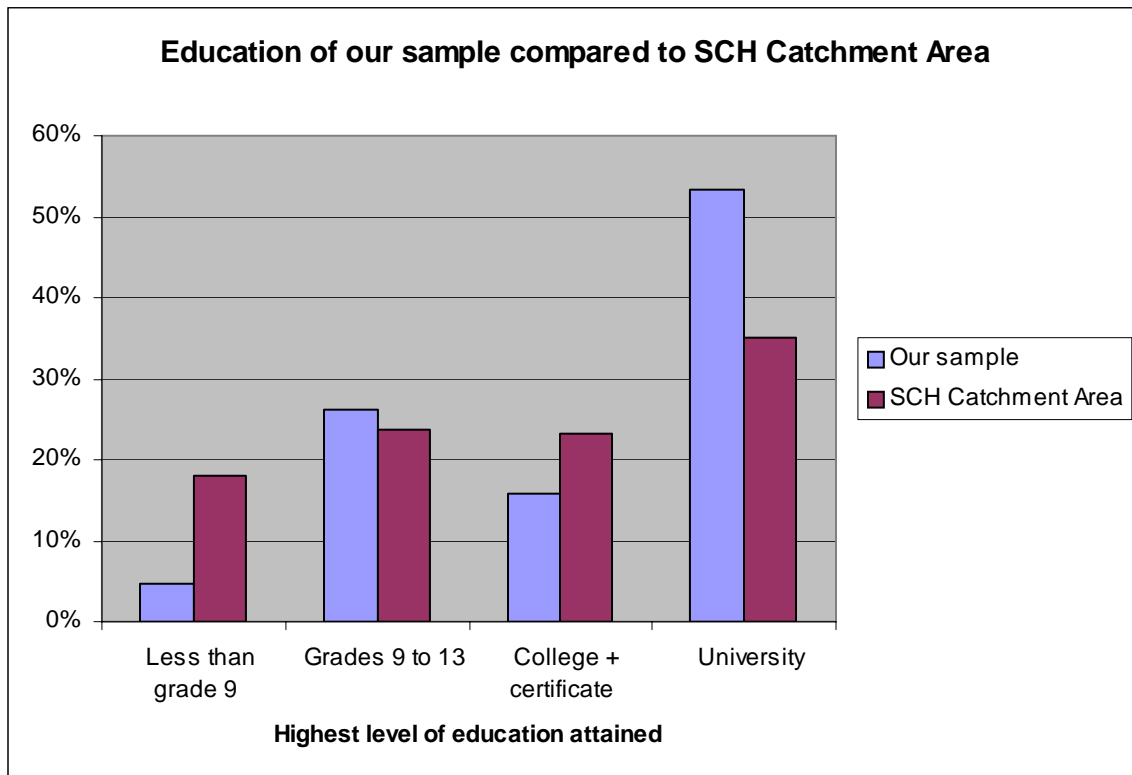
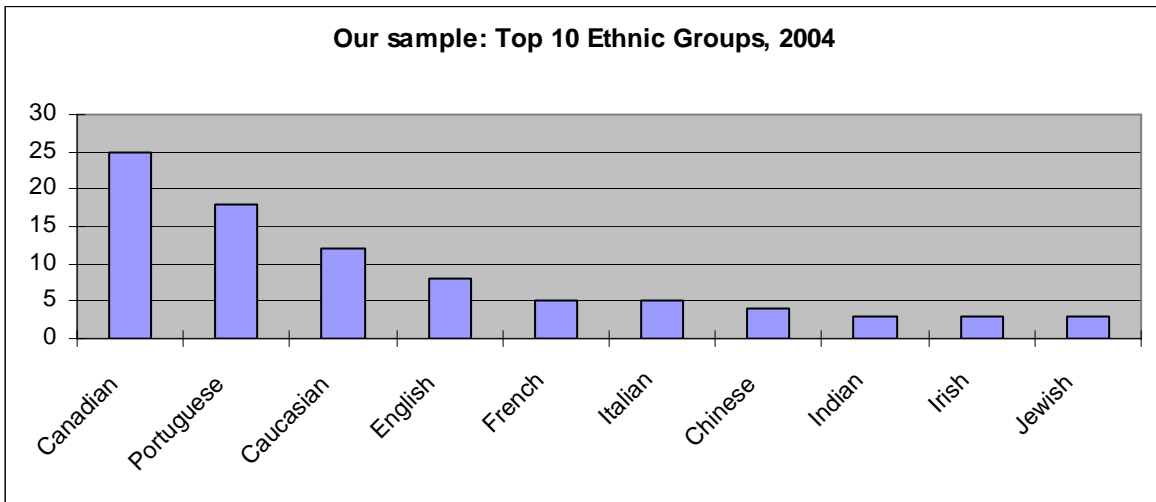**Figure 5a: Ethnicity – our sample**

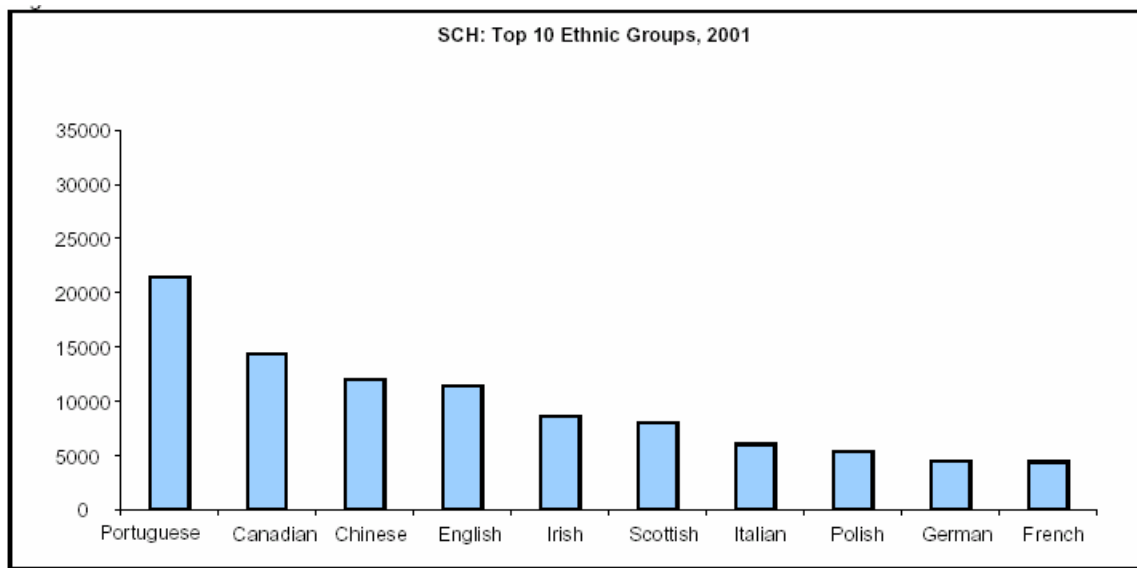**Our sample: Top 10 Ethnic Groups, 2004**

Figure 5b: Ethnicity – SCH catchment area

Source: Campbell-Mates (2003)

Appendix F: Changes and their effects based on income, number of years in neighbourhood, and tenure
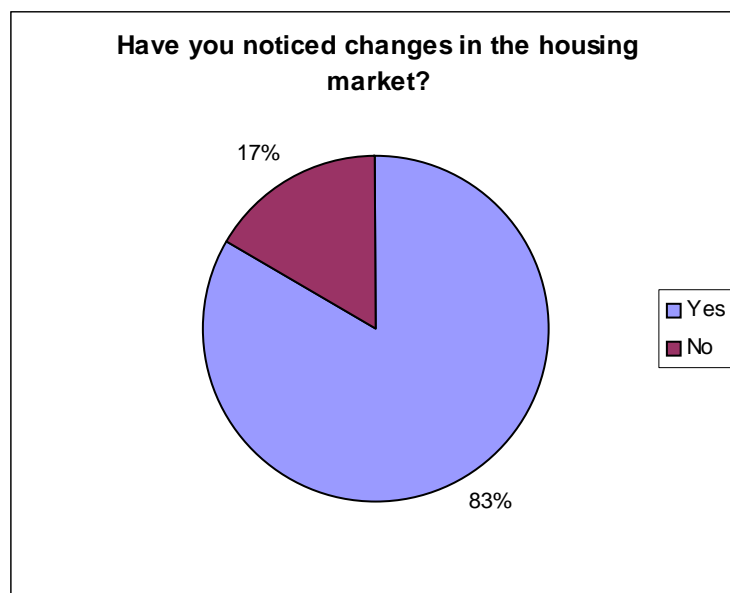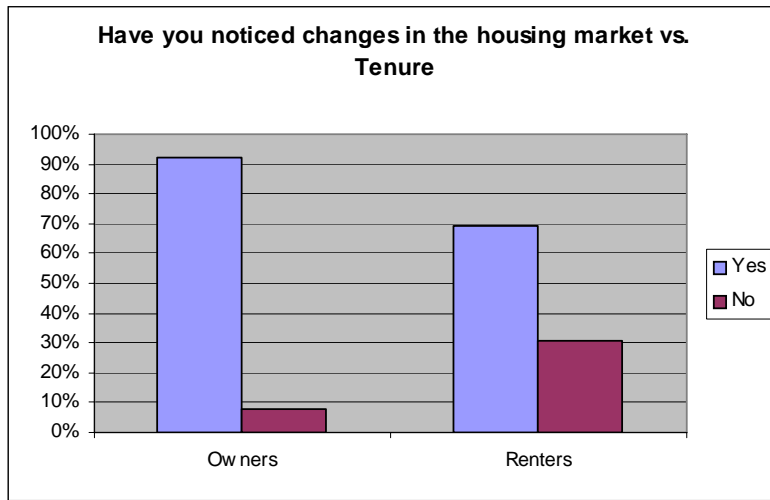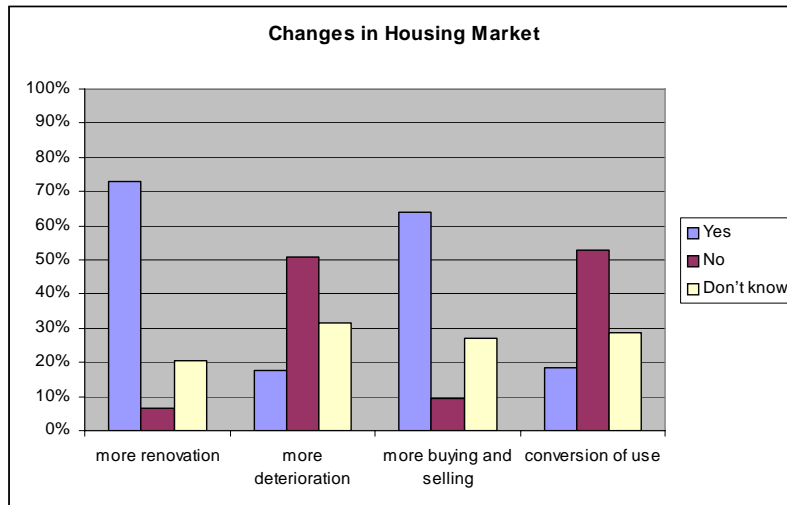
Housing Market

Figure 1

Have you noticed changes in the housing market?

17%

83%

Yes
No

Figure 2

Have you noticed changes in the housing market vs. Tenure

Figure 3

Changes in Housing Market

Figure 4

'There is more housing deterioration' vs. Neighbourhood
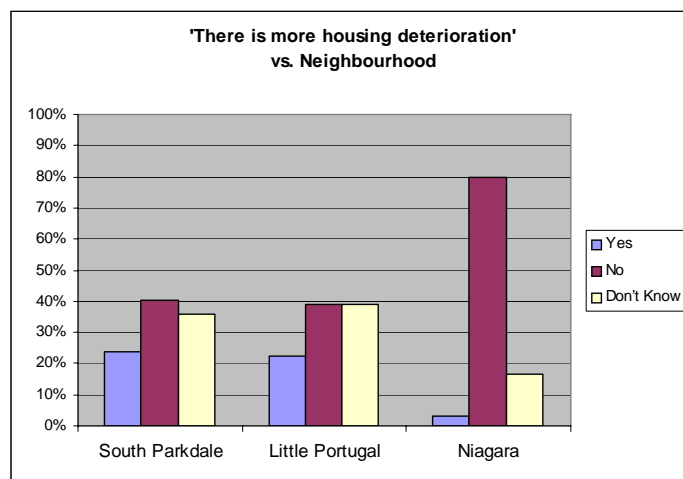
Table 1: Cited effects of housing changes based on household income

Household Income	Effects of housing changes	
	Positive	Negative
Under $10,000	NA	
$10,000 - $19,999	Nicer environment, nice house to leave to my son, 1	Increased rent, 1; Gentrification, 1; Increased property value, 1; Increased property tax, 1
$20,000 - $34,999	Maintaining property investment, 1	Gentrification, 1; Rooming houses, 1; Increased property tax, 1
$35,000 - $49,999	Renovation, 3; Increased property value, 1;	Increased property tax, 1; Noises,1
$50,000 - $64,999	Increased property value, 1; Old Portuguese moving out, 1; More yuppies, 1	Deterioration, 1; Increased property tax, 1; More yuppies, 1
$65,000 - $79,999	Increased property value, 9; More amenities, 3; Renovation, 1	Increased property tax, 2; Pressure for Renovation, 1; Business displacement, 2; Lack of affordable housing, 1; Competition for selling, 1
$80,000+	Increase property value, 8; More amenities, 2; Renovation, 1	Difficulty in parking, 1; More traffic, 1; Higher Density, 1
Missing	Less crime, 2; Increased property value, 2; Renovation, 2	Empty units in new residence, 1; Increased property tax, 1; Higher density, 1; Difficulty in parking, 1; Less public space, 1

Note: The numbers denote how many responded to these positive and negative effects.

Do you plan to move or remain?

We analyzed whether residents planned to move or remain in their current address by neighbourhood and found that responses were very different based on the neighbourhood in which they lived. More respondents in South Parkdale said they wanted to move to another neighbourhood or to another house in the same neighbourhood than respondents in Little Portugal or Niagara (see Figure 5). Niagara and Little Portugal respondents mostly said they intended to remain in their current address or that they did not know.

Decisions to remain in the current address did not always mean that the respondents were happy in their neighbourhood. In the case of South Parkdale, people planned to remain mainly because of housing affordability, even when they were unhappy about the lack of safety and perceived housing deterioration in the neighbourhood. South Parkdale respondents also said they wanted to move out due to the lack of employment opportunities, and the reluctance of landlords to take care of their housing. Interventions in South Parkdale should provide incentives for maintenance and development while keeping housing affordable.

In Little Portugal, reasons for wanting to move out of the neighbourhood were more personal (wanting a bigger house, or moving out of the country) and did not directly relate to dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood; on the contrary, most respondents said they liked the neighbourhood. This shows that residents in South Parkdale are unhappy about the perceived problems

in their neighbourhood, yet the decision to move out depends upon their financial situation. In Niagara, most residents were planning to remain in their houses, mainly because of housing investment, proximity to work, proximity to public services, and satisfaction with their neighbours and the neighbourhood.
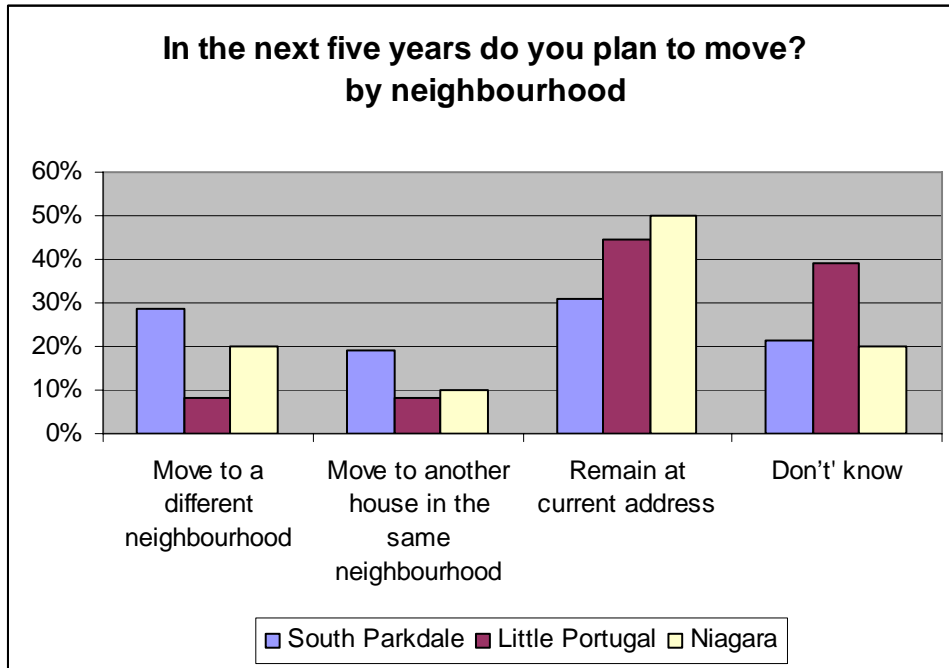
Figure 5

Figure 6