

The background of the entire page is a detailed, light green line-art map of Little Jamaica, showing a dense grid of streets and building footprints. The map is oriented with North at the top.

PLACE-KEEPING IN **LITTLE JAMAICA**

*Commercial Displacement
Prevention Strategies*

December 2020

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is a culmination of the work produced for the course PLA1106: Workshop in Planning Practice.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to our clients, Ruth Belay and Dane Williams, and to the rest of the team from Black Urbanism TO. We would not have had such a meaningful experience working on a deeply important and impactful project without all of their support, guidance, and resourcefulness.

We would also like to express our appreciation to our Professional Advisor, Aidan Grove-White, whose professional advice, insights, and recommendations helped shape our final report.

Special thanks to the key informants whose depth of knowledge and experience was both essential for our research findings and inspiring.

The work produced for this report was supervised by Dr. Katharine Rankin and Michelle Berquist. A sincere thank you goes out to them for their continued guidance and support throughout the course of the term.

This report was produced by a team of second year Master of Science in Planning students from the Department of Geography & Planning at the University of Toronto. The project team includes:

Neve Adams
Aayesha Patel
Lena Sanz Tovar
Keisha St. Louis-McBurnie
Mark Tennenhouse

Client Representatives
Ruth Belay & Dane Williams, Black Urbanism TO (BUTO)

Professional Advisor
Aidan Grove-White, Manager, StrategyCorp

Instructors
Dr. Katharine Rankin, PhD
Michelle Berquist, MScPI, RPP, MCIP

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	5
1. Introduction	7
Problem Statement	9
Research Methods	12
2. Planning Policy	16
Growth Plan	18
City of Toronto Official Plan	19
Eglinton Connects Planning Framework	24
City Council Members Motions	29
Development Applications	30
3. Cultural Heritage	36
Music City Strategy	39
Legacy Business Registry	42
Cultural Tourism	44
4. Retention Strategies	52
5. Community Land Trusts	54
History	56
Precedents	62
6. Recommendations	71
7. Conclusion	80
8. References	82
9. Appendices	92
Development Applications	93
Sales Data	96
Additional Advice from the PNLT	101
Considerations for Cultural Tourism Programs	103

Maps & Figures

Context Map	14
Land Use Map	20
Community Benefits Figure	32
Toronto Heritage Map	46
Recommendation Table	72
Development Applications	93
Historical Sales	98



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Change is coming to Little Jamaica. *Place-keeping in Little Jamaica: Commercial Displacement Prevention Strategies* explores how Black Urbanism TO (BUTO) and Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica can organize to create a new vision for community control in the face of growth- and transit-oriented development. This report provides an overview of the opportunities and challenges presented by the planning policy framework, and evaluates several anti-displacement strategies related to cultural heritage preservation, retaining Black-owned businesses, increasing property ownership, and establishing a community land trust (CLT).

Planning Policy Context

The provincial and municipal planning policy framework is working as intended. *Avenue* intensification under Toronto's Official Plan, major transit station areas (MTSAs) and protected major transit station areas (PMTSAs) under the Growth Plan and the *Planning Act (1990)*, and delineated Focus Areas in the Eglinton Connects Planning Framework have catalyzed more mid- to high-rise development in Little Jamaica in the last two years than ever before. The due diligence section of this report provides a detailed overview of how these planning policies work together to create the development pressures that have furthered the displacement of Black-owned businesses. This report recommends that BUTO develop a community organizing strategy to engage businesses owners and residential tenants and demand community benefits to advance community wealth building.

Strategies to Prevent Commercial Displacement

Cultural Heritage Preservation

Ontario's heritage policies have the capacity to protect built form, but as they exist today they are formally designed to: (1) delegitimize intangible heritage and (2) prioritize the architectural interests of typically whiter and wealthier neighbourhoods that are well organized and have the resources and capacity to advocate to governments. This section of the report explores strategies for cultural heritage preservation, including Music City, Legacy Businesses and other methods for promoting cultural tourism in Little Jamaica. This report recommends that BUTO consult with local residents, Black business owners, organizations, and others to create a community-driven cultural strategy for Little Jamaica. This strategy should challenge BUTO to develop an evaluative framework for assessing the impact of existing cultural programs and tourism in the community and to adopt a new social media and marketing strategy to promote the area's rich heritage.

Business Retention and Ownership Strategies

Although a building can be preserved through designated heritage preservation, Black-owned businesses that rent their commercial space remain vulnerable to the whims of their landlord. Owning their retail space is one of the best ways a business can ensure stable occupancy costs and avoid displacement. This section provides a review of various planning, policy, and legal tools to support small business retention. Though strategies such as split tax assessment for commercial properties, right of first refusal agreements, and municipally-owned retail space are promising, they can be expensive, pose procedural barriers, and require significant capacity for an individual business owner to pursue. Such limitations underline the need for additional responses that increase broader community ownership.

Community Land Trusts (CLTs)

Community land trusts (CLTs) are bound to operate in the interests of their community members: they remove land from the speculative market and expand the benefits of ownership. Businesses operating in lands that are held by a CLT can serve their community without fear of displacement by a profit seeking landlord or developer, while generating community wealth. The CLT section of this report highlights how CLTs have been used by Black communities across Canada and the United States to combat racial planning, gentrification and systemic disinvestment from racialized neighbourhoods by various levels of government. The intention of this section is to inform BUTO of the history and structure of CLTs, and provide a preliminary analysis of their potential value to Little Jamaica. Ultimately, this report recommends that BUTO establish a commercial CLT for the long term benefits they provide, including their ability to regulate building uses and users.

Place-keeping in Little Jamaica concludes that community ownership and holding legal title to property is the most effective, and possibly only, instrument to resist gentrification and displacement forces in perpetuity. Though there are meaningful battles to be fought and won at the provincial and municipal policy levels, community control and community autonomy are best achieved through community ownership. The recommendations provided in this report have been organized for BUTO along a short, medium and long-term timeframe. A high level and non-exhaustive overview of key recommendations include:

Short term (next 6 months)	Begin fundraising for property acquisition immediately Develop community organizing strategy Apply for grants to support this work
Medium term (6 months to 1 year)	Research and determine CLT structure Collect data on property ownership for potential acquisitions and discuss public land and community benefit opportunities Establish a CLT
Long term (1 to 3 years)	Acquire property

1

INTRODUCTION

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST



Introduction

Little Jamaica is a commercial district in Toronto located along Eglinton Avenue West, between Keele Street and Marlee Avenue to the west and east, respectively.¹ Originating in the 1950s as the heart of Toronto's African-Caribbean immigrant community, the retail strip is characterized by independent retailers serving the needs of an ethno-racially diverse local population. The neighbourhood has historically been one where Black culture and entrepreneurship is fostered. Beyond the smoke of sidewalk barbecue and sounds of reggae music, Little Jamaica has also been a place of social solidarity "where Black Canadians felt safe to air their frustrations."²

Since 2011, Little Jamaica has been the site of ongoing construction for the Eglinton Crosstown Light Rail Transit (LRT) line which is expected to open in 2022. Small businesses have since faced displacement pressures related to transit-oriented development, rising commercial rents, and real estate speculation, putting their continued survival at risk. Over 140 establishments have shut down in the past decade, leaving the commercial strip lined with for lease signs and raising the question of the future of Little Jamaica.³

Change appears to be imminent with every newly renovated façade and proposed development sign that crops up along the Avenue. Community members have expressed apprehension around the Crosstown's arrival, sharing the notion that Black businesses and residents "may not survive the neighbourhood make-over."⁴ On the risk of displacement, the owner of a record shop questioned, "down here is known on the streets as Little Jamaica. If we lose this, where else in Toronto can we say is our own?"⁵

The spine running through Little Jamaica is the perpetually crowded 32 Eglinton West bus. Prior to LRT construction, the 32 was the city's second busiest surface transit route, seeing the highest daily ridership after the King Streetcar.⁶ The neighbourhood's well-deserved transit infrastructure is overshadowed by an anticipated loss of cultural identity and the widespread closures of Black-owned businesses. Community members have expressed concerns around gentrification in local media coverage for many years to little avail.⁷

¹ A finer grain boundary that encompasses Little Jamaica on the ground would be Eglinton Avenue West from Bicknell Avenue, two blocks west of Keele Street, to Winona Drive, one block east of Marlee Avenue, and south along Keele Street to Rogers Avenue where other long-time African-Caribbean businesses are located.

² [Mistry](#), 2016

³ [Baker, Gardener-Williams, Mark, Antczak, Dai, Ganton, & Wilson](#), 2020

⁴ [Armstrong](#), 2014

⁵ [Manzoco](#), 2018

⁶ [TTC](#), 2012

⁷ [Armstrong](#), 2014; [Aziz & Bachour](#), 2014; [Manzoco](#), 2018; [Spurr](#), 2018; [Sherman](#), 2018; [McLean](#), 2019

The dispossession of people in the name of development is not new. For centuries, displacement has been exercised with force and naked violence. However, the dominant tools that work to systemically displace Black communities are now those of everyday urban planning, real-estate and economic development practices. Although this process of gentrification looks different in modern society, the outcome is ultimately the same – Black communities are being displaced and Black culture is being erased.

Problem Statement

How can we protect Little Jamaica's Black-owned businesses and preserve their rich cultural heritage when all the cards are stacked against them? Nine years of transit construction, un-cooperative Business Improvement Areas (BIAs), limited financial support from governments and agencies, dwindling rates of Black-business ownership, a provincial and municipal planning policy framework directing intensification and redevelopment along Eglinton Avenue, and COVID-19. These challenges have intensified the economic precarity faced by Black businesses and families that are simply trying to survive.

Black Urbanism TO (BUTO) is a non-profit organization that seeks to engage Black communities in re-envisioning their neighbourhoods to support social, economic and cultural advancement. Laying the ground for this anti-displacement workshop project, BUTO published a report entitled *A Black Business Conversation: On Planning for the Future of Black Owned Businesses and Residents on Eglinton Avenue W* in July 2020. The report was developed in collaboration with Studio of Contemporary Architecture (SOCA), the Open Architecture Collaborative Canada (OACC), allied community members and activists, and illuminates ongoing/long term issues experienced by Black businesses in Little Jamaica.

This project builds upon BUTO's economic development study recommendations under Section 2.2 of the report (i.e. 2.2.2, 2.2.6, 2.2.7, 2.2.11 and 2.2.12) by exploring how alternative community ownership and wealth-building models can be used in the short, medium and long-term to protect Little Jamaica's Black businesses from displacement pressures. This includes assessing the feasibility of establishing a commercial community land trust (CLT) and identifying tools available in existing planning-related legislation, policy, and by-laws.

The recommendations in this report support the advancement of four principles:

1. Preserving Black businesses as they exist today in Little Jamaica (i.e. current 2- to 3-storey mixed-use built-form);
2. Creating opportunities for new affordable commercial space and ownership of retail units in current and new built-forms to support community wealth building;
3. Negotiating commercial community benefits on active development applications; and
4. Leveraging existing Black-owned assets for redevelopment and intensification in conformity with existing planning policy.

Understanding TOD, Gentrification, and Commercial Displacement in the Literature

Transit-oriented development (TOD) is an urban planning model that aims to produce dense, walkable, and sustainable neighbourhoods through mixed-use development around fixed-rail transit.⁸ Critics of TOD have raised concerns that new transit infrastructure, like the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, may contribute to the displacement of low-income and minority communities.⁹ The documented lived experiences of Black businesses and residents in Little Jamaica is unfortunately one of many cases across North America where predominantly Black communities are displaced by new public infrastructure, following decades of disinvestment and systemic neglect.

Transit-induced Gentrification through Socio-demographic Change

Studies from other jurisdictions have found a correlation between rail transit expansions and increases in income, university education, rent, and owner-occupancy in the surrounding neighbourhoods, particularly if they were originally working class.¹⁰ In some cases, the share of white residents also increased around new stations while ethnic minority populations declined.¹¹ Scholars have argued that the impact of TOD on housing markets can deepen existing class and racial injustices in cities.¹²

These divisions are further compounded by the fact that people of colour, renters, and low-income households are more likely to use transit and less likely to own cars than other demographics.¹³ Some studies observed that newly transit-served neighbourhoods experienced an increase in driving mode-share, by way of wealthier new residents, and a loss in ridership following the displacement of transit-dependent populations.¹⁴ This highlights a central equity concern seeing as large public expenditures on transit ultimately became less accessible to those who would benefit most from its use.

The Role of Small Businesses in Changing Neighbourhoods

Housing security alone cannot mitigate displacement pressures on the residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods.¹⁵ Although residents may not experience forceful eviction, indirect or

⁸ [Jones & Ley](#), 2016

⁹ [Lorinc](#), 2016

¹⁰ [Kahn](#), 2007; [Pollack et al.](#), 2010; [Grube-Cavers & Patterson](#), 2015; [Bardaka et al.](#), 2018; [Nilsson & Delmelle](#), 2018; [Zuk et al.](#), 2018

¹¹ [Ray](#), 2017; [Baker & Lee](#), 2017; [Dominie](#), 2012

¹² [Jones & Ley](#), 2016

¹³ [Pollack et al.](#), 2010; [Bardaka & Hersey](#), 2019

¹⁴ [Pollack et al.](#), 2010; [Dominie](#), 2012

¹⁵ [Shaw & Hagemans](#), 2015

affective displacement is an essential feature of neighbourhood change that can cause residents to feel displaced.¹⁶ This concept of immaterial loss is a distinct form of gentrification that is not easily measurable, but has been shown to affect low income residents of areas undergoing TOD as they mourn the loss of neighbourhood ties.¹⁷ Residents may experience displacement pressures through the loss of familiar faces, disruption in daily routines, and erosion of social support networks when “old neighbours move away or long-time businesses are replaced by new ones oriented toward a different clientele.”¹⁸

Small businesses play an essential role in alleviating the social alienation that long-term residents can feel when the neighbourhoods around them gentrify.¹⁹ When new upscale boutiques and eateries replaced businesses and gathering places frequented by the existing low-income, minority community, residents experienced a loss of their sense of place, feelings of social exclusion, and a decreased availability of affordable goods and services.²⁰ In Toronto’s gentrifying neighbourhoods, minority business owners were found to be a source of stability and social cohesion by providing spaces for employment, ethnic identification, and social belonging.²¹

Outgoing residents also represent a loss of support for local businesses, indicating the circular relationship between residential and commercial gentrification. Thus, to effectively mitigate displacement risk in gentrifying neighbourhoods, efforts to maintain housing affordability must work concurrently with strategies to retain businesses serving the needs of existing residents.²² If Little Jamaica is to see TOD without displacement, businesses and social spaces valued by the community must be protected.

Transit Projects and Business Failure

Though limited to this case study, Ray (2017) provides a valuable finding in her study of business displacement along the construction of Los Angeles’ Metro Rail Red Line. Rather than revenue loss from construction activity, the leading causes of business failure around new stations were change in property ownership, turnover of lease agreements, and increased commercial rents.²³ This finding underlines an important point that transit construction itself, and the related loss of pedestrian foot traffic, is not the main factor in commercial displacement. Such viewpoints imply that businesses are only in need of short term support strategies, like marketing and signage improvements, until the transit line is operational. To the contrary, transit-induced increases in land value have a greater impact on business survival, indicating the need for solutions that address the root causes of the issue: business tenure and

¹⁶ Rayle, 2015; Tuttle, 2019; Wilder et al., 2017

¹⁷ Rayle, 2015; Jones & Ley, 2016

¹⁸ Marcuse, 1985

¹⁹ Rayle, 2015; Marcuse, 1985

²⁰ Pollack et al., 2010; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Tuttle, 2019

²¹ Rankin, 2008

²² Ray, 2017; Rankin, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015

²³ Ray, 2017

commercial property ownership. Retention of affordable retail space through such mechanisms can lessen the tolls of gentrification and affective displacement on local residents.

Research Methods

For this research project, our team used three primary research methods to determine which community ownership and wealth building models may be used in the short, medium and long term to protect and preserve Black-owned and operated businesses in Little Jamaica.

Policy and Program Analysis

Our team undertook a due diligence exercise to understand the provincial and municipal planning policy context that is driving neighbourhood change and subsequent displacement in Little Jamaica. Given the scope of our research project we expanded our due diligence exercise to also include legislation and policy that may be used to safeguard access to retail space for Black businesses, such as the *Ontario Heritage Act 1990* and municipal zoning by-laws regarding main streets. The City of Toronto's Retail Design Guidelines were also used to understand current planning direction on the development of new commercial spaces.

We conducted further policy analysis to explore the potential of implementing cultural heritage preservation strategies that aim to protect the intangible heritage, as a way to retain Black businesses that have contributed to Little Jamaica's history and identity. More specifically, we looked at overarching heritage preservation policies in the City of Toronto, a cultural and intangible heritage strategy that focuses on protecting music spaces in Toronto, and policy related to the Legacy Business initiative in San Francisco, U.S.A.

To identify additional business retention strategies and assess their feasibility in Little Jamaica, we undertook a review of grey and academic literature, case law, and government program guidelines. Online resources for small businesses in navigating commercial real estate and lease negotiations, found on the websites of brokerages and law firms, were another key source in this area of our research. The chosen planning, policy, and legal tools were ones recommended in BUTO's Black Business Conversation report and in other grey literature on small business displacement. They include property tax assessment, financial support programs for commercial property ownership, the right of first refusal, zoning for commercial units, municipally owned retail space, and community benefits negotiations.

Precedent Survey

Our team completed a jurisdictional scan of CLTs across Canada and the United States. From there, we narrowed our focus to CLTs with a commercial component, those led by Black communities for Black communities, and those located in Canada. We then looked for key

variations and similarities in the governance, financing and ownership/leasing structures of the selected CLTs. We concluded that the most valuable precedents for BUTO and this research are the Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust, the Rondo Community Land Trust, Hogan's Alley Trust, and the Anchorage Community Land Trust.

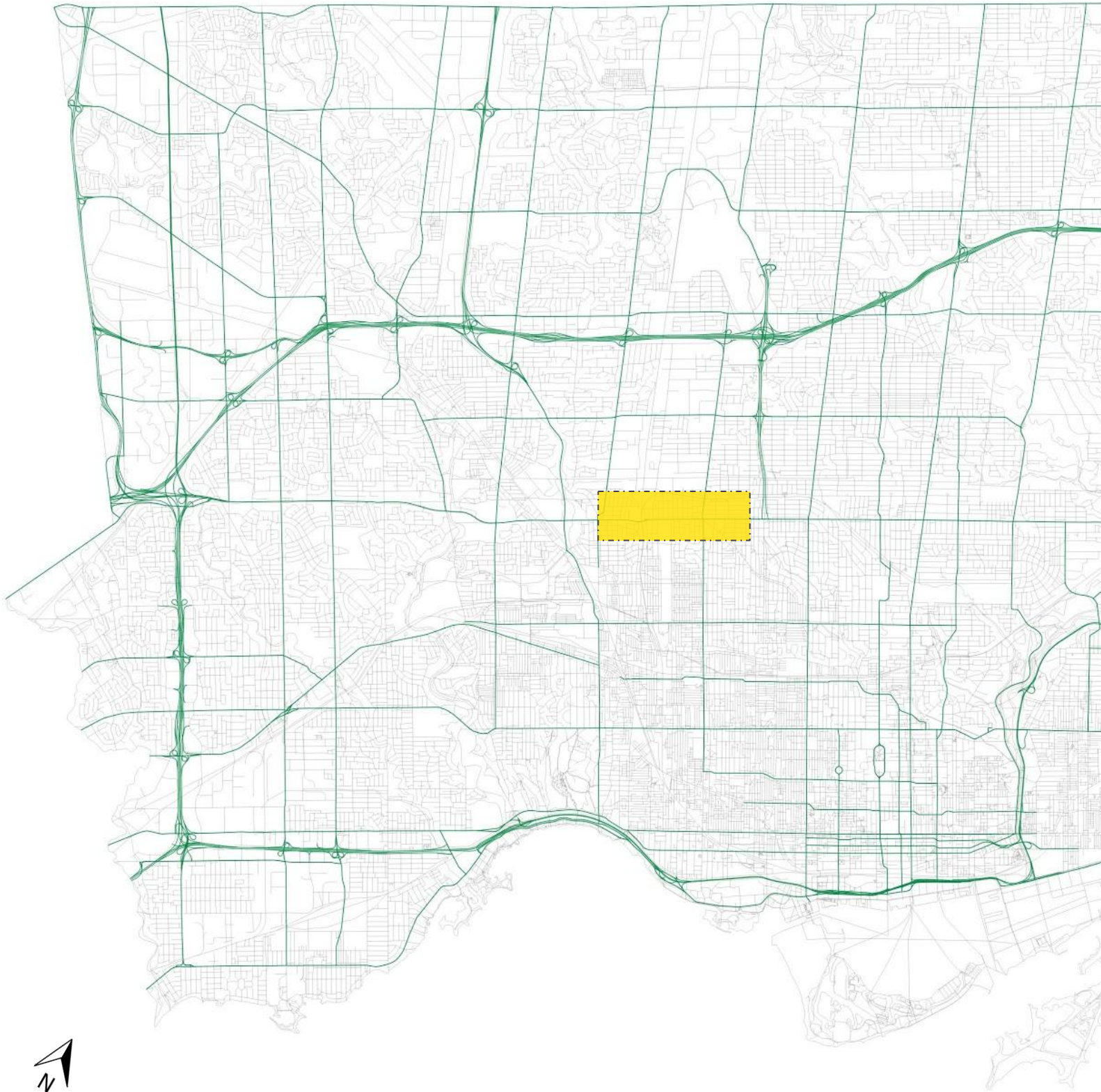
Key Informant Interviews

Our team conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with academic researchers, representatives of CLTs, professionals in the commercial real estate and development community, as well as staff from the City of Toronto's planning department. Interviews took place in October and November of 2020, and were used to supplement our research and policy analysis. Key informants were selected based on their expertise in areas relating to our research questions and framing of the project. Their depth of knowledge, experiences, and valuable insights were essential to our research findings and helped to inform our recommendations.

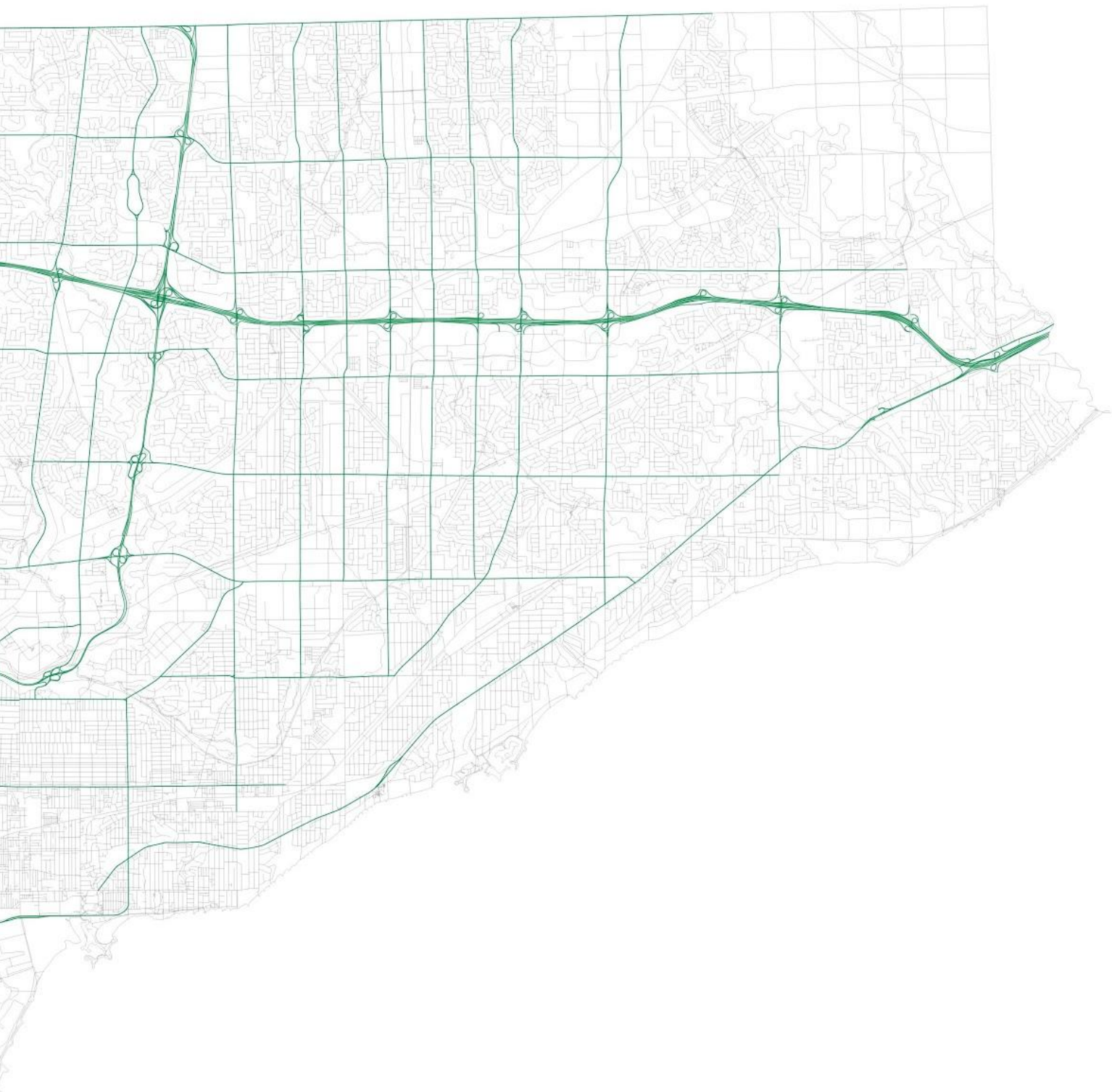
We would like to thank the following key informants for their contributions to this study:

- Adrian Phillips, Heritage Planning, City Planning Division, City of Toronto
- Daniel Kolanko, Skyline Group
- Jeff Cantos, Strategic Initiatives Policy & Analysis, City Planning Division, City of Toronto
- Joe Svec, Choice Properties REIT
- Joshua Barndt, Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust
- Julian Battiston, Oben Group
- Megan Smith, Empire Communities
- Sipo Maphangoh, Community Planning, City Planning Division, City of Toronto
- Stephanie Allen, Hogan's Alley Land Trust and BC Housing
- Dr. Susannah Bunce, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Toronto

CITY OF TORONTO CONTEXT MAP



1:310000



2

PLANNING POLICY

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST

Provincial and Municipal Planning Policy

Summary

This report section provides an overview of provincial and municipal planning policy. The policy guides and shapes new transit-oriented development in Little Jamaica and consequently impacts existing Black-owned businesses in the district.¹

This due diligence can be an important resource for Black Urbanism TO (BUTO) when engaging in conversations with provincial and municipal actors on planning and development decisions that impact the community, including individual development applications and larger planning proposals such as Councillor Josh Matlow's member's motion for a new planning framework study as a phase one *protected major transit station area (PMTSA)* for Little Jamaica as a part of the *municipal comprehensive review* being undertaken by the City of Toronto's City Planning Division as of May 2020.

This section also includes a discussion on the opportunities and challenges Ontario's land use planning framework presents for Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica.²

Planning Act

The *Planning Act (1990)* is provincial legislation that describes how land uses may be controlled in the Province of Ontario. The Act establishes the parameters of municipal authority with respect to planning and it requires municipal planning decisions, such as those taken by the City of Toronto, to conform with provincial policy.

Key planning considerations under Section 2 of the Act include: the orderly development of safe and healthy communities; the adequate provision and distribution of educational, health, social, cultural and recreational facilities; the adequate provision of a full range of housing, including affordable housing; the promotion of development that is designed to be sustainable, to support public transit and to be oriented to pedestrians; the promotion of a built form that is well-designed, encourages a sense of place, and provides for high-quality, safe and accessible public spaces; and the conservation of features of significant architectural, cultural and historical interest.

¹ Where used, 'the district' implies the commonly understood boundaries of Little Jamaica, from Keele Street to Marlee Avenue.

² Words italicized in this section are defined terms in the provincial and municipal planning policy under which they are referenced.

Provincial Policy Statement

The Provincial Policy Statement (PPS) (2020) builds upon the *Planning Act* by providing further direction on land use planning and development in Ontario. Again, all municipal planning decisions must be consistent with the PPS.

Key planning considerations under the PPS include the creation of strong and healthy communities and the protection of matters and resources of provincial interest, which include public health and safety, and the quality and nature of the built environment. Of particular relevance to the community of Little Jamaica, Policy 1.7.1. of the PPS seeks to promote long-term economic growth and prosperity in the province, and Policy 1.1.3.3. requires planning authorities to promote opportunities for *transit-supportive* development through *intensification* and *redevelopment*.

Growth Plan

A Place to Grow: Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (2020) builds upon the policy directive provided in the PPS. To support a thriving economy, a clean and healthy environment, and social equity in the *Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH)*, the Plan sets out further guidance for creating *complete communities* that are compact, *transit-supportive*, and make effective use of investments in *infrastructure* and *public service facilities* (Section 1.2.1.).

The Plan seeks to optimize investments in *higher order transit*, like the Eglinton Crosstown LRT, by identifying *priority transit corridors*, such as Eglinton Avenue, in Schedule 5. Under the Plan, municipalities are required to complete detailed planning for major transit station areas (MTSAs) along priority transit corridors and subway stations to support planned service levels. A MSTA is generally defined as the area within an approximate 500 to 800 metre radius of a transit station, representing a 10-minute walk .

Four (4) Crosstown stations fall within the boundaries of Little Jamaica: Keeleedale, Caledonia, Fairbank, and Oakwood. As such, there are four *MTSAs* in the district that are required to meet a minimum density target of 160 residents and jobs combined per hectare by 2051, according to Policy 2.2.4.3.b.³ *Transit supportive development* within *MTSAs* should be compact, mixed-use development that has a high level of employment and residential densities in line with the Province's transit supportive guidelines.

³ This would mean a total of 12,560 people and jobs within a 500 meter radius around each LRT station or 32,160 people and jobs using the 800 meter radius. The minimum density targets of people and/or jobs within an *MTSA* must be planned for by the municipality by 2051, as in the appropriate planning policies must be put in place to permit such intensification to occur.

Other guiding principles in the Growth Plan include supporting a range and mix of housing options, including additional residential units and *affordable* housing to serve all sizes, incomes, and ages of households (Section 1.2.1.). Of particular importance to Little Jamaica, the Growth Plan promotes the conservation of *cultural heritage resources* to support social, economic, and cultural well-being of all communities, including Indigenous communities.

Here, *cultural heritage resources* are defined as:

“Built heritage resources, cultural heritage landscapes and archaeological resources that have been determined to have cultural heritage value or interest for the important contribution they make to our understanding of the history of a place, an event or people. While some cultural heritage resources may already be identified and inventoried by official sources, the significance of others can only be determined after evaluation” (p. 69).

Little Jamaica is not located within an *urban growth centre*, but is in relatively close proximity to the Yonge-Eglinton *urban growth centre*, which is an emerging downtown area depicted in Schedule 4 of the Growth Plan.

City of Toronto Official Plan

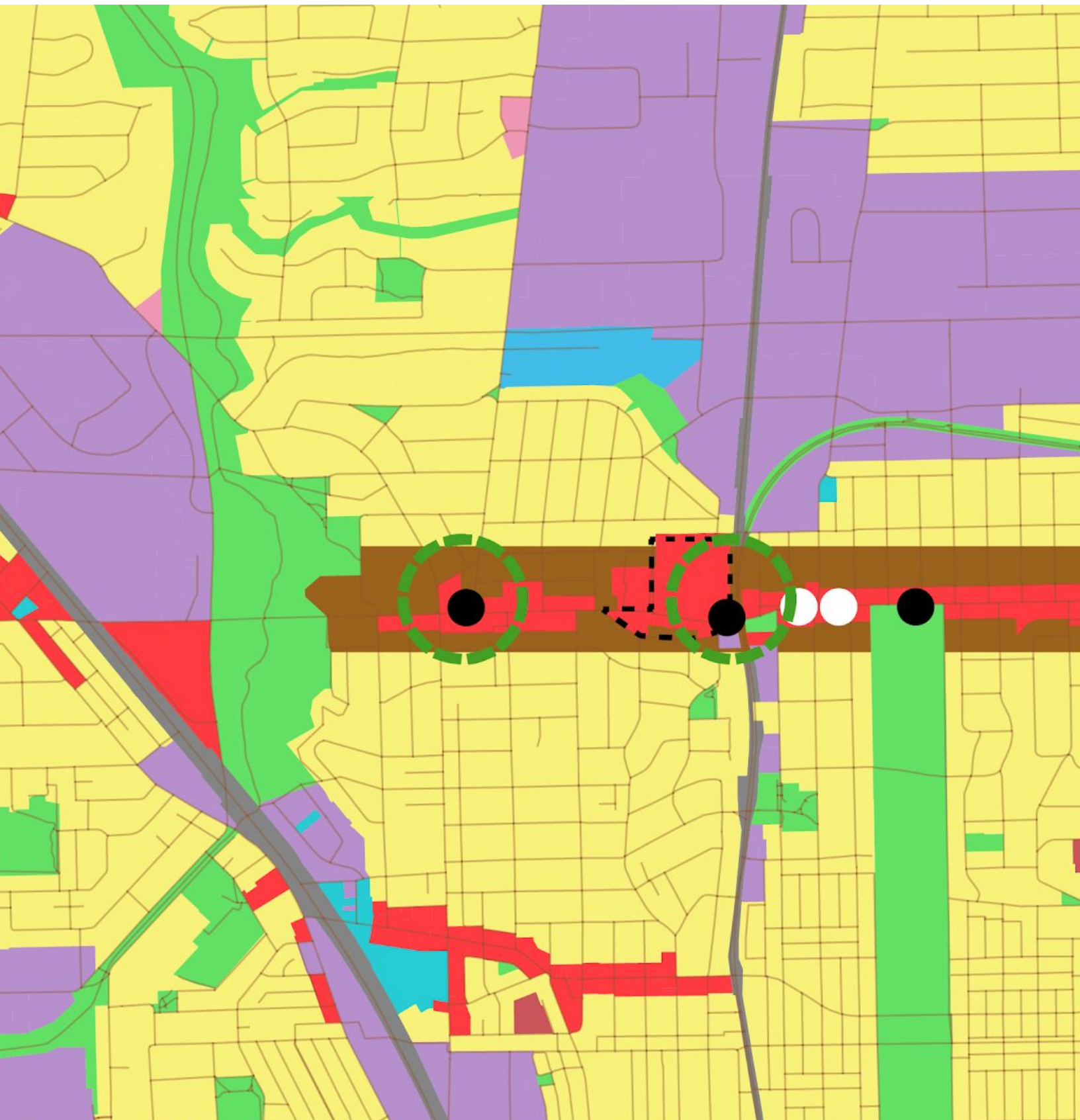
The geography of Little Jamaica is identified in Map 1 of the Official Plan (OP) to be an important corridor of regional connection in accordance with the Growth Plan. The district contains two *Avenues*: Eglinton Avenue West and Dufferin Street as depicted in Map 2 and defined in Chapter 2 of the OP. *Avenues* that are designated as mixed-use are intended for incremental intensification to accommodate growth in population and jobs.

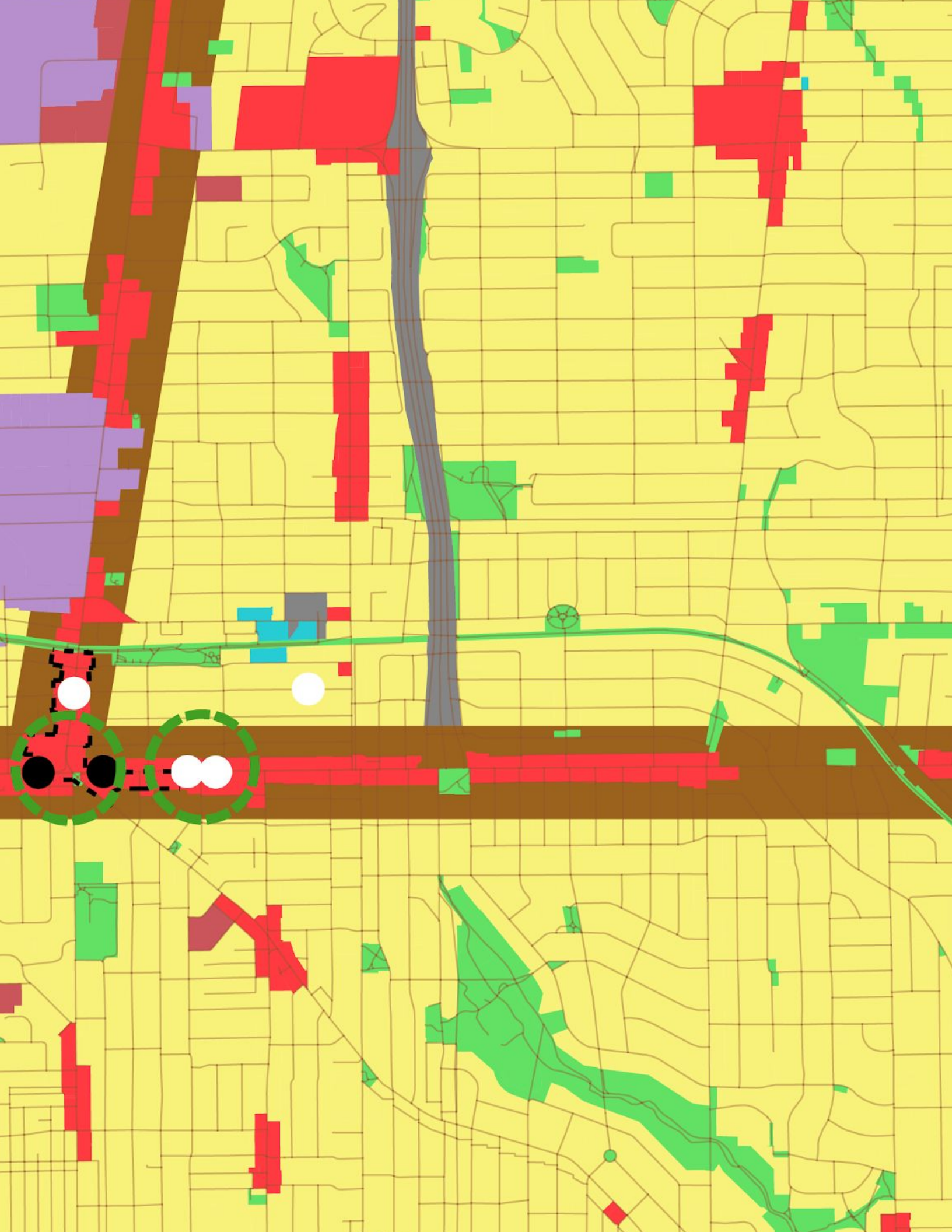
Land Use and Zoning

Policy 4.2. of the Official Plan requires development in *Mixed Use Areas* to create a balance of high quality commercial, residential, institutional, and open space uses that reduce automobile dependency; meet the needs of the local community; and create and sustain well-paid, stable, safe, and fulfilling employment opportunities for all Torontonians.

Little Jamaica spans two neighbourhoods, as defined by the City of Toronto, including Beechborough-Greenbrook and Briar Hill-Belgravia. Although Little Jamaica’s land use designation is primarily *Mixed Use Area* in Map 17 of the OP, it is surrounded by *Neighbourhoods* and two *Apartment Neighbourhoods* that together contain fifteen buildings ranging from 8- to 21-storeys, north and south of Eglinton Avenue West.

PROVINCIAL LAND USE MAP





As defined in Chapter 4, *Neighbourhoods* are physically stable areas made up of residential uses in lower scale buildings, such as detached houses, semi-detached houses, duplexes, triplexes and townhouses; and any development in established *Neighbourhoods* must respect and reinforce the existing physical character. *Apartment Neighbourhoods* are made up of apartment buildings and parks, local institutions, cultural and recreational facilities, and small scale retail, service, and office uses that serve the needs of area residents.

Little Jamaica is surrounded by four designated *Public Parks* including Eglinton Gilbert Parkette, Haverson Park, Fairbank Memorial Park, and Walter Saunders Memorial Park on the York Beltline Trail. Prospect Cemetery, located south of Eglinton Avenue West at Caledonia Road, is designated an *Other Open Space Area* land use in the Official Plan. *Parks* and *Other Open Spaces* are important community assets for recreational, cultural and education uses and development is generally prohibited in these areas (Policy 4.3.2.). The commercial district is east and south of major *General* and *Core Employment Areas* flanking the GO Barrie rail corridor.

The aforementioned land uses are operationalized by Zoning By-law 569-2013 and applicable By-laws of the former municipalities, in this case, the old City of York. As-of-right zoning heights permitted under By-law 569-2013 for Little Jamaica are 24 metres (7 storeys) for Commercial Residential properties (CR) and 11 metres for Residential (R) neighbourhood properties along Eglinton Avenue West with a few exceptions.



View looking Eastwards along Eglinton near Oakwood Ave.

Source: Google Street View, June 2019.

Built Form

The low-rise mixed-use buildings in Little Jamaica between Keele and Dufferin Streets are predominately 2-storeys with one storey of commercial use at-grade and one storey of residential use above. East of Dufferin Street there are also a handful of mixed-use buildings that are 3-storeys and contain two storeys of residential use. The *Mixed-Use Area* buildings and *Apartment Neighbourhoods* were constructed primarily between 1931 and 1960, while the surrounding neighbourhood includes properties developed between 1916 and 1930.⁴

The westernmost *Apartment Neighbourhood* site furthest in Little Jamaica includes: 2480 Eglinton Avenue West (Plaut Manor), 2470 Eglinton Avenue West, 2468 Eglinton Avenue West (TCHC), and 33 Gabian Way (Villa Casper Corte Realty Inc.).

The *Apartment Neighbourhood* site furthest east includes: 2353 Dufferin Street (The Lewis Garnsworthy Residence), 2339 Dufferin Street (St. Hilda's Senior Residence Assisted Living), 800 Vaughan Road (St. Hilda's Towers), 1775 Eglinton Avenue East (Doug Sanders Apartments - TCHC), 1685 and 1675 Eglinton Avenue West (Eglinton Court Apartments), 795 Vaughan Road, 785 Vaughan Road (Gertrude Suites), 682 Northcliffe Boulevard (Northcliffe Terrace), 659 Northcliffe Boulevard (TCHC), and 633 Northcliffe Boulevard.

Other low- to mid-rise apartment buildings outside of lands designated as *Apartment Neighbourhoods* in Little Jamaica include: 2558 Eglinton Avenue West (Li Mar Apartments), 2507 and 2515 Eglinton Avenue West (Westbury Rentals), 2 Glenhaven Street (Glenhaven Apartments), 2501 Eglinton Avenue West, 2040 Eglinton Avenue West, 2005 Eglinton Avenue West, 1969 Eglinton Avenue West (Eglinton Terrace), 1500 Eglinton Avenue West, 1490 Eglinton Avenue West, 1480 Eglinton Avenue West, and 1463 Eglinton Avenue West.

Other Toronto Community Housing buildings in close proximity to Little Jamaica include: 145 Elm Ridge Drive and 855 Roselawn Avenue, east and west of Marlee Avenue, and 600-612b Rogers Road and 2468 Eglinton Avenue West, east and west of Keele Street.⁵

According to Policies 3.1.2.1. and 3.1.2.3. of the Official Plan, new development must be located and organized to harmoniously fit within the existing and/ or planned context. In this case, the applicable *Avenue Study* is the Eglinton Connects Planning Framework. New development must frame and support adjacent streets, parks and open spaces to improve the safety, pedestrian interest and casual views to these spaces. This includes incorporating exterior design elements including form, scale, proportion, pattern, materials, and sustainable design to influence the character, scale, and appearance of new development. In this context, the average low-rise mixed-use building frontage width on Eglinton Avenue West is 6.5 metres.

⁴ [City of Toronto](#), 2003

⁵ This list of apartment buildings in Little Jamaica was provided to support tenant and broader community organizing. While most addresses included front onto Eglinton, several other low rise rental apartment buildings exist within the residential neighbourhoods flanking the commercial strip and along north-south arterial roads, which future research can identify.

Right-of-way and Transportation

According to Map 3 of the Official Plan, the right-of-way width along Little Jamaica is primarily 27 metres east-west and occasionally 20 metres north-south. Eglinton Avenue West is a *higher order transit* corridor with a planned GO/TTC interchange at Caledonia Road where the GO Barrie rail line runs parallel to Caledonia Road, as identified in Map 4. Map 5 of the OP rearticulates that the Crosstown LRT is a part of the City's surface transit priority network.

Secondary Plans

There are no secondary plans that apply to and/ or impact planning in Little Jamaica.

Eglinton Connects Planning Study, 2014

The City's vision for Eglinton Avenue has been articulated in the Eglinton Connects Planning Study as follows:

"Eglinton will become Toronto's central east-west avenue - a green, beautiful, linear space that supports residential living, employment, retail and public uses in a setting of community vibrancy. Its design will balance all forms of mobility and connect neighbourhoods and natural valley systems to the larger city and the region."



Eglinton Connects Planning Study, 2014

The study includes 21 recommendations related to travelling, greening, and building Eglinton Avenue. Recommendation 15 encourages developers to assemble properties along Eglinton Avenue West and create new mid-rise development through as-of-right zoning permissions

that were granted through an Official Plan Amendment (OPA 253) and Zoning By-law Amendments (ZBAs) (1030-2014 and 1031-2014), initiated and approved by the City in phase one of the study.

According to the Eglinton Connects Planning Study, the City believes that increased density along Eglinton Avenue will provide a range of benefits to an undefined “local community,” including the creation of a larger customer base to support local shops, restaurants, and services, and an increased local tax base, which will support improvements to community services and amenities. The boundaries of Little Jamaica also intersect with two Focus Areas that will have their own Site and Area Specific Policies (SASPs): West Side Mall and vicinity, which is west of Caledonia Road, and the intersection of Dufferin and Eglinton.

The West Side Mall Focus Area is designed to provide a range of building types, unit sizes, and tenures, including tall buildings and a new public street network through subdivision. The redevelopment should maintain a balance and mix of uses to support an increase in the overall amount of commercial floor space, retain and encourage a mix of commercial space sizes, and retain the existing grocery store use. Moreover, this focus area will create a new publicly owned and publicly accessible green open space and use lower scale buildings to transition to existing low-rise residential neighbourhoods north of the site.



A conceptual design for Westside Mall, currently a 140,000 square foot shopping centre adjacent to the future Caledonia Station. Source: SmartCentres, 2019.

Though a development application has not yet been submitted, the property owner, SmartCentres Real Estate Investment Trust, has presented a conceptual ideation of the future site to investors.⁶ Their redevelopment vision for West Side Mall follows Eglinton Connects' proposed SASP for the focus area in a rendering of 12 mixed-use towers on a new street network, and aims to add "primarily new residential development."⁷

In contrast, the Dufferin Focus Area is designed to maintain the street character along Dufferin Street and Eglinton Avenue West, create a high quality civic plaza at the main entrance of the LRT station, and incorporate the City-owned parking lot. This focus area will prioritize a mid-rise built form with tall buildings at the corners of the main intersection; increase the overall commercial floor space within the area, and provide direct improvements to Fairbank Memorial Park.

It is important to highlight, however, that City staff's final direction report on the Eglinton Connects Planning Study explicitly recognized the limitations that the as-of-right upzoning to mid-rise buildings would place on the City's ability to negotiate community benefits through Section 37 of the *Planning Act*:

"[It] removes the potential to later authorize increases in height and density for mid-rise buildings on a specific site basis in return for provision of such facilities, services or matters as might have been set out in individual site specific by-law under Section 37... significant public benefits should be obtained through the more intense development envisioned in the focus areas, which are not proposed for rezoning" (p. 31-32).

When reflecting upon the relationship between Little Jamaica and the Eglinton Connects Planning Study, it is also critically important to note two facts. First, the community is not explicitly referenced in any of the planning documents related to the framework, and second, the City and its consultants made limited effort to consult Black-owned businesses throughout its development.⁸

⁶ [SmartCentres](#), 2019

⁷ Ibid.; [Debergh](#), 2019

⁸ [Baker, Gardener-Williams, Mark, Antczak, Dai, Ganton, & Wilson](#), 2020

Municipal Comprehensive Review

"The weight that we are putting on the equity-lens in the [municipal comprehensive review] MCR is very high, which will help inform how we do the *MTSAs* and the intensification strategy... it's not even a priority, it is *the* lens through which we are going to do the entire MCR."

- Jeff Cantos, Project Manager of the Official Plan, City of Toronto⁹

Shifting gears, municipalities across the Province of Ontario are required under the *Planning Act* and the *Places to Grow Act (2005)* to update their Official Plans through a *municipal comprehensive review (MCR)* to satisfy recent updates to the Growth Plan by July 1, 2022. To do so, the City of Toronto must develop an intensification strategy that will direct transit oriented development in *major transit station areas (MTSAs)*, *urban growth centres*, and *other strategic growth areas*, as previously discussed.

In this process, the City of Toronto will prioritize undertaking local area studies for some, but not all, *MTSAs* to inform *MTSA* delineations and density calculations to accommodate growth in employment and population. *Protected major transit station areas (PMTSAs)*, as defined in the *Planning Act*, will be a subset of the 180+ *MTSAs* that the City can delineate through the MCR. *PMTSAs* are distinct from *MTSAs* as they require a level of detail akin to provisions contained within an area zoning by-law, should a municipality choose to set maximum density targets, and minimum and maximum heights.

For the first time in its history, the City of Toronto's *MCR* will be undertaken through an equity-lens. This lens is particularly important for individuals and communities that have been systematically marginalized throughout and as a result of planning processes, like Little Jamaica and other allied communities in Chinatown and Jane and Finch.

Inclusionary Zoning

Notably, the City Planning Division recommends a three-phase implementation approach that builds upon and applies recently completed planning studies. Through this process, inclusionary zoning (IZ) will be limited to *PMTSAs*. Inclusionary zoning is an affordable housing tool that links the production of affordable housing to the production of market-rate housing. At the time of writing this report, the City of Toronto is undergoing a second round of public consultations to further refine its IZ implementation strategy.¹⁰

When the *MCR* report was approved by City Council in May 2020, the four Eglinton Crosstown LRT stations within Little Jamaica fell under phase three of the exercise. This means they were not categorized as *PMTSAs* and were not to be used to implement inclusionary zoning along

⁹ Cantos, Personal Interview, November 10, 2020.

¹⁰ City of Toronto. (2020, May 19). [PH14.4 Growth Plan Conformity and Municipal Comprehensive Review \(MCR\) - Work Plan](#).

Eglinton Avenue West because they are not located in “strong” or “moderate” market areas, as presently identified by the City.

Nonetheless, key elements of the proposed IZ framework as of September 2020 include setting aside 10 percent of the total residential gross floor area as affordable housing in condominium buildings in strong market areas and five percent in moderate market areas. A lower threshold of five percent of total residential gross floor area is proposed for purpose built rental buildings in strong market areas and three percent in moderate. Strong and moderate market area categorizations will be updated every three years by the City to further the implementation of IZ across Toronto.¹¹

Following the first round of public consultations in 2019, staff now recommend that affordable units be secured for a 99-year period through new IZ agreements, and that these units be secured at *affordable rents* and/or *affordable ownership* prices as defined in the City of Toronto Official Plan. These definitions are currently being updated through the second round of public consultations to more accurately align affordability with population income rather than market rates.

Similar to the limitations identified for securing community benefits in mid-rise buildings, City staff have recommended exempting most mid-rise buildings from inclusionary zoning requirements based on the size thresholds they have set out using the following analysis:

“Across the city, the average size of a mid-rise development ranges from 100 units to 132 units. About 81 percent of mid-rise projects outside of the downtown and central waterfront contain less than 140 units... in public consultations undertaken in 2019, many supported these exemptions as the development economics for mid-rise buildings are challenging even without affordable housing requirements” (p. 6).¹²

Fundamentally, the City’s IZ policy will only apply to buildings with more than 100 residential units and more than 80,000 square metres of residential gross floor area in the downtown and central waterfront areas, and buildings with more than 140 residential units and more than 100,000 square metres of residential gross floor area in all other inclusionary zoning areas.

In the context of Little Jamaica’s Eglinton Crosstown LRT stations being reprioritized as phase one *PMTSAs*, as discussed in the next subsection, it is likely that the *PMTSAs* best positioned to accommodate the planned growth in population and jobs and inclusionary zoning are transit station areas that contain the West Side Mall and Dufferin Focus Areas under the Eglinton Connects Planning Study.

¹¹ City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 22). [PH16.7 Inclusionary Zoning Draft Official Plan Amendment and Zoning By-Law Amendment](#).

¹² City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 22). [PH16.7 Attachment 3 - Description of Draft Inclusionary Zoning Framework](#).

Toronto City Council Member's Motions on Little Jamaica

On September 30, 2020, Toronto City Council adopted two motions put forth by local City Councillors Josh Matlow and Mike Colle. Both councillors represent constituencies within Little Jamaica as the district is contained within two wards: Ward 12 Toronto-St. Paul's and Ward 8 Eglinton-Lawrence.¹³

These motions are historic and mark the first time Toronto City Council has brought forth meaningful policy to ameliorate the impacts of displacement and gentrification in Little Jamaica, as well as establish opportunities for cultural and heritage preservation.

Councillor Josh Matlow's Member Motion (MM24.36) entitled "Supporting Black-owned and operated businesses and preserving the cultural heritage of Eglinton Avenue West's 'Little Jamaica'"¹⁴ contained a number of substantial requests to the provincial government including the introduction of commercial rent control legislation and requiring Metrolinx and Crosslinx Transit Solutions to give Black-owned and operated businesses the first right of refusal for any retail spaces in Eglinton Crosstown LRT stations within the district.

The motion also extended this request to the province to require property owners in Little Jamaica to provide Black businesses with the first right of refusal, more broadly, on retail spaces in the district upon land transfer. This report will reflect upon the role and effectiveness of first right of refusal as one business retention strategy among many for protecting Black businesses in the community.

Notably, Councillor Matlow's motion also called upon the province to implement the recommendations outlined in BUTO's *A Black Business Conversation* report and provided the Mayor's Roundtable on Black Business with a mandate to host community consultations on officially branding the district as "Little Jamaica" from Keele Street to Marlee Avenue and explore financial relief measures for Black businesses related to property taxes and license renewal.

In this vein, Councillor Colle's member motion (MM24.17)¹⁵ called for the City of Toronto to explore establishing Dufferin Street to Allen Road as "Little Jamaica Heritage and Economic Innovation Hub" in consultation with the local Business Improvement Areas (BIAs), the Black Business and Professional Association, and the Canadian Jamaican Association. These partners differ from those who were identified in Councillor Matlow's motion, which explicitly named Black Urbanism TO (BUTO), Reclaim, Rebuild Eglinton Avenue West, Black Futures on Eglinton, and local BIAs.

¹³ Saba, 2020

¹⁴ City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 30). [MM24.36. Supporting Black-owned and operated businesses and preserving the cultural heritage of Eglinton Avenue West's "Little Jamaica" by Councillor Josh Matlow, seconded by Councillor Michael Thompson.](#)

¹⁵ City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 30). [MM24.17. Eglinton Avenue West - Little Jamaica by Councillor Mike Colle, seconded by Councillor Ana Balião.](#)

Moreover, Councillor Colle's motion requested that the City Manager report back to Council on compensating small businesses owners in Little Jamaica for the losses they have suffered as a result of the LRT construction over the last ten years; for reform of the provincial property tax assessment system to ensure that commercial properties within Little Jamaica are assessed on their present use, as opposed to their highest and best speculative use; and Metrolinx/Crosslinx, the consortium building the LRT, immediately remove all surface construction equipment from public sidewalks and road allowances along Eglinton Avenue West.

Of critical importance to this planning policy due diligence, Councillor Josh Matlow's motion initiated a request for an interdivisional team of staff from the City's Economic Development and Culture, City Planning, Parks, Forestry and Recreation, Corporate Real Estate Management Divisions, the Housing Secretariat, Confronting Anti-Black Racism Unit, Indigenous Affairs Office, Office of Partnerships and Transportation Services to deliver the following plans:

A planning framework study for Little Jamaica as a phase one *protected major transit station area (PMTSA)*, a cultural district plan, a retail strategy and implementation plan, a reopening, recovery and rebuilding (COVID-19) strategy, and a housing strategy among others. Interestingly, this motion changes the phase three *MTSA* categorizations for the four Eglinton Crosstown LRT stations within Little Jamaica, as articulated in the City's original *municipal comprehensive review (MCR)* work plan, to a phase one *PMTSA*.

As discussed above, this recategorization has important implications including the implementation of inclusionary zoning and affordable housing development in Little Jamaica.

Development Applications

According to the City of Toronto's development Application Information Centre (AIC) there have been 11 development applications submitted for properties in Little Jamaica since 2009 for residential and commercial uses. Eight of these proposals are for development above the average as-of-right building height along Eglinton Avenue West of 24 metres (7-storeys). This built form is in alignment with the intent of the Eglinton Connects Planning Study.

Since the implementation of Eglinton Connects, almost half (5) of the applications submitted in 2019 (2) and 2020 (3) are for proposals ranging from 8 to 30 storeys and total 603 residential units. This data illuminates how quickly development is occurring along the Avenue as a result of the Study, and will continue as the City plans for the LRT *PMTSAs* in Little Jamaica to accommodate its minimum intensification targets.

For more information on development applications in Little Jamaica, please see Appendix I.

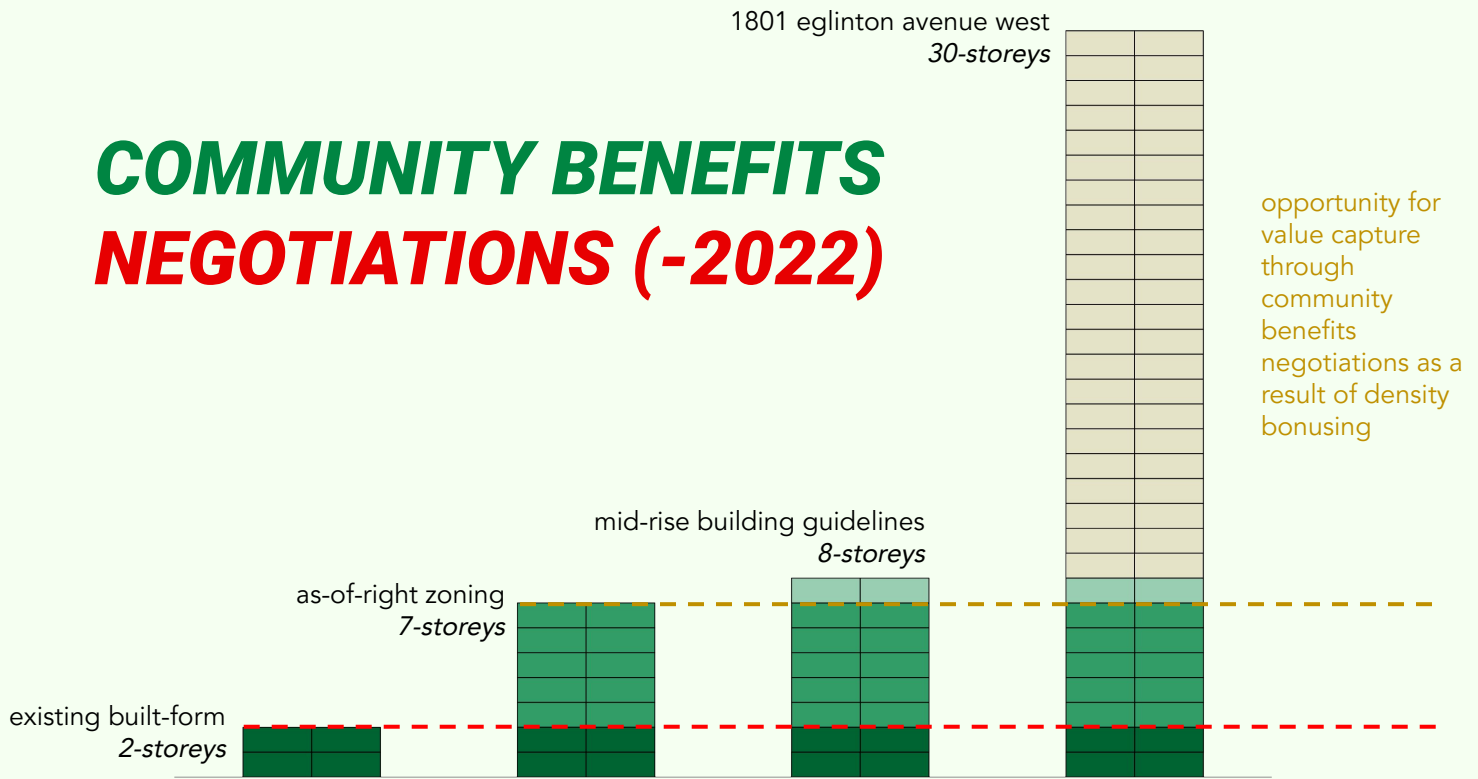
Community Development Charges (CBCs) and Section 37

In 2019, Bill 108, the *More Homes, More Choices Act* was introduced by the province to, among other things, establish the authority for community benefits charges (CBC). The CBC will replace existing density bonusing provisions under Section 37 of the *Planning Act* and is intended to: (1) increase the certainty of development costs, transparency, and accountability with respect to the acquisition of community benefits, and (2) “enable growth to pay for growth.”

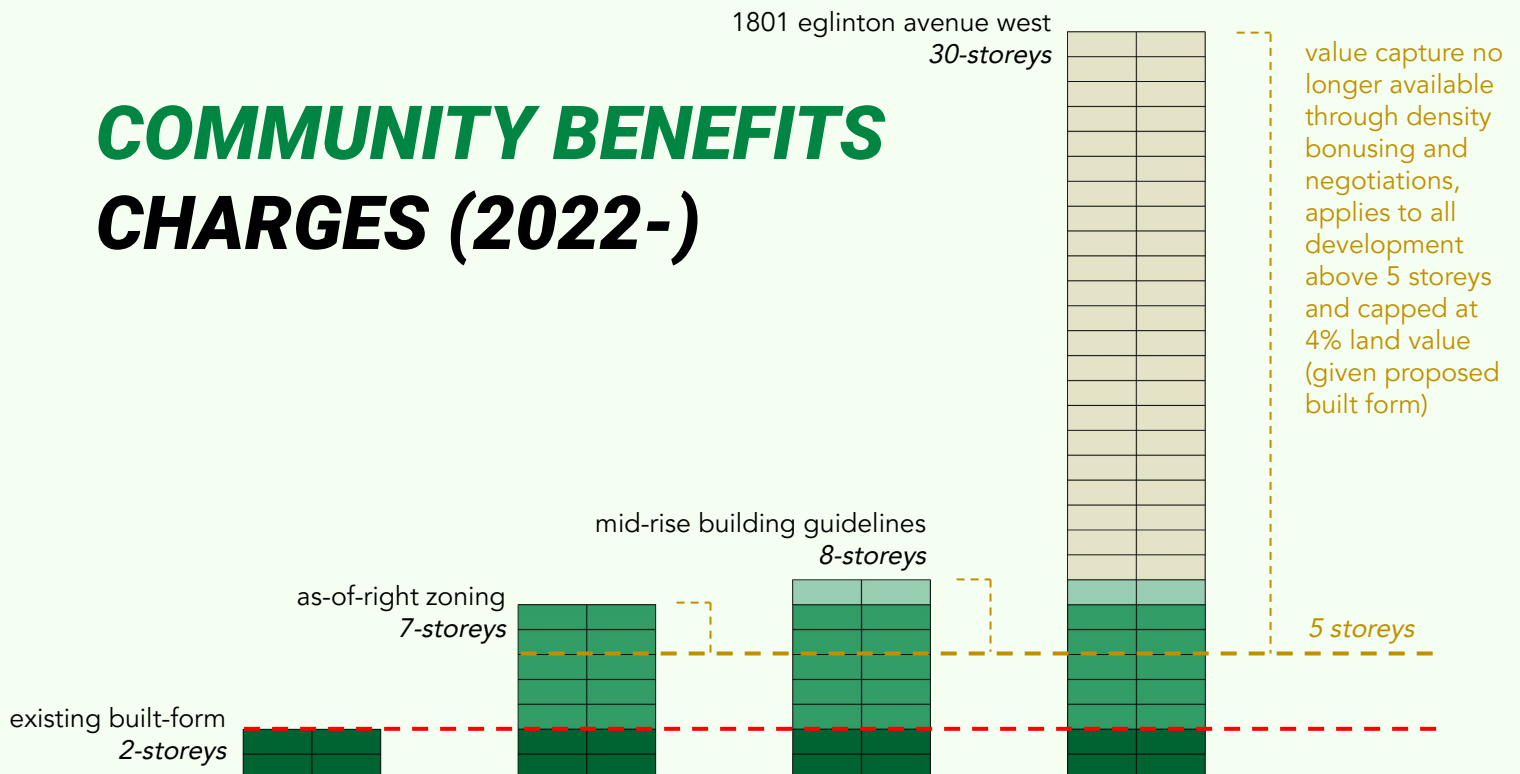
This is a significant change from the existing community benefits regime because it will no longer allow local city councillors in municipalities across the Province to negotiate with developers for benefits in return for density bonuses on a site-by-site basis when it comes into effect on September 18, 2022. The new CBC will apply to almost all development applications and will be capped at four percent of the land value of a given site.

The implementation of the community benefits charge was further operationalized in Bill 197, the *COVID-19 Economic Recovery Act, 2020*, which included Regulation 509/20 under the *Planning Act*. Municipalities have until September 18, 2022 to pass a new community benefits charge by-law and create a CBC strategy as required by the province. Notably, the CBC will not apply to development that is less than 5-storeys or less than 10 residential units, major office towers, and non-profit housing.

COMMUNITY BENEFITS NEGOTIATIONS (-2022)



COMMUNITY BENEFITS CHARGES (2022-)



Discussion

Change is coming to Little Jamaica. The planning policy framework is working as intended.

The impact of our growth- and transit-oriented planning framework on the community of Little Jamaica can be seen through the layering of three key policy directives: (1) general mixed-use *Avenue* intensification under Toronto's Official Plan, (2) *major transit station areas (MTSAs)* and *protected major transit station areas (PMTSAs)* under the Growth Plan and *Planning Act* which have specific minimum density targets; and (3) delineated focus areas in the Eglinton Connects Planning Framework, which include Westside Mall at Caledonia Road and the main intersection at Dufferin Street for targeted high density development.

There are grounds for built-form and cultural heritage preservation within the planning policy framework (to be elaborated on in latter sections). However, the overarching provincial and municipal planning policies articulate very clearly that *transit-supportive* growth and *intensification* will take place along Eglinton Avenue West, particularly once the *Avenue* transitions to a moderate and/or strong market area.

As such, there will be development along Eglinton that not only meets the City's vision for a mid-rise *Avenue* (8 storeys given the *Avenue's* 27 metre right-of-way in Little Jamaica), but exceeds as-of-right permissions, particularly in the focus areas delineated in the Eglinton Connects Planning Study where tall buildings are intended. As such, there are limited opportunities for the community to acquire substantial community benefits outside of the focus areas under the current Section 37 regime, which allows for unique negotiations on a site-by-site basis.

It is critical that BUTO is well positioned in the community to be able to engage with the local city councillors on the community's behalf to secure benefits that preserve the area's cultural heritage and its Black-owned businesses. This will require further community organizing and trust-building with Black businesses and local residents who may also be at risk of displacement as the rent gap widens.

Should developers seek to build higher density buildings along the *Avenue* and request a rezoning, it remains unclear what the impacts of providing both affordable housing through inclusionary zoning and community benefits through the new CBC may be in order for them to make a desirable return on their investment.¹⁶

This is likely to impact the funds that are available to provide affordable commercial space as the desired community benefit for Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica, particularly for activities where BUTO is seeking to advocate for below-market rate access. This reiterates the

¹⁶ Cantos, Personal Interview.

importance of the items included in Councillor Josh Matlow's motion which calls for further government intervention in the real estate market through commercial rent control and first right of refusal as tools for protecting Little Jamaica as a Black business district in the city of Toronto. Notably, there is precedence for securing first right of refusal as a community benefit through a Section 37 agreement elsewhere in Toronto, but it remains unclear how a benefit like this could be secured under the new community benefits charge regime.¹⁷

On the other hand, it could be the case that certain types of developers (i.e. non-profits) may be interested in high density, affordable, mixed-use development should there be significant government funding and partnerships in place to purchase property and finance planning and construction.

In summary, planning policy has historically and continues to facilitate the displacement of Black communities in cities across North America, though it has the capacity to regulate how spaces are used (i.e. to provide affordable housing, community benefits) to preserve cultural heritage. However, the limitations of our planning policy framework supports the case for exploring alternative strategies for cultural preservation and community wealth building that essentially pick-up where planning policy leaves off. The subsequent report sections will explore such strategies and illustrate the important role that a commercial community land trust can play in BUTO's efforts to prioritize Black-business owners for commercial properties in Little Jamaica.

¹⁷ Maphangoh, Personal Interview, November 5, 2020.

Recommendations

1. BUTO should use this report as a resource among its supporters and volunteers to help lay a foundational understanding of the provincial and municipal planning framework. This includes the fact that land use planning cannot regulate or prioritize specific “users,” such as Black people, but it can regulate or prioritize specific “uses,” such as small businesses in mixed use areas.
2. BUTO should continue to maintain close and strong relationships with local Councillors Josh Matlow and Mike Colle to shape what community benefits are acquired and redistributed to the community through high density development. These benefits should be leveraged to preserve the community’s cultural heritage, support existing Black-owned businesses, and increase the number of Black-owned businesses who own their commercial space in Little Jamaica.
3. BUTO should investigate further what publicly-owned land exists within the district, such as City-owned parking sites and Provincially-owned LRT properties, and demand that they be used to provide substantial community benefits for the community, including the piloting of activities that required greater government intervention (i.e. commercial rent control and first right of refusal).
4. BUTO should consider amending its current community organizing strategy to expand its constituency beyond businesses to include tenants in the apartments along the strip to help determine what types of community benefits the organization should advocate for when it has a seat at the table and to identify potential partners to deliver community benefits, which may include other organizations or Black people interested in locating their businesses in the cultural district.
5. BUTO should reach out to the Project Manager of the Official Plan from the City of Toronto’s City Planning Division to position itself to be a key constituent to be engaged in the City’s upcoming municipal comprehensive review (MCR) process to advance the interests of Black people and communities across the city. This is particularly important because we have learned that the MCR will explicitly use equity and anti-Black racism lenses to update the Official Plan, for the first time in its history.

3

CULTURAL HERITAGE

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST



Cultural Heritage

Summary

Local heritage policies have the capacity to protect built form, but as they exist today they are formally designed to delegitimize intangible cultural heritage (i.e. the traditions and living expressions that are passed intergenerationally, such as oral traditions, social practices, and rituals). As heritage preservation has been executed in the City of Toronto thus far, the policies that protect neighbourhoods have tended to prioritize the architectural interests of typically whiter and wealthier people and neglect the socio-economic value of ethno-racially diverse communities. Legally binding tools can be used to protect and preserve Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica and similar neighbourhoods across the City. The question of whether it will be done or not, unfortunately, lies less in the hands of the people and more in the hands of the government and other officials.

This section of the report serves as an exploration of how existing heritage preservation strategies in Toronto and beyond may be used to preserve and protect Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica. The purpose of this section is to provide recommendations that are informed by a review of existing literature that discusses a variety of local heritage policies and programs, local precedents for intangible cultural heritage preservation, a case study of a successful cultural heritage preservation initiative in an American context, as well as innovative cultural tourism strategies. This exploration of different methods for heritage protection serve as a resource for BUTO to consider when establishing new programs, indulging in new partnerships, and creating new strategies in Little Jamaica, and in their organization more broadly. This section seeks to address the two following goals of the project:

1. Scan the literature and other resources on commercial gentrification for strategies to mitigate displacement and assess viability for the context of Little Jamaica.
2. Identify mechanisms that can be used to safeguard access to commercial space for Black businesses.

Heritage in Toronto

Heritage Toronto is a charity and agency of the City of Toronto that examines the city's rich heritage and works to support the diverse stories of people, places and events. In 2015,

Heritage Toronto asked the City to consider more holistic approaches for heritage conservation, including greater representation of cultural landscapes.¹ They also asked the City to find more compelling and locally relevant ways to share stories and engage a diverse array of audiences (including both a younger demographic and minorities).²

Since 2015, new major projects have been integrated into the City's heritage strategy, including the TOcore initiative's plan to protect cultural and built form heritage, and the increasing use of Heritage Conservation Districts as a way of identifying the cultural heritage value of neighbourhoods. Additionally, the City also sought to simplify participation in heritage preservation and celebration by offering community grants to support grassroots cultural organizations and events, and adding new public permit categories that make it easier to obtain park permits for cultural events. Cultural heritage has been a large focus of the new initiatives taken on by the City and is also grounded in the work that Heritage Toronto has done. The report, however, makes minimal reference to intangible heritage attributes and focuses more on built form heritage.

The 2019 State of the Heritage Report by Heritage Toronto is grounded in a set of value-based principles, which reflect the need and importance of representing tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets:

- Heritage is infused into our civic and social infrastructures.
- Heritage plays a crucial role in economic development, civic identity, social connectivity, and environmentalism.
- Experiences of heritage are both individual and collective; they are informed by socio-economic and cultural identities.
- Heritage is active, not static and is both tangible and intangible.³

The report addresses how we can showcase the depth and breadth of heritage outside of downtown Toronto, how economic development in heritage can be measured, and how to reward heritage-friendly development and renovation. These three areas are key for BUTO to consider in their place-keeping and commercial displacement prevention efforts, particularly with regards to the recognition of the Eglinton West neighbourhood (Little Jamaica) as a cultural hub.

The report highlights the Cultural Hotspot program, which features arts, culture, and community by celebrating and investing in Toronto's diverse neighbourhoods, with a focus on areas outside the downtown core. In this program, a Cultural Loops Guide is provided, which encourages the exploration of art, history, and nature in a variety of areas. One of the featured areas is Eglinton West, as it shows the ongoing growth and transformation that is being

¹ [Heritage Toronto](#), 2019

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

experienced in the neighbourhood. Some of the showcased locations pertinent to Little Jamaica include Reggae Lane and Trea-Jah-Isle International Records.

The report also looks at the ways in which local economic development can be measured in heritage, pointing to tourism, community partnerships, and diverse programming. Heritage events and resources can help increase the overall number of jobs, incomes, and revenues, which are helpful for the local economy. They also note that heritage can enhance overall quality of life, which can work to continue attracting and retaining new businesses in neighbourhoods.



Trea-Jah-Isle International Records at 1514 Eglinton Avenue West
Ayesha Patel, 2020

Finally, the report explores the ways in which heritage-friendly development and renovations can be rewarded. By offering fast-tracking programs to heritage property developers, the approval process on development applications can be made faster, as long the new development adheres to the *Ontario Heritage Act* requirements and the Provincial Policy Statement. This fast-tracking program, however, is focused on the built form – a program that also addresses cultural and intangible heritage attributes is important for the City to consider.

Music City Strategy: Toronto, CA

The Music City strategy is a culture-focused urban redevelopment trend and Creative City planning initiative in the City of Toronto.⁴ Many music venues have been affected by redevelopment processes, and due to a lack of legislation around intangible cultural heritage, many of them have not persisted in their fight for survival. The strategy identifies six major

⁴ [Ross, 2017a](#)

strategic areas of focus to help protect and preserve the people and places that contribute to Toronto's music culture.⁵ They include:

1. Support an environment friendly to music creators
2. Encourage the business of music in Toronto
3. Support music education
4. Promote Toronto's music scene locally & internationally
5. Foster alliances with other music cities around the world
6. Implement a process for monitoring progress and measuring success

The second, fourth and fifth areas of focus are most applicable to Little Jamaica and will help to create strategies that honour and protect the music history of the neighbourhood. These three strategic areas are key for BUTO to consider in their place-keeping efforts, particularly with regards to the designation of Little Jamaica as a cultural hub that honours and actively showcases the presence of reggae history and culture in the community. Though the recommendations set out in the Music City strategy are for the City of Toronto as a whole, our recommendations will draw from this strategy and apply it locally in Little Jamaica.

Music City recognizes jobs existing outside of the music production and performance sector. They specifically note that the sector provides jobs for people in places like record labels, publishers, recording facilities, music venues, ticketing companies, radio, art foundations, music stores, among many others that are also directly impacted by the music industry.⁶ Encouraging the business of music in the city is crucial to ensuring the success of the music industry as a whole. This can be done by creating business networking sites, hosting business education seminars, and providing financing and sponsorship opportunities. However, encouraging business improvement areas (BIAs) to support their local music communities is a crucial way to make music more visible and vibrant across the city.⁷

In their report, the Toronto Music Advisory Council highlighted several efforts by BIAs to create local music strategies that support and increase the profile of music within their communities, including the efforts of Downtown Yonge BIA and Queen Street West BIA.⁸ The City of Toronto and the Toronto Association of Business Improvement Areas (TABIA) encourages other BIAs to create similar plans to support and protect local music communities. Additionally, encouraging BIAs to plan events that host local artists and organizations reflecting the cultural demographics of the neighbourhoods they serve is increasingly important in the protection of music communities and their history.

The Music City strategy also notes the importance of promoting Toronto's music scene locally and globally, whether it be the live performances that occur in music venues across the city or

⁵ [Toronto Music Advisory Council](#), 2016

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

the music histories of neighbourhoods across town.⁹ To support the building of audiences for local creators and to enhance Toronto's national and international standing as a music destination, they recommend that the City works to increase music tourism, celebrate their music history, and create a Toronto Music Brandmark.

According to the report, Toronto has played a central role in developing world-renowned artists in genres like jazz, folk, reggae, and rock. To commemorate its music history, installation of heritage plaques and initiatives like the naming of Reggae Lane in Little Jamaica have been implemented across the city. Music-history themed walking tours have also popped up across Toronto. In Little Jamaica, the 2019 annual Jane's Walk led by York Eglinton BIA and Maria Shchuka Library is one example. The report notes that a key way to reinforce the awareness of Toronto as a great Music City is to adopt the use of logos, wordmarks, and social media hashtags.¹⁰ It also encourages that this be done locally, as it will promote area businesses, the local music scene, and the music histories of specific neighbourhoods across the City.

Finally, alliances with other music cities are encouraged to foster ongoing communication and create mutual opportunities for growth.¹¹ In 2013, the City of Toronto and the City of Austin (Texas) arranged the first formal Music City Alliance. These alliances are expected to provide four mutual benefits for the cities involved:

1. Increase trade and export for local music businesses
2. Create opportunities for Toronto talent abroad
3. Share learning and best practices with other music-friendly cities
4. Cross-promote music tourism¹²

To accomplish this within the City of Toronto, specific communities with musical histories and identities should form alliances locally— i.e., learning and sharing best practices between neighbourhoods, cross-promoting events and local tourism, and creating other opportunities that are of mutual benefit.

Toronto's music industry has been set up for tremendous growth, particularly driving an increase in employment, direct economic activity and impact, cultural inclusivity, and as a powerful contributor to civic identity and tourism.¹³ Nevertheless, cultural heritage sites, particularly those with intangible heritage, have not always been protected when new development comes, despite their benefit to the community and the City as a whole. The 2010 Heritage Voices Report by Heritage Toronto and the Toronto Historical Association makes note of how the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB; now Local Planning Appeal Tribunal, or LPAT) has a tendency to favour developer interests over cultural heritage interests.¹⁴

⁹ Toronto Music Advisory Council, 2016

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ross, 2017a

Under the Music City strategy, only one site has been successfully retained under the intangible, cultural heritage argument – the Silver Dollar Room.¹⁵ The Silver Dollar Room is a 1950s cocktail lounge, located at the intersection of College Street and Spadina Avenue. The site became a prominent place for live blues, jazz, rock, and bluegrass music performances. A development application was submitted that proposed to demolish the Silver Dollar Room and adjacent buildings; but, as a result of the efforts of the local ward Councillor, cultural preservationists, and local residents' associations, Toronto City Council rendered cultural heritage designation on the Silver Dollar Room, also recognizing the intangible heritage value of the site.¹⁶

Legacy Business Registry: San Francisco, U.S.A.

The Legacy Business strategy is an initiative that seeks to protect longstanding, community-serving businesses that are seen as valuable cultural assets and would otherwise have no legal heritage protection.¹⁷ This initiative began in San Francisco, as small businesses that had long been present in their communities were displaced due to significant commercial rent increases.¹⁸ Rent control laws have long shielded residents from experiencing drastic rent hikes, however, there is no legal protection putting a cap on rent increase allowances.¹⁹ As such, in 2013, San Francisco Heritage launched the Legacy Bars & Restaurants Initiative.²⁰ It was presented as an online guide that celebrated iconic establishments across the city and invited people to experience some of San Francisco's cultural history. To qualify as a legacy business and be included in the register, the business had to meet the following criteria:

- Business has operated for 40 years or more
- Business possesses distinctive architecture or interior design; or the business has contributed to a sense of history in the surrounding neighbourhood²¹

This initiative, which focused on bars & restaurants only, did not entirely address the threats to local businesses, as it only worked to promote businesses that did not necessarily qualify for formal historic designation. This, however, inspired the creation of a new program called the Legacy Business Registry Program.

In 2015, the Legacy Business Registry was created to formally recognize the cultural and intangible heritage value that local businesses brought to the City of San Francisco.²² To be listed in the Registry, small businesses and nonprofits (those with <100 employees) must be nominated by local council or the mayor, who must prove to the Small Business Commission in

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ [Department of Elections](#), 2015

¹⁸ [San Francisco Heritage](#), n.d

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² [Department of Elections](#), 2015

a public hearing that the business has made significant cultural contributions to the greater community.²³ To be considered, a business must meet the following criteria:

- Business has operated in San Francisco for 30 or more years, with no break in operations exceeding 2 years; more than 20 years and less than 30 years of operation may satisfy this criterion if the Small Business Commission finds that the business has significantly contributed to the history or identity of a particular community and, if not included in the Registry, the business would face a significant risk of displacement
- Business has contributed to the neighbourhood's history and/or the identity of a particular neighbourhood or community
- Business is committed to maintaining the physical features or traditions that define the business, including craft, culinary or art forms²⁴

As of May 2019, 186 businesses were listed on the Registry.²⁵

It has been noted that business owners who do not own the commercial spaces in which they operate are particularly vulnerable to displacement, as property owners have little incentive to retain such clients.²⁶ To address this issue, the Legacy Business Historic Preservation Fund was established to create financial incentives for both business owners (tenants) and landowners (landlords).²⁷ Businesses listed on the Registry would be eligible for annual Business Assistance Grants (\$500 per full-time employee per year – capped at \$50,000 annually), and landlords who agree to lease extensions for a minimum period of 10 years are eligible for Rent Stabilization Grants (\$4.50 per square metre leased per year – capped at \$22,500 annually).²⁸

The Legacy Business Registry and Historic Preservation Fund are excellent ways to ensure that businesses with intangible, cultural heritage attributes are legally protected from displacement, and provide financial incentives for landowners to support the retention of such establishments. This program, however, only targets long-established businesses. Any new and creative retail ventures in the city that promote and preserve the cultural and intangible heritage of a neighbourhood or establishment would not be protected under this program. Additionally, there is limited evidence of how legacy businesses may best be supported – this program is still fairly new, and San Francisco is the only city to have successfully initiated a program of this kind.²⁹

Nevertheless, this is an important model to consider for the protection of commercial businesses that uniquely contribute to the cultural and intangible heritage of a community. The recommendations inspired by this section seek to address BUTO's desire to preserve & ensure

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ [Office of Economic and Workforce Development](#), 2019

²⁶ [Department of Elections](#), 2015

²⁷ [Office of Economic Development](#), 2017

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

the long-term sustainability of Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica. However, it should be noted that the execution of a formal Legacy Business Registry & Heritage Fund is very difficult to achieve without support from the City and Province.³⁰ For the City to consider a Legacy Business Registry & Heritage Fund, it must include all neighbourhoods in Toronto in its efforts.³¹ An initiative of this kind cannot be executed in a single neighbourhood.

Cultural Tourism & Social Media

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has noted that consumer trends are shifting the tourism landscape in cities – i.e., trips have become shorter and more people are searching for unique and personalized experiences in alternative destinations.³² The OECD has also noted that cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing global tourism markets.³³ Cultural tourism “focuses on the mosaic of neighbourhoods and places, their traditions, art forms, celebrations, and experiences that reflect the diversity of city space.”³⁴

Similarly, heritage tourism is defined by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States as “travelling to experience places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past,” while *cultural* heritage tourism refers to the past and present.³⁵ Cities across the world have become increasingly competitive in enhancing their attractiveness to global travellers, often relying on culture, heritage, and creative industries to do so. They have also pursued cultural development strategies as means for local economic development.³⁶ Toronto uses its multicultural identity and intangible & cultural heritage to attract millions of visitors to the country each year.³⁷ Information and communication technologies, however, have changed the ways in which consumers make decisions about their daily activities (e.g., where to eat, shop, etc.), as well as where to travel.

Recently, information and communication technologies, including social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok, have gained greater momentum in reaching consumers. Particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, new businesses and marketing strategies to attract consumers have emerged that focus on reaching consumers via social media.³⁸ As a result, information and communication technologies have become more frequently used by entrepreneurs to better reach the consumer and respond to consumer behaviours.³⁹

³⁰ Phillips, Personal Interview, November 16, 2020.

³¹ Ibid.

³² [Bozdo](#), 2018

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ [Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli](#), 2012

³⁵ Bozdo, 2018

³⁶ Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli, 2012

³⁷ [Rabyniuk](#), 2017

³⁸ [Townsend](#), 2020

³⁹ [Surugiu & Surugiu](#), 2015

Scholars have noted that both local and international tourists gather information about their destination using social networks like those mentioned above.⁴⁰ This has led to the creation of new social media and marketing strategies by entities that seek to increase tourism to a particular area. Tourism Australia is one example of an entity that has adopted a user-driven social media and marketing approach to attract visitors to natural heritage sites.

Recently, there has been a shift from the 'high culture' events that have dominated the interests of people and places in the past, to community-driven cultural strategies that reflect an interest in local development and support for alternative cultures of diverse city neighbourhoods.⁴¹ Scholars have noted the grand opportunity that lies in the unexplored potential of diverse city neighbourhoods as hubs for cultural production.⁴² This can be heightened by the desire of travellers to experience alternative cultures and sites in a city.⁴³

A study conducted with the directors of cultural tourism organizations in the United States outlined several effective strategies for entities seeking to help neighbourhoods develop cultural tourism (see appendix IV). Most notable from the list were the content (i.e., tours, festivals and events) that a neighbourhood offers and the publicity & outreach (via digital media, websites, blogs, and local newspapers) conducted to raise awareness and promote the neighbourhood and its cultural assets.

However, strategies to increase cultural tourism, specifically using social media marketing strategies, involve several substantial risks and tensions. It has been noted by scholars that processes of gentrification in the inner city have multiple causes, which greatly surpass community-based cultural tourism initiatives.⁴⁴ When establishing and implementing a strategy for cultural tourism, it is crucial to clearly define objectives, decision-making processes, and broader development directions, and to include local forms of knowledge and culture that drive a "tourism from below" model (i.e., a community-driven cultural strategy).⁴⁵

Scholars suggest that "community members with a strong interest in maintaining cultural integrity lead the process of developing the cultural tourism programs," as, when implemented with caution, "cultural tourism can provide great benefits to a community, such as an enhanced sense of place, strengthening of local traditions, community pride, tolerance and an increased sense of ethnic identity."⁴⁶ As such, strategies for cultural tourism and social media/ marketing should not be considered an all-encompassing strategy; rather, they should be implemented with caution as one tool, implemented alongside additional business support strategies.

⁴⁰ Surugiu & Surugiu, 2015; Bozdo, 2018

⁴¹ Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli, 2012

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

RACIAL DETERMINANTS OF HERITAGE

(Stats Canada 2016)

% Black

□ < 5%

■ 5% - 14%

■ 14% - 27%

■ 27% - 49%

■ 49% +

• Heritage
Property

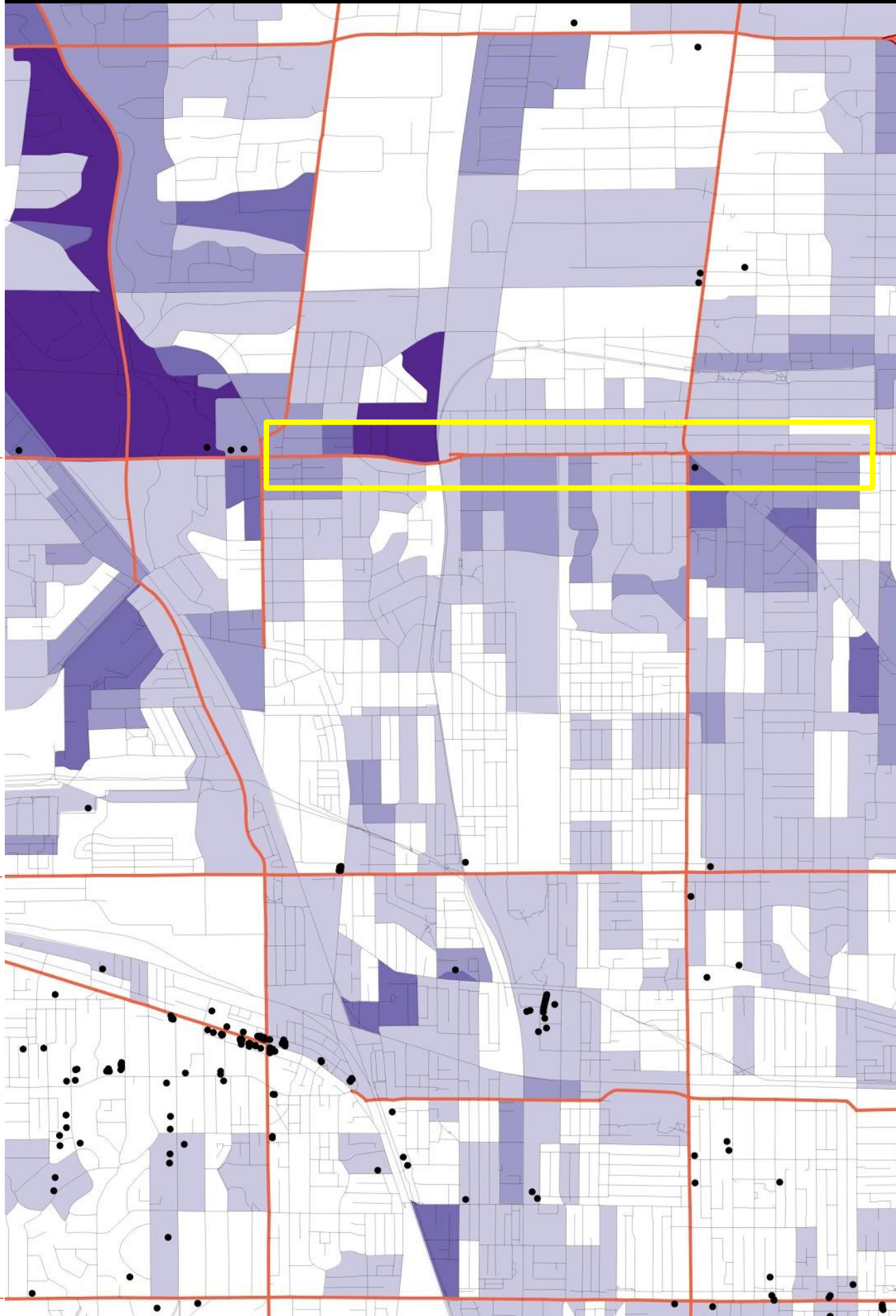
Eglinton Ave

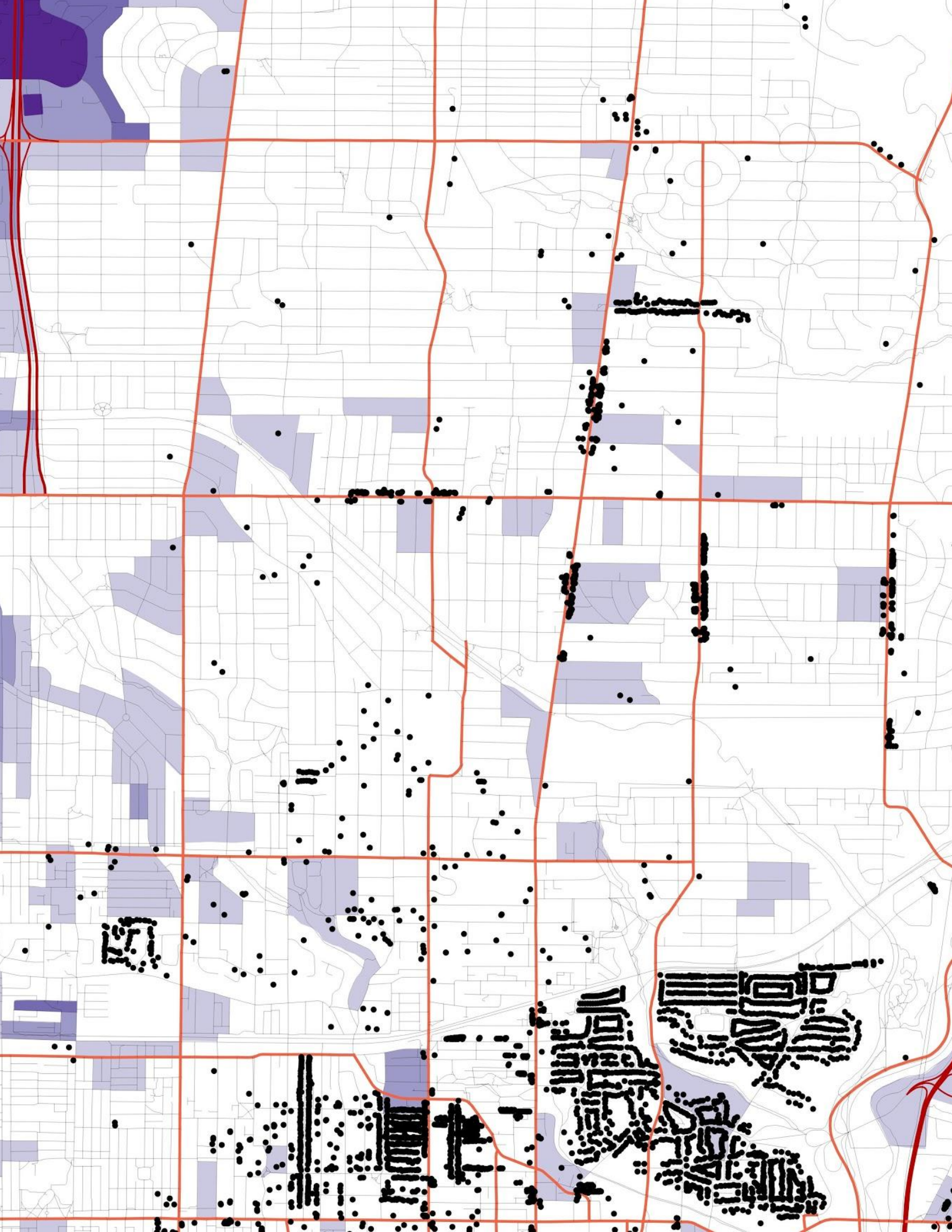
St. Clair Ave



1:35000

Bloor St.





Discussion

The strategies explored above have helped to inform our recommendations for BUTO, particularly addressing several methods for place-keeping in Little Jamaica.

Local heritage policies have the capacity to protect built form but, as they exist today, they are formally designed to delegitimize intangible cultural heritage (i.e., the traditions and living expressions that are passed intergenerationally, such as oral traditions, social practices, rituals, among others). As heritage preservation has been executed in the City of Toronto thus far, the policies that protect neighbourhoods have tended to prioritize the architectural interests of typically whiter and wealthier people and neglect the socio-economic value of ethno-racially diverse communities.

In other words, race and resources are significant determinants of designated heritage protection in the City of Toronto. The map featured on pages 46 and 47 shows the relationship between the proportion of Black people in dissemination areas in Toronto and the location of designated heritage properties in the city. It demonstrates that currently heritage properties are clustered in the North and South Rosedale and Hazelton-Yorkville Heritage Conservation Districts (HCDs).

In 2015, Toronto City Council approved a grant of \$10,000 to fund window repairs for a house that is a designated heritage property in Rosedale as a part of its annual Toronto Heritage Grant Awards program. However, no similar funding has been awarded to preserve and protect Black-owned businesses that significantly contribute to the rich cultural heritage of Little Jamaica and that also face displacement pressures heightened by the LRT construction.

There are voices at the City that have expressed interest in using the tools of heritage to protect culturally significant Black-owned businesses from displacement. What they have made clear, though, is that there are substantial barriers preventing new policies from being applied in one specific neighbourhood, as opposed to the City more broadly, despite the fact that this is how heritage policies in the City of Toronto currently function. They help white and wealthy communities preserve the Euro-colonial architecture of their homes, but do not support small businesses that contribute to social cohesion in ethno-racially diverse neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the community must continue to demand that the built form and sense of place created by Black businesses in Little Jamaica require protection through legally binding tools such as the HCDs used across the city.

There is no doubt that legally binding tools can be effectively used to protect and preserve Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica and in similar neighbourhoods across the City. The City has made clear where its priorities lie in terms of the *types* of properties that can be formally designated as heritage properties and what it is they contribute to a given community.

Intangible cultural heritage is arguably the most important type of heritage – it contributes to a community’s level of happiness, livelihood and overall well-being. However, the question of whether the City will use its power to protect Black-owned businesses, encourage ethno-racially diverse neighbourhoods to thrive, and make meaningful policy change to formally adopt intangible cultural heritage preservation policies, remains unanswered.

Limitations of Cultural Heritage

“Will a re-naming of the lane do much, if anything, to help with some of the more pressing issues in the community, like economic development, helping to keep the mom and pop shops out there open, given the LRT construction and gentrification creeping in?”

- Local resident quoted in Armstrong, 2014⁴⁷

Marketing and cultural tourism dollars can increase short-term revenue generation but, without legally binding safeguards, the strategy can facilitate further gentrification, ultimately displacing the businesses it intended to retain. These strategies should be implemented cautiously so as not to engender an ‘ethnic packaging’ approach to increasing foot traffic in Little Jamaica. Literature findings highlight the potential risks of such initiatives when the designation of a particular ethno-cultural minority enclave gives a neighbourhood commercial appeal to potential gentrifiers.⁴⁸ This process is not novel to Toronto’s ethnic enclaves, as best evidenced in Little India and Corso Italia.⁴⁹

Although cultural heritage strategies are a key element to BUTO’s objectives of recognising Little Jamaica as an African-Caribbean community, there must be Black-owned businesses remaining in the neighbourhood for an official designation to celebrate. As eloquently put by a reggae music historian quoted in local media, “it may be in the decades to come that one of the few remaining reminders of the Caribbean presence in that neighbourhood is the street name: Reggae Lane.”⁵⁰ If not legally binding, cultural heritage strategies alone can do little to ensure the long-term security of Black-owned businesses in the face of rising commercial rents or expiring lease agreements.

The preservation of local culture is only as meaningful as the availability of permanently affordable land on which that culture can exist in the long-term. Commercial gentrification is mainly a result of land value appreciation. This underscores the importance of focusing future efforts on strategies that confront the issues of affordability and land ownership (which ultimately give rise to commercial displacement), and more directly respond to the goal of preserving Black culture and businesses in Little Jamaica.

⁴⁷ [Armstrong](#), 2015

⁴⁸ [Hackworth & Rekers](#), 2005

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Armstrong, 2015

Recommendations

Community Partnerships

1. BUTO should partner with local BIAs to raise awareness and host events that honour the musical histories of the neighbourhood. Events of this kind are expected to, in turn, increase local economic development and tourism.
2. BUTO should partner with local BIAs to establish a Legacy Business Register for Little Jamaica. BUTO should create a register and some method of identification of Legacy Businesses as a first step to raising awareness on the need for cultural heritage protection of local businesses. This informal register would also assist in promoting local businesses that currently do not qualify for formal heritage designation. Criteria for the selection of Legacy Businesses should be identified by BUTO in consultation with local business owners, community members, and other organizations.
3. BUTO should research potential partnerships with donors or the City to support the legacy business initiative financially, in order to create incentives for landlords and developers to protect local legacy businesses. This was done in San Francisco with the establishment of the Legacy Business Historic Preservation Fund, though at a city-wide scale and not at the neighbourhood level.
4. BUTO should work in partnership with local councillors and various City departments to assess the feasibility of a formal Legacy Business Registry & Legacy Business Heritage Fund to be established city-wide.
5. BUTO should work with local councillors and various City departments to enable the creation of a fast-track program for developments of heritage property that would make the planning approval process faster, so long as the proposed development adequately addresses and respects the cultural and intangible heritage attributes of the specific site and the neighbourhood as a whole.
6. BUTO should form alliances with other music cities, music venues, artists, and other related stakeholders that can assist in promoting the neighbourhood, local events, and the music histories of Little Jamaica, and vice versa.

Social Media Strategy

7. BUTO should adopt a social media and marketing strategy that focuses on raising awareness on the importance and benefit of place-keeping, promoting local businesses and events, as well as providing the community at large with updates on the local

happenings of the neighbourhood. We recommend that the social media and marketing strategy target both the music and cultural histories of the neighbourhood.

8. BUTO should consider adopting a local music brandmark (logo, wordmark, and social media hashtag) to reinforce awareness of the music history of the neighbourhood, as part of the social media and marketing strategy.
9. BUTO should consult with local residents, business owners, organizations, and other persons that can help create a community-driven cultural strategy for Little Jamaica
10. BUTO should consider cultural tourism and social media strategies as complementary to the commercial displacement prevention strategies and community land trust efforts outlined in later sections.

Cultural Programs & Tourism

11. BUTO should create and promote events focused on the culture and history of Little Jamaica, such as neighbourhood walking tours (guided or self-led). The promotion of existing walking tours and other events in the neighbourhood may be done via flyers, social media posts, etc. (e.g., Eglinton West's Cultural Loops Guide, and the annual Jane's Walk "Sights and Sounds: Eglinton's Reggae Culture").
12. BUTO should seek partnerships with businesses or organizations that may assist in the creation of events and programs to attract more visitors to the neighbourhood and directly invest into local businesses (e.g., local food tours that would increase revenues for local food-focused businesses, among others).
13. BUTO should develop an evaluative framework to assess the impact of cultural programs and tourism in Little Jamaica. We recommend this framework follow the one created by Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012), which takes into account the following:
 - Visitor counts, satisfaction, intent to return, and counts of return visitors;
 - Economic development measured through a set of indicators (e.g., number of new jobs and businesses, amount in grant awards, funds invested in physical improvements locally, return on public investment, revenues from tours, spending during tours, etc.);
 - Enhancement of local visibility and image, measured by the number and quality (positive/negative) of mentions in articles about the neighbourhood;
 - Community development (e.g., networks and alliances between local stakeholders, training opportunities, workshops, and technical assistance for local businesses); and
 - Cultural development (e.g., new cultural spaces and institutions, cultural production, cultural events and performances)

4

RETENTION STRATEGIES

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST

A decorative horizontal line at the bottom of the page, featuring a wavy, undulating pattern in shades of green and red.

Business Retention Strategies

This section will provide a review of various planning, policy, and legal tools to support small business retention in neighbourhoods undergoing redevelopment and displacement pressures, such as Little Jamaica.

While main street commercial buildings can be preserved through designated heritage status, Black-owned businesses that rent their premises will remain vulnerable to the whims of their landlord. Retailers should be encouraged to own their properties to prevent displacement.¹ Owner-occupied businesses can expect greater stability in occupancy costs and avoid being priced out or having their leases terminated.

There are a number of strategies that may facilitate individual ownership or offer benefits in lieu. For this report, the benefits of split tax assessment for commercial properties, right of first refusal agreements, zoning for small retail units, and municipally-owned retail space were explored. Though these strategies provide some benefit, this section outlines each of their limitations in achieving the goal of retaining Black businesses in the long term. The content of this section is forthcoming.

¹ [Rankin](#), 2008

5

COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST



Community Land Trusts

Summary

While the previous strategies engage with policy and individual approaches to prevent displacement, the community land trust (CLT) presents an increasingly popular approach with unique benefits and strengths beyond those already presented.

This report section provides a brief history of CLTs in Canada and the United States, information on the essential organizational and governance structures of CLTs, lessons learned from other CLTs, and a discussion of the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities of the CLT model.

CLTs can help protect against the continuous and historical displacement of Black communities in Canada and around the world. For communities facing displacement, community ownership of land provides the opportunity to stay in place and the security needed to thrive. However, CLTs are only successful when they receive strong community support. They are a tool used by the community for the community, so they require a strong community organizing strategy to support the creation of the CLT, but also to ensure its long-term stability. Black communities have used CLTs to build economic power and prevent displacement for decades. Little Jamaica has the opportunity to build on this legacy and use the CLT model to protect Black-owned businesses.

What is a CLT?

Community land trusts are community-based, non-profit, non-governmental organizations aimed at securing long-term affordability and community control over space by removing land from the speculative market and gentrification pressures.¹ CLTs acquire land, through purchase or donation, and hold it in perpetuity for various community needs whether that be housing, urban agriculture, commercial space, cultural uses, or others. CLTs operate within a defined geographic boundary and are guided by and accountable to the people who live, work and play within this area.² Commercial CLTs refer specifically to the perpetual affordability of commercial ownership and rental opportunities for community-based businesses. In Canada,

¹ [Bunce & Aslam](#), 2016; [Richer et al.](#), 2010

² [Crabtree, et al.](#), 2013

application of the CLT model to commercial needs is rare.³ Commercial CLTs are often used to either revitalize depressed areas or create opportunities for excluded populations in booming areas. Within the context of Little Jamaica, the latter holds true.

Each CLT is unique because it responds to the distinct needs of its community. There are numerous variations in how CLTs are structured, how they choose to use their lands, and how stewardship is operationalized. This section will review the history of CLTs in the United States and Canada, and explore the essential features of CLTs and what variations exist within the CLT model.

History of CLTs

In the United States

CLTs are rooted in Black resistance and continue to be used as a tool for Black communities to build community wealth, resist racial planning and the forces of gentrification. In 1968, New Communities Inc. became the first non-profit organization created with the express intention of implementing the CLT model.⁴ It was established by civil rights activists, Robert Swann, Slater King, C. B. King, Charles Sherrod, and others, on 5,735 acres of rural land near Albany, Georgia. Their vision was to create dozens of residential and agricultural leaseholds for families of Black farmers.⁵

The founders had come to believe that one of the key ways to secure political and economic freedom for their people was to own their own land. The example of New Communities Inc. was included in two books that describe the combination of ownership, organization, and operations that compose the CLT model, inspiring a new generation of rural and urban CLTs in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1980s, the CLT movement began shifting its attention towards



(Images from [New Communities Inc.](#), n.d)

³ Richer et al., 2010

⁴ [Davis](#), 2006

⁵ Ibid.

urban centres. The first urban CLT, Community Land Trust Co-operative of Cincinnati, was established in 1980. It was formed by local clergy to counter the forces of gentrification that threatened the displacement of low-income, Black residents living in the neighbourhood.⁶ The emergence and growth of the CLT movement in the United States has influenced the formation of CLTs in Canada. It is important then to recognize the history of CLTs in the United States and to highlight how CLTs originate in and are used by Black communities to build collective economic power and invest in community well-being.

In Canada

The history of land trusts in Canada described below is rooted in colonization of Indigenous peoples. The conservation and wilderness preservation movement, where Canadian land trusts originate, is grounded in the legal concept of *terra nullius* or 'no one's land'. This concept erases the histories of Indigenous communities and justifies the stealing of land by defining it as wild or vacant. Indigenous communities and First Nations across Canada have practiced land stewardship and other community-based, land-centered practices for centuries, and long before the emergence of land trusts. Keeping this in mind, the first formal land trust organization, the Hamilton Naturalists' Club, was founded in 1919.⁷ In the decades that followed, between the 1930s and 1970s, there was a large gap in land trust formation. This gap can partially be attributed to increased federal and provincial interest in conservation and the enacting of the *National Parks Act* in 1930.⁸

Canada's earliest urban CLTs operated as independent land trust initiatives through cooperative housing organizations and were a response to increasing housing affordability challenges.⁹ More recently, CLTs have emerged against a backdrop of decades of government withdrawal from the funding and delivery of social housing programs, an increasing reliance on the private sector to deliver housing, and financial cutbacks to various social services.¹⁰ The most recent CLT movement can be categorized in two generations.¹¹ The first, occurring between the 1980s and 2012, largely focused on the acquisition of land for affordable housing provision and was inspired by the CLT model in the United States. The second, which began in 2012 and is ongoing, is a response to increasing gentrification and is a result of a renewed interest in creating long term affordable housing, particularly in cities like Vancouver and Toronto.¹²

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ [Bunce](#), 2018

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ [Bunce & Barndt](#), 2020

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

CLT Organizational Structures

There are many different ways to structure a commercial CLT. Each community is distinct, and therefore there is no one-size-fits-all CLT model to follow. When deciding on the structure of a CLT, working collaboratively with the community to address their specific needs is essential.



Image: October 27th 2015, first official PNLT Annual General Meeting. Source: [PNLT](#).

Membership Based

A key feature of CLTs is that they are democratically controlled by their membership. Membership is most often composed of those who live or work within the geographic boundaries that the CLT identifies as its community. It is up to the CLT to determine whether they would like to open their membership to those outside the geographically defined area or if they would like to include private institutions like local governments, churches, and hospitals in their membership. Although it is less common, some CLTs in the United States have organized in this way. Members then elect and nominate a board of directors. This election can be held at an Annual General Meeting, as demonstrated by the Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust.¹³

Board of Directors

The main responsibility of the board of directors is to represent the membership in decision making for the CLT. To ensure the board represents the community impacted and engaged in the CLT, most CLT boards follow a tripartite governance structure. This means that one third of board members are people who live and work on CLT land, one third are part of the broader community and one third represent the public. Some CLTs subdivide the third of the board represented by those who work or live on CLT land to ensure representation of commercial owners/ tenants, and residential owners/ tenants.¹⁴ This is something that should be

¹³ [PNLT](#), n.d

¹⁴ [Davis](#), 2020

considered, especially if a CLT includes multiple forms of tenure and uses. Within the board certain positions are to be held including treasurer, chair, secretary, and vice-chair.¹⁵

Interim Board

The decision on whether BUTO should establish an interim board of directors is of critical importance.¹⁶ The benefit of this approach, as modeled by the PNLT, is that an interim board allows the community to begin working immediately towards a CLT structure. If an organization or non-profit is already in support of the creation of a CLT, like in the case of BUTO, then a handful of its members can act as the interim board. They can schedule regular meetings and incorporate interim objects that specify they will change in the future. In the experience of the PNLT, the interim board was a jumping off point for the CLT, and was responsible for establishing committees that furthered their organization's goals.¹⁷



Members of the PNLT in front of their first building. Source: [TVO, 2020](#)

Charitable Status and Non-Profit Status

When forming a CLT, a decision must be made during the creation of corporate by-laws and objects, about whether the organization wants to be a registered charity or a non-profit

¹⁵ PNLT, n.d

¹⁶ Barndt, Personal Interview, November 2, 2020

¹⁷ Ibid.

organization.¹⁸ There are benefits and challenges to each choice. Non-profit organizations have more fluidity in regards to their political activities, fundraising methods, and potential user fees, but they are unable to issue tax receipts. Registered charities are able to provide tax receipts for donors, but charitable status comes with strict regulations from the Canada Revenue Agency.¹⁹ There is also an increased administrative burden to running a charity. Although it is likely a charity would be able to raise more money, you would also need to pay more staff for your operations.²⁰

Commercial CLTs also face distinct challenges in obtaining charitable status. Although community economic development may be considered as a charitable object,²¹ the businesses that BUTO is aiming to protect are largely for-profit businesses that are not involved in charitable work (even if many of them do contribute profoundly to their community and its economic well-being). There may be an opportunity for the CLT to remain a non-profit, and to have a separate parallel organization that has charitable status and is associated with land and its acquisition.²² However, this method, as used by the PNLT, is highly complex.

Lease Model

A CLT can follow a lease or ownership model or use both. In a lease model, the CLT owns the land and building and leases out the space to a qualifying business (or tenant).²³ The benefits of the lease model are that it requires very little upfront investment from tenants, leases can be tailored to meet the distinct needs of each tenant and leases are already common practice.²⁴ Unfortunately, the lease model does not ensure equity building for commercial tenants. However, equity building can be financially more complex with commercial property, than residential property, because commercial markets are generally more volatile.²⁵

Limited Shared Equity Model

In a limited shared equity model, a qualifying small business owner purchases the building or space at a more affordable price from the CLT (because the purchase price does not include the cost of land). They then lease the land underneath the building or space from the CLT, in the form of a small monthly fee.²⁶ The ground lease agreement requires that if and when the owner sells the space, they receive a limited portion of equity from the sale and that they sell to another qualified buyer.²⁷ This allows the business owner to build equity, but appreciation is

¹⁸ PNLT, n.d

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Barndt, Personal Interview.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ [Buechler](#), 2017

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

not guaranteed in commercial markets.²⁸ This may allow the business to have a larger say in their community, particularly in regard to their neighbourhood Business Improvement Area. The disadvantage to the limited shared equity model is that it requires upfront investment from business owners, and even at a reduced cost, the purchase price may not be affordable.

Resale Restrictions and Leasehold Agreements

An important element of protecting and preserving Black-owned businesses is figuring out how to ensure commercial space is passed down to other Black entrepreneurs in the long term. In the limited shared equity model, CLTs can set resale restrictions. This includes the resale price, but it can also include buyer eligibility restrictions to ensure the space is resold to members of an intended group.²⁹ In the United States, this is primarily used to provide opportunities for lower-income households, but may also allow targeted resale to Black home or business owners.

In the lease model, leasehold agreements are the formal legal link between the CLT and the user. Leasehold agreements allow for enhanced community control by regulating and restricting who can access or use the land for certain purposes.³⁰ In the case of Little Jamaica, this may serve as a way to restrict use to the Black community and advance their commercial needs. As Stephanie Allen, founding board director and land trust lead with the Hogan's Alley Society explained, a leaseholder benefits from the CLT in a number of ways and because of this, they have an obligation and responsibility to pass that along to other members of the Black community.³¹

Tenant Selection Advisory Committee

Another way to ensure Black-owned businesses remain the tenants of the CLT's commercial space is to set up an advisory committee tasked with choosing tenants based on a set of criteria. These criteria, as decided by the CLT, could include prioritizing Black-owned and operated businesses. For example, the main goal of the Rondo commercial CLT in St. Paul, Minnesota is to develop an African American Cultural Corridor along their main street, Central Selby.³² To achieve this, their tenant advisory committee targets and prioritizes African American-owned small businesses to lease their commercial space. An advisory committee would have the flexibility to determine what businesses meet the criteria set out by the CLT based on community goals.

²⁸ Buechler, 2017

²⁹ [White](#), 2011

³⁰ Richer et al., 2010

³¹ Allen, Personal Interview, November 16, 2020

³² Buechler, 2017



Image of Wisdom's Barbershop and Hairdressing Salon on Eglinton Avenue West.

Source: [The Fader, 2016](#). Photographer: Jon Blak.

CLT Precedents

There are more than 20 active CLTs across Canada, over 200 in the United States, and many others being developed by communities across North America.³³ Although not every CLT we surveyed has (yet) acquired land, they share important broad characteristics: a mandate to leverage the collective ownership of land for democratically defined community benefits. At the same time, and largely by definition, CLTs are place-based organizations whose goals and guiding principles are as varied as the communities that form them; while one CLT may form to protect residential tenants from the displacement pressures of economic development, another exists to attract commercial investment in a neighbourhood.

The CLTs outlined in this section demonstrate the viability of the model on the ground, and can be used to inform the directions BUTO may pursue in the formation of a CLT. Similarly, these organizations present available allied groups to potentially share information, resources, and expertise. Though by no means exhaustive, the precedents below were chosen for their overlapping mandates with a potential CLT in Little Jamaica: a Toronto based, commercial CLT focused on racial justice and anti-Black racism.

³³ [Canadian Network Community Land Trust](#), n.d; [Wang](#), 2017

Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust (PNLT)

Incorporated: 2014

Home: Toronto, Ontario

Assets: 7000 sq ft community garden, 15 unit rooming house.

The PNLТ is a prominent land trust focused on residential affordability and protecting the “social, cultural, and economic diversity” of Toronto’s Parkdale neighbourhood.³⁴ Originating in the early 2010s, the PNLТ emerged from a larger network of community advocacy and non-profit organizations that are active in the neighbourhood. With funding from government and foundation grants, community donations, partnerships with Vancity Community Investment Bank, and the strong support of their city councillor, the PNLТ is positioned to increase their impact and acquire more property in the next five years.

The trust is interested in expanding to commercial acquisitions and has demonstrated interest in collaborating, partnering, and sharing knowledge with a potential land trust in Little Jamaica.³⁵ Comments and advice from the PNLТ’s executive director, Joshua Barndt, on the establishment and benefits of a CLТ are shared in greater detail in Appendix II.

Rondo Community Land Trust (RCLТ)

Incorporated: 1993

Home: St. Paul, Minnesota

Property Assets: 60 residential houses, 9,300 sq ft commercial space, 34 seniors housing units

Centred in the historically low-income and African American neighbourhood of Rondo, the RCLТ formed to resist the systemic forces of disempowerment and displacement.³⁶ Growing to span the entire City of St. Paul, the RCLТ today owns 60 residences that expand home ownership opportunities for community members³⁷. In 2019, ten years after the project began, the RCLТ’s first commercial properties opened for business. With nearly ten thousand square feet of commercial space across two mixed-use, three storey properties, their tenants include two non-profit arts organizations, a health-care office, and cafe.³⁸

In partnership with the University of Minnesota, the extensive 2017 report by Gretchen Buechler provides useful lessons examining the RCLТ’s commercial development project and process, with specific insight into leasing and ownership models that support minority-owned businesses. The report’s three core lessons, conduct thorough due diligence, engage the community early and often, and create a strong team and strategic partnerships, are all applicable to the context of Little Jamaica.

³⁴ [PNLT](#), n.d

³⁵ Barndt, Personal Interview.

³⁶ [Sorice](#), 2012

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ [Rondo Community Land Trust](#), n.d

Hogan's Alley Trust

Wing of the Hogan's Alley Society

Incorporated: 2015

Home: Vancouver, British Columbia

Property Assets: n/a

In the neighbourhood of Strathcona, east of downtown Vancouver, Hogan's Alley was the centre of Vancouver's Black community before it was displaced by the construction of the Georgia Viaduct in the 1970s.³⁹ The viaduct is now slated for demolition and the area for redevelopment. The Hogan's Alley Society is negotiating with the City of Vancouver to facilitate the establishment of the Hogan's Alley Land Trust to help steer the development of the land.⁴⁰ The Society exists to "build the capacity of racialized and marginalized communities to participate in city building."⁴¹ To date, the Hogan's Alley Society has raised upwards of \$400,000 to support their efforts. Similar to the previous organizations, the Hogan's Alley Trust is exploring strategies for resistance and redress for Black communities displaced by transit infrastructure and development. These are potential opportunities for collaboration and partnership for Little Jamaica.

Anchorage Community Land Trust (ACLT)

Incorporated: 2003

Home: Anchorage, Alaska

Property Assets: 9 commercial buildings worth over \$10 million

The ACLT has an operating budget of \$1.5 million, six full-time staff, and holds more than \$10 million in real estate assets in the Mountainview neighbourhood of Anchorage. Operating in a 'cold' real estate market, the ACLT exclusively owns commercial property and adopts a master lessor model which means businesses rent, rather than own their buildings.⁴² Other community benefits offered by ACLT include a 12-week training program for business owners, loans to purchase equipment and inventory, and low cost or pro-bono business assistance provided by in-house staff or professionals in the areas of accounting, tax review, licensing & permitting, strategic business planning, online marketing, and photography.⁴³

The ACLT highlights the role that market real estate prices play in informing the agenda and capacity of a CLT. However, their size demonstrates the viability of the commercial CLT to operate at scale. Whereas Joshua Barndt of the PNLT described there to be a "lack of entrepreneurial community development corporations and organizations" in Ontario, Anchorage and other CLTs demonstrated the power of these organizations to build and capture community wealth.

³⁹ [St. Denis](#), 2020

⁴⁰ [Hogan's Alley Society](#), n.d

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² [Anchorage Community Land Trust](#), n.d

⁴³ Ibid.



[Find a Home](#)[Meet a REALTOR® ▾](#)[Mortgage Calculators ▾](#)[Ideas & How-to ▾](#)[Home](#) / [ON](#) / [Toronto](#) / [York](#) / [Cedarvale](#)

1491 EGLINTON AVE W

[Directions](#)[Print](#)[Share](#)

Highlights



Neighbourhood



Statistics



Calculators

Description

Investment Opportunity In Future Growth Area, Directly Fronting Eglinton Crosstown Lrt Currently Under Construction! Retail + 2 2-Bdrm Residential Apartments On Upper Floors (Both Leased & On Term Contracts). Retail Space Is Vacant & Ready For Immediate Occupancy & Use By An Operator-Owner, Or Lease Out To A Tenant For Income! 4 Parking In Rear Lot (2 For Retail, 1 Each For Residential). Hydro Separately Metered From Residential/Retail.**** EXTRAS **** Appliances, Window A/Cs, Heating Elements And Window & Light Fixtures In Apartments And Retail Units Included. All Hwt Are Rentals. (27407771)

Property Summary

Property Type
Retail

Building Type
Residential Commercial Mix

Community Name
Oakwood-Vaughan

Land Size
18.38 x 122.47 FT

Annual Property Taxes
\$8,780.54

Total Parking Spaces
4

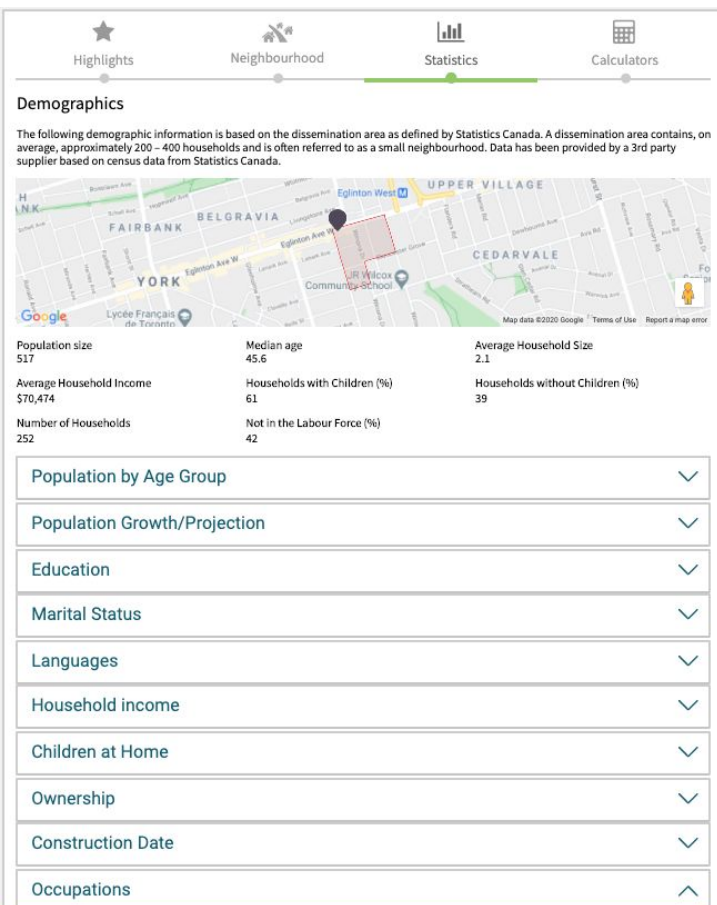
\$1,180,000

1491 EGLINTON AVE W
Toronto, Ontario M6E2G6

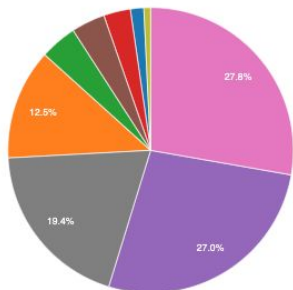
MLS® Number: C4944671



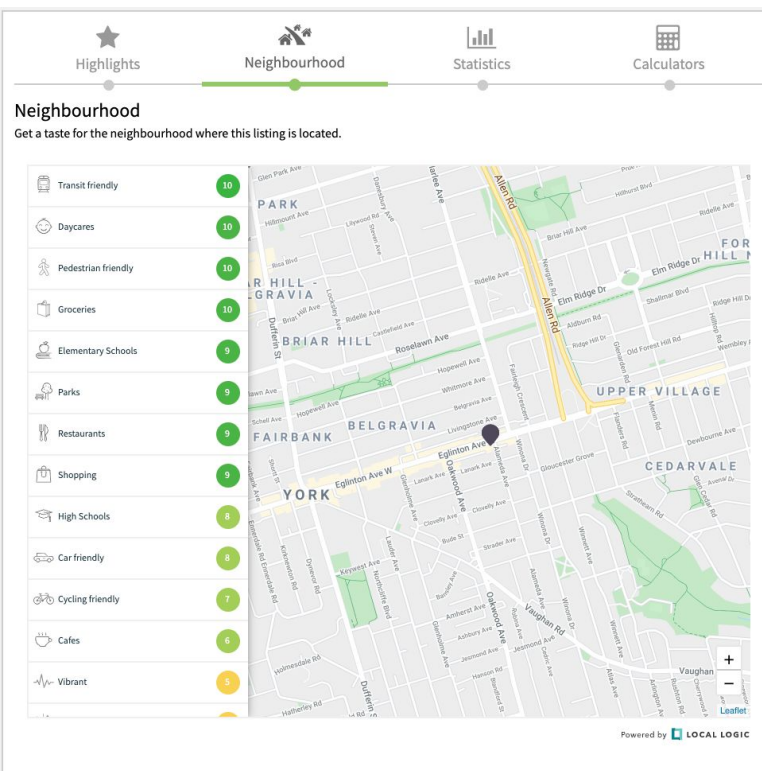
Retail



Based on the total labour force, occupation is a grouping of similar job tasks and work performed.



- Not Applicable (4)
- Business, Finance, Admin (33)
- Sciences (11)
- Health (8)
- Social Sciences, Education, Government, Religion (71)
- Art, Culture, Recreation, Sport (10)
- Sales and service (73)
- Trades, Transport, Operators (51)
- Manufacture and Utilities (2)



“INVESTMENT
OPPORTUNITY
IN FUTURE
GROWTH
AREA”

DECEMBER 2020

Discussion of CLTs

Strengths / Opportunities / Weaknesses / Threats

Strength

"This is about channeling community energy to organize... investment into your community. You need an instrument to do that, and you need an instrument that's going to capture that investment and recycle it. I believe in the CLT because it's specifically designed for that."

- Joshua Barndt, PNLT

Civil rights activists formed the first CLTs out of an understanding that "as long as Black people [lack] economic clout and stability...efforts to achieve racial equality [will] fall short."⁴⁴ As demonstrated by this quote, and any survey of the real estate landscape in cities across North America, holding title to land is an extremely effective tool to build economic clout and provide security over time. The CLT is a tool to expand the advantages of land ownership to communities that have been historically and systemically excluded from enjoying these benefits. Unlike a lease agreement from a private, but benevolent, landlord, or a progressively-minded municipality, the CLT offers the potential of providing community benefits in perpetuity.⁴⁵

As well, a CLT is much more free to control and guide the use of land in the community interest, unlike municipal and provincial planning policy. Land use regulations are designed to regulate land *use*, not users. In the case of Little Jamaica, current regulations dictate mixed commercial and residential uses and increasing density of people and jobs along Eglinton. For example, for the municipality to ensure that a restaurant in Little Jamaica sells Jerk Chicken rather than Kentucky Fried Chicken is a trickier challenge.⁴⁶ A CLT however, not unlike a private property owner, is empowered to sell or lease their lands to persons and organizations of their choosing.

Weakness

CLTs are complicated organizations that are difficult and time consuming to set up and operate.⁴⁷ The PNLT took ten years from its earliest ideation to first building acquisition. The RCLT similarly spent a decade developing its first commercial property, and the Hogan's Alley CLT, like many others across Canada, has yet to add any land to their portfolio. Nonetheless, this does not preclude BUTO from working to aggressively acquire property with the intention of later transferring ownership to a CLT. Nor does it negate the interim community and capacity building benefits that a CLT may produce. However, the strengths of CLTs lie in

⁴⁴ [Lim](#), 2020

⁴⁵ Barndt, Personal Interview.

⁴⁶ Cantos, Personal Interview, November 10, 2020

⁴⁷ Barndt, Personal Interview.

offering stable, long term benefits, not alleviating immediate financial pressures.⁴⁸ The speed of a CLT's formation and activity is an important consideration given the velocity of development, real-estate prices, and displacement on Eglinton West (see Appendix III).

Opportunity

In a quote shared by the PNLT and attributed to the iconic New York housing rights activist, Francis Golden, the media are one of only four ingredients to a successful CLT (people, professionals, and organizers being the other three). Thanks largely to the efforts of BUTO, the situation in Little Jamaica has garnered increasing media attention, with multiple articles in local newspapers and digital media. Combined with the recent Motions put forth by City Councillors Matlow and Colle, BUTO has an opportunity to marshal this attention for greater support for a CLT, both within the community and from potential funding sources.

Threats

The primary threats to the success of a CLT in Little Jamaica have to do with real estate prices increasing the difficulty of property acquisition, and being unable to secure sufficient grants and financing to make acquisitions possible. Stated clearly in our interview with Stephanie Allen of Hogan's Alley, you cannot pay market value for land and then provide below-market spaces, the land economics simply do not work.⁴⁹ In the context of the PNLT, organization revenue through fundraising is only able to service 30 percent of the debt associated with an acquisition, meaning that 70 percent of the purchase cost must come from grants or donations.⁵⁰ On Eglinton West, though it would depend on the property, even the most modest purchase would likely require grant funds upwards of \$500,000 up front. Securing grants for the purchase of commercial properties can be more difficult than those for affordable housing. Despite the importance of small businesses to the community, funders are less inclined to award grants that disproportionately benefit a privately held, for-profit business.⁵¹

A similar, but contrasting threat is the inherent uncertainty in the real estate market. There is consistent speculation that Toronto is an inflated real estate bubble.⁵² If that bubble were to burst shortly after an acquisition, the community asset becomes a community liability. Though ownership promises benefits and stability in perpetuity, the risk of insolvency, seizure by a lender, or an inability to support the operation and maintenance of property is a constant threat. Both threats underline the importance of enlisting the support of a realtor and development consultant that are competent and aligned with the goals and interests of BUTO.⁵³

⁴⁸ Barndt, Personal Interview.

⁴⁹ Allen, Personal Interview.

⁵⁰ Barndt, Personal Interview.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² [Kilpatrick](#), 2020

⁵³ Barndt, Personal Interview.

Recommendations

1. We recommend that BUTO establish a commercial CLT. Based on available funding opportunities and consultation with the community, the commercial CLT may also include a residential component and other uses (e.g. community garden, etc.).
2. BUTO should decide whether to set up an interim board and begin building their CLT governance structure or focus on implementing an aggressive land acquisition strategy using the non-profit organization that currently exists (focusing on governance and incorporating as a CLT later, as organizational capacity allows).
3. BUTO should incorporate its CLT. In the process, it should finalize the organizational structure, including whether it will adopt an ownership or lease model, or a combination of the two, what the governance structure of the CLT will look like, and its objects of incorporation. BUTO should decide whether to apply for charitable status or incorporate as a non-profit organization.
4. BUTO should connect with the PNLT and the Hogan's Alley Trust to strengthen the network of Canadian CLTs. It should also learn from the lessons offered by these organizations and develop strong partnerships.
5. BUTO should apply for funding to support its organizational development, to aid in land acquisition and to support its operations.
6. BUTO should obtain legal counsel to assist in incorporation, by-law creation, charitable status registration, and property acquisition.
7. BUTO should develop a campaign or committee to educate the community on what CLTs are and how they operate. This will provide BUTO with an opportunity to decide what further research into CLTs may need to be conducted.
8. BUTO should begin fundraising for a purchase deposit. This is cash on hand required to begin the land acquisition process.
9. BUTO should acquire land as soon as feasibly possible.

6

RECOMMENDATIONS

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST

A decorative horizontal line with a wavy, undulating pattern, colored in a gradient of red and orange, spanning the width of the page.

Recommendations

Based on our findings, we have created the following recommendations for Black Urbanism TO (BUTO). We have chosen to display these recommendations in both a list and table format. The list allows for greater explanation of each recommendation, while the table organizes recommendations based on their estimated timeline.

Recommendations	Short Term (next 6 months)	Medium Term (6 months - 1 year)	Long Term (1 - 3 years)
Due Diligence			
Use report to familiarize the organization with planning framework	✓		
Maintain strong relationships with Councillors Josh Matlow and Mike Colle	✓	✓	✓
Investigate what publicly-owned lands exist within the community and demand they be used to provide community benefits		✓	
Develop a community organizing strategy to expand constituency to include tenants in apartments along the strip	✓		
Contact manager of Toronto's Official Plan to position itself as a key constituent to be engaged in the city of Toronto's municipal comprehensive review (MCR)	✓		
Cultural Heritage - A. Community Partnerships			
Partner with local BIAs to raise awareness and host events that honour the musical histories of the neighbourhood	✓		
Create a register and a method for identifying "Legacy Businesses"	✓		

Research potential partnerships with donors or the City to support the legacy business initiative financially		✓	
Work in partnership with local councillors and various City departments to assess the feasibility of a formal Legacy Business Registry & Legacy Business Heritage Fund to be established city-wide			✓
Create a fast-track program for heritage property developers that would make the approval process for development applications faster.			✓
Form alliances with other music cities, music venues, artists and the like, that can assist in promoting the neighbourhood, local events, and the music histories of Little Jamaica		✓	
Cultural Heritage - B. Social Media Strategy			
Adopt a social-media & marketing strategy	✓		
Consult with local residents, business owners, organizations, and other persons that can help create a community-driven cultural strategy for Little Jamaica	✓		
Consider cultural tourism and social media strategies as complementary to commercial displacement prevention strategies	✓		
Cultural Heritage - C. Cultural Programs & Tourism			
Promote existing walking tours in the neighbourhood	✓		
Seek partnerships with businesses or organizations that could assist in the creation of events and programs to attract more visitors to the neighbourhood.		✓	

Develop an evaluative framework to assess the impact of cultural programs & tourism in Little Jamaica.			✓
Business Retention Strategies			
Lobby MPP for provincial policy change to allow split tax assessment for commercial properties	✓		
Conduct research into federal grant and loan programs in partnership with the local MP, the Centre for Social Innovation, and the PNLT		✓	
Explore financing options through Vancity Community Investment Bank and other social impact investing companies		✓	
Community Land Trust (CLT)			
Establish interim board for CLT or design aggressive land acquisition strategy	✓		
Incorporate CLT. Apply for charitable status or incorporate as a non-profit. Establish an organizational structure		✓	
Connect with PNLT and Hogan's Alley	✓		
Apply for funding	✓		
Obtain legal counsel		✓	
Launch an education campaign on what CLTs are and why Little Jamaica would benefit from one		✓	
Fundraise for purchase deposit		✓	
Acquire land			✓

Due Diligence Recommendations:

1. BUTO should use this report as a resource among its supporters and volunteers to help lay a foundational understanding of the provincial and municipal planning framework. This includes the fact that land use planning cannot regulate or prioritize specific “users,” such as Black people, but it can regulate or prioritize specific “uses,” such as small businesses in mixed use areas.
2. BUTO should continue to maintain close and strong relationships with local Councillors Josh Matlow and Mike Colle to shape what community benefits are acquired and redistributed to the community through high density development. These benefits should be leveraged to preserve the community’s cultural heritage, support existing Black-owned businesses, and increase the number of Black-owned businesses who own their commercial space in Little Jamaica.
3. BUTO should investigate further what publicly-owned land exists within the district, such as City-owned parking sites and Provincially-owned LRT properties, and demand that they be used to provide substantial community benefits for the community, including the piloting of activities that required greater government intervention (i.e. commercial rent control and first right of refusal).
4. BUTO should consider amending its current community organizing strategy to expand its constituency beyond businesses to include tenants in the apartments along the strip to help determine what types of community benefits the organization should advocate for when it has a seat at the table and to identify potential partners to deliver community benefits, which may include other organizations or Black people interested in locating their businesses in the cultural district.
5. BUTO should reach out to the Project Manager of the Official Plan from the City of Toronto’s City Planning Division to position itself to be a key constituent to be engaged in the City’s upcoming municipal comprehensive review (MCR) process to advance the interests of Black people and communities across the city. This is particularly important because we have learned that the MCR will explicitly use equity and anti-Black racism lenses to update the Official Plan, for the first time in its history.

Cultural Heritage Recommendations:

Community Partnerships

6. BUTO should partner with local BIAs to raise awareness and host events that honour the musical histories of the neighbourhood. Events of this kind are expected to, in turn, increase local economic development and tourism.

7. BUTO should partner with local BIAs to establish a Legacy Business Register for Little Jamaica. BUTO should create a register and some method of identification of Legacy Businesses as a first step to raising awareness on the need for cultural heritage protection of local businesses. This informal register would also assist in promoting local businesses that currently do not qualify for formal heritage designation. Criteria for the selection of Legacy Businesses should be identified by BUTO in consultation with local business owners, community members, and other organizations.
8. BUTO should research potential partnerships with donors or the City to support the legacy business initiative financially, in order to create incentives for landlords and developers to protect local legacy businesses. This was done in San Francisco with the establishment of the Legacy Business Historic Preservation Fund, though at a city-wide scale and not at the neighbourhood level.
9. BUTO should work in partnership with local councillors and various City departments to assess the feasibility of a formal Legacy Business Registry & Legacy Business Heritage Fund to be established city-wide.
10. BUTO should work with local councillors and various City departments to enable the creation of a fast-track program for developments of heritage property that would make the planning approval process faster, so long as the proposed development adequately addresses and respects the cultural and intangible heritage attributes of the specific site and the neighbourhood as a whole.
11. BUTO should form alliances with other music cities, music venues, artists, and other related stakeholders that can assist in promoting the neighbourhood, local events, and the music histories of Little Jamaica, and vice versa.

Social Media Strategy

12. BUTO should adopt a social media and marketing strategy that focuses on raising awareness on the importance and benefit of place-keeping, promoting local businesses and events, as well as providing the community at large with updates on the local happenings of the neighbourhood. We recommend that the social media and marketing strategy target both the music and cultural histories of the neighbourhood.
13. BUTO should consider adopting a local music brandmark (logo, wordmark, and social media hashtag) to reinforce awareness of the music history of the neighbourhood, as part of the social media and marketing strategy.

14. BUTO should consult with local residents, business owners, organizations, and other persons that can help create a community-driven cultural strategy for Little Jamaica
15. BUTO should consider cultural tourism and social media strategies as complementary to the commercial displacement prevention strategies and community land trust efforts outlined in later sections.

Cultural Programs & Tourism

16. BUTO should create and promote events focused on the culture and history of Little Jamaica, such as neighbourhood walking tours (guided or self-led). The promotion of existing walking tours and other events in the neighbourhood may be done via flyers, social media posts, etc. (e.g., Eglinton West's Cultural Loops Guide, and the annual Jane's Walk "Sights and Sounds: Eglinton's Reggae Culture").
17. BUTO should seek partnerships with businesses or organizations that may assist in the creation of events and programs to attract more visitors to the neighbourhood and directly invest into local businesses (e.g., local food tours that would increase revenues for local food-focused businesses, among others).
18. BUTO should develop an evaluative framework to assess the impact of cultural programs and tourism in Little Jamaica. We recommend this framework follow the one created by Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012), which takes into account the following:
 - Visitor counts, satisfaction, intent to return, and counts of return visitors;
 - Economic development measured through a set of indicators (e.g., number of new jobs and businesses, amount in grant awards, funds invested in physical improvements locally, return on public investment, revenues from tours, spending during tours, etc.);
 - Enhancement of local visibility and image, measured by the number and quality (positive/negative) of mentions in articles about the neighbourhood;
 - Community development (e.g., networks and alliances between local stakeholders, training opportunities, workshops, and technical assistance for local businesses); and
 - Cultural development (e.g., new cultural spaces and institutions, cultural production, cultural events and performances)

Business Retention Strategies Recommendations:

19. BUTO should connect with Little Jamaica's local MPPs, Jill Andrew and Faisal Hassan to lobby for commercial property tax assessment reform.
20. BUTO should engage in further research and partnership building with the PNLT to discover various federal grant and loan programs for property acquisition. Contacting local Members of Parliament and the Centre for Social Innovation to understand their financing structure should also be part of this research process.
21. BUTO should explore the Black Entrepreneurship Program as more details become available and explore financing partnerships with Vancity CIB and social impact investment companies.

CLT Recommendations:

22. BUTO should establish a commercial CLT. Based on available funding opportunities and consultation with the community, the commercial CLT may also include a residential component and other uses (e.g. community garden, etc.).
23. BUTO should decide whether to set up an interim board and begin building their CLT governance structure or focus on implementing an aggressive land acquisition strategy using the non-profit organization that currently exists (focusing on governance and incorporating as a CLT later, as organizational capacity allows).
24. BUTO should incorporate its CLT. In the process, it should finalize the organizational structure, including whether it will adopt an ownership or lease model, or a combination of the two, what the governance structure of the CLT will look like, and its objects of incorporation. BUTO should decide whether to apply for charitable status or incorporate as a non-profit organization.
25. BUTO should connect with the PNLT and the Hogan's Alley Society and Trust to strengthen the network of Canadian CLTs. It should also learn from the lessons offered by these organizations and develop strong partnerships.
26. BUTO should apply for funding to support its organizational development, to aid in land acquisition and to support its operations.
27. BUTO should obtain legal counsel to assist in incorporation, by-law creation, charitable status registration, and property acquisition.

28. BUTO should develop a campaign or committee to educate the community on what CLTs are and how they operate. This will provide BUTO with an opportunity to decide what further research into CLTs may need to be conducted.
29. BUTO should begin fundraising for a purchase deposit. This is cash on hand required to begin the land acquisition process.
30. BUTO should acquire land as soon as feasibly possible.

7

CONCLUSION

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST



CONCLUSION

The challenges Little Jamaica is facing today — transit-oriented development, gentrification, and displacement pressures — are not new. Black communities across Canada and the world have been resisting and fighting against racist planning and economic practices for centuries. This report demonstrates how heritage policies, planning practices, financial institutions, and public infrastructure projects have all been used to displace and erase Black communities.

CLTs originate as a response to the many systemic barriers and racist practices that sought to prevent Black communities from acquiring land, and with it, build economic power. It is not enough to acknowledge this reality, something must be done. This report aims to provide concrete strategies and recommendations to BUTO about how to ensure the protection and preservation of Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica.

Community ownership, and holding legal title to property is the most effective way to resist the forces of displacement and gentrification in perpetuity. However, there are also meaningful battles to be fought and won at the municipal and provincial policy levels, particularly relating to cultural heritage and businesses retention. There is no one solution to protecting and preserving Black-owned businesses in Little Jamaica, instead a combination of strategies and tools must be employed.

Over the coming decades, several new transit infrastructure projects will be delivered in Toronto's inner suburbs. The planned Mobility Hub in Mount Dennis, Eglinton East LRT along Scarborough's strip malls, and Finch West LRT passing through Jane-Finch being a few. Similar commercial displacement and redevelopment pressures will confront Black and other minority-owned businesses serving as spaces of social belonging in these low-income, racialized communities. Work done in Little Jamaica can set the stage for equity-seeking groups across Toronto to respond to commercial gentrification and leverage public investments to produce inclusive transit-oriented development.

Provincial policy and the completion of the Crosstown LRT have all but guaranteed that change is coming to Little Jamaica. It will intensify, and it will transform. However, we see a future for Little Jamaica where the City's place-holder renderings become places meaningfully owned by, and developed for, the existing community. This vision will not be volunteered by any level of government, foundation, or private developer. It will have to be extracted, through community organizing and collective action.

REFERENCES

References

Anchorage Community Land Trust. (2019). <https://anchorage.landtrust.org/about-us>

Armstrong, N. (2014, September 4). *Reggae Lane to be unveiled in the Eglinton Avenue West/Oakwood area*. Pride News.
<http://pridenews.ca/2014/09/04/reggae-lane-to-be-unveiled-in-the-eglinton-avenue-west-oakwood-area>

Aziz, S. & Bachour, M. (2014, March). *Changing the face of Little Jamaica: Gentrification and reconstruction on eglinton west*. Basics Community News Service, no. 34.
<https://basicsnews.org/7807-2/>

Baker, D. M., & Lee, B. (2017). How does light rail transit (LRT) impact gentrification? Evidence from fourteen US urbanized areas. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, OnlineFirst, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X17713619>

Baker, R., Gardener-Williams, D., Mark, A., Antczak, E., Dai, M., Ganton, S., & Wilson, T. (2020). *Report: A Black business conversation on planning for the future of black businesses and residents on Eglinton Ave W*. Black Urbanism Toronto.
http://www.mediafire.com/file/rsh7es62c7x6fjb/BUSINESS_CONVERSATIONS_REPORT_2020-07-22.pdf/file

Bardaka, E., Delgado, M. S., & Florax, R. J. G. M. (2018). Causal identification of transit-induced gentrification and spatial spillover effects: The case of the Denver light rail. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 71, 15-31.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2018.06.025>

Bardaka, E., & Hersey, J. (2019). Comparing the travel behavior of affordable and market-rate housing residents in the transit-rich neighborhoods of Denver, CO. *Travel Behaviour and Society*, 15, 74-87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tbs.2019.01.001>

Barreca, A. (2020, August 28). *Canada small business financing program: How to qualify*. Mentor Works.
<https://www.mentorworks.ca/blog/government-funding/canada-small-business-financing-program-eligibility>

- Bozdo, R. (2018). New trends in tourism: Heritage and social media. *Journal of Economics and International Business Management*, 6(3), 46-50.
https://doi.org/10.33495/jeibm_v6i3.18.113
- Buechler, G. (2017). *Lessons from a commercial community land trust pilot*. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.
<https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/192727>.
- Bunce, S. (2018). Alternatives to gentrification: Exploring urban community land trusts and urban ecovillage practices. In L. Lees & M. Phillips (Eds.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies* (pp. 413-427). Edward Elgar Publishing.
<https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785361746.00036>
- Bunce, S., & Aslam, F. C. (2016). Land trusts and the protection and stewardship of land in Canada: Exploring non-governmental land trust practices and the role of urban community land trusts. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 25(2), 23-34.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26195317>
- Bunce, S., & Barndt, J. (2020). Origins and evolution of urban community land trusts in Canada. In J. E. Davis, L. Algoed, & M. E. Hernández-Torres (Eds.), *On common ground: International perspectives on the community land trust* (pp. 93-114). Terra Nostra Press. <https://cltweb.org/terra-nostra-press/on-common-ground/>
- Canadian Network Community Land Trust. (N.d.) <http://www.communityland.ca/>
- City of Toronto. (2003). *Building construction dates*. Toronto Works and Emergency Services, Technical Services, Survey and Mapping Services.
<https://mdl.library.utoronto.ca/collections/geospatial-data/building-construction-dates-map-city-toronto>
- City of Toronto. (2020, May 19). PH14.4 Growth plan conformity and municipal comprehensive review (MCR) - work plan.
<http://app.toronto.ca/tmmis/viewAgendaItemHistory.do?item=2020.PH14.4>
- City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 22). PH16.7 Attachment 3 - Description of draft inclusionary zoning framework.
<https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2020/ph/bgrd/backgroundfile-156404.pdf>
- City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 22). PH16.7 Inclusionary zoning draft official plan amendment and zoning by-law amendment.
<https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2020/ph/bgrd/backgroundfile-156401.pdf>

City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 30). MM24.17. Eglinton Avenue West - Little Jamaica by Councillor Mike Colle, seconded by Councillor Ana Balião.

<http://app.toronto.ca/tmmis/viewAgendaItemHistory.do?item=2020.MM24.17>

City of Toronto. (2020, Sept 30). MM24.36. Supporting Black-owned and operated businesses and preserving the cultural heritage of Eglinton Avenue West's "Little Jamaica" by Councillor Josh Matlow, seconded by Councillor Michael Thompson.

<http://app.toronto.ca/tmmis/viewAgendaItemHistory.do?item=2020.MM24.36>

Crabtree, L., Blunden, H., Phibbs, P., Sappideen, C., Mortimer, D., Shahib-Smith, A., & Chung, L. (2013). *The Australian community land trust manual*. The University of Western Sydney.

[http://www.uws.edu.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0006/600567/Australian CLT Manual.pdf](http://www.uws.edu.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0006/600567/Australian_CLT_Manual.pdf)

Debergh, R. (2019, February 14). *Redevelopment of Westside Mall envisioned at Caledonia Station*. Urban Toronto.

<https://urbantoronto.ca/news/2019/02/redevelopment-westside-mall-envisioned-caledonia-station>

Davis, J. E. (2006). *Shared equity homeownership: The changing landscape of resale-restricted, owner-occupied housing*. National Housing Institute.

<https://shelterforce.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/SharedEquityHome.pdf>.

Davis, J. E. (2020). In land we trust: Key features and common variations of community land trusts in the USA. In J. E. Davis, L. Algoed, & M. E. Hernández-Torres (Eds.), *On common ground: International perspectives on the community land trust* (pp. 3-12).

Terra Nostra Press. <https://cltweb.org/terra-nostra-press/on-common-ground/>

Department of Elections. (2015, June 9). *Submittal form for proposed initiative measure(s) prior to the submittal to the department of elections*. City and County of San Francisco.

https://sfelections.sfgov.org/sites/default/files/ftp/meetingarchive/ftp/uploadedfiles/elections/ElectionsArchives/Meeting_Information/BSC/agendas/2015/LegacyBusiness_Text.pdf

Dominie, W. (2012). *Is just growth smarter growth? The effects of gentrification on transit ridership and driving in Los Angeles' transit station area neighborhoods* (Publication No. 921254639) [Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles].

Worldcat. <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/921254639>

- Dragicevic, N. (2020, January 7). *Why small business owners should consider buying their office space*. Toronto Storeys.
<https://torontostoreys.com/small-business-buying-office-space/>
- Grube-Cavers, A., & Patterson, Z. (2015). Urban rapid rail transit and gentrification in Canadian urban centres: A survival analysis approach. *Urban Studies*, 52(1), 178-194.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014524287>
- Hackworth, J., & Rekers, J. (2005). Ethnic packaging and gentrification: The case of four neighbourhoods in Toronto. *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(2), 211-236.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087405280859>
- Heritage Toronto. (2019). *Changing the narrative: State of the heritage report*.
https://www.heritagetoronto.org/wp-content/uploads/PDFs/SOH_Reports/State_of_Heritage_Report_2019.pdf
- Hogan's Alley Society. (2020). <https://www.hogansalleysociety.org/>
- Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada. (2016). *Canada small business financing program guidelines*. Government of Canada.
[https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/csbfp-pfpec.nsf/vwapj/h_la03133_en.pdf/\\$file/h_la03133_en.pdf](https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/csbfp-pfpec.nsf/vwapj/h_la03133_en.pdf/$file/h_la03133_en.pdf)
- Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada. (2020, December 2). *Black entrepreneurship program*. Government of Canada.
https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/150.nsf/eng/h_00000.html
- Jones, C. E. & Ley, D. (2016). Transit-oriented development and gentrification along Metro Vancouver's low-income skytrain corridor. *The Canadian Geographer*, 60(1), 9-22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12256>
- Kahn, M. E. (2007). Gentrification trends in new transit-oriented communities: Evidence from 14 cities that expanded and built rail transit systems. *Real Estate Economics*, 35(2), 155-182. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6229.2007.00186.x>
- Kilpatrick, S. (2020, October 1). *Swiss bank UBS says Toronto has 3rd biggest housing bubble in the world*. CBC News.
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/ubs-toronto-housing-bubble-1.5746432>.
- Lim, A. (2020, July). We shall not be moved. *Harper's Magazine*.
<https://harpers.org/archive/2020/07/we-shall-not-be-moved-collective-ownership-black-farmers/>

Lorinc, J. (2016, February 2). *How improving transit can price out those who need it most*. TVO.

<https://tvo.org/article/current-affairs/how-improving-transit-can-price-out-those-who-need-it-most>

Loukaitou-Sideris, A., & Soureli, K. (2012). Cultural tourism as an economic development strategy for ethnic neighborhoods. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 26(1), 50–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242411422902>

Manzocco, N. (2018, July 31). Caribbean restaurants keep the flame alive on Eglinton. *Now Magazine*. <https://nowtoronto.com/food-and-drink/food/eglinton-west-restaurants>

Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28(1), 195-240.

https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_urbanlaw/vol28/iss1/4

McLean, K. (2019, December 23). *'There will be no Little Jamaica': Toronto neighbourhood threatened by LRT construction*. Global News.

<https://globalnews.ca/news/6290487/toronto-little-jamaica-lrt-construction/>

Miller, G. (2020, August 5). *Memo #12: A snapshot of main street commercial real estate*. Bring Back Main Street.

<https://bringbackmainstreet.ca/memos-from-main-street/memo-12-snapshot-main-street-commercial-real-estate>

Mistry, A. (2016, April 27). Inside Toronto's "Little Jamaica." *The Fader*.

<https://www.thefader.com/2016/04/27/little-jamaica-toronto-photographer-jon-blak>

Nilsson, I., & Delmelle, E. (2018). Transit investments and neighborhood change: On the likelihood of change. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 66(1), 167-179.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2017.12.001>

Office of Economic and Workforce Development. (2019, May 16). *Five businesses added to the legacy business registry* [Press release]. City and County of San Francisco.

<https://oewd.org/article/five-businesses-added-legacy-business-registry>

Office of Economic Development. (2017). *Legacy Business Study*. City of Seattle.

http://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/economicDevelopment/22820_Legacy_Report_2017-09-25.pdf

- Office of Small Business. (n.d.). *About the legacy business program*. City and County of San Francisco. <https://sfosb.org/legacy-business>
- Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust. (n.d.). *Starting a CLT: PNLT origin story*. <http://www.pnlt.ca/clt-tool-kit/starting-a-clt>
- Pollack, S., Bluestone, B., & Billingham, C. (2010). *Maintaining diversity in America's transit-rich neighborhoods: Tools for equitable neighborhood change*. Dukakis Center for Urban and Regional Policy, Northeastern University. <http://housingtrustfundproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/TRNEquityFull.pdf>
- Rankin, K. N. (2008). *Commercial change in Toronto's west-central neighbourhoods*. Cities Centre, University of Toronto. <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/94433>
- Ray, R. (2017). Open for business? Effects of Los Angeles metro rail construction on adjacent businesses. *The Journal of Transport and Land Use*, 10(1), 725-742. <https://doi.org/10.5198/jtlu.2017.932>
- Rayle, L. (2015). Investigating the connection between transit-oriented development and displacement: Four hypotheses. *Housing Policy Debate*, 25(3), 531-548. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2014.951674>
- Rondo Community Land Trust. (2020). <https://rondoclt.org/>
- Rabyniuk, C. (2017, March 6). Toronto's latest tourism ad is a multicultural, chest-thumping statement piece. *Sharp Magazine*. <https://sharpmagazine.com/2017/03/06/torontos-latest-tourism-ad-is-a-multicultural-chest-thumping-statement-piece>
- Richer, C., Htoo, S., Kamizaki, K., Mallin, M., Goodmurphy, B., Akande, A., & Molale, A. (2010). *Beyond bread and butter: Towards food security in a changing parkdale*. [Graduate Workshop Report, University of Toronto]. <http://parkdalepeopleseconomy.ca/beyond-bread-and-butter-toward-food-security-in-a-changing-parkdale-2010>
- Ross, S. (2017a). Development versus preservation interests in the making of music city: A case study of select iconic Toronto music venues and the treatment of their intangible cultural heritage value. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 24(1), 31-56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739116000382>

Ross, S. (2017b). Making a music city: The commodification of culture in Toronto's urban redevelopment, tensions between use-value and exchange-value, and the counterproductive treatment of alternative cultures within municipal legal frameworks. *Journal of Law and Social Policy*, 27(7), 116-153.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2755431>

Saba, R. (2020, Sept 28). Little Jamaica businesses are 'barely hanging on' due to LRT construction and COVID-19. Councillors say they have a plan. *Toronto Star*.
<https://www.thestar.com/business/2020/09/28/little-jamaica-businesses-are-barely-hanging-on-due-to-lrt-construction-and-covid-19-councillors-say-they-have-a-plan.html>

San Francisco Heritage. (n.d.). *Legacy Businesses*.

<https://www.sfheritage.org/legacy-businesses>

Saxe, S., & Miller, E. J. (2016). *Transit and land value uplift: An introduction* (iCity Report No. 16-02-04-02). University of Toronto Transportation Research Institute.

<https://uttri.utoronto.ca/files/2017/10/16-02-04-02-Transit-and-Land-Value-Uplift-An-Introduction.pdf>

Shaw, K. S. and Hagemans, I. W. (2015). 'Gentrification without displacement' and the consequent loss of place: The effects of class transition on low-income residents of secure housing in gentrifying areas. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(2), 323-341. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12164>

Sherman, J. (2018, May 10). *Can Little Jamaica survive, or will gentrification get the better of the vibrant neighbourhood?* Post City Toronto.

<https://www.postcity.com/Eat-Shop-Do/Do/May-2018/Can-Little-Jamaica-survive-or-will-gentrification-get-the-better-of-this-vibrant-neighbourhood>

SmartCentres. (2019, March). *Investor presentation – fourth quarter 2018*. SmartCentres Real Estate Investment Trust.

<https://www.smartcentres.com/app/uploads/2019/03/Investor-Presentation-Q4-2018-March-2019-FINAL.pdf>

Sorce, E. (2012). *The role of community land trusts in preserving and creating commercial assets: A dual case study of Rondo CLT in St. Paul, Minnesota and Crescent City CLT in New Orleans, Louisiana*. (Publication No. 16718034) [Master's Thesis, University of New Orleans]. Semantics Scholar.

<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:16718034>

Spurr, B. (2018, March 24). In a city desperate for more transit, for Toronto's Little Jamaica it could be bad news. *Toronto Star*.

<https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2018/03/08/in-a-city-desperate-for-more-transit-for-torontos-little-jamaica-it-could-be-bad-news.html>

St. Denis, J. (2020, June 18). *Vancouver's Black community continues to call for civic redress*. The Tyee.

<https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/06/18/Black-Community-Vancouver-Civic-Address>

Sullivan, D. M., & Shaw, S. (2011). Retail gentrification and race: The case of Alberta Street in Portland, Oregon. *Urban Affairs Review*, 47(3), 413–432.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087410393472>

Surugiu, M. R., and Surugiu, C. (2015). Heritage tourism entrepreneurship and social media: Opportunities and challenges. *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 188, 74-81. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.03.340>

Toronto Music Advisory Council. (2016). *Toronto music strategy: Supporting and growing the city's music sector*. City of Toronto.

<https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/961d-backgroundfile-90615.pdf>

Townsend, M. (2020, July 15). *How coronavirus is transforming human behaviour*. Bloomberg.

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/storythreads/2020-05-13/how-covid-is-shifting-human-behavior-around-the-world>

Toronto Transit Commission. (2012). *Ridership and cost statistics for bus and streetcar routes, 2012*.

[https://www.ttc.ca/PDF/Transit Planning/Ridership cost statistics for bus streetcar routes 2012.pdf](https://www.ttc.ca/PDF/Transit%20Planning/Ridership%20cost%20statistics%20for%20bus%20streetcar%20routes%202012.pdf)

Tuttle, S. (2020). Producing diverse and segregated spaces: Local businesses and commercial gentrification in two Chicago neighborhoods. *City & Community*, 1-25.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12448>

Wang, R. (2017). *Member Report*. Grounded Solutions Network.

www.groundedsolutions.org

White, K. (2011). *The community land trust technical manual*. National Community Land Trust Network.

<https://groundedsolutions.org/tools-for-success/resource-library/community-land-trust-technical-manual>

Wilder, V., Mirto, A. L., Makoba, E., & Arniella, G. (2017). The health impact of gentrification. *Journal of General and Emergency Medicine*, 4(1), 1981-1991. <https://www.scientonline.org/open-access/the-health-impact-of-gentrification.pdf>

Zuk, M., Bierbaum, A. H., Chapple, K., Gorska, K., & Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2018). Gentrification, displacement, and the role of public investment. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 33(1), 31–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412217716439>

9





APPENDICES

EGLINTON AVENUE WEST



Appendix I

Development Applications in Little Jamaica

1	1860 keele st.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted january 2020, under review awaiting preliminary report application type: OPA and rezoning redevelopment of a 14-storey apartment building, 216 residential units
2	2421 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted january 2019, under review awaiting council decision application type: rezoning 4-storey townhouse building, 7 residential units
3	2270 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted dec 2017, approved by council in oct 2019 application type: OPA and rezoning, site plan approval under review 8-storey mixed use building with retail at-grade, 141 residential units, new public plaza along eglinton
4	2204 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted march 2017, hearing scheduled application type: minor variance plan for demolition of existing structures on city owned-parking lot, not a housing now site and no clear plan for site

5	2116 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted september 2020, under review awaiting preliminary report application type: "minor" variance 9-storey building, with live-work units at-grade, 104 residential units zoned for mid-rise building under former municipality
6	1924 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted may 2019 application type: site plan approval 8-storey mixed-use building, 200 residential units, retail at-grade
7	2433 dufferin st.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted june 2014, approved by council in july 2018 application type: rezoning 9-storey mixed-use building, 114 residential units, commercial at-grade
8	1801 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted august 2020, under review application: rezoning 30-storey mixed-use building, 284 residential units, retail at-grade, community hub/business centre
9	1603 eglinton ave. w.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> submitted december 2009, approved by council application type: rezoning, now plan of condominium 17-storey mixed-use building, 219 residential units, 4 commercial units

10	601 oakwood ave.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • submitted december 2017 • application: OPA and rezoning, appeal at OMB • 5-storey mixed-use building, 30 residential units, retail at-grade
11	396 hopewell ave.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • submitted august 2011 • application: OPA and rezoning, approved by council in 2014, active minor variance for parking • 81 stacked townhouses

Appendix II

Sales Data & Map

Figures 1 and 2 and Table 1 all contain historical real estate sales data on Eglinton Ave from www.housesigma.com. Property sales on Eglinton are consistent with trends across the GTA: a rapid increase in the value of real-estate in the last decade. Prices for single commercial units along Eglinton with an apartment above are approaching a million dollars, and are nearly uniformly advertised as promising investment opportunities without any mention of Little Jamaica or the community.

There is no guarantee that prices will continue to increase endlessly into the future, however the trend on Eglinton is bolstered by the positive correlation between public transit infrastructure and real estate prices.¹ The intention of this data is not to suggest that acquisitions will climb categorically out of reach. As we heard from Josh Bardnt of the PNLT:

“I don’t think the real estate value matters. That’s a very common nay-sayer lens. We received that same comment, I don’t think it matters. It of course makes it harder to find ‘good deals’ in the open market, but I don’t think there’s good deals anywhere in Toronto on the open market.”

Nor is it intended as an assessment of the wisdom of purchasing real estate at this exact moment. Rather it demonstrates the wealth in real estate in Little Jamaica that has thus-far been captured by private actors, and highlights the importance of securing a realtor that understands BUTO’s and the communities priorities. The figures below provide some preliminary hard numbers to the landscape of property values on Eglinton in the past twenty years.

¹ [Saxe and Miller](#), 2016

Price Trends on Eglinton (excluding condos)

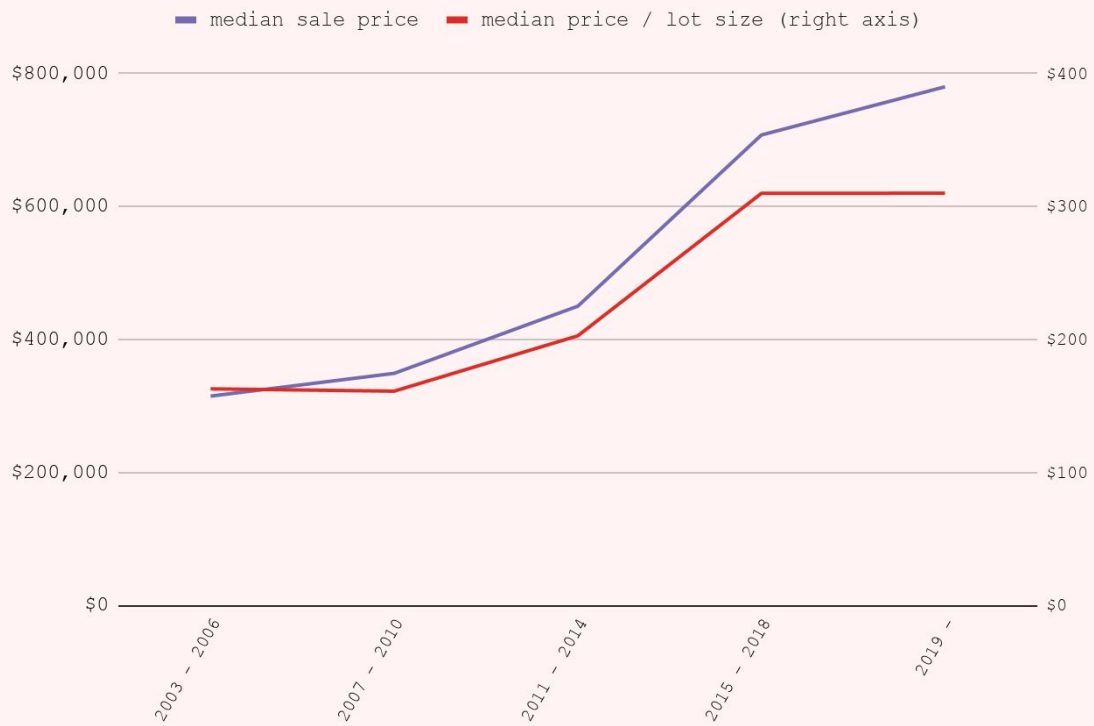


Fig. 1 - total median sale price (left axis), and median price / lot size (right axis)

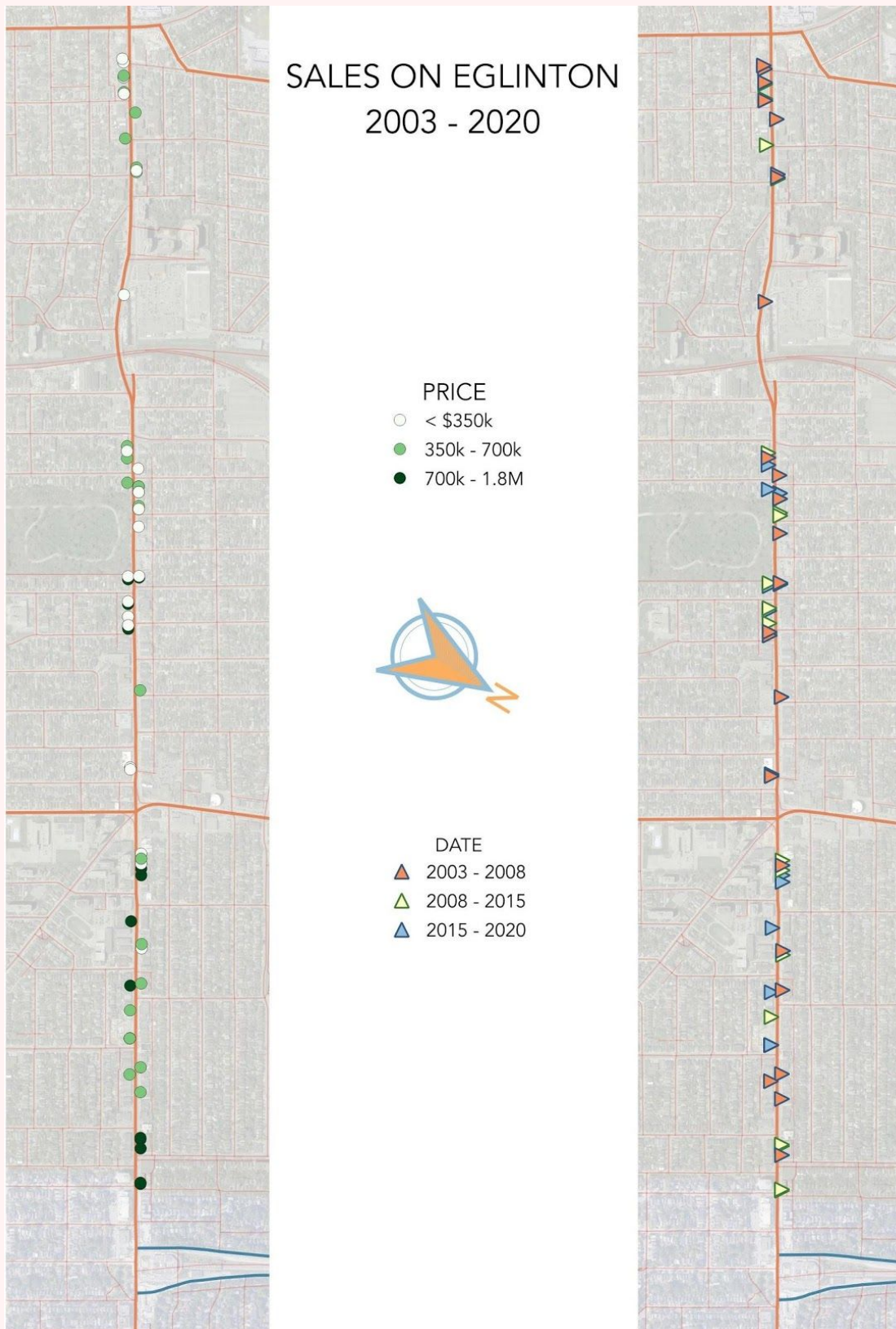


Fig. 2 - map of property sales and prices on Eglinton from housesigma.com

*This is an abridged table. The complete data-set with additional columns is available by request.

Address	Type	Selling Price (\$)	Year
2180 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	190,000	2003
2166 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	195,900	2003
2037-39 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	253,000	2003
2516-2518 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	314,500	2003
2100 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	340,000	2003
1696 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	375,000	2003
1561 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	420,000	2003
1962 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	630,000	2003
1786 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	660,000	2003
2597 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	175,000	2004
2557 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	222,000	2004
2520 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	360,000	2004
1883 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	269,000	2005
2593 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	280,000	2005
2557 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	315,000	2005
1662 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	400,000	2005
1466 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	950,000	2005
1885 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	302,500	2006
2307 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	275,000	2007
2566 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	377,000	2007
2579 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	455,000	2007
1562 - 1564 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	495,000	2007
2142 Eglinton Ave W	Res. Townhouse	327,000	2008
1536-38 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	446,000	2008
2029 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	710,000	2008
1792 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	140,000	2009
1780 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	202,000	2009
2154 Eglinton Ave W	Res. detached	272,000	2009
2043 Eglinton Ave W	Residential Duplex	321,000	2010
2055 Eglinton Ave W	Residential Duplex	346,000	2010
1692 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	348,000	2010
2067 Eglinton Ave W	Residential Duplex	350,000	2010
2033 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	408,000	2010

2156 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	415,000	2010
2577 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	320,000	2011
2166 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	325,900	2011
2154 Eglinton Ave W	Res. detached	360,000	2011
2559 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	380,000	2011
1480 Eglinton Ave W	Apartment	1,140,000	2011
2531 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	490,000	2012
2577 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	424,000	2013
2311 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	450,000	2013
2029-2031 Eglinton Ave W	Apartment	1,085,000	2013
2514 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	560,000	2014
1400 Eglinton Ave W	Townhouse	765,000	2014
1625 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	415,000	2015
2166 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	520,000	2015
1398 Eglinton Ave W	Res. Townhouse	730,000	2015
1478 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	859,000	2015
1766-68 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	1,800,000	2016
2287 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	667,500	2017
2301 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	695,000	2017
2170 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	595,000	2018
1649 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	720,000	2018
1721 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	750,000	2018
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	528,000	2019
2053 Eglinton Ave W	Residential Duplex	775,000	2019
2170 Eglinton Ave W	Res duplex	780,000	2019
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	919,990	2019
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	499,990	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	530,000	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	540,000	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	600,000	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	692,500	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	755,000	2020
1603 Eglinton Ave W	Condo	769,990	2020
2065 Eglinton Ave W	Residential Duplex	778,000	2020
2096 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	1,540,000	2020
1774 Eglinton Ave W	Mixed Use	1,575,000	2020

Appendix III

Additional Advice from the PNLT

The project team had a conversation with Joshua Barndt, the executive director of the Parkdale Neighbourhood Land Trust (PNLT) in November 2020. He shared advice and a number of lessons learned from the experience of purchasing property and operating a land trust in Toronto. Below are the abridged highlights of the strategic advice from the PNL.

Re: Acquisitions & Funding

- Considering the velocity of displacement on Eglinton and the time required to set up a CLT, it may be possible for BUTO to work to acquire its own property with the intention of later transferring ownership to a CLT.
- When looking for potential properties to purchase and grants to fund set purchase, it is more effective to first identify potential grants and then a property that meets the restrictions of the grant. Not the other way around.
- When grants programs are identified, do not merely apply, but secure a meeting with the organization's Executive Director to discuss the grant.
- Grants to fund the purchase of commercial properties are extremely scarce. Considering the mixed use typology on Eglinton, it might be the case that the residential apartments above play an important part of commercial acquisitions.
- The City of Toronto is more inclined to support and fund projects that are framed as 'pilot' programs.
- Surveying and building relationships with local landowners is a worthwhile community building activity; being given early notice of intention to sell, and being taken seriously as a potential buyer is, "golden". However commercial property owners, especially working class owners, are unlikely to forfeit their retirement and sell at subsidized rates.
- A real-estate agent that understands the organization is critical. BUTO should interview multiple agents and secure their expertise. As they work on commission, their work is ostensibly pro-bono, and better situated to manage the business aspects of real-estate

transactions.

- Fundraising for (refundable) purchase deposit is an early, and necessary rallying activity. Cash on hand in the order of ~5% of the purchase price (\$50,000 on a 1M property) is often required to begin the acquisition process.

Re: Partnerships and Advice

- Having a city councillor, ideally the local councillor, champion your cause is critical to the success of a CLT. Though relationships with other levels of government are valuable and should be cultivated, the City Councillor is able to propose motions and allocate funds that efficiently and directly target the CLT.
- It is essential to have a lawyer, especially one with experience in commercial real estate, property and tax law, on the board of the CLT. This may be an elected position, or it can be an 'ex officio', non appointed, non voting position. The PNLT also solicits and recommends the advice of Iler Campbell, and notes that the costs of legal fees should be built into many of the organization's activities and grant applications. Similar to finding a realtor, BUTO could make a public call to recruit a lawyer for a board position, and should explore and interview law firms to provide counsel.
- Using Francis Golden's framework for the success of a CLT: people, organizers, professionals, and the media. Regarding professionals, it is important to recruit advice from those that understand and are aligned with the goals of the organization:

"You need professionals. But not just *any* professional, you don't just need a lawyer, a planner...you need professionals that will do the people's bidding... When we're hiring a real-estate agent, or a planner etc... do they want to give us advice? Or do what we ask them to do, and use their skills to make that work? We don't want to work with people who just want to give us advice. Professionals, especially in the urban space are trained to tokenize communities and come in and give all the solutions. We want to have a demand of the professional for them to get creative to make it happen. Sometimes that's very hard - we're told it's not going to work - well, figure it out. Please, spend some time using your skills to figure it out."

Appendix IV

Considerations for Cultural Tourism Programs

In their article on cultural tourism as an economic development strategy for ethnic neighbourhoods, Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012) interviewed the directors of cultural tourism organizations in seven major U.S. cities. The cities and organizations included:

- Boston Main Streets
- Bronx Art Card and Culture Trolley (New York)
- Chicago Neighbourhood Tours
- Neighbourhood Tourism Network (Philadelphia)
- Cultural Tourism DC (Washington DC)
- Baltimore Heritage Area Association
- LA Commons (Los Angeles)

The purpose of these interviews was to gain information about the work and challenges that these organizations faced in their efforts to create neighbourhood-based cultural tourism programs & strategies. The authors' review of the experiences of cultural programs in the cities outlined above show that both opportunities and challenges persist.

Two questions were posed to the directors of the organizations, in order to gain further insights.

1. Are there lessons to be drawn from the experiences of the organizations surveyed?
2. What are effective strategies for entities wishing to help neighbourhoods develop cultural tourism?

The following table shows the summary provided by the authors of the collective responses from the organization directors. This set of findings were included as they are important factors to consider when establishing new cultural programs in ethnic neighbourhoods. The majority were not discussed directly in the report, but we recommend that BUTO considers all of these factors before working to develop new programs or all-encompassing strategies for cultural tourism.

Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effective agencies to carry on cultural tourism programs in ethnic neighbourhoods are nonprofits that have strong relations with the neighbourhoods and are partially funded and supported by the municipal government.
Collaborations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Such nonprofits should seek to enhance the neighbourhoods' horizontal and vertical linkages and sustain them over time. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horizontal linkages: build a network of local stakeholders and ensure support, commitment, and collaborations with neighbourhood institutions, residents, businesses, property owners, artists and the youth. Vertical linkages: ensuring the support of the Mayor, City Council, and other department heads (e.g., Economic Development). Collaborations both within and between neighbourhoods can strengthen cross-neighbourhood networks, enhance local awareness of the variety of assets that the neighbourhoods demonstrate, build economies of scale, and account for more effective and innovative synthesis of cultural programs and community economic development.
Physical Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical neighbourhood improvements represent an important priority for merchants and cultural institutions. Lead agencies should work with city departments to enhance the physical infrastructure of neighbourhoods so that they are pedestrian friendly, with well-maintained sidewalks and public spaces, good lighting, safe crosswalks, informative maps and signs, facilitating both everyday life in the neighbourhoods and the attraction and orientations of visitors.
Social Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survey revealed that most establishments were very modest with low levels of capacity to market and promote their products, services and activities. A cultural tourism initiative may start with neighbourhood establishments that have some level of capacity, but goes on to build capacity for other willing participants through training workshops and technical support, which can establish collaborative, low-cost, and easily maintained resources over time (e.g., website development and neighbourhood events calendars).
Audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The program should appeal to diverse audiences and different age groups, while encouraging return visitors. It should provide information on additional attractions and reasons

	<p>to return that appeal to diverse publics rather than establishing a presentation of each neighbourhood targeted to a single socio-demographic group.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewees advised to first concentrate on local audiences and later expand outreach to visitors from out of town.
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhoods should be able to offer a combination of repeated tours and unique festivals and events. • Residents, merchants, and local organizations should have input on the content of different tours, and depending on their resources and availability, should be involved in designing and leading the tours. • Collaborations can start with interviews, focus groups, and surveys of residents' and merchants' common needs and proceed with discussions of the neighbourhoods' histories and cultures that will constitute the focus of the tours.
Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents who are enthusiastic and knowledgeable about the neighbourhoods make the best tour guides. • It is important that local establishments strive to offer high-quality service and products, while visitors engage actively with the neighbourhoods and the tour activities. • Feedback from visitors can be helpful to ensure that the tours remain a successful and shared experience and meet the growing expectations of both residents and visitors over time.
Publicity & Outreach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While word of mouth is important, alternative outreach venues such as digital media, websites and blogs, and local newspapers should also spread the word about the neighbourhood and its cultural assets. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Their reach can increasingly go beyond local or established networks, while the combination of low-cost and ease of use offers important short- and long-term advantages for neighbourhood establishments with limited resources.
Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tour revenues are usually not enough to cover their expenses, much less staff salaries and organizational costs. • Identifying constant streams of funding is an important prerequisite for the sustainability of cultural tourism programs.