

There Goes the Neighbourhood: A Case Study of Social Mix in Vancouver's Downtown
Eastside

by

Valerya Edelman
Bachelor of Social Work, University of British Columbia, 2010

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Abstract

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Social mix is a highly contested global trend in urban planning as it can result in some of the same negative social consequences as gentrification, such as displacement and social polarization. In 2014, the City of Vancouver approved a social mix strategy for one of its low-income neighbourhoods in their Downtown Eastside (DTES) Local Area Plan (LAP). With this plan, the city aimed to increase mid- and high-income residents in a predominately low-income neighbourhood. Included were Social Impact Objectives to mitigate harm to existing low-income residents, and assurances the approach would benefit all community members. The LAP provoked questions of whether social mix could, indeed, benefit low-income residents. This qualitative single-case research study investigates the experiences of residents with low incomes in the DTES neighbourhood, three years after the implementation of the LAP. The study is grounded in an anti-oppressive framework, with attention to anti-colonization and the unique experiences at the intersection of gender and colonial oppression. Three key findings emerged from neighbourhood observations and semi-structured focus groups conducted in 2017 with twenty-four research participants. First, experiences of displacement in the DTES were reported; second, experiences of social polarization within their neighbourhood were described; and, third, most participants demonstrated strong community connections

despite the social mix changes. The findings suggest low-income residents did not benefit from social mix and, if further displacement and polarization were to continue, the negative impact on low-income residents would increase. Simultaneously, continued acts of resistance by low-income residents in the DTES help maintain their place in the neighbourhood and continue to shape the social mix landscape. The findings, therefore, support low-income residents' efforts to slow increasing numbers of high-income residents into the social mix of their community.

Keywords: Social mix, Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, DTES Local Area Plan, DTES Plan, gentrification.

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to my grandmother, Yekaterina Chernyavskaya, whose determination inspired generations.

There Goes the Neighbourhood: A Case Study of Social Mix in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Social mix is a term used by city planners to refer to a diverse social and economic neighbourhood composition, which results from moving middle- and high-income people into low-income neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008). Through policies and initiatives, city planners entice affluent populations to come and live in predominately low-income areas to create a social mix neighbourhood (Lees, 2008). Underlying social mix is a belief that “healthy” cities need a balance of inhabitants from different social classes and categories (August, 2016, p. 3407). The rationale for social mix is its presumed ability to tackle concentrations of poverty and social exclusion (Rose et al., 2013) while simultaneously producing a sustainable tax base of mid- and high-income residents (Lees, 2008).

Since the mid-1990s, urban planning embraced a resurgence of social mix in low-income neighbourhoods (Rose, et al., 2013), and it has become policy orthodoxy (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). According to Loretta Lees (2008), “encouraging socially mixed neighbourhoods and communities has become a major urban policy and planning goal in the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Australia, Canada and the United States” (p. 2451). However, critics argue that social mix does not remedy poverty; moreover, it advances gentrification (Lee, 2008; Rose, et al., 2013), which is well known to cause displacement, marginalization, and class conflict (Atkinson, 2004; August, 2016; Blomley, 2004).

When critics argue that social mix causes unjust displacement of marginalized populations—and meanwhile there is substantial endorsement of social mix policies in urban planning discourse—it provokes the question: ‘What are experiences of low-income residents in

socially mixed neighbourhoods?’ Does social mix produce any, or all, of the same negative effects as gentrification; or does it change any conditions in the neighbourhood that could offer benefits to low-income residents?

The presumed benefits of social mix, including greater opportunities, role models, and neighbourhood improvements for low-income residents, have been contested and, in some cases, disproven (August, 2016; Graves, 2011; Lees, 2008; Rose et al., 2013; Slater, 2006; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). First, critics argued that social mix is a “neoliberal formula” that “promotes gentrification” (Lees, 2008, p. 2454) with “rationales” that “reflect a neoliberal turn” (Rose et al., 2013, p. 430). To illustrate, some critics pointed out how presumed benefits of social mix reflect the conventional neoliberal ideas that home ownership and profitable businesses signify morality (Brown, 2005):

Programs of renewal often seek to encourage home ownership, given its supposed effects on economic self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and community pride. Gentrification, on this account, is to be encouraged, because it will mean the replacement of a marginal anti-community (non-property owning, transitory, and problematized) by an active, responsible, and improving population of homeowners. (Blomley, 2004, p. 89)

Often, these presumptions—that home ownership reflects a kind of valuable citizenship that is not warranted to low-income populations—go unsaid and unquestioned.

Second, some research suggests that instead of benefiting low-income residents, social mix has caused marginalization (Walks & Maaranen, 2008) and cultural and political displacement (Hyra, 2015), and that “[n]otions of diversity were more in the minds of these gentrifiers, rather than in their actions” (Lees, 2008, p. 2458). Some critics concluded that “physical displacement is indeed becoming less necessary to gentrification” (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 323), and that due to the marginalization, limits to social mix are needed (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

As I have noted, critics argue that social mix moves in a neoliberal direction and can produce gentrifying harms; however, research also suggests that social mix is evidence of successful resistance. Winifred Curran (2018) explained that “gentrification is rarely ever done or complete but continuously enacted and resisted” (p.1711). Contestations to gentrification, Curran (2018) explained, “change the process so that some of the most negative consequences may be mitigated or delayed” and displacement of low- income communities is never entirely completed (p. 1726).

Although scholarly analyses challenge notions that social mix benefits low-income residents, social mix continues to be standard practice in urban planning. Furthermore, there is limited research on the experiences of low-income residents in social mix neighbourhoods (August, 2016; Lees, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Therefore, the first purpose of my research is to gain understanding of low-income residents experiencing intentional social mix.

This thesis seeks to understand the experiences of low-income residents in a growing social mix neighbourhood. The research uses an anti-oppressive framework and attends to inequality based on social identities of race, class, abilities, and gender, as well as effects of colonialism.

As a researcher, I locate myself as a European Jewish immigrant, and settler on Coast Salish and Wolostoyik lands. My interest in gentrification began in the late 1990s when I worked for a non-profit organization in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside. By this time, I thought that the DTES was misrepresented and decontextualized in the popular media by sensationalized stories of poverty, drug use, and crime. Meanwhile, the neighbourhood was filled with people, families, connections, resources, and occupations for low-income people with mental illness and history of drug use. Despite the valuable features in the DTES and, what seemed to me, the clear

need to address systemic problems such as poverty, sexism, and racism, the mere impressions of the neighbourhood were enough to justify tearing down low-income homes for condominiums in the name of revitalization. What is more, I witnessed fierce and successful resistance to gentrification from the community.

I continued to work in the DTES for another 16 years with low-barrier housing and health care. My interests in such matters as a national housing strategy, harm reduction, the decriminalization of drugs and drug users, and the rights of Indigenous Peoples led me to positions of advocacy. Undeniably, my bias leans toward the interests of low-income residents rather than affluent populations and their businesses; thus, the second purpose of my thesis is to equip low-income community members facing gentrification with sound research that could support their resistance.

To answer the question, ‘what are the experiences of low-income residents in a social mix neighbourhood?’ I used a qualitative, instrumental, single-case methodology and thematic analysis in the case of Vancouver’s DTES. Robert Stake (2011) explained that “a case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of the inquiry” (p. 444). An instrumental case study involves examining a case and its contexts in detail and depth to then provide insight into an issue, or to transform a generalization (Stake, 2011). Thus, a case facilitates understanding of an issue broader than itself (Stake, 2011).

The case in my study is Vancouver’s DTES. I chose this case because, firstly, I have connections with the neighbourhood. Second, I was concerned when in 2014 the city released the Local Area Plan (LAP) which described an intent to increase social mix further in the area (City of Vancouver, 2014b). In this plan, the city explicitly aimed to enable more residents with

moderate and high incomes to move into the predominantly low-income neighbourhood; it was posited that this growth would be beneficial for all, including low-income residents.

Vancouver's DTES is an ideal case study of social mix because it is a predominantly low-income neighbourhood with a history of resistance, community-building efforts, and achievements of various resources for low-income residents, and is home to groups who are habitually marginalized due to race, gender, and abilities; thus, it shares characteristics of other neighbourhoods that face similar urban plans (Curran, 2018; Darcy, 2010; Hyra, 2015). This neighbourhood also makes for an insightful case because the city, for LAP, studied the potential gentrifying harms of social mix and committed to mitigating them through a set of objectives with periodic evaluations, attempting to assure critics that LAP would be beneficial to low-income residents (City of Vancouver, 2014b). The city's efforts and commitments to mitigate negative, gentrifying harms begs the question whether social mix can, with efforts such as these, be beneficial for low-income residents.

To answer the question, 'what are the experiences of low-income residents in socially mixed neighbourhoods?', I facilitated four semi-structured focus groups with 24 low-income residents in the DTES, then used a thematic analysis which allowed key findings to emerge. Certainly, a thematic analysis allows a researcher to examine "the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights," and then to summarize key features (Nowell L. S., Norris, White, & Moules, 2017, p. 1). With this method, conducted rigorously, I will provide findings about experiences of low-income residents that offer insights into effects of social mix and the strengths communities can have. These findings, my discussion, and conclusion can be used for urban planning and community building.

The following chapters of my thesis answer the question, ‘what are the experiences of low-income residents in socially mixed neighbourhoods?’ The chapters begin with a literature review about social mix, gentrification, the DTES, and the theories used for my study. Next, the methods of the research are described with detail that reflects rigor and credibility. After, I will provide the findings which emerged from the thematic analysis of the focus group discussions, followed by a discussion of some highlights. At the end, I deliver a conclusion about low-income experiences in social mix neighbourhoods and offer recommendations to governments, urban planners, and fellow social workers.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

In this chapter I review the literature on social mix, including previous studies on the experiences of low-income residents in mixed-income housing and socially mixed neighbourhoods. As social mix is often related to gentrification, I will begin with an overview of them both, highlighting the similarities and differences between the two. Next, I will review community resistance to social mix and the simultaneous drive for its progression, which initially sparked this study. This chapter also explains the four theories that are the framework for this research, guiding its context and its methods. Finally, I present a history and some significant features about the DTES to provide more understanding of the case.

1.1 Gentrification

In this section I will provide an overview of gentrification and social mix, as well as their distinctions. *Gentrification* is a process where wealthier, and usually White, residents move into poorer neighbourhoods in gross numbers (Sullivan, 2007). The move changes neighbourhoods' social-class composition and identity, and results in mass displacement and community conflict (Atkinson, 2004; Sullivan, 2007; Walks & Maaranan, 2008). Dominant discourse frames the process as inevitable, natural, and economically beneficial; while critics claim disadvantaged classes need interventions to protect housing and communities (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Gentrification does not evolve the same way in each place (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Gentrification is affected by local, regional, and national factors that include historical racial

settlements and conflicts, structure of housing and labour markets, class structures, government policies, and planning decisions, as well as the location of amenities, transportation, infrastructure, and local architectural preferences (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Although there are differences, there are also trends in gentrification. Typically, gentrification is a process with several stages, or waves.

David Ley and Cory Dobson (2008), as well as Allan Walks and Richard Maaranen (2008), describe the stages, or “waves”, of gentrification (Ley, 1996 as cited in Ley & Dobson 2008, p. 2474). The following is a summary of their depictions of the waves of gentrification. The first wave begins with a neighbourhood characterized by under-maintenance of properties, decay of buildings, and a low-income population without a lot of social capital (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Artists, young professionals, and counter-culturists, also without a lot of money, are attracted to the cheap rent and to the deviant nature in the community (Walks & Maaranen, 2008; Ley & Dobson, 2008). These first-wave gentrifiers are progressive and tend to be committed to mixed neighbourhoods (Ley & Dobson, 2008). They fix up houses, connect with neighbours, and participate in social action (Ley, 1996 as cited in Ley & Dobson, 2008). The sweat equity they use to improve their living spaces for themselves increases the property values, plus their presence creates an aesthetic identity which appeals to second-wave gentrifiers (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). First-wave gentrifiers have low economic capital and seldom do they directly displace people out of their homes. However, their cultural capital is high and thus first-wavers are a catalyst for further gentrification (Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Second-wave gentrifiers are drawn by real estate deals, “spicy neighbourhoods,” and are eager to convert rooming houses into more profitable and exclusive residences (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2475). However, they tend to be risk-averse, and with inflation of property values

homeowners become more protective of investments (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). They use language like “revitalization” (Ley & Dobson, 2008). They are not interested in social mix and are comfortable with creating a socially exclusionary neighbourhood (Ley & Dobson, 2008). These second-wavers renovate their houses further, and thus the property values increase even more (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Second-wave gentrifiers attract new retail businesses that cater to their interests, such as coffee shops, pubs, and used book, music, and clothing stores. The neighbourhood then becomes increasingly trendy with a local street scene (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Newcomers with higher incomes outbid existing residents of the neighbourhood, and original tenants face displacement (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Third-wave gentrifiers tend to belong to the middle and upper classes (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Walks and Maaranen, 2008). They are even more risk-adverse, are attracted by increasingly stable property values, and have an interest in the financial investment of the neighbourhood (Ley and Dobson, 2008; Walks and Maaranen, 2008). This group often lives in owner-occupied condominiums, and attracts mainstream amenities such as high-end restaurants, art galleries, new clothing stores, hotels, banks, and furniture stores (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). By this stage, many, if not most, of the remaining residents of the neighbourhood become displaced (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). The third-wave gentrifiers make political claims that protect their property values and privilege (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Through policies and designations, this wave creates barriers of entry to lower classes; they may oppose shelters, clinics, and other services used by the remaining low-income residents of the neighbourhood (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Market developments that cater to third-wave gentrifiers result in rapidly inflating rents and subsequent landlord harassment of tenants, as they hope to replace low-rental properties in favour of more profitable rents in the new market (Atkinson, 2004). In a

gentrified neighbourhood, residents who cannot afford the higher rents are forced to leave, and those who manage to remain in affordable units lose their friends, family, and social networks (Atkinson, 2004; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

The final stages of gentrification follow when the financial and social risks of buying property in the neighbourhood is virtually eliminated and the most risk-averse of the elite and wealthy middle classes have moved in (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). This group, with their high financial resources, renovate their acquired properties to higher standards (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). At this point in gentrification, the neighbourhood attracts elite residences and the globally mobile transnational class (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). The neighbourhood, through the different waves of gentrifiers, becomes completely unaffordable to most (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). The lingering social housing buildings that have been able to remain are reluctantly accepted by this last group; the differences between the classes is stark, and relationships can be hostile (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

In the first part of this section, I described gentrification in terms of waves. Next, I will provide a literature review on the critique of gentrification. The elite has a history of celebrating and defending gentrification, especially in the 1980s (Slater, 2006). They positioned gentrification as development which restored and improved destitute areas, and they described it as a positive social movement sparked by the desires of the middle class to live in old city places (Slater, 2006). However, gentrification, with its growth of neighbourhood polarization, displacement, and further inequality has been widely critiqued (Atkinson, 2004; Blomley N., 1997; Curran, 2018; Hyra, 2015; Ley, 1996; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Pederson & Swanson, 2009, Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Slater, 2006; Sullivan, 2007; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

Displacement of vulnerable and poorer populations is a significant impact of gentrification (Atkinson, 2004). People who do not have equal opportunities to afford a high price for rent ultimately lose their homes. The loss of homes and break-up of existing communities can be devastating and isolating. Atkinson (2004) published a systematic literature review of gentrification, including 74 studies in North America. His report concluded that gentrification has been largely harmful, predominately through displacement and community conflict. The negative impacts of gentrification, according to Atkinson's (2004) literature review, include displacement, loss of affordable housing, homelessness, increased cost of and changes to local services, loss of social diversity, housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas, secondary psychological costs of displacement, commercial/industrial displacement, under-occupancy, and population loss.

Critics also revealed that gentrification results in declining levels of racial diversity, immigrant populations, and mingling between social and economic classes (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Social conflict was also common, as gentrification devalued low-income residents' community-building efforts and their fruits of success, ultimately threatening to break up the community (Walks and Maaranen, 2008). Community mobilization and resistance in gentrifying neighbourhoods across North America successfully produced a legitimate, moral anti-gentrification stance supported by the public (Curran, 2018; Ley & Dobson, 2008).

In this section I described gentrification as a process, discussed the resulting negative impacts to existing low-income residents, and acknowledged its resistance. In the next section I will discuss social mix.

1.2 Social Mix

In this section I will describe what social mix is, how it gained popularity after gentrification, and then examine critiques of its effects and implementation. In simplest terms *social mix* is the combination of different social and economic classes living in a neighbourhood, which results after a movement of middle and upper classes into a predominately low-income district (Slater, 2006). Unlike gentrification, social mix implies low-income residents are not completely displaced when high-income residents move into the neighbourhood. Through government intervention, such as protection of some affordable housing stock in the area, low-income residents remain and mix with the middle- and high-income residents (Ley & Dobson, 2008).

After gentrification was contested globally in neighbourhoods by residents and activists, largely due to displacement and break-up of existing communities, the language of gentrification became a dirty word and its popularity was replaced with the language of social mix (Slater, 2006). The popularity of social mix was also influenced by economic reasoning (August, 2016; Slater, 2006). In his highly influential *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida (2002) suggested that the economy is powered by creativity; thus, creativity is a highly prized commodity and a source of competitive advantage. Florida (2012) described how the role of creativity in the economy resulted in a new social class:

The economic need for creativity has registered itself in the rise of a new class, which I call the Creative Class. More than 40 million Americans, roughly one-third of all employed people, belong to it. I define the core of the Creative Class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content. (p. 4)

Florida (2012) also explained that the creative class is attracted to urban centres with diversity and culture, and if cities can offer these they will draw in members of the creative class; subsequently, their economy will grow.

The creative class literature suggests that for cities to attract the kind of talents Florida (2002, 2012) encourages them to they will need to enact policies that promote both gentrification and tolerance within the inner city (August, 2016; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). The resulting “image of hip, bohemian, cool, arty tribes who occupy cafes, galleries, and the cycle paths of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods once lacking in ‘creativity’, is increasingly seen as a sign of a healthy economic present and future for cities across the globe” (Slater, 2006, p.736).

Gentrification’s language of “revitalization” has been replaced with the social mix language of sustainability. The concept of *social sustainability* was introduced in the 1970s (Ozuduru, 2011), and can be defined as a “fulfilling present and a renewable and regenerative future” (Dujon, Dillard, & Brennan, 2013, p. 2). With a focus on human relationships, social sustainability considers human needs, quality of life issues, and development initiatives that provide opportunities for people to expand capabilities to do the things they value (Dujon et al., 2013). However, the concept of social sustainability remains ambiguous and contested, as we do not come from common positions that guide the nature of change needed for human fulfilment (Manzi, Lucas, Jones, & Allen, 2010).

Urban planning that strives for social mix has been widely critiqued (Blomley, 2004; Darcy, 2010; Duke, 2009; Graves, 2011; Lees, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Slater, 2006; Walks & Maaranan, 2008). As cities compete to attract a global creative class, they market themselves as liveable, cosmopolitan, tolerant, and harmonious places, but then attempt to manage a social mix without addressing the significant wealth gap between the new and existing

classes in the neighbourhood (August, 2016; Slater, 2006; Walks & Maaranan, 2008). Although some affordable housing stock may be protected through social mix aims, critics asserted that these neighbourhoods are likely to continue to face similar class struggles as with gentrification due to the unwavering inequality between groups (Slater, 2006; Walks & Maaranan, 2008). Critics also argued that too often the aesthetic and economic benefits of “bourgeois bohemia” are mistakenly perceived as signs of harmony and success, rather than signs of a new consumer culture, and evidence of historical and current class struggles of a neighbourhood (Slater, 2006, p. 739).

In this section I discussed what social mix is and its rise to popularity among urban planners, despite critiques that it does little to address social and economic inequalities. In the following sections, I will review beliefs that underlay the popularity of social mix.

1.3 Perceptions of Neighbourhood Improvements

In this section I will offer common beliefs held by proponents of social mix, and how they are contested. Literature reveals ubiquitous suppositions about the benefits wealthier residents bring to low-income communities. These suppositions include that: 1) social mix neighbourhoods produce valuable job opportunities for low-income residents, 2) middle-class residents act as role models and positively influence low-income earners to reduce anti-social behaviour, 3) the increased presence of middle-class residents will improve and add amenities to the neighbourhood for low-income earners, and 4) the concentration of poverty produces ghettos and a culture of poverty that is unhealthy (Graves, 2011; Joseph, 2006).

Common suppositions about the advantages low-income resident gain from acquiring proximity to higher-income residents can lead to the conclusion that social mix is a remedy for poverty in neighbourhoods (Darcy, 2010; Duke, 2009; Graves, 2011, Joseph, 2006). However,

notions that low-income residents benefit from new, high-income neighbours are discredited by studies on mixed-income housing which reveal that due to minimal interaction between classes, predicted benefits tend to fail (Graves, 2011; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013). In the following sections, I will review each of the common suppositions and response from critics.

Valuable Connections

Supporters of social mix policies often imagine that valuable connections among differing socio-economic classes will develop in mixed-income communities (Joseph, 2006). They imagine these connections will reduce social and economic isolation and create opportunities for employment, and ultimately believe that low-income residents will be able to experience upward social mobility (Duke, 2009; Graves, 2011; Joseph, 2006). On the contrary, researchers found that socially mixed neighbourhoods typically lack social cohesion, and interactions between socio-economic groups had not led to jobs or other resources for residents living in poverty (Graves, 2011; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013). Social mix initiatives do not address persistent poverty and income polarization; thus, they are limited in producing socially cohesive communities (Duke, 2009; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Examinations of mixed-tenure buildings and social-mix neighbourhoods showed that low-income residents could continue to live in the same level of poverty alongside their affluent neighbours, and the two groups would never mix.

A Role Model Effect

Support for social mix policies is backed up with the premise that middle-class role models are needed to expose mainstream values to poor communities, which would then improve the community's social organization and curtail problems such as drug use and theft (Joseph,

2006). Again, there is a belief that, with this positive influence, residents living in poverty will have the opportunity for upward social mobility (Joseph, 2006; Graves, 2011). However, research shows that if changes in low-income residents do occur when their community becomes mixed, it is a result of stringent upholding of rules and informal social control by homeowners, rather than through a role model effect (Kearns, McKee, Sautkina, Cox, & Bond, 2013). The evaluative studies of mixed communities created under social mix policies consistently conclude that physical mixing of the residences of households with different incomes does not, of itself, lead to meaningful relationships, role-modelling, or networking to ameliorate poverty and disadvantages (Darcy, 2010).

Neighbourhood Improvements

Supporters of social mix suggest that high-income residents could improve services and attract amenities in low-income neighbourhoods through exertion of political pressure and advocacy for improvements, which would be heard by formal institutions (Duke, 2009; Grave, 2011; Joseph, 2006). Contrary to this belief, studies show higher-income earners accessed services outside of the community instead of pushing for local improvements (Graves, 2011). Moreover, in her case study Graves found that higher-income earners not only did not advocate for improvements, but they did not mention utilizing or even having knowledge of local community centres, health services, or arts and youth programs. In Montreal, researchers found that more home ownership in a neighbourhood did not improve public amenities; instead, they found that “starter condos” for first-time buyers had a high turnover rate and sold to people who did not share the same kind appetite for community involvement as the long-term renters had (Rose et al., 2013, p. 446).

In these last three sections, I offered an overview of typical endorsements for social mix: valuable connections, a role model effect, and neighbourhood improvements for low-income residents. I also provided research that suggests these benefits may not occur in social mix. Next, I will provide further literature review of social mix contentions.

1.4 Social Mix Contentions

In the last sections I provided arguments related to social mix. People see dilapidated buildings converted into appealing modern architecture and gain an idealistic hope for inclusion, but there are legitimate risks of gentrification with consequences such as displacement and polarization based on class, race, and abilities. In this section I will continue to provide counter-arguments against social mix.

Exclusion from Polity

In addition to unmet expectations for improvements, the premise that low-income residents would benefit from higher-income residents' lobbying for improvements is inherently problematic. From a critical point of view, it is important to attend to the ability to effect change rather than merely applaud improvements directed by upper classes. For decades within the urban planning dialogue, fulfilling neighbourhoods have been linked to the end of segregation; however, in his influential *Right to the City* Lefebvre (1968) proclaimed that segregation limits the right which people have to space: not only physical space, but political, social, and economic spaces. Thus, he called for a new paradigm in policy-making that discourages segregation on all fronts, including residents' ability to effect change (as cited in Duke, 2009).

Analysts have remarked that the reach for social sustainability for everyone may still overlook or marginalize non-dominant voices (Dujon et al., 2013). While city planners assert that

social mix policies are the solution for a deprived neighbourhood, social mix policies do not inherently result in social inclusion and social sustainability for all; rather, people with low incomes can continue to experience this deprivation in a socially mixed neighbourhood. As David Harvey (2003) asserted, the right to the city is not merely a right to access existing resources, but a collective right to change the city after our heart's desire and change ourselves in the process. Iris Marion Young's (1999) "together-in-difference" theory echoes the notion that physical integration isn't enough and can wrongly ignore central issues of privilege and disadvantage. Thus, according to Young, there is a need for appropriate resources beyond physical space for residents to achieve access to the polity. Likewise, Duke (2009) points out that it is seldom asked "whether residents will maintain cultural attributes, gain access to political space, or transform their new communities in a way that is meaningful to them" (p. 102).

In this section I provided the contention that social mix does not in itself desegregate marginalized groups from physical, political, social, and economic spaces. Next, I will discuss the debate around concentration of poverty theories.

Concentration of Poverty vs Social Connections

Social mix policies are supported by the idea that a concentration of poverty is unhealthy, and thus increased market housing and home ownership in poor neighbourhoods will improve low-income residents' lives (Joseph, 2006). These beliefs reflect neighbourhood effect and culture of poverty theories. A *neighbourhood effect* results when a neighbourhood has a concentration of excluded groups who experience deprivation, and their deprivation has a cumulative, negative impact on opportunities to employment or education, as well as quality of life (Manzi et al., 2010). The *culture of poverty* theory holds that a key factor in the persistence of poverty is the destructive, anti-social habits that have been adopted by many low-income,

inner-city families which are counterproductive to their well-being and upward mobility (Joseph, 2006).

Wilson (1987), who is often cited in academic discussions about social mix, argued that the socio-economic isolation of urbanized poor people served to further concentrate poverty, leading others to suggest that socio-economic mixing could reverse this process (as cited in Graves, 2011). Critiques of social mix policies point out, however, that neighbourhood effects can be better remedied by helping people climb out of poverty with adequate income assistance and affordable housing, rather than social mix (Lees, 2008). Furthermore, some scholars have remarked that “under certain circumstances, high frequencies of economic disadvantage indicators appear to be geographically correlated with a strong sense of social connectedness at the local level which might even serve to offset measured economic disadvantage” (Mullins & Western, 2001, as cited in Darcy, 2010, p. 4). In David Imbroscio’s (2008) challenge of the “dispersal consensus”, he argued that the rights of poor households to choose whether to remain living in poor communities, and enhance their neighbourhoods, are ignored in revitalization projects (p. 114). There are many critics who argue that social mix policies and urban renewal programs “will do little to benefit the very poor and a lot to benefit the middle-class and private developers” (Smith, 2006, as cited in Duke, 2009, p. 279).

On one side, proponents of social mix believe the concentration of poverty is unhealthy. On the other side, critics of social mix believe social connectedness can offset economic disadvantages and a low-income community’s desire for social mix should not be assumed. Next, I will discuss the connections between social mix, neoliberalism, and social polarization.

Neoliberalism and Social polarization

The issues of further marginalization in social mix neighbourhoods is a key concern with social mix initiatives (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). While a few studies suggest that a tolerant and nurturing local culture among gentrifiers can fight against social polarization (Walks & Maaranen, 2008), many critics argue that this kind of restructuring results in segregation and marginalization of people in their own neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Moreover, the problems of social polarization of class and race continue to occur with the implementations of social mix policies (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Some argue there are human rights implications as social mix policies continue Indigenous People's displacement and are prejudicial against people receiving social assistance, people with disabilities, and people who are racialized (Larkin, personal communication). Douglas Massey and Mary Fischer (2000) demonstrated clearly that race cannot be factored out of the equation, and still plays a prominent role in spatial inequality.

Contemporary revitalization and social sustainability projects which claim to use mixed income as a means of addressing poverty are critiqued for essentially promoting a neoliberal agenda, which centres free-market interests and lacks concern for social equality (August, 2016; Darcy, 2010; Slater, 2006). Several analysts concluded that an integrated, social mix neighbourhood, which narrows socio-economic gaps and furthers equity, is an ideal that is just not being achieved by contemporary social mix initiatives (August, 2016; Lees, 2008; Walks & Maaranen, 2008).

In Toronto, the redevelopment of Don Mount Court and Regent Park sparked the following comment from Martine August (2016):

Recent applications of social mix ally more with neoliberal strategies of urban governance, and the principles espoused by neoliberal ideology, than they do with the progressive and equality-oriented principles behind historic promotion of the idea. (p. 83)

Like August's critique, that social mix did not produce equality and rather advanced neoliberalism and its polarizing effect (Yalnizyan, 2007), Damaris Rose, et al., (2012) said the following about a social mix development in Montréal:

[The] 'neighbourhood effect' thesis has made considerable headway . . . as an argument for policies of promoting 'controlled gentrification' . . . but a key difference from middle class involvement in community organizations in the 'social movements' period of the 1960s – 1970s (including early wave gentrifiers) is that welfare state anti-poverty and anti-sociospatial polarization mechanisms have been severely eroded . . . such neighbourhood based organizations are increasingly burdened by the tasks of 'managing diversity' and 'conflicts of coexistence' in local contexts where socio-economic (and often also ethnic) polarizations are mounting due to more upscale gentrification alongside impoverishment. (p. 445)

August and Rose both concluded that contemporary neoliberal climates, far removed from past social ideologies of equality, cannot enable social mix to ameliorate conditions of poverty.

Inasmuch as social mix was critiqued for its inability to advance socio-economic equality, Rowland Atkinson (2010) linked social mix to gentrification.

Though the aims of renaissance are bound up with a wider agenda of diminishing social exclusion, fears have been expressed that the sub-text of its 'urban pioneers' and inner-city revitalization is the promotion of gentrification by the back door. There is a fear that this will lead to displacement and a largely affluent vision of the emerging 'good city' with its high density and emphasis on 'social mix' in areas of social rented housing. (p. 122)

Atkinson's problematizing of social mix for its ability to cause displacement is echoed in Shaw and Hagemans's (2015) relatively recent research, '*Gentrification Without Displacement*' and *the Consequent Loss of Place*, where they reported on the experience of low-income residents who "managed to stay put" in gentrifying neighbourhoods in Melbourne, Australia (p. 323).

Shaw and Hagemans (2015) examined whether "the absence of physical displacement is sufficient to ameliorate gentrification's negative impacts" and concluded that "transformations in shops and meeting places, and in the nature of local social structure and government

interventions, cause a sense of loss of place even without physical displacement” (p. 323). Shaw and Hagemans’s substantiated fears of social mix mimicking gentrification.

In these sections I provided three social mix contentions. First, I provided the argument from critics that social mix initiatives do not explicitly desegregate low-income residents from physical, political, social, and economic spaces. Second, I explained that beliefs that a concentration of poverty is unhealthy neglects the advantages of social connectedness, moreover, they may lead to paternalistic measures. Third, I provided critics’ analyses that tied social mix to market-centred, neoliberal aims which result in deeper inequality in neighbourhoods. In the next section, I will discuss community resistance to social mix.

1.5 Resistance to Social Mix and the Relationships with Governments

Gentrification that occurs in waves or through government social mix policies has faced resistance from low-income communities (Curran, 2018). Community mobilization that encourages state intervention could be a significant factor in abating gentrification, particularly if governments at multiple levels are sympathetic to affordable housing (Ley & Dobson, 2008). To interrupt market-centred interests and hold back gentrification, governments can purchase land and create subsidies to sustain affordable housing stock (Ley & Dobson, 2008). Curran (2018) argues that it is the resistance of low-income neighbourhood residents, along with activists, that stops “wholesale” displacement and through an iterative process creates social mix with government and urban planners (p. 1715).

The welfare state in the past had more capacity and political will to intervene in market processes than in today’s neoliberal climate (Ley & Dobson, 2008). Under neoliberalism, the market style calculation of cost and benefits became the measure for all state practices and, consequently, the capacity to take care of one’s own needs and ambitions independently became

the underlying value of all social policies; moreover, values of self-sufficiency became our social norms and even a moral expectation (Brown, 2005). As neoliberalism grew the governments' focus on market interests grew, and the federal government terminated new social housing construction which then placed the cost onto provincial governments. Local regulations, such as zoning bylaws to keep density low, accelerated gentrification as well as the end of rent controls that were established in the 1970s (Ley & Dobson, 2008). Governments at various levels neglected tenant protections. They framed gentrification as local development and a solution to fiscal crises, regardless of the views of residents (Slater, 2006; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Canada has seen recent changes, however. In 2016, the federal government developed a \$40 billion National Housing Strategy (Government of Canada, 2018). As social mix continues to be considered the optimal standard of urban development, how the new federal strategy will lessen the burdens of gentrification is yet to be determined.

In these sections, I explained the process of gentrification and defined social mix, offered a literature review on the proponents' and opponents' views, and established there is community resistance to, and government roles in, social mix. Next, I will discuss the theoretical framework I used for my research.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This section explains the theories I used to contextualize this research. This study is theoretically positioned within an anti-oppressive framework supported by anti-colonialism, intersectional theory, and harm reduction philosophies. This framework is oriented toward a difference-centred analysis where dominant discourses are challenged, inequalities are highlighted, and movement toward emancipation from oppression is desired.

Anti-oppression

Anti-oppression theories orient a researcher to problematize and confront inequality, rather than blame individual short-comings for such things as poverty and other markers of marginalization. Moosa-Mitha (2005) described anti-oppressive theories as a juxtaposition of both difference-centred and critical orientations, acknowledging “subordinate/dominant power relations that characterize social relationships in society” (p. 61). She further explicated that “the basis on which people experience differential and subordinate power lies in the ownership of their social identity, where ‘difference’ from an assumed White, heterosexual, able-bodied norm results in various forms of oppression” (p. 62). Accordingly, Moosa-Mitha (2005) suggested interrogating the normative assumptions that result in oppression and envisioning more just possibilities.

Anti-colonialism

Colonialism encompasses the settlement and expropriation of Indigenous People’s territory, worlds, animals, and plants; it attempts to control Indigenous People in their lands and erase their cultural difference and value (Hart, 2009). For example, the Indigenous People’s world was renamed as natural resources by colonizers and exploited to build wealth and power for settlers (Hart, 2009; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Indigenous People assert that colonization is not over, and the domination, self-righteousness, and greed which drive colonialism impacts every level of Indigenous People’s lives (Hart, 2009).

Violence was central to colonization, and laws that upheld colonization were violent as well. For example, the pervasive Indian Act, grounded in White supremacy, forced assimilation in residential schools, often by violence (Thobani, 2007). Indigenous People could continue to experience trauma and grief from loss of lives, land, and culture that spanned across generations

as well as in their own lives (Brave Heart, Yellow Horse & DeBruyn, 1998). Furthermore, the loss of traditional forms of social cohesion and beliefs, and a kind of dislocation or poverty of the spirit, has been linked to experiences of addiction (Alexander, 2008).

Contemporary tools of colonization involve the use of surveillance, policing and prisons, segregation, ghettos and minoritizing, and schooling and divestment, which all serve to ensure that White elites ascend in social and economic hierarchies (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Widespread racism has material consequences economically, socially, legally, and politically (O'Connell, 2009). Poverty has increased among racialized groups in Canada, where privileged White populations benefit. Frideres and Gadacz (2005) point out that even when educational levels are on par with non-Indigenous People, Indigenous People statistically earn less. In my research, I attend to historical colonial events because poverty and the wealth gap continue to be racialized and rooted in colonization.

Additionally, as Blackburn (2007) asserts, it is necessary to use a critical view of the current colonial systems that uphold political dominance and Indigenous People's exclusion, and the entitlement White settlers claim to have on, and over, Indigenous People's land. Throughout my research, I resist repeating *terra nullius*; the supposition that this country was essentially uninhabited, empty before European settlers, which justified the dispossession of Indigenous People's land and knowledge (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003). I highlight beliefs in Vancouver's DTES that resemble *terra nullius* and interrogate institutional colonial power that controls Coast Salish lands and waters through the set of policies in the DTES LAP. I do not explain or represent Indigenous People's culture; rather, I centre on Indigenous People's worldviews, relationships, and the role of their culture to their existence and survival. I am accountable to the

Indigenous People in the DTES, and therefore contextualize present-day issues such as poverty, violence against Indigenous women, and displacement within the context of colonization.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 in her article *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. She centred Black women and critiqued the single analysis which treated race and gender as exclusive categories of experience and analysis. Crenshaw claimed that Black women were marginalized in both feminist theories and anti-racist politics. She critiqued this marginalization and wrote:

Problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including Black women within an already established analytical structure. Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated. (p. 140)

She explained that there are combined effects of discrimination, rather than the sum, and a unique “compoundedness” (p. 150).

Crenshaw (1989) exposed how people do not usually say ‘Black and White women’, or ‘White women’, but they do say ‘Black women’. Taking cognizance of language, she exposed how White is assumed as the norm, and not needed to be said. When Crenshaw analysed anti-discrimination laws and legal cases, she found that “the refusal to allow a multiply disadvantaged class to represent others who may be singularly disadvantaged defeats efforts to restructure the distribution of opportunity and limits remedial relief to minor adjustments within an established hierarchy” (p. 145). Her analysis shows how singular-axis analyses that omit the lives of those other than their axis is too narrow of a scope and can lead to domination, hegemony, and lateral violence.

Andrea Smith (2005) stated that Indigenous women “live in the dangerous intersections of gender and race” (p. 150). Smith showed how the unique intersection of oppression positioned women of colour to choose “prioritizing either racial or gender justice” (p. 51), where they can “pit themselves against their communities” or can remain silent “to maintain a ‘united front’ against racism” (p. 151). Smith also argued that gender violence is a tool of racism and economic oppression.

In the methods, discussion, analysis, and final conclusions of my research, I considered the unique intersection of the oppression Indigenous women in the DTES may experience.

Harm reduction

Harm reduction is an approach which emerged from public health and grassroots social movements to reduce harms of substance use, and to apply as an alternative to enforcing abstinence (Pauly, Reist, Belle-Isle, & Schactman, 2013). Harm reduction is employed in various locations such as Housing First—where abstinence from illicit drugs is not a requirement to rent an apartment or a room—, therapeutic interventions where clinicians ‘meet people where they are at’, and peer-organized and peer-led programs.

Harm reduction is also a philosophy, a way of looking at substance use. Pauly et al (2013) stated:

From a harm reduction perspective, the starting point is not about the asserting force of evidence for the adoption of particular strategies like needle exchange or supervised injection services, but rather starting from understanding, or misunderstandings of substance use, debunking myths and stereotypes, as well as an understanding of values underpinning harm reduction. (p. 287)

Pauly’s explanation of harm reduction invites one to consider the social conditions people who use substances are compelled to face.

Illicit drug use is highly stigmatized, especially for people who are poor, racialized, a gender minority, or part of other marginalized groups. Harm reduction philosophy recognizes that not only drugs can cause harm, but stigma, policies, and laws associated with drugs can also cause harm. Rhodes (2009) article, *A Social Science for Harm Reduction Approach*, states:

Risk environment framework envisages drug harms as a product of the social situations and environments in which individuals participate. It shifts the responsibility for drug harm, and focus of harm reducing actions, from individuals alone to include the social and political institutions, which have a role in harm production. (p. 193)

Harm reduction, therefore, involves efforts to change structures that produce harm, such as laws, policies, and discriminatory practices which lead to unsafe consumption and unequal access to essential needs, such as housing.

Women who live in high-risk environments, such as those who experience severe economic and social problems, and/or have histories of abuse and mental illness, have higher rates of problematic substance use (Torchalla, Linden, Strehlau, Neilson & Krausz, 2014). Given the conditions that precipitate high-risk environments and impose colonial conditions, Indigenous women in Canada are often living in risky environments and are subsequently at higher risk for substance use. Researchers concluded that substance use is a symptom of women's unique and intersectional historical, social, and political contexts; substance use among Indigenous women is not a root cause of poor health and social inequalities, but a response to complex social, political, and historical inequalities (Torchalla et al., 2005).

As said in the previous section, Indigenous women often cope with a myriad of intersectional racism and sexism, including negative stereotypes and popular misrepresentations of Indigenous women. Indigenous women can experience discrimination and marginalization both as women and as Indigenous People, as well as be further marginalized as substance users. As such, researchers have pushed to shift the focus from individual choices made by women to

the experiences of women's lives within the wider contexts of sexism, racism, colonization, criminalization, and violence (Rhodes, 2009).

Gabor Maté is a physician who has experience working from a harm reduction approach and philosophy in the DTES. He authored *In the Realm of Hungry Ghosts* (2008) and in it wrote, “[d]rugs do not make the addict into a criminal; the law does” (p. 278). The origins of our Narcotics Control Act, like most laws, reflect interests of elite groups and are not inherently equal to public safety or the betterment of society (Hester & Eglin, 1992). Critics argued that the origins of contemporary narcotic laws were shaped by racism, and the aim to break a social movement in order to secure ruling class dominance within the capitalist system (Hester & Elgin, 1992).

Laws that punish substance use have not proven to help people with addiction problems, and often harm vulnerable members of society by criminalizing them. As Dr. Gabor Maté (2008) wrote:

The War on Drugs fails, and is doomed to perpetual failure, because it is directed not against the root causes of drug addiction and of the international black market in drugs, but only against some drug producers, traffickers and users. More fundamentally, the War is doomed because neither the methods of war nor the war metaphor itself is appropriate to a complex social problem that calls for compassion, self-searching insight and factually researched scientific understanding. (p. 283)

Maté encourages people to consider that the criminalization of substance use causes harm, rather than relieves inflictions, and so argued for a more compassionate approach to substance use.

As a researcher in the DTES, I contextualize marginalization of people who use substances in an unjust criminalization of drugs, and value the importance of harm reduction.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

In this study I used anti-oppression, anti-colonialism, intersectionality, and harm reduction to build a framework that guides the purpose and execution of the research. With these theories I attend to the unique experiences at the intersections of gender and colonial oppression and aim to challenge stigma associated with drug use among people with low incomes.

1.7 Downtown Eastside Vancouver: A Good Community of People

In this section I provide a depiction of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, for the reader to gain an understanding of the purpose of this research and to better contextualize the findings and analysis. DTES is rich in stories and histories, and my humble account is by no means a complete portrayal. As preamble, I offer a prose poem about the community in the DTES:

Now we're not a pretty community. We don't have a lot of gorgeous flower gardens or trees like the ones in Stanley Park. We do have Crab Park, the gardens in Strathcona, the colourful murals and the old heritage buildings. But when I use the word beauty in regard to the Downtown Eastside, I'm not thinking about nice looking streets. I'm thinking about the people.

It's the people who make our community beautiful, and people make our community beautiful because they have soul. The Downtown Eastside is the soul of Vancouver. You know about soul food and soul music. Well, I'm talking about soul community. Many of us have lived through hard times – and survived. We know about pain and in our pain, in spite of our pain, we reach out to each other and help each other.

That's soul.

They say bodies are attracted by pleasure, but souls are attracted by pain.

We are strong from the struggles we have endured.

We have learned to respect each other and not to be judgmental.

We have learned to work together to make things better. (Cameron, 2015, p. 14)

DTES History

The Downtown Eastside is a neighbourhood in Vancouver, British Columbia (BC), Canada, on unceded Coast Salish territory. The first Indigenous communities present on these lands included the Musqueam (x^wməθk^wəyəm), the Tsleil-Wauthuth (mi ce:p k^wət^wiləm), and

the Squamish (Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw) First Nations (City of Vancouver, 2014b). In 1763, the Royal Proclamation of October was issued by King George III and explicitly recognized that Indigenous People's land ownership, title, and authority would continue under British sovereignty. According to this proclamation, the Crown could only acquire lands through treaties (Government of Canada; Province of BC; City of Vancouver, 2003). In 1867, British colonies became confederated as Canadian provinces, and when BC joined the confederation in 1871 only 15 treaties were agreed upon. The remainder of the region was left to Indigenous People's title. In the region, except for Treaty 8 and the Nisga'a Treaty, Indigenous People's title to the land was not given to the Crown.

Indigenous People and communities have always resisted colonialism (Coulthard, 2014). Scholars Taiaiake Alfred and Lana Lowe (2005) wrote "The [I]ndigenous struggle has expressed itself in efforts to gain intellectual and cultural self-determination, economic self-sufficiency, spiritual freedom, health and healing, and recognition of political autonomy and rights to use and occupy unsurrendered lands" (p. 3). Alfred (2005) remarks that while Indigenous People's cultural and spiritual practices have become acceptable, reclamation of land continues to be unjustly criminalized and feared by broader Canadian society for its political and economic implications. Still without land title, nevertheless, Indigenous People continue to hold a strong presence in BC, and in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

In the following section, I will provide some details about the settlement of the DTES, how the area was distinguished by race and class, and the history of community mobilization and resistance to displacement. The Downtown Eastside is home to some of the oldest residential and commercial districts in Vancouver. In the 1880s and 1890s it was a mixed industrial, residential, and commercial-use area, with local employment by a sawmill and railway yards (Plant, 2008).

When Canada recruited 17,000 labourers from southern China in the 1880s to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, many Chinese labourers settled in the DTES (Oosterom, 2009). Additionally, it became a space where labourers who worked in remote parts of BC's resource industries stayed when they had time off work (Ley & Dobson, 2008). The neighbourhood stood in contrast to Vancouver's West End, especially in terms of race and class makeup (Ley & Dobson, 2008). DTES was home to some of the most marginalized and transient populations in the country, who primarily lived in rooming houses known as single-room-occupancy (SRO) hotels (Linden, Mar, Werker, Jang, & Krausz, 2012).

In the 1930s, DTES became highly populated by middle-aged and elderly men who were either retired, in-between jobs, or disabled from work-related injuries (Ley & Dobson, 2008). After World War II, industrial job opportunities waned, public transportation to the area terminated (which reduced pedestrian traffic), retail businesses shifted to the West Side, and, consequently, the economy of the DTES declined (Plant, 2008). The neighbourhood's buildings deteriorated, and the district was neglected (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Linden et al., 2012). Nicholas Blomley (2004) described how the district was branded by prevailing understandings of gender, race, poverty and deviance:

Yet this landscape is not just made of bricks and mortar, but of representations. Powerful interests have discursively produced the landscape since its very inception. Long coded as a place of dubious morality, racial otherness, and masculine failure, after World War II the area became labelled Vancouver's 'skid road,' a pathological space of interlocking moral and physical blight. (p.33)

In 1950, a report produced by a social planner described the neighbourhood as a slum and proposed its rehabilitation, but the plan met resistance from community members, particularly from the Chinese Benevolent Association and the Chinatown Property Owners Association who sought to protect the unique culture and heritage of Chinatown that had become part of the area

(Plant, 2008). The opposition was able to stop some redevelopment while six blocks in the DTES were acquired and cleared (Plant, 2008).

During the 1960s, the residents of DTES engaged in growing levels of substance use alongside growing poverty (Linden et al., 2012). Single and unemployed men lived in low-cost SROs and gathered together in the bars below their rooms (Jozaghi, 2014; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Linden et al., 2012). The district again caught the attention of the municipal government, who calculated that their expenditures exceeded revenues in the area by a ratio of 20-25 to 1, and labelled the neighbourhood a “tax sink” (Hasson & Ley, 1994, as cited in Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2483). Rhetoric of skid road, or skid row, and of the slums was used to justify redevelopment, and the city’s planning department worked on a second massive renewal strategy which could have gentrified the neighbourhood with seven redevelopments and the displacement of 1,730 people (Ley & Dobson, 2008; Plant, 2008). Again, the government’s redevelopment proposal met with opposition as local-area residents formed the Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants Association, a cross-cultural coalition that worked with community and social activists to prevent large-scale developments in their neighbourhood (Plant, 2008).

The battles against displacement persisted in the 1970s, a decade of strong, welfare-state infrastructure with substantial social services (Ley & Dobson, 2008). In 1973, the Downtown Eastside Residents’ Association (DERA) was founded and the organization battled the ubiquitous skid-row discourse with the language of a community worth preserving and enhancing (Ley & Dobson, 2008). With steadfast community mobilization, DERA’s battles against gentrification won the neighbourhood a waterfront park, a community centre, a neighbourhood bank, enforcement of SRO bylaws, transfer of land from private market to social housing, and, by 1992, DERA itself operated 640 affordable housing units (Ley & Dobson,

2008). DERA also worked strategically to locate affordable housing units at the neighbourhood's edges to establish boundaries (Ley & Dobson, 2008). While community acts of resistance significantly blocked gentrification, Ley and Dobson (2008) argued the inherent makeup of the DTES also pushed away gentrification as the street scene "proved too raw for most middle-class sensibilities" (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2481).

By the 1990s, after years of underinvestment in the DTES, the land values depressed at around \$70 per square foot, compared to \$600-\$900 for nearby central downtown property (Blomley N. , 1997). A growing trend in loft living in an overheated property market sparked investors to seek out the cheap land costs and zoning bylaws that encouraged density; subsequently gentrification encroached on DTES once again (Blomley N. , Property, Pluralism and the Gentrification Frontier, 1997). The pervasive discourse was of "cleaning-up" skid row, and newcomers to the neighbourhood were named "pioneers" (Blomley N. , Property, Pluralism and the Gentrification Frontier, 1997, p. 193). Meanwhile, the mostly low-income population struggled to secure their often substandard housing in SROs, and activists cried for zero displacement (Blomley N. , Property, Pluralism and the Gentrification Frontier, 1997). Moreover, local needs and activism were able to create a moral culture that legitimized and sustained public support for social housing and anti-gentrification measures (Ley & Dobson, 2008).

A local poet, Bud Osborn (1997) captured the contention for gentrification and the spirit for resistance in the excerpt from following poem, My Heart in the Heart of the City:

My heart in the heart of the city
 Now each beat of my battered and wounded heart
 Brings me closer to the community that fills my heart
 With joy and activism and friends

A community I've given my heart to sustain and protect
 Because you have strengthened my heart with yours
 But also, now my heart begins to feel loss
 Like the places I knew so well
 Lost to alien condos shops galleries cafés and
 People I have little in common with
 And so now my heart also beats with anger
 bleeds with fear
 screams with rage
 my heart would hurl firebombs
 gather shopping carts into heavy barricades
 and empty condominiums for our most vulnerable low-income citizens and free our
 community (p. 33)

Map of DTES

Mapping is a contentious issue. Some maps consider that the DTES is located around Oppenheimer Park; however, local residents and others agree that the DTES expands further and is comprised of sub-districts (Ley & Dobson, *Are There Limits to Gentrification? The Contexts of Impeded Gentrification*, 2008). For this study I used the City of Vancouver's map (see Appendix A), which is similar to the map used by the Carnegie Community Action Project's (CCAP) *Our Place Our Words*. The city uses the name "Hastings East" (City of Vancouver, 2014b, p. 38) where CCAP uses "Hasting Corridor" for an area within the DTES (Pederson & Swanson, 2009, p. 3).

Demographics

The demographics of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside are not easily defined. Census data and the National Household Survey have limited population information about sub-areas of Vancouver, and furthermore does not adequately count people who are marginalized, under-housed, or in-between residences; most of whom would not receive a mailed-out census questionnaire. The City of Vancouver (2014b) reports the population of DTES as 18,477. It is home to higher ratios of seniors; men; people with low incomes; Chinese and Indigenous People;

artists; those with mental illness, health conditions, substance use issues; reported crime; SRO hotels; and rooming houses (City of Vancouver, 2014b). It has fewer children or new immigrants, as well as lower rates of labour-force participation (City of Vancouver, 2014b).

DTES Peer-Led Organizations

Strong ties can produce community organizations which would otherwise be hard to form if people of similar circumstances were scattered over a large area. In this section I will describe two remarkable peer-led organizations in the DTES: The Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU) and the Downtown Eastside Sex Workers United Against Violence Society (SWUAV).

VANDU is Canada's oldest drug-user union (Jozaghi, 2014). It was founded in the 1990s, when deaths by drug overdose in Vancouver increased from 18 in 1988 to over 200 in 1993 (Jozaghi, 2014; Somers, Moniruzzaman, & Rezansoff, 2016). As one VANDU member recalls:

'Back then, 30 years ago, there was no needle depot there was no InSite there was no VANDU . . . You hold onto [your needle] as much as you could, sometimes you give it to your buddies to use because they didn't have one . . . So many people died or contracted HIV and hepatitis C. You had to buy [needles] on the street for 5 to 10 bucks back then in 1983 . . . Nobody knew what harm reduction was.' (Jozaghi, 2014, p. 214)

VANDU was formed by Vancouver drug users and activists to address the health crisis they were facing; they organized public demonstrations and discussions, and were instrumental in the development of harm reduction programs in the DTES (Jozaghi, 2014). VANDU received a modest grant from the Vancouver Health Board in 1998 and became the first organization of current and former substance users in North America supported by public health (Jozaghi, 2014).

VANDU continues to host various educational and support groups, advocates for changes in drug policies, and participates in city council meetings (Torchalla et al, 2014). They are also

involved in the prevention of overdoses in the neighbourhood: “people don’t share anymore . . . now most people have CPR training and VANDU boards and people that worked on the desk and in the injection room know how to revive someone from overdose situation” (Jozaghi, 2014, p. 216). For their direct action on HIV/AIDS, VANDU was the recipient of an international human rights award and has been recognized as one the most successful peer-based drug-user organizations internationally (Jozaghi, 2014).

SWUAV is a non-profit organization run by and for sex workers in the DTES with members who are mostly women, Indigenous, and have, or have had, experiences with poverty, addiction, abuse, and/or violence (Phillips, 2013). In 2007, SWUAV, along with former sex worker Sheryl Kiselbach, “sought a declaration that provisions of the *Criminal Code* which prohibit bawdy houses, communication for the purpose of prostitution, and procurement activities violate the [Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms]” (Phillips, 2013, p. 23). SWUAV referred to over 90 affidavits from current and past sex workers and, with this asset of their collective knowledge, argued successfully that the *Criminal Code* impeded sex workers from conducting their work safely (Phillips, 2013). Sex workers in the DTES have been targeted, and since the 1980s over 60 women doing sex work are missing or have been murdered (Janssen, Gibson, Bowen, Spittal, & Petersen, 2009). Vulnerability to violence and murder continues, and members of SWUAV collectively work to ensure they and their community members have rights to work under safety measures (Phillips, 2013).

SWUAV and VANDU are two examples in the DTES that challenge a single story¹ of a neighbourhood effect, and demonstrate achievements that can occur when people in disadvantaged circumstances unite.

¹ The phrase “a single story” is inspired by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s “The Danger of a Single Story” (2009).

Oppenheimer Park

In this section I will illustrate the significance of Oppenheimer Park to the community in Vancouver's DTES. In *Invisible Heroes* (2015), Cassandra Eastman, an Ojibway woman wrote,

I volunteer at my favourite place in the whole of BC, the Oppenheimer Park (village). The staff here are very supportive, positive and lovingly friendly. We have built a family of sorts and are always expanding our circle. I love it. (p. 63)

Oppenheimer Park is identified ubiquitously as an important gathering place for people. Another contributor to *Invisible Heroes* is Rosemary Georgeson, a Sahtu Dene/Coast Salish artist, storyteller, and writer who recalled:

I can remember hearing my dad and my grandfather talk about the baseball games in Oppenheimer Park on a Sunday afternoon. That if they were in town here on a Sunday they would go uptown to Oppenheimer to see if any more of their cousins or uncles were in town as it was their meeting place if they were here. This is still true today even though the baseball games are long gone much like the logging and fishing of yesteryears. . . I have been in other large cities all across Kanata and when I am speaking people often ask me if I know where "that park" is and do I go there. They will tell me 'hey, I have a cousin or uncle or auntie or grandma or grandad there.' . . . When you are in Toronto and someone who has never been to Vancouver knows about Oppenheimer Park and starts talking with fondness about it, about their family that told them 'if you ever come to Van come find me in Oppenheimer' you realize how connected this place is on a much larger scale than just here and now. (p. 82)

These accounts indicate the current and historic meaning Oppenheimer Park holds for Indigenous People.

DTES as a Good Community

Community members have spoken out to explain that the DTES is vital for them. Tracy Morrison operated a microbusiness selling bannock in the DTES, and fought for people's rights in the area, before passing away in July of 2017 (Bull, et al., 2015). In *Invisible Heroes* (2015) She wrote:

It's really sad to see that families back home don't want family members who have contracted HIV. They just throw them away. And here on the Downtown Eastside, we embrace them . . . The Downtown Eastside is a really good community. (p. 59)

The skid row label is a limited description of the DTES, and one that erases the broader community there. The DTES is an old neighbourhood built by diverse populations who banded together in hard times, supported each other, and protected their neighbourhood against developers who threatened to displace them—as a good community does.

Benefits of Social Mix Disputed in the DTES

A social mix in DTES faced critique by scholars (Lees, 2008) and resistance by low-income residents. For example, new high-end restaurants in the DTES drew a backlash. In 2013, Al Jazeera reported that anti-gentrification protests occurred in front of a new upscale restaurant with placards such as the “neighbourhood has been put up for sale at the expense of its poorer residents,” “feed the hungry, eat the rich,” and even “fire to the condos.” The protestors stated that “some people will claim that they are here to help the DTES by opening their profitable business here. They are lying.” Protestors showed concern that the development around them would displace low-income residents from their community (Milloy, n.d.).

Real estate developers used theories of neighbourhood effect to defend increasing market development in the DTES. For example, Michael Geller, founding director of the Building Community Society and city planner with over forty years of experience working in Vancouver’s DTES, strongly supported a socially mixed DTES. In a statement to the City of Vancouver he said that a mix was more “healthy” than a concentration of social housing. Geller, and other social mix supporters, held opposing views from those who assert that a strong sense of connection can occur when people live together in similar disadvantaged circumstances, and at times having these connections is preferable to living disadvantaged and alone (Darcy, 2010).

DTES Local Area Plan: A Strategy to Increase Social Mix

DTES was the focus of the City of Vancouver's Local Area Plan (LAP), which was approved in 2014. The city's comprehensive plan involved incentivizing middle- and high-income earners to move into the DTES, while at the same time protecting affordable housing in the area to create a social mix. The city concluded that the social mix would benefit low-income earners, despite critique and community resistance (City of Vancouver, 2014b).

LAP was a continuation of the Vancouver Agreement; a tri-level plan adopted by the governments in effect from 2000 to 2010, which committed to "revitalisation without displacement" in the Downtown Eastside (Government of Canada; Province of BC; City of Vancouver, 2003). The Agreement stated:

Part of an integrated approach to the district's social problems is to encourage social mixing, with some housing for middle-class residents on selected available sites while at least maintaining the level of affordable housing as new non-market units take up the dwindling SRO stock. (p. 2484)

To encourage social mix, the city developed tax incentives for large projects if they reserved 20% of their building for social housing (Ley & Dobson, 2008). Woodward's, for example, is a joint public-private partnership with over 500 market units and 200 social units. The marketing brochure for Woodward's pitched "be bold or move to suburbia" to potential condominium buyers (2006 marketing brochure, Rennie Marketing Systems, as cited in Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2484). The private market units sold in a day (Ley & Dobson, 2008).

In a straight trajectory from the Vancouver Agreement, the City of Vancouver approved the DTES LAP in 2014, which continues to incentivize market housing with protection of social housing stock. Although the critiques and resistance of social mix were strong (Lees, 2008; Swanson, 2013), the LAP had rather ambitious goals:

The DTES will continue to be a neighbourhood of communities providing sustainable, safe and healthy places for everyone to live and work. These communities will continue

to value and cherish unique characteristics, including diversity, economic mix, culture and heritage. The neighbourhood will be made up of mixed-income communities with a range of affordable housing options (including social housing) for all residents, local serving commerce, social services and cultural activities where all feel welcome, valued and at home. (City of Vancouver, 2014b, p. 33)

The LAP is riddled with contention. For example, the plan promotes the protection of social housing on Hastings Street, (City of Vancouver, 2014) but the definition of social housing has been co-opted. In recent adjustments to the definition, 70% market rental suites and at least 30% affordable housing are necessary in a building constituted as social housing (Pablo, 2018).

The City of Vancouver (2014b) recognized that increased market housing could have implications for low-income residents and so they conducted a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) with input from 600 DTES residents, as well as developed Social Impact Objectives (SIO) and a “public benefits strategy” (p. 6). The SIOs were meant to: a) ensure that businesses fit the neighbourhood context and did not exclude low-income residents; b) encourage a wide range of housing options in the neighbourhood; c) ensure development that was respectful of heritage assets, social contexts, and of appropriate scale; d) “improve the overall quality, accessibility and inclusiveness of the public realm”; e) maintain the diversity of businesses, and support social enterprises, micro enterprises, and small businesses providing low-cost goods; f) encourage the use of local goods and services, and the hiring of local residents, for new developments; g) maintain gathering places, and health and social services; and h) “retain, preserve and celebrate local heritage, arts and culture for all” (p. 10).

The City of Vancouver’s SIA revealed gaps in affordable housing, employment, access to food, health services, and places to gather. Poverty was identified as the most important issue for the DTES residents, and the fear of losing critical assets was highlighted. During the SIA, the city noted that the DTES assets include single-room-occupancy rentals, community centres,

health services, and parks, as well as the intangibles such as feeling safe and being part of a community that is inclusive and connected. The city agreed to monitor the LAP, to measure and evaluate how the local priorities were being met with a community-consultation process, and evaluate the impact on vulnerable groups in the DTES.

CCAP, a DTES community organization, formulated their own LAP impact assessment and produced their own objectives. CCAP is a venture of the board of the Carnegie Community Centre Association and works mostly on housing, income, and land-use issues in the DTES. They aim to keep the DTES a low-income friendly community (Carnegie Community Action Project, 2017). In 2008 CCAP articulated the following DTES Vision:

Honour the Coast Salish people on whose unceded Traditional Territory the DTES resides; Celebrate our strong community of urban Aboriginal and low-income people of many ancestries, abilities, cultures, health conditions, genders, ages and sexual orientations; Put people first and welcome all who advocate for affordable low-income housing and respect our vibrant community values; Ensure that low-income people have affordable homes and have access to resources to meet our needs; Unite in fair processes and act in peaceful and necessary ways to expand our abilities, overcome adversity and protect our community. (Pedersen & Swanson, 2010)

Through an extensive two-year process, which involved over 1,200 low-income residents, CCAP offered an alternative to the city's objectives that centred Indigenous People, referred to a fair process, and outlined protection of the community.

The Chinatown community conducted an extensive grassroots community process to formulate the following vision statement: "Chinatown will remain a place that tells the history with its physical environment, a place that serves the needs of residents, youth and visitors, and a hub of commercial, social and cultural activities" (City of Vancouver, 2014b). The City of Vancouver claims that these vision statements are important and contributed to their LAP process.

DTES Summary

The DTES exemplified a community where marginalized groups are centred, rather than excluded. It has a long history of community building, which have established renowned organizations. Community members call it a good community, a community with soul. For over 65 years residents fought off gentrification and protected their place in the neighbourhood. As typical gentrification stages transformed into social mix initiatives, the community continued to identify and protect their neighbourhood from displacement and exclusion and prevent further colonization of Indigenous People. The DTES neighbourhood reflects a global trend of social mix, with promises to mitigate negative impacts to residents with low incomes and provide them benefits. This highly contested plan, and my regard for the DTES, sparked my intention for this study.

Chapter 2: Research Design

2.1 Methods

In this chapter I will provide an account of the methods I used for this research. I will begin with describing a case study methodology, then the case itself, followed by my relationship, as a researcher, to the topic. Next, I will discuss the research question and reveal my propositions at the starting point of the investigation. Then, details of my data collection, including recruitment, will be provided, followed by how I analysed the data. This chapter ends with an evaluation of the credibility of the research and, from an anti-colonial stance, the limitations of that research.

2.2 The Case

For this study, I have chosen to use a case study methodology, as it can provide a detailed and contextualized examination of a socially mixed neighbourhood. Yin (2003) defines a case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). Thus, Yin explains, case studies are useful for attending to the contextualizing conditions of a phenomena. This research is contextualized in colonialism, patriarchy, and neoliberalism, and offers gainful insight into social mix neighbourhoods.

I used a single-case study design, and the case is Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (DTES). Yin (2003) argued that a single-case study design can produce generalizability beyond that which is researched. Since the issue of concern is the effects of social mix policies, this will

be an instrumental case wherein the *issue* is dominant, rather than the case itself. Specifically, I hope to offer an analysis of the issue of social mix that can be used with this case, as well as in other neighbourhoods.

Cases are classified based on researchers' interpretations, but this methodology requires explanations for interpretations (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Furthermore, Flyvbjerg suggests that while researchers may select a case based on intuition, they need to account for that selection in a way that is sensible to others. I chose Vancouver's DTES because the city's Local Area Plan (LAP) explicitly set out to extend social mix policies, even though there was remarkable resistance from the residents of the neighbourhood (City of Vancouver, 2014b). The city received a petition with 3,000 signatures that called for more affordable housing, slower business gentrification, and a creation of a social justice zone (CCAP, 2013). The case of DTES is significant because the city continues to incentivize market housing and home ownership while members of the community express that they will be harmed if their neighbourhood becomes more socially mixed.

2.3 Relationship to Topic

I believe it is important to declare my position as researcher and author in order to reveal where the bias in my work could be. I am a European immigrant living on Indigenous lands in Canada. My family came as immigrants in the 1970s, and settled on Coast Salish territories. In 2014 I moved with my partner of Scottish ancestry to Wolostogiyik territory, also known as Fredericton, New Brunswick. As Martin and Mirraboopa (2003) explained, stating this allows readers to locate me in my work and consider the relations that may exist.

Critical researchers have a responsibility to explicitly reveal their positionality in terms of class, gender, race, sexuality, and other positions of privilege (Fine, 1998; Absolon, 2011). I am a White, Jewish, queer woman, and Soviet immigrant. My class privilege and racialized self

varies, depending on what country my family lived in at any given time, and continues to vary whether I live in the urban centres or the small towns of Canada, and whether I am read as a heterosexual White woman or as an Other. My experience of shifting privilege has resulted in a personal understanding of the construction of categories which define people, and the allowance/denial of privilege, that comes with those definitions. Researchers “always begin a research project with an arsenal of preconceived theoretical notions” (Vaughan, 1992, p.195), and it is key to make these notions explicit, for readers to locate in the research.

In relation to housing, I have experienced gentrification several times, but I have not experienced homelessness. I lived in a neighbourhood for ten years that started out affordable but, after gaining popularity with higher-income earners, it became impossible to remain. A new landlord had purchased the house I lived in, increasing the rent and making threats toward my dog. I felt forced to move out and again look for something affordable. Since nothing was still affordable in that neighbourhood, I moved to a different district.

Positions are not fixed, however, but are complex and overlapping. I was pushed out due to gentrification, but at the same time I was complicit in gentrification. When I was a young professional and artist with some social capital, I rode an early gentrification wave into the neighbourhood, and so contributed to turning these affordable neighbourhoods I lived in into appealing, safe, and ‘hip’ places for higher-income earners. My bias needs to be made explicit in my research, including my complicity in, and stance against, gentrification.

In relation to Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, I worked with low-income residents in the DTES from 1998 to 2014, and have ties to the neighbourhood from childhood. I witnessed the fight against gentrification, and supported people in the community by helping them access affordable housing for over 16 years. I also witnessed the displacement of low-income residents,

which is contextualized in a terrible legacy of colonialism, patriarchy, and neoliberal policies that continue to penalize those who do not benefit market interests.

In 2014 I moved across the country to New Brunswick, where I began setting roots. I return to Vancouver regularly and visit the DTES.

2.4 Research Question

My research question asks: ‘what is the experience of living in a social mix neighbourhood?’ From an anti-oppressive framework, Karen Potts and Leslie Brown (2005) encourage researchers to question not only how a question takes shape, but to question who is involved in shaping that question. I developed the research question through professional and personal experiences in the DTES, rather than in collaboration with low-income residents in the neighbourhood. My choice to exclude community members from designing the research question was based solely on feasibility, time, and financial constraints. Instead of collaboration, when I formed my research question I focused on my accountability to the community members.

2.5 Propositions

Yin (2003) advised that a proposition is an important component of a case study research design. He suggests that a proposition directs attention toward important theoretical issues and helps focus attention on relevant evidence. Before I had begun data collection, I proposed that social mix policies result in displacement of the residents whom the upper-class do not want as their neighbours. I also proposed that a sense of safety differs based on class. For example, sex workers’ needs for safety depends on visibility; or people who use substances intravenously may require access to supervised injections sites to feel a neighbourhood is safe. I held preconceived

notions that safe neighbourhoods for low-income residents in the DTES differed from the dominant discourse about safety that leads to, and justifies, surveillance and policing.

I also softly held a proposition that perhaps the City of Vancouver was implementing social mix more effectively in the DTES. The reports and aims in the city's Social Impact Assessment (SIA) and Social Impact Objectives (SIO) sounded inclusive, and I was hopeful that this neighbourhood could create a social mix that was beneficial for residents with low incomes.

In these sections I described the case study methodology and how the case of Vancouver's DTES could provide insight to the effects of social mix. Relationships between myself, as a researcher, to both the topic and the case, as well as propositions at the start of the study, were provided to locate bias. Next, I will describe how I collected the research data.

2.6 Data Collection

In the following sections I will show that the data in this research was collected by initial impressions and neighbourhood observations, but mostly from semi-structured focus groups. I will explain convenience sampling, how I used this method to recruited research participants for the focus groups, and who I recruited. I will also describe where the groups occurred and account for the guiding questions I used.

Initial Impressions and Neighbourhood Observations

Stake (1995) noted that "there is no particular moment when data gathering begins," as it includes backgrounding and first impressions. He wrote, "[a] considerable proportion of all data is impressionistic, picked up informally as the researcher first becomes acquainted with the case" (p. 49). Thus, I had begun my data collection through my work in the DTES. My impressions of the DTES began in 1998, when I worked for a non-profit organization called The Portland Hotel

Society and was part of the Housing First and harm reduction movement in the neighbourhood. The encroachment of gentrification was evident even then.

In 2014, when the City of Vancouver approved the LAP, I began taking notes whenever I walked through the neighbourhood. I photographed social mix related changes. I noted new stores opening and old ones closing, and I photographed buildings and streets. I also attended public forums and followed testimonies by DTES residents on social media. I had conversations with previous co-workers and employees of new high-end businesses. I read articles about the neighbourhood and reviewed rental advertisements. I also checked the City of Vancouver website regularly for information reflecting and documenting social mix policies.

During the week I did the focus groups I walked around the neighbourhood and visited some of the locations participants referenced, such as the grocery store Nesters, which opened on the main floor of the mixed-income building, Woodward's; Save on Meats, which transformed from an affordable market and café into a restaurant with different menus for low- and high-income customers; Oppenheimer Park; and the high-end lamp store next door to one of the participants' homes.

Convenience Sampling

In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Measurement, and Evaluation*, Bruce Frey (2018) explained that with convenience sampling, participants are selected based on their accessibility to the researcher. Lisa Paik and Comila Shahani-Denning (2017) pointed out that convenience sampling can be a strategic choice when obtaining samples from difficult-to-reach populations. This method has disadvantages as well, such as the risk of sampling error and under-coverage, however these can be mitigated with efforts to reach intended participants (Frey, 2018). Then the researcher can describe the demographics of their sample and compare

these with the population of inquiry to evaluate representativeness (Frey, 2018). Next, I will describe how I recruited the research sample.

Recruitment for Focus Groups

In the summer of 2017, three years after the DTES LAP was approved, I reached out to people I knew who worked for, or with, the following programs in the DTES: Drug Users Resource Centre (DURC), Salome Study, Tenant Overdose Response Organizers (TORO), Culture Saves Lives, and the Clinical Housing Team (CHT).

The DURC is a peer-operated resource centre across the street from Oppenheimer Park. DURC was a one-of-a-kind place that offered a long list of much-needed services, including work opportunities for residents with low incomes, or mental health or addiction challenges; an overnight shelter for women; a harm reduction physician; and various programs such as a Cree class and the Brew Club that made beer and wine as an alternative to non-beverage alcohol, as well as provided free phones, a message board, and a place to get ID. Sadly, the non-profit that managed the centre did not get its funding renewed and was forced to shut down. Nine research participants were referred by DURC staff.

The Salome Study followed the success of the North American Opiate Medication Initiative, which had studied the benefits of prescription heroin. Salome compared the benefits of injectable heroin and injectable hydromorphone, and found that injectable hydromorphone could be more beneficial for people addicted to heroin than oral methadone. Five research participants were referred by an assistant in the study.

The TORO program hires and trains workers to support residents in unsupported, single-room-occupancy buildings by providing naloxone training and kits to tenants in their buildings

and liaising with the health authority about overdoses. Four research participants were referred from the TORO program.

Culture Saves Lives is an Indigenous program that upholds Indigenous People's culture and knowledge in the neighbourhood. The CHT was an interdisciplinary outreach health care team. Unfortunately, referrals from Culture Saves Lives and CHT did not come at the arranged time as anticipated. My study did happen to include participants who frequent Culture Saves Lives, as well as participants who had accessed CHT services in the past.

I spoke with each program's representative, told them the purpose of the research, and asked if they would refer participants. Each representative knew that I was conducting research to complete my requirement for a Master of Social Work degree, and that I hoped the research would be useful to the community. I explained that the topic was about social mix in the neighbourhood, and that the research centred the opinions and experience of low-income residents. They were also told that I had received approval to conduct the research from the University of Victoria Research Ethics Board, and that participants would be compensated \$20 for a one-hour participation in a focus group.

Six participants self-referred. Five of these self-referred participants heard about the study from other participants and asked if they could join. One self-referral had seen me in the lobby of DURC and asked me about the research study. When I provided details of the study, she expressed interest in joining and, since she was a resident of the DTES with a low-income, I invited her.

I considered social locations of participants throughout my study. For example, my theoretical framework for this research is grounded in a harm reduction perspective and thus I intentionally included many thoughts from people who use illicit substances. Another example

occurred when the research progressed into the third and fourth focus groups and I was faced with having to decide who would, and who would not, be included in the research. By that time, participants from previous groups had made known to others in the community the opportunity to take part in the research; more wanted to participate than I could accommodate. In agreement with the convenience sampling, I employed a quota sampling technique to gain better representation (Paik & Shahani-Denning, 2017). Before starting the fourth focus group I considered the interviews that had already commenced and my initial impressions. I noted that women in the previous groups, especially Indigenous women, were at times talked over by men. Therefore, I decided to hold a women-only group for the last focus group in order that the project have a greater opportunity to hear from women's experiences in the DTES.

Indigenous women are an integral part of the DTES; they lead many community initiatives and circles. At the same time, they are not equally represented in city council and in urban planning. Indigenous women's experiences cannot be substituted, especially in areas such as safety and displacement. Theories of intersectionality, anti-oppression, and anti-colonialism informed my decisions during recruitment, as well as my intent to ensure Indigenous women would have the opportunity to meaningfully participate.

A total of 24 residents with low incomes were recruited to participate in four semi-structured focus groups: 11 men and 13 women; 0 people identified non-binary or trans. Seventeen participants identified as Indigenous² Twenty-two participants said they had an addiction, and 16 participants said they had a disability. Fourteen participants had paid employment, and nine participants did volunteer work. Eight participants said they were either living on the street, in a shelter, or with family/friends. Seven lived in a single-room occupancy

² This includes people who identified as Native, First Nations, Mi'kmaq, and Métis.

(SRO), 8 in an apartment, seven in social housing, and two in mixed-income housing.³ See Table 1 for demographics of each focus group.

2.7 Interview Sites

The first, third, and fourth focus group convened at DURC, located in the eastern part of the DTES, across the street from Oppenheimer Park. DURC offered a private room for the focus groups. The second focus group was carried out at the Salome Study research office, located in the western area of the DTES.

2.8 Focus Groups

My key form of data collection were semi-structured focus groups. The defining feature of a focus group method is the use of group interaction, where participants share similarities and differences, to produce data (Morgan & Hoffman, 2018). Michael Bloor et al (2001) point out that focus groups can also generate data on collective group meanings and norms. In 2017, I conducted four focus groups, which generated dynamic discussions. The focus groups permitted participants to use their own words to describe their views about their neighbourhood and social mix developments. The semi-structured method allowed room to explore different topics that were important to participants.

I used guiding questions for the focus groups, which were influenced by three reports. In 2004 Rowland Atkinson published a report based a systematic literature review of gentrification, including 74 studies in North America (Atkinson, 2004). His report concluded that gentrification has been largely harmful, predominately through displacement and community conflict. Market

³ Participants could check off more than one type of housing. For example, an SRO can be private or social housing.

developments result in rapidly inflating rents and housing prices, as well as landlord harassment. Renters who were unable to afford rent left, and if they remained their friends, family, and social networks were gone (Atkinson, 2004). Other negative impacts of gentrification, according to Atkinson's review, included lobbying by middle-class groups, increased cost for and changes to local services, loss of social diversity, displacement, housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas, and secondary psychological costs of displacement.

The second report that influenced my guiding questions was the 2009 Carnegie Community Action Project's community visioning and mapping project called *Our Place and Our Words* (Pederson & Swanson, 2009). This report outlined the core benefits of low-income community living in the DTES, which included a strong sense of community, feeling accepted, feeling connected to cultural heritage, opportunities to practice art, opportunities to volunteer, nearby necessities that are cheap or free, nearby health and social services, and the ability to work for social justice (Pederson & Swanson, 2009).

Lastly, the guiding questions used the outcomes of the City of Vancouver's SIA from 2014, which reported the following assets in the DTES: affordable housing, healthy and affordable food, community kitchens, schools, libraries, social services, community organizations, doctors, dentists, pharmacies, health services, recreation services, parks, heritage buildings, places to gather, childcare, adult learning, places where people felt safe and included, a strong sense of community, being close to friends and family, caring for others and being cared for, not being judged, employment, support, hope, being able to participate in the informal economy (binning, vending, etc.), and being able to give input to decisions that affected the neighbourhood (City of Vancouver, 2014a).

The following are the guiding questions I used in the interviews:

- DTES is known for its strong sense of community and as a place where people have a sense of belonging. What is your experience with having a sense of belonging?
- Are there any differences today from years ago?
- Where can people gather in the DTES? Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What do people need to feel safe in the DTES?
- Do you have opportunities to make changes in your community? What are they?

All participants signed a consent form (see Appendix C) to participate, and the focus groups were audio recorded. However, participants remain anonymous in the final paper. One research assistant, Dr. Jessi Taylor, was present for focus groups one, three, and four. I began the focus groups by stating:

‘My name is Valerie and this small research study is through the University of Victoria [see Appendix D]. I worked in the DTES for 15 years, and I want this research to support the rights of low-income residents. Today’s focus group is about your experience living in a social mix neighbourhood. By social mix, I am referring to rooms renting for around \$400/month and rooms renting for more than \$1000 a month in the same area. These are called mixed-income, or social mix neighbourhoods. I will first ask you about your thoughts about social mix neighbourhoods, then I have some specific questions that are based on issues raised in the DTES and in other communities affected by gentrification’

I led with asking participants if they had any thoughts to share about mixed-income communities.

To account for my data collection, in these sections I described my initial impressions and neighbourhood observations during my research. I explained how and who I recruited, the rationale for purposive sampling, and explained the guiding questions in the focus groups. In the next sections I will describe how I analysed the data from the focus groups.

2.9 Thematic Analysis

For my research I used thematic analysis, which is described as “a method for identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, and reporting patterns (themes) found within a data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). A thematic analysis is a useful qualitative method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and generating unanticipated insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I listened to the recordings after each interview and personally transcribed each focus group. The electronic transcription was saved on a flash drive and I printed each one, as well. I read through the transcriptions, highlighted different themes and, in the margins, noted topics related to living in an increasingly socially mixed neighbourhood. I noted experiences that challenged normative assumptions about living in a poor neighbourhood, as well as other assumptions about social mix. I also highlighted experiences and thoughts that were repeated or sounded important to a participant.

Reflections

A thematic analysis developed after going over the data repeatedly and reflecting, as well as moving back and forth between research phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I came to the analysis with some initial analytic interests; questions and thoughts which I had documented during data collection. One of my first journal notes reads:

[B]uildings boarded up – some with signs of partnerships, renovations for affordable housing, others are a mystery. The market on Hastings Street as busy as ever. I wonder how new developments and higher income earners on the block will change their [low-income residents] lives. I wonder how they want their lives to change? Oppenheimer Park full of neighbourhood residents, enjoying benches under the sun. Is Railtown spreading? What is going on with the buildings across the street on Powell? How are the folks in the West side doing with the social mix there? People to ask – Ranier, Dominion and private SROs.

Another note after the first focus group reads: “Follow up questions: how would you describe the police presence?”

As I reflected on my methodology, I wrote, “I am extracting what is useful for my own purposes, doesn’t belong to me, but it’s useful. Am I really doing decolonizing work or adopting the latest trend? I fall short – and will always. Can this White settler kind of research be useful to Indigenous groups in the DTES”? When I reflected on my choices, during my analysis, I wondered and cried, “how much does the importance I place on safety come from my experiences working at the Portland during Pickton, when so many women disappeared?”⁴

Emerging Themes

My analysis developed from being immersed in the data and familiarizing myself with the audio recordings and transcript content. To become immersed in the data I actively read the data repeatedly, searching for meanings and patterns, and furthermore searched for my own honesty about my perspectives and pre-existing thoughts, beliefs, and theories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase I took notes about ideas for coding (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017).

The participants shared many experiences, and a lot of valuable points were made in the focus group. I looked over my notes in the margins, and what I highlighted in the transcriptions then created themes based on what was repeated often and what seemed significant about social mix and the DTES. My goal was to produce an accurate reflection of the social mix experiences of residents with low incomes that would also be helpful for their community.

⁴ When a tenant was missing more than 48 hours, we made a police report. I don’t remember the police ever coming to investigate. Later, those women’s remains were found on Robert “Willy” Pickton’s pig farm.

It was challenging to group experiences into themes because there could be a variety of ways to group and name these experiences. I reflected on the groupings I chose and thought about whether my arrangement reflected each group and individual experience accurately. I also asked myself if I was doing the participants justice, or rather cataloguing these experiences to prove a preconceived point or a point I thought was more important than they did. I also located these findings in my theoretical framework and noted what I paid attention to and why.

As time passed, I reviewed again how I themed the participants' quotes in comparison to the original transcripts and assessed whether there was a close resemblance or whether my arrangement of quotes was significantly different from the original conversations. I also looked at what I did not include in the key themes. At this point, Dr. Jessi Taylor, who assisted during the interviews, read my transcripts and my themes as a means to check preliminary findings and interpretations against the raw data. Then, I compared my findings with Atkinson's (2004) literature review, the CCAP mapping project, and the City of Vancouver's SIA and SIO. Finally, I reflected on whether the key themes extracted answered the research question ('what are the experiences of living in a social mix neighbourhood?') and made revisions accordingly.

In this section I discussed my process of analysing the data from the focus groups into themes. Next, I will show that my research is accurate, gains insight into the phenomenon of social mix, and supports low-income residents' efforts to maintain their place in the neighbourhood. My research does not support the idea of neutrality; however, I have demonstrated sound methods with transparency in my stance and process to contextualize this research.

2.10 Rationale for Methodology

A case study methodology offers the opportunity for rich, thick, descriptions and stories. This in-depth approach allows what appears to be one thing to appear as something quite different upon closer examination (Flyvbjerg, 2006), and thus allows for the researcher's understanding of the case to shift dramatically (Harper, 1992).

Flyvbjerg (2006) is a strong advocate for the case study approach, and I found myself in agreement with his arguments. Firstly, he challenged the idea that the predictive theories of universalism are possible in the study of human affairs and posits that human behaviour cannot be completely understood as fixed, under theoretical rules (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Thus, a case study's wealth of detail is used for the development of a nuanced view of reality, in all its multiple forms. He argued that case studies are useful to generate context-dependent knowledge that clarifies the deeper causes behind a given problem and the resulting consequences (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Given that case studies are context-dependent, this methodology allowed me to situate social mix policies within colonialism, patriarchy, and neoliberalism, and analyse it using anti-oppressive theories. A case study lends itself to critical analysis and suited my aim of social justice.

The strength of a case study is that, if designed fastidiously, the results have the potential to be accepted and legitimized within academia. Since this case study was in-depth, I could not maintain a preconceived view or theory unless they were confirmed in the field; case studies are inclined toward falsification of preconceived notions (Flyvgjerg, 2006). I had a preconceived notion that the low-income residents seldom benefited from a greater social mix and had much to lose; however, I could not have maintained this notion if the discussions in the focus groups had determined otherwise. Subsequently, if a case study proves rigorous, there is potential for more anti-oppressive ideas to infiltrate normative discourse.

2.11 Evaluation

Much of the theme selection in this methodology is left to the judgment of the researcher. To achieve consistency and cohesion, however, a researcher needs to apply and make explicit the theoretical positions which underpin the study's claims (Nowell et al., 2017). Researchers must include reasons for theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices throughout the entire study, so that readers can understand how and why decisions were made (Nowell et al., 2017). To earn trust in their analysis, a researcher needs to show rigorous and methodical conduction with clear descriptions about what, why, and how they are analysing their data (Nowell et al., 2017).

To ensure credibility in the analysis, researchers should employ prolonged engagement, persistent observation, data collection triangulation, and researcher triangulation (Nowell et al., 2017). Peer debriefing is also recommended in order to provide an external check on the research process, which can also be used to examine referential adequacy; to evaluate whether the data picked for analysis and the portion left archived is fair (Nowell et al., 2017). Credibility can also be garnered through testing the findings and interpretations with the participants (Nowell et al., 2017). Thus, in the following section, I provide details of how I achieved credibility, as well as the research limitations.

Credibility

I have engaged with the DTES and issues pertaining to social mix, such as gentrification, racism, and stigma affecting people who use drugs, for 20 years, and therefore fulfil expectations for a prolonged engagement. The following accounts provide examples of ways I have fulfilled my persistent observation. In 1998, I worked for a non-profit organization that provided low-barrier housing for DTES residents with mental health and addiction issues. I also attended

college at that time and argued that gentrification was not an inevitable phenomenon in a final project for an economics class. Later, when I was employed in the health industry, I worked to link people with stable housing. Moreover, I reported the deplorable state of homelessness in Vancouver to the United Nations rapporteur on housing. In the last four years, I listened in community forums, and on the streets, to people who expressed their experiences and opinions about social mix as their neighbourhood changed. I have also paid attention to multiple details that affect the phenomenon of social mix, including housing-market trends, social-housing establishments, and health care administration, along with broader trends like neoliberalism. There isn't a single story about any phenomenon or any community (Ngozi Adichie, 2009), however, I have a depth and breadth of experience and understanding about gentrification and the DTES I applied to this analysis.

Triangulation

To complete data collection triangulation, I compared my findings with my literature review. This study lacks researcher triangulation as, due to lack of resources, I did not test the findings with participants. However, I debriefed my research with two peers. My findings were examined by Dr. Jessi Taylor for referential adequacy, and were evaluated positively. I also consulted with my academic supervisor, Dr. Leslie Brown, and committee member Bruce Wallace.

Confirmability

Confirmability is concerned with establishing that the researcher's interpretations and findings are clearly derived from the data, requiring the researcher to demonstrate how conclusions and interpretations have been reached (Nowell et al., 2017). It is established when

credibility, transferability, and dependability are all achieved (Nowell et al., 2017).

Transferability needs sufficient details about the fieldwork, including context, to allow reader to determine whether the study results can be applied to another setting; and dependability is achieved when another researcher can repeat the study (Nowell et al., 2017). To establish confirmability, I am able to provide an audit trail.

An audit trail provides readers with the theoretical and methodological rationale for decisions and choices made by the researcher throughout the study (Nowell et al., 2017). Sandelowski (1986) stated that a study and its findings are auditable when another researcher can clearly follow the decision trail (as cited in Nowell et al., 2017). Furthermore, Koch (1994) argued that another researcher with the same data, perspective, and situation should arrive at similar, and not contradictory, conclusions (as cited in Nowell et al., 2017). To create an audit trail, a researcher should keep records of the raw data, field notes, transcripts, and a reflexive journal (Nowell et al., 2017). Reflexivity is central to the audit trail and researchers are encouraged to keep a self-critical account of the research process, including their internal and external dialogue, daily logistics, methodological decisions, and reflections of values, interests, and insights about self (Nowell et al., 2017).

The details I provide in my methodology can allow readers to determine whether my conclusions can be applied to other neighbourhoods, such as the North End in Halifax or Regent Park in Toronto. To reach dependability criteria in this case study is more complicated. Can another repeat this study and come to the same results? It is possible; however, low-income residents in the DTES are very diverse, thus, the question of experiences of living in a social mix neighbourhood can produce many answers. Moreover, researchers are diverse as well, and what

they choose to focus on in their analysis will vary. There is more than one answer to this research question, hence the credibility does not rely on the dependability criteria.

Generalizability

One common way to evaluate a case study is through its generalizability. Walton (1992) points out that a case implies particularity as well as a sense of generality, otherwise we would use the word “instance” instead of “case” (p. 121). He argues there is an implicit idea that a case holds a claim (Walton, 1992). Flyvbjerg (2006) states that generalizations can be made based on a single case but formal generalization is overvalued, and that the force of an example is underestimated. Thus, while generalizing is integral, there is no formal evaluation tool to accurately test if my analysis captures the experiences of social mix in other cities across nations. Whether my analysis makes sense to others was assessed throughout my research by comparing my findings with the literature review, with insider’s views as expressed in media, and by consultations with academic colleagues.

Useful to the Community

I considered social justice throughout the study, and this can be evaluated in several ways. According to Strega (2005), we needed to ask whether I had served the interests of those who experience oppression, whether I had examined how power is maintained through discourse and subjectivity, and whether I had uncovered some effective means of resistance to inequality. To know whether I have served the interests of the community and developed a means to resistance, I intended to bring my work back to the people who fight against gentrification, and to evaluate if it was meaningful, furthered their understanding of the problem, and could be

useful for their social actions. The best evaluation of this work will be whether it is useful to low-income residents in communities facing harms from social mix.

Limitations

“The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” is an oft-quoted statement by Audre Lorde (Strega, 2005, p. 199). If Lorde is correct, a case study methodology cannot dismantle oppressive discourses because it reflects Eurocentric thinking and the hegemony of a dominant worldview, rather than challenging the ontological and epistemological foundations of its methods (Strega, 2005). In this way, I believe a case study methodology cannot offer the researched group the kind of control other methodologies, such as participatory action research projects or Indigenous based methodology, could offer.

My sampling methods also do not meet the goals of anti-oppressive research. Potts and Brown (2005) explain anti-oppressive sampling methods aim to build community and to empower; insider researchers are involved in who to include and how to include them. Alas, I am sacrificing anti-oppressive methods for practicality, so that the research can be completed. Due to time restraints, lack of resources, and long distances between my residence and Vancouver, I have chosen not to involve DTES members as co-researchers.

I also attempted to incorporate guidelines written by Indigenous scholars about Indigenist research. In Karen Martin and Booran Mirraabooa’s *Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing: A Theoretical Framework and Methods for Indigenous and Indigenist Re-search* (2003), the researchers include the following principles: 1) recognition of distinct Indigenous worldviews and knowledge, and its role in the existence and survival of Indigenous People; 2) honour of social mores; 3) “emphasis of social, historical and political contexts which share our experiences lives, positions and futures”; 4) “[p]rivileging the voices, experiences and lives of

Aboriginal people and Aboriginal lands” (p. 205). Anti-colonial work by settlers also includes educating other settlers, challenging colonial oppression, and supporting Indigenous People in acts of self-determination (Hart, 2009).

Political, societal, and institutional roles are entwined in producing and reproducing inequalities (Hart, 2009). Hart explains that anti-colonialism is a “social, cultural and political stance” which recognizes the persistence of colonialism and the political struggle of colonized people (p. 29). He warns of excluding Indigenous People’s knowledge, methods, and practices; placing Indigenous People and ideas in the periphery; misrepresenting or partially representing Indigenous People’s ideas without crediting Indigenous sources and benefiting from appropriation (Hart, 2009).

Heeding advice from Indigenous scholars, throughout my research I contextualized the historical context of colonization; which Indigenous People survived, and continue to survive, in the face of systemic racism, exclusion, and notions of White supremacy and entitlement. I draw attention to how settlers continue to displace Indigenous People and repeat *terra nullius*; to resist colonial oppression, I included Indigenous stories about Oppenheimer Park and the connection Indigenous participants have with the land. Although my research methodology is Eurocentric, the voices and experiences of Indigenous People are privileged in the research findings and included 17 Indigenous participants out of 24.

Anti-colonialism also involves a proactive position which openly pursues decolonization, and which supports the restoration of local control (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Unfortunately, this research does not openly pursue decolonization; and that is a significant limitation. In recent years, the word decolonization has been used more frequently in academia and in activist groups, however Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) explain that this doesn’t always mean people are

decolonizing. Decolonization means “repatriation of Indigenous land and life,” and it does not merely mean improvements in society, our thinking, methods, or approaches that aim to de-centre settler perspectives (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 1). When White settlers use “decolonization” in ways that do not explicitly mean return of stolen land and waters, they serve to crush decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). Tuck and Yang (2012) further explained:

When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation. When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonization is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. Decolonization doesn't have a synonym. (p. 3)

New relationships between Indigenous Nations and settler social structures brought influential forms of liberalism in problematic ways (Hart, 2009, p. 29). Such as, I argue, the misuse of ‘decolonization’. Indigenous People’s knowledge is appropriated and commodified on one hand and de-valued and marginalized on the other, (Hart, 2009) as White settlers extract Indigenous scholars’ work for their own benefit (Smith, Tuck, & Yank, 2018, p. 15). In Erin Morton’s 2018 lecture at the University of New Brunswick, “What Does Whiteness Do”, she asked what White settlers do beyond territorial acknowledgement. She points out that it is a critical time for Indigenous scholars in academia. Words like “decolonization,” “Indigenization,” and “intersectionality” are appropriated by White liberalism in the name of improvement and progress; but they do not pursue decolonization (Morton, 2018). It’s important ethical work to question and break down White settler motivations and complicity, to watch for who is benefiting the most from arguing for intersectional theories and talking about the pursuit of social justice (Morton, 2018). Even if Indigenous groups can use my research to resist harmful

impacts of social mix, the lack of direct pursuit of decolonization, the return of land and waters to Coast Salish Nations, is one of the major limitations of this research.

Another significant limitation in the research is the lack of representation of diverse groups in the DTES. Chinatown is within the DTES LAP, and many Chinese residents are at risk of displacement as property values increase. Unfortunately, I missed the particularity of this community in my analysis. There is also a lack of representation from other significant groups, such as sex workers and seniors.

Chapter 3: Findings

In this chapter I reveal the findings from four focus groups, as well as my observations in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES). I aim to portray the experiences of low-income residents living in a growing social mix neighbourhood.

3.1 Omissions from Themes

The breadth of valuable insights shared by the research participants in my study could not be included in the key findings. Insights that are omitted include the opiate overdose epidemic, which was affecting people deeply and initiatives to prevent further deaths were needed; the importance of Oppenheimer Park to community members' heritage, and how the fight to keep it from being gentrified was strong; how people with mental health illnesses faced barriers in finding employment; how the closure of the Drug Users Resource Centre (DURC) negatively impacted the community; and, lastly, how low-income residents have many innovative ideas for programs, as well as the capacity to operate them. Although these insights are important, because they were not directly linked to social mix I was not able to include them in the thematic analysis.

3.2 Neighbourhood Observations

In this section, I will reveal my observations and impromptu conversations with low-income residents, community workers, and high-end business employees from working in the DTES and conducting my research.

The creation of DTES as a neighbourhood is largely due to the efforts of low-income residents, whose strong sense of community was apparent. The environment they created offered unique comfort, a place to feel accepted and safe from judgment. Common struggles became the catalyst for mutual aid. Undoubtedly, the DTES is an important place for people with low incomes and having other low-income neighbours appeared to be a key factor in belonging.

Remarkably, numerous low-income residents felt an increase in anxiety when they left DTES boundaries. Some residents felt uncomfortable with high-income people in the neighbourhood, because their 'have-not' status in society became highlighted and their poverty suddenly felt more pronounced.

There are different sub-neighbourhoods within the DTES. At the time I began my study, in 2014, the western sub-district of Gastown had more exclusive businesses, restaurants, shops, condominiums, and lofts than other sub-districts. The western side also had social enterprises managed by non-profits that employed low-income residents and sold goods to middle-class consumers. East Van Roasters, an artisan chocolate and coffee shop; PHS Community Thrift and Vintage clothing stores; and a craft store called The Window are all examples of social enterprises that were located in the western part of the DTES.

Next to the Gastown sub-district, on East Hastings Street, vendors filled the sidewalks with goods salvaged from dumpsters to sell to low-income residents. Among the vendors, people on the street also sold (and used) heroin, crack-cocaine, and methamphetamines. This street had a supervised injection site (Insite), a community dental clinic, and a library. In 2015 new condominiums were built directly across the street from the vendors and the injection site, renting a 500-square-foot unit for \$1,800/month (See Appendix E).

Further east is Oppenheimer Park. On an average day the park was filled with low-income neighbourhood residents, sitting on benches or on the grass. Many had beer or non-beverage alcohol, and the police did not bother them for these infractions. The park also had city employees organizing activities for the residents who frequented the park. Every week there was an Indigenous drumming circle that everyone was invited to participate in. It was a peaceful park with a strong Indigenous presence. Every year the march to commemorate the missing and murdered women of the DTES finished at the totem pole in Oppenheimer Park, and it was not unusual to see eagles flying above at that time. Within two blocks of the park, there were multiple health clinics where people could access specialized care in HIV, mental health, addiction, and harm reduction oriented prenatal care. Most of the residential buildings in the park's vicinity were rented at social-assistance rates, and a few affordable shops and cafés remained close by.

There were no high-end businesses adjacent to the park, but a few were nearby. At times, casual conversation in those high-end businesses described Oppenheimer Park as a current waste and place of potential, reflecting notions of *terra nullius*—the belief that the area is uninhabited, therefore development would not cause displacement (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003).

Oppenheimer Park bordered a highly gentrified and very upscale pocket of the industrial part of the DTES, re-mapped as Railtown. Some were re-mapping Oppenheimer into the Railtown district as well, such as Mark Stewart Personal Real Estate (Stewart, 2019). They advertised “boutique condos” in “this rapidly-improving area” (Stewart, 2019). Railtown had also been described as an “industrial-chic canvas where you can make your mark on a still-developing corner of the city” (Yerman, 2013). These real estate descriptions erased the history, the culture, and the people of the DTES and Oppenheimer Park area.

In this section I revealed my observations in the neighbourhood (see appendix F for photographs). The neighbourhood contains sub-districts, with a greater social mix in the western part that is expanding eastward. Low-income residents on the western side appeared to have fewer places to gather, or access resources or work than the eastern side. Overall, low-income residents appeared to have community in the DTES and were apprehensive of an increase of social mix. In the next section I will reveal the key themes from the focus groups.

3.3 Focus Group Findings

In July of 2017, I facilitated four groups with low-income residents in the DTES. To answer the question, what are the experiences of low-income residents living in social mix neighbourhoods, I used a thematic analysis and identified three key themes: 1) Displacement; when high-income earners were increased in the social mix, residents with low incomes experienced displacement; 2) Social Polarization and Discord; the relationships between residents of low incomes and high incomes were discorded in the social mix; and 3) Powerful Community Connections; low-income residents continued to build a strong community despite the negative impacts of social mix.

In the following sections I will explain each theme and illustrate with quotes from the focus groups.

3.3.1 Displacement

Displacement is a common topic in social mix discussions (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP), as well as the City of Vancouver, reported that low-income residents feared that an increase of high-income residents in the social mix would result in their displacement from the community (City of Vancouver, 2014; Pederson &

Swanson, 2009). In this section I will show that renovictions, loss of range of housing, displacement from public places, and the feeling of being “pushed out” is a significant experience in social mix.

Renovictions

Renoviction is a term that describes an eviction by a landlord who renovates a unit to increase the rent for a higher profit, resulting in displacement and a reduction in affordable housing stock (Parizeau, 2017). Renovictions are common in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Walks & Maaranen, 2008), and findings from this study reveal that landlords imposed renovictions in the studied social mix neighbourhoods as well.

In the first focus group, there were two comments about renovictions. First was, “Oh yeah, well, the rent’s going up once they renovate you, and then the market rent is up; after that, if you add it up, I couldn’t afford that.” Second was, “I’ve noticed lots of places been shutting down. New buildings are being renovated, but the rent can’t be afforded after that because it’s not BC Housing. Some of it is private owned.” Both these comments drew agreement from other participants in the room.

In the second focus group, one participant described her own experience of getting renovicted.

They remodelled it and they kick everybody out so, except for like 13 people, and I was one of them . . . yeah they put them in, um, places like the Arco, the Gastown . . . temporarily, but it was permanent . . . they said they could come back but they couldn’t . . . two months later they’re taking us aside and I got given \$585, twice, to move out. (focus group 2)

The third focus group also discussed renovictions and, similar to the second group, revealed landlord tactics to remove low-income tenants from their buildings.

Like, I live at Wonder Rooms, which is privately owned, and for the past, like, year, floor by floor, started from the top—they've either bribed people to get out of our building, or they've, y'know, like found ways to pressure them to get out . . . or gotten other people to work against certain tenants to move them out. They use tactics. Like where people with disabilities, 'we're moving you down to the first floor; it's better for you,' or whatever, and then meanwhile, they're renovating all the rooms on the top floor. Now the rent was \$450 for everybody and now it's like \$900, so the entire floor that I'm on has been renovated except my room, and the whole floor is international students now . . . paying double the rent . . . and it's not their fault, they don't know what they're getting into. They're just looking for cheap rent, do you know what I mean, like they don't understand the politics down here, so they don't get it, y'know." (focus group 3)

These participants revealed experiences of losing low-cost rentals first to renovations,

then to unaffordable rents. At times, landlords used questionable methods to remove low-income tenants for renovations. This process can be described as renovictions.

Reduction of Housing Stock

Participants described losing affordable housing when low-cost buildings were repurposed to accommodate affluent people: "They're tearing down these five-storey apartment buildings, which are being labelled as 'not living-sufficient,' and then they put up these huge condos that nobody can afford to stay in, that was originally down here" (focus group 3).

Some focus group participants illustrated that losing housing stock resulted in losing a range of housing options. Their discussions revealed a shared experience of being squeezed into supported housing designed for residents with severe mental illness. These participants explained that these projects are fastidiously controlled. The security measures enforced in these buildings prevented tenants from gathering, and restricted visitors, including family, subsequently compromising residents' sense of independence and freedom. For example, one exchange went,

"Yeah, um we're not allowed to go to other floors. It's like they keep us segregated, um, we're not allowed to socialize . . . I was more comfortable at the Lamplighter, than there—and it's a brand-new place . . . there was more unity, more community, right? More of a—we were almost like a really big family . . . we just knew everybody, and we were allowed the freedom to go visiting and meeting your neighbours."

“I’ve been to the Lamplighter . . . and I remember going there recently and someone saying, um, I’m making spaghetti dinner, so come by later on, we’re making spaghetti dinner, y’know; and there’d be four or five of them chipping in together to make spaghetti dinner.”

“yeah, it was like that all the time.” (focus group 2)

Similarly, a participant in focus group four showed how guest restrictions affected her family visits:

“yeah, there is this place . . . and they said no guests whatsoever for the first four months. And I thought that was crazy because, like, my mom comes over, uh, well, she used to come over when I had a place to live; she’d come over once a month to visit because she lives in Victoria.” (focus group 4)

Another participant said that curfews “steal adulthood and humanity and privacy and dignity” (focus group 1). Other participants from the second and fourth groups compared living in supportive housing buildings to living in “jail.”

They’re too institutionalized, pretty much. Like, who wants to live in a place where they have to be told when you have to be home, who you could have at your place; like, that’s no way to live at all. (focus group 4)

It’s only women allowed, and if the men are allowed they’re only allowed to stay there for so many days a week . . . like I don’t agree with that. I want my kid’s dad to be around all the time, not be there two, three times a week and then have to stay somewhere else. (focus group 4)

One research participant also illustrated how when people with problematic behaviour were placed in her residence, after losing their previous tenancy, the environment consequently became inappropriate for her daughter to visit anymore.

“I’m in a building that I can’t stand, right? Like there’s no other building that’s just—y’know, like, I don’t need to be spoon-fed . . . and this is what’s happening, is there’s this all benevolent spoon-feeding the junkies, y’know . . . and I find that I much rather live in a building where people are in the same boat as me. I don’t want to have to deal with other people’s mental issues . . . and y’know ours isn’t even a supportive building. It’s just straight apartment building . . . Supportive housing is needed ’cause some people have mental health issues, but not all . . . They started to bring people that, I guess that have very outward, like, that definitely needed supportive housing, right? And everything went to shit, y’know. I feel really upset that my daughters don’t come to visit me as much because they don’t want their friends to come because there’s a guy that pisses all over the elevators, and he has exposed himself twice to my daughters . . . It went from, um,

DERA [sic] and then they altered and then it was Portland, but it was an elders building, so when they went in there the elders didn't want people with, like, major issues and addicts . . . then all of a sudden, Portland got restructured and we got this manager that's got all these other buildings, and every time one of them has a problem, like there's a fire or they're being renovated, she used the extra places . . . I find it really offensive that they brought all these people in and they never asked the elders, y'know. (focus group 2)

Another participant from the same discussion explained the situations that are occurring as a result of the loss of housing:

The new buildings that are coming on line, and even the older ones, are being redone in a way so that they serve lowest-functioning sort of people, the people that need the most help, and when people that are more independent end up in these buildings, obviously, for obvious reasons, that's difficult. It's very hard to live in a building like that; you feel like you're living in a mental ward or an institution so there's no, like you said, range of housing, and so how that plays in with, um, with gentrification is, or the integration as they'd like to call it, um, is that it's taking away the options, that range of. There are fewer and fewer buildings available, and so organizations like Atira and Portland, whatever, are left with fewer properties to house a larger number of people, so they're obviously having to pile in the people that are independent with people that are low-functioning and need hands on management day to day. (focus group 2)

Displacement is a concern for low-income residents in an environment with scarce affordable housing. Discussions from the focus groups revealed a problematic inflated housing market, in addition to the stigma and judgment these research participants faced when applying for tenancy.

“Like, you see an ad and you're like, okay, this sounds like a great place; you try to go to that address, or just try to contact it . . . not only do they want your information, but they want your criminal records check, they want to do a financial record check . . . and then to top it all off you go to these places, and unless you got cash in hand, there's a line-up of people in front of you already offering more for that place. So, trying to find a place out here is absolutely ludicrous.”

“It's a free-for-all and whoever has the most money gets it.”

“They look at you, they judge you right away. They think that okay, you're dirty, you look this way, a user or something, and then they refuse you, right. They make up some excuse, oh it's taken already, just looking at you.” (focus group 3)

These participants reveal multiple barriers low-income residents have when accessing housing, and suggest conditions are worsening. Effects of the reduction of housing stock is costing some low-income residents the freedom to gather or live with their family.

Policing of Streets

Some participants illustrated that low-income residents were displaced from commonly used spaces after an increase of social mix, and the role of police and private security in advancing that displacement. For example, in the following statement, a participant from the second focus group describes a common occurrence at a spot in the western part of the DTES where a shelter used to be:

If you look right now there's nobody here in the front, and this used to be full of people from the shelter, and not just from the shelter . . . it was safe on this side of the cage, of the bars; this was a safe space to hang out. Ever since this shop opened up here, the one next door, that sells, uh, um, vintage clothing and stuff, right, um, they um, all of a sudden people are not allowed to hang out down here, and people still do come and accumulate, and you see five, ten people come, and then all of a sudden she'll make a call to the cops and the cops will come and they'll bust a few people for probation violation or whatever; they got warrants or whatever, right, and tell the rest of them 'get the hell out of here', y'know, 'pick up your stuff get lost', right, and so they do their best to keep this area, uh, free of addicts that accumulate here. Where this used to be a space, a safe space, for people to hang out. (focus group 2)

The role of the police in moving low-income residents from public places was echoed in the fourth focus group, and elaborated on by other participants:

"Like they're supposed to be here to keep people safe and not all police officers are—"
 "Professional at doing their job."
 "Exactly."
 "'Cause a lot, well in my experience, there's been a lot of police officers who just go around and harass people, and, yeah." (focus group 4)

Another participant suggested that the police serve the interests of high-income groups at the expense of low-income residents:

Between nine and 10 and one around the strip, the police are continually driving by and jacking up people for selling their wares or hot stuff . . . because there's a restaurant right

around the corner, on Carrall St., and it's, um, and it's a real trendy place there now.
(focus group 2)

This type of policing was echoed by a participant from the fourth group, who recalled that when activists were squatting in front of a building they asserted was need for social housing:

The Woodward's building—I remember when they went through the middle of the night with those police and cop dogs booting people out at four in the morning, and they did it at a time so it wouldn't be covered. Y'know, a lot of things keep underground. (focus group 1)

Participants in the focus groups revealed the prevalence of being policed in a social mix in unjust ways, seeming to favour high-income needs over their needs.

“Pushed Out”

Though “displacement” is the common and accurate description of losing one's place to make place for high-income residents and businesses, some participants in this research study used the terms “shovelled out,” “pushed out,” “moved,” “kicked out,” and “not wanted there.” I suggest that these terms, as used by the research participants, are a more vivid description of their experiences: “they're going to try and make this like another Yaletown down here. They're eventually trying to push everybody out of here . . . shovel everyone out of here” (focus group 2).

These expressions of the risk of displacement, “So what, they want to move us out of here? There's a lot of new buildings coming up, right? We won't be able to afford those places, right” (focus group 1), was accompanied by the awareness that social mix is expanding eastward: “I don't know, I think in about a year, things are going to shut down, kinda like this place [DURC]. They really are trying to start shutting places down and move them further east” (focus group 1). To further illustrate:

“This building here is a perfect example of what's going on down here. This building used to house, uh, how many people in the Stanley? Uh, there were 80-something people that lived in the Stanley, there were 40-something people in the New Fountain Shelter, and, um, this is now shut down . . . it got moved to, um, on Hastings, right next to

VANDU, so just two doors west of VANDU, yes, it's definitely moving along the line. It's in the area that's not yet been affected by the gentrification project."

"Gentrification has not reached Oppenheimer area, yet."

"But it will, because the Astoria is becoming quite hip. If you've noticed, they've got the motor sport club and they rave after hours." (focus group 2)

Several participants also expressed a fear for some that social mix will change the neighbourhood beyond recognition:

Because the majority of the people in the DTES are all low-income, so if you have people coming, building condos, and you have people coming in and buying these condos for [\$700 thousand dollars], they're going to start complaining about the people that live in the DTES longer than them. And they're going to complain that when people sleep on the street they're not going to want them there, and they're going to say they feel unsafe and, 'cause the neighbourhood, and they're going to want to change the neighbourhood and I feel that's unfair because it'd be like us going into a high-end neighbourhood, y'know, and trying to kick them out, y'know. I feel like if they start building condos and high-rises out here, they're going to change it. (focus group 4)

Change is bound to happen, y' know what I mean? I mean, change is a good thing, but at the same time, it's gonna push, this is all gonna be, like, uh, like a myth one day, right y'know, down here like for smoking crack and stuff, it'll be gone. And they're just, like, in the next five years or so I think it will be done finally. It will be gone. (focus group 2)

The low-income experience of social mix includes a sense that they can be pushed, kicked, moved, and shovelled out, to make room for affluent people to live in affluent conditions. Discussion from focus groups suggest an uncertainty of low-income residents' future in the DTES and a pushback to protect themselves from displacement.

Displacement Summary

Findings from this research suggest that displacement from homes and public spaces can result from social mix. Most research participants experienced, or knew someone who experienced, an eviction and/or renoviction, and many felt "pushed" or "shovelled" eastward to make room for wealthier residents. Displacement occurs as a result of inequality based on race, gender, abilities, and colonization. Some participants believed that high-income residents who

took the places where low-income residents had lived were unaware of the politics of displacement.

The loss of affordable housing stock resulted in the loss of a range of housing. A significant loss was safe, affordable housing where people could live independently within a community. Several participants said that they did not require the type of supervision like curfews, guest bans, and locked floors; moreover, these restrictions impacted family visits, co-parenting, and impromptu visits with neighbours. Along with set meal times in a cafeteria and staff being able to enter their rooms, several participants said that new social-housing projects felt too institutionalized. When affordable housing stock converted into costly apartments, as a result of social mix, residents with low incomes faced greater limits on where and how they could continue to live in the neighbourhood.

3.3.2 Social Polarization and Discordant Relationships

The second key finding that emerged from my analysis are experiences of social polarization and discord between the low-income and high-income residents. The increase of high-income residents in a social mix displaced affordable shops and restaurants, which resulted in a sense that so much was unaffordable in the neighbourhood for low-income residents. Participants in focus groups revealed that the inequalities between them and high-income residents in the DTES remained deep. Moreover, many participants experienced hostility, being judged and discriminated against, at times from security guards in the neighbourhood. Low-income residents expressed feelings of exasperation with social mix, and a concern that their experiences would worsen if more high-income residents move into the neighbourhood.

Unaffordability

When an increase of high-income residents moved into the area, residents with low incomes experienced a rise of grossly unaffordable goods and services in their neighbourhood. Participants accessed affordable goods and services from charities and non-profits, as well as a few privately-owned businesses; however, many businesses that used to offer affordable prices were replaced with high-end stores. The displacement of affordable stores created a neighbourhood of exclusion and social injustice.

The ability for high-end stores to encroach resulted in experiences more complex than a mere inability to buy something. Low-income residents in the DTES had created, with great effort, a neighbourhood where they were not marginalized like in other parts of the city, and this environment was then taken from them: “[T]hey’ve exploited this community. They’re coming here and they’ve taken the cheap real estate and they jacked up the prices and they cater to a different clientele, and we can’t afford to use their services” (focus group 2); “The hipsters, they take all the way from fuckin’ Abbott all the way down, like all those stores” (focus group 2).

Some participants illustrated the stark contrast between the stores which used to serve them and the new, exclusive stores:

Even if you’re at Pigeon Park and you’re sitting there and you look across the way and there’s that restaurant, Pigeon, where’s there a minimum of a hundred dollars to eat. You look at this salon, where all these people are in there, and it’s a minimum of a \$120 to get your hair cut, where before it was \$10, like, y’know, nothing is affordable anymore.
(focus group 3)

Others in focus group three also illustrated the prevalence of unaffordability:

“[A]nd a city where it’s not affordable as it is, y’know, like it’s just ridiculous now, the contrast, like you can get a coffee for free or you can get a coffee for eight dollars, y’know, like what are the differences here, it’s so ridiculously drastic. You go to the corner stores now the prices are rising; to get an ice cream its \$3.50, like, who has that to get that, you know what I mean?”

“Exactly.”

“... like, what happened to getting freezies for 50 cents?”

“Ice cream sandwiches for 50 cents; now ice cream sandwiches are \$2.50, \$2.75, they used to sell them for 50 cents.”

“The pizzas aren’t a dollar anymore, they’re \$2.50, three, four, five.”

“\$3.75.”

“Everything is just so unaffordable for us.”

Another participant from the second focus group demonstrated how deeply the high-end stores could affect low-income residents:

I find it offensive that I live in a building and I now, um, use very little illicit drugs; I’m on this Salome [study], and I scrape by, and right beside me is a store that sells lamps for ten to 20 thousand dollars. Like, I find it truly offensive that that store is down here, and y’know, first, granted, um, why are they down here? Because right now I think it’s that the deal they had is cheaper, they also know that it is getting trendier; yeah across from our clinic is a Prado, and a very trendy noodle box.

Some businesses built in strategies to include low-income residents in the neighbourhood, which were appreciated, but there were too few:

Save on Meats, they have an actual menu that’s like \$2 sandwiches there, and they give cops and people tokens to give out to people, and they specifically make, um, that menu for us . . . I’ve never had bad service at Save on Meats. (focus group 2)

Nelson and the Seagul, um, they have a, I forget the term for it, so you can come in and get a coffee, um, uh, that someone else has paid for, for someone else who doesn’t have any money. For example, yeah, so you can come in there and say I’d like to order a coffee and here’s three bucks or five bucks so that somebody who can’t afford one can enjoy a coffee as well. (focus group 2)

There’s an ice cream truck that was charging, like, seven dollars an ice cream cone and they have a price for low-income people so you can go to the same ice cream truck and get that same ice cream for two dollars . . . like, even if these businesses are coming in . . . why don’t they have that at the store level, and the restaurant level, so we can still enjoy the services in the community but at a discounted rate because of our income bracket . . . if the whole community were adopting that kind of a thing then it would be incorporating a more sense of community, because of the intermingling of all the different, um, income groups, right; it would be more accepted that way, but unfortunately there’s only a couple places to do that. (focus group 3)

The increase of unaffordability in the neighbourhood could affect low-income community organizations, like the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU):

The thing is that the rent gets, like, too expensive for these non-profit organizations to keep going, like VANDU. Like, they were being told that their rent's going to increase triple, and like it goes from \$10 thousand to \$30 thousand, and how are you supposed to run a non-profit organization, for example, when things like that are happening; where rent is not only affecting people living in the community, but non-profit businesses that are trying to offer services as well, because they can't afford that increase, too. (focus group 3)

Unaffordability also blocked the development of other low-income programs, "the funding is always the problem. We don't have the money. We have the ideas, we have the people, but we don't have the money" (focus group 3).

While participants discussed those few businesses that served residents with high incomes and also offered inclusive pricing for residents with low incomes, these endeavours reflect the high hopes of a social mix where people from different social classes can intermingle. Such businesses were scarce in this neighbourhood. Instead, participants found most new businesses reflected social polarization, and that exclusion would persist regardless of how hard people with low incomes worked. The income gap was too wide for residents with low incomes to ever patron many of the new, luxury businesses that surround them.

Inequality

"Social polarization refers to the widening of gap between specific subgroups of people in terms of their social circumstances and opportunities" (Chakravarty, 2015). This gap is a consequence of, and contributes to, discrimination based on such things as race, gender, age, sexuality, and ability, and these conditions of inequality polarize people into different income and social groups. Polarization is advanced in the contemporary climate of neoliberalism, which values individual gains and high profits at any social cost (Brown, 2005). The gap between the social circumstances and opportunities for low- and high-income residents in the DTES are contextualized in colonization, the exclusion of people with mental illness, and the

criminalization of substance use. When high-income residents move adjacent to low-income residents, the polarization advances disconnection and discord:

It's like the building I'm living in. I'm in the old Vancouver pre-trial building. They mixed in there. They got the BladeRunners program for youths on the third floor, and they got market housing with single-room occupancies, y'know; it's kind of mixed with all three . . . the market housing is like they go up to \$2,000 bucks for the suites, and it's yeah, some of them are kinda snobby . . . when I first moved in, and they moved in, with all their furniture and all their stuff, y'know, it's different than when you're just coming off the street . . . Right now, they have a garden program—they don't do much there . . . we used to have like other groups like tenant meetings and stuff. They don't have that anymore, um, right now it's just basically the garden 'cause we have a big garden and basketball court and stuff . . . before we used to do so much, but there's not much things going on in there and, like, programs since I moved in." (focus group 1)

"We mostly stick to each other."

"The people in general, like, the new people around, y'know, they look at you like you're like, y'know, like you're out of this world."

"Like, you're in the wrong spot; meanwhile you were here first."

"Like you walked into our neighbourhood, y'know." (focus group 1)

Focus groups two and three reflected these sentiments:

"Like, we were living in Brandiz, and right beside they build that new condo, and every building around there is all designated for low-income, or to help everybody in the community, so to speak; um, that place is in the core of downtown and it's totally segregated, y'know, like they have a private gate in the front and the back for their parking to get into the building and it's—"

"Seclusion from the community, so how are they part of the community." (focus group 3)

So the Calabash is this really trendy, uh, um, Jamaican restaurant, and I know because I worked as a bike courier and that's one of the restaurants that we picked up from; so I get to go in there and I see the customers and the people that are in there and I often wonder, when I come in there I look and I think, 'I cannot picture myself coming down to have a hundred-dollar meal at a restaurant that is literally next to the alley, in the worst alley in the DTES. I couldn't picture myself coming down and dropping a hundred bucks on a meal, and maybe another \$50 bucks on a bottle of wine, next to a place where there's absolutely the most, y'know, marginalized, the most depraved, saddest place in the entire city, maybe the entire country, and feeling like, 'I feel fine walking in and boy that was a good meal, y'know; oh look, at that guy lying in his own piss and vomit over there'.
(focus group 2)

These four focus group discussions reflect relationships between low- and high-income earners, characterized by significant socio-economic differences.

The stark juxtaposition between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’, the polarization, was counter to a cohesive community. Some research participants did not consider new high-income residents in the neighbourhood as part of their community. Furthermore, an increase of high-income earners in the social mix resembled a threatening invasion.

“Well, I think they should just leave it as is, like, I mean like, you don’t see them, you don’t see other rich neighbourhoods opening up places for us, y’know.”

“Exactly.”

“Yep.”

“You don’t see them opening the door and come to places for us, like, so what’s the difference, why should they, why should we? We only have the six blocks as it is, y’know.”

“Yeah.”

“Why, like, all of a sudden moving all these hipsters, and stuff like that, whoever else wants to live here for whatever reason, right? . . . We only have so much space as it is, right? The homeless problem is larger than ever so why would we, like, build these places? I can understand, like, they like it because it’s the bad part of town or whatever, right? But, uh, I don’t think so; like, I can understand, like, they have some stores and stuff around the outskirts of it, like, around Gastown and stuff like that; that’s cool, right, or Yaletown and stuff.”

“I just wonder, when is it not going to be so hip, because right now, it’s very trendy to be here.”

“Well, they’re going to take over.” (focus group 2)

Several participants illustrated polarization and the resultant discordant relationships between low- and high-income groups in the social mix. Moreover, for some, the social mix felt like high-income incursions.

Hostility

Many research participants described being disliked, misjudged, or hated by residents with high incomes. “You ask these people on the market side [of Woodward’s]; one person’s name on the social housing, they can’t, they hate them, they can’t stand them” (focus group 2).

This participant from focus group two described an incident that illustrates this further:

I found that bartender’s cheque, paycheque, on the pavement and I went and gave it back and . . . the owner came out and looked up and down . . . and he goes ‘But, like, how did she get it?’ I spun around and I said, ‘How did I get it? I got it walking to my doctor’s

and you dropped it in the street, you moron.’ . . . I stopped believing I could make a difference down here. I can’t. (focus group 2)

A participant from focus group three described this occurrence:

With mixing two, three different kind of levels of incomes it can create a lot of, um, tornados . . . actually, right around the corner trying to say hello . . . here we say, ‘nice companion’ to the woman walking her dog, and they think we’re going to steal their dog from them. (focus group 3)

Another participant from the third focus group said:

They sit in their rooms and they have their windows open and they basically just sit there and stare at everybody out on the street, and they video record it . . . they watch the tape and they point and laugh and whatever. (focus group 3)

Three focus group members engaged in a discussion that reflected a concern for an escalating discordance:

“Now, the kids from the suburbs that don’t have an idea that, one, don’t stare at somebody that’s doing a fix in the alley . . . don’t go up to every woman and ask, ‘Will \$25 bucks get a blow job’ because not every woman down here is a working girl.”

“These people go, and they party down here, and they spill out on the Saturday and Friday nights. Like on Pender there’s a techno club, and they spill out drunk and intoxicated and, mark my words, there’s going to be a horrific murder, because they’re ignorant. They feel like they’re entitled.”

“Their sense of entitlement because they have the money, and they look down at the people that come out on the street, and they see the people hocking wares down there and they come and film . . . they film people sitting on the ground trying to sell things . . . they put it on YouTube.”

“. . . for somebody else that’s trying to make a living, doing everything they can to make a dollar, so they eat, like, y’know?”

“But they’ll come, and they’ll make disparaging remarks and jokes like they think the person doesn’t get, y’know?”

“Can I light your hair on fire for \$50 bucks, and that shit; that guy who would let people light his hair on fire for \$50 bucks and stuff. Or let them kick him in the balls and shit for \$50 bucks, remember that?”

“They’re going to say something to the wrong person at the wrong time, and one of these hipsters is going to end up [pause] and that’s going to be unfortunate, because when that happens, that will then change the situation down here where suddenly then—”

“It’s not going to be so cool—”

“Then we’ll be seen as a threat down here. Right now, we’re just a nuisance—”

“Well put.” (focus group 2)

Discord between social classes can affect the low-income residents in the neighbourhood more than high-income residents, as this one conversation between two participants show:

“Yeah, but that comes on both sides, too; you can’t just say one side. Well, I mean like a lot of people think, like, that guys rich and lalalala and contributes to segregation or whatever, y’know what I mean, but people fear what they don’t understand, or whatever, y’know what I mean, and like, I judge people all the time, and like I said, I don’t try to.”
 “There’s power asymmetry, so our judgements don’t affect them but their judgements sure as hell affect us.” (focus group 2)

Research participants revealed discordant relationships in the social mix reaching hostility, and a fear that relations could worsen and become more problematic for low-income residents.

Security Guards

Some participants illustrated how private security guards in new grocery stores singled-out residents with low incomes, particularly those who looked Indigenous:

“I’ll never forget [name] got tackled and thrown to the ground and charged for shoplifting, because he opened the bag of chips behind me when I had \$350 worth of groceries . . . This guy has repeatedly followed [name] around, even to the point where it was so obvious he follows, like, the Native people around.”
 “He took [name] in; [name] stole a yogurt . . . [name] is disabled in his right leg, walks around with a walker, he weighs about 85 pounds soaking wet, a tiny little guy, and he, uh, basically gave him the choice of either he could charge him, or he could get smacked around.” (focus group 2)

Focus group discussions revealed experiences of social polarization and discordant relationships in the social mix. Low-income residents experienced a rise of gross unaffordability, and a sense that affluent people were “taking over.” Despite opportunities to connect in a community garden or a basketball court, different income groups did not associate with one another. Polarized and discordant relationships occurred amid historical and contemporary experiences of inequality, reinforced by a market-oriented, profit-driven climate in this social

mix neighbourhood. Discordant relationships escalated at times and experiences of feeling hated, misjudged, stereotyped, or being racially profiled had occurred in the neighbourhood.

3.3.3 Strong Community Connections

Community consists of networks of people held together through solidarity, identity, and norms within social interactions, as well as sharing of resources that fulfil mutual needs and desires (Bradshaw, 2008; Flaherty & Brown, 2014; Green, 2016; Matarrita-Cascante, 2012). It is well known that Vancouver's DTES holds a strong and tight community of low-income residents (City of Vancouver, 2014a; Pederson & Swanson, 2010), and the third key finding in this research is that low-income residents continue to build a strong community regardless of the negative impacts from social mix. Experiences of being part of a community were illustrated by knowing their neighbours, taking care of one another, building and operating community services that fulfil mutual needs and desires, and a sharing an Indigenous identity.

Knowing the Neighbours

In each focus group, people remarked that they knew many of their low-income neighbours and described how this fostered acceptance they would not find outside of the DTES:

For me, like every time I've tried something out of the DTES, I feel like I'm missing something. There is nowhere in Canada, in the world, where you can walk down the street and know almost everybody, and, like, I walk and I see 15 people, like, y'know; we stop and chat, y'know, or whatever, there's nowhere in the world where you'll find that, and I miss that. Y'know, you go other places it's like I try to talk to people, like on the bus or something, and they, it's like they [pause], it's like, y'know, it's like I belong here. I came out here when I was 13 or 14, and I felt like it was the first place I belong, ever. Like I didn't feel like I belonged at home, and when I first came down here it felt like home. (focus group 2)

This sentiment was echoed in the next focus group:

[You] get to know who's in your community when you stand in the soup lines, uh, you make friends, you meet new people, and you meet new people from other cities,

provinces, when you go to soup lines . . . Um, yeah, I've been here for five years. I used to be in food lines like every day, but I have my own place now, um, my own kitchen, which is awesome . . . but at times, I walk by I go, 'I know half the line'. (focus group 3)

Taking Care of One Another

Low-income residents' support for one another through common struggles was an integral component of building and shaping their community: "Even when you are not able to ask for help, someone along the way will see and notice and stop and say 'Hey, how are you doing?'" (focus group 3). This participant continued to illustrate the mutual aid found in the DTES:

"I noticed one thing is that when, um, people are hungry, people help each other out down here. Y'know, they tell everybody where to go; if you ask them, if they're carrying a plate of food or something, you ask them, 'Hey where'd you get that' and they tell you where they got it, y'know, and you go down there too and eat. That's one thing about Downtown Vancouver Eastside, you don't go hungry. Y'know, there's always somewhere to go to eat. That's the good thing about it." (focus group 3)

Another participant from the third group also remarked on the community's mutual aid:

Y'know, there's actually been a couple times where our friends, that we know kind of thing in this neighbourhood, uh, have gone open their hearts and made a meal and just shared. Which is awesome, right? So we are family down here. I know that. (focus group 3)

Several participants described how at times they were targeted, such as when sleeping outside or experiencing gender-based violence; and across all focus groups, the protective factor against harm was friends, family, and community relationships rather than the police: "A guy was sleeping in the bushes . . . this was, like, two years ago, and somebody came and stabbed him while he was sleeping and set him on fire in the bushes" (focus group 2); "Right there in Crab Park there were 24 women raped and brutally attacked, and before Pickton . . . it was 'You were a dead junky whore,' and that's why the cops didn't give a shit." (focus group 2).

Furthermore, someone in the next group said:

“It’s tough when you’re out there and you’re by yourself. If you’re by yourself and you’re out there and you don’t have a place to stay, it’s a lot easier to make suggestions than it is to actually being out there, because every time you lay your head down and close your eyes, you’re vulnerable.” (focus group 3)

When I then asked the focus groups, “What do you need to feel safe?” these were the responses:

“Each other.”

“Each other.”

“Yeah, each other.”

“Yeah, exactly, good one.” (focus group 1);

“Friends.”

“Friends, yeah.”

“Friends, family, a sense of community.” (focus group 3);

“Um, yeah, and pretty much everybody looks out for one another there, and watches each other’s tents and makes sure nothing goes missing.” (focus group 4)

Participants agreed that they depend on each other to provide safety; furthermore, they suggested that the police did not help build community safety:

I don’t really think that they’re there to serve and protect, to be honest. I don’t really have a good, uh, experience with the police here, ever. I mean, I don’t do anything wrong, but, like, for instance, my ex, he struck me and then took all what money I had on me, and then when I went to go ask for help, uh, he says, ‘I don’t see any marks on you’ and then just walked away. And, y’know, it’s just things like that. I actually have to be either physically bleeding or with a split lip or something in order to get help, so I don’t even. They’re probably the last people that I would go and ask for help from. If that happened, I would probably go see family or friends or somebody that, y’know, would believe me and would actually help.” (focus group 4)

Developing and Operating Programs

Residents with low incomes in the DTES build and operate services that fulfil mutual needs and desires. As one participant said, “there’s lots of places to go in the community to join in, become a part of something” (focus group 1).

Participants named occupational opportunities in the following places: DURC; Drinkers Lounge; Hydration Team—“they go around and they hand out juice and water to everybody” (focus group 4); Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users; BladeRunners; Spikes on Bikes—“they go around on the bikes and pick up all the needles, and they also have their Narcan training because there’s a lot of overdoses that’s been happening within the last year, maybe two years” (focus group 4); security in Tent City; Downtown Access; the Living Room’s job draw; the DTES Market; the Community Gardens; a mental health volunteer program; and Mission Possible.

There were many employment opportunities in the DTES where people with mental illness and/or who used substances could fully participate: “We do car washes . . . and it’s just by donation . . . I think it’s intelligent, I think it’s community” (focus group 1). Another participant illustrated:

We can run things ourselves, like [name] runs the Brew Coop; I watch the front desk and she watches the front desk, and if you guys can provide a place, we can run it . . . yeah, DURC was all run by peers and one head boss. (focus group 3)

Most residents demonstrated that they work to serve the low-income residents in the neighbourhood. The rise of social mix did not directly bring opportunities for community building, like proponents of social mix imagined (Joseph, 2006). However, low-income residents worked and volunteered to support their neighbours against negative impacts of social mix. For example, one participant described a two-week course she completed about the Tenancy and Landlord Act to enable her to talk with landlords and advocate on behalf of low-income residents

who had received eviction notices. No research participant said that a new development that catered to high-income earners hired them or gave them a volunteer opportunity.

Sharing an Indigenous Identity

DTES is on Squamish, Tsliel-Waututh, and Musqueam territory, and there is a profound Indigenous presence in the area. Participants reflected the experience of a strong sense of shared Indigenous identity in the community, with a deep connection to Oppenheimer Park and many places that centre Indigenous People's culture and worldviews. One participant explained that Indigenous culture is enrooted in the DTES: "You have people walking around with drums and singing, and sweet grass" (focus group 3).

Another participant illustrated the regularity of Indigenous cultural in the DTES, when she remembered plans she had made for the afternoon: "Actually, I have to go there [Culture Saves Lives] . . . to make some drums today and one of the elders is, uh, giving me sweet grass. And he's already, um, he already gave me a bunch of medicines" (focus group 4).

DTES is a neighbourhood where Indigenous People engage in cultural practices on a regular basis, and can participate in traditions and ceremonies. Furthermore, Indigenous People have successfully fought to include Indigenous worldviews and cultures into services managed by White settlers. Places where research participants said they could connect with their culture include Culture Saves Lives, The Dudes Club, Native Health, Neighbourhood House, Aboriginal Front Door, Carnegie, VANDU, PHS Community Service Society, "the 44", and Pigeon Park. Though the increase of social mix was not identified to attribute to the ability of low-income residents to engage with Indigenous culture, it was also not identified to hinder it.

Community Unites in Acts of Resistance.

Most participants in this study expressed that they did not want an increase of high-income residents into the social mix, due to the negative impacts it has on them. One participant described how the community united in protest to slow social mix in their neighbourhood:

We protested. We shut down the Main Street and we shut down Hastings and there must have been at least over 30, 40, of us on the street; and we wanted social housing, and we didn't want SROs, and say 'No' to the condo's that are coming up in the community and, y'know, that's one way of getting your voice out there and making people aware, and we had a lot of supporters. There was a lot of people there, was lot of media and that; I think that's the best way to get your voice heard, to make sure the DTES is there, it's not going anywhere, and they can't fix it by putting condos up. Because, y'know, we have been residents there longer than the people who are coming down to be in a condo." (focus group 4)

Loss of Sense of Community

While most research participants illustrated that low-income residents continued to build community in a social mix neighbourhood, not everyone felt the sense of community in the DTES was intact. One participant who lived in a more socially mixed part of the neighbourhood said:

I've seen waves and waves of different, like, people coming and going; like they come here, and they spit out and I've seen many different sets of people come through, but it's not the same at all anymore. There's barely a few of us left down here that were here in the beginning or whatever, not the beginning, but, y'know, a lot of people are dead or in jail, or gone smartened up or whatever, it's not the same down here as what it used to be. So this fairy-tale that having community meant, it's a joke, it's gone, it doesn't exist. Now, it's everybody for themselves and stuff. Not everyone is bad, but I mean, it's not like what it was. (focus group 2)

Strong Community Connection Summary

Low-income residents continue to build a strong community despite social mix. The discussions from the focus groups indicated that low-income residents in a social mix area continued to connect with one another and build community through shared identities, needs, and mutual support. This connection was important for the safety of low-income residents,

particularly those who were targeted to experience class, gender, and racially based violence. Community building is supported by non-profits, not from developments that cater to high-income earners. However, the increase of social mix contributes to community development when low-income residents come together against the negative effects of social mix, such as to advocate against illegal evictions and hold protests. Knowing one's neighbours appears to be an integral part of the community, and when their low-income neighbours are no longer there, residents can feel isolated.

3.3.4 Findings Conclusion

DTES residents who have low incomes shared their experiences of living in an increasingly social mix neighbourhood. In this chapter I revealed findings that emerged from their discussions. First, under the key theme of displacement, findings revealed occurrences of people being pressured by landlords to move on account of social mix increasing the value of rental units. Low-income residents were faced with fewer options for where to live, as more affordable housing was converted into unattainable condominiums, which affected their ability to gather with friends, family, and neighbours. Displacement also occurred from public places that were now policed. Low-income residents' experiences of displacement were often expressed in terms such as "pushed," "moved," and shovelled out from places they "were not wanted" in.

Under the second key finding of social polarization and discordant relationships, I revealed the rise of gross unaffordability which affected housing and goods and services, as well as the sustainability of non-profit organizations and the advancement of ideas for new programs. Experiences of social mix were at times described in terms of affluent people "taking over." Relations between two income groups, who were separated by a wide wealth gap, were discordant, and at times escalated to hostility. Some research participants described experiences

of being misjudged, stereotyped, racially profiled, and deeply offended. The last finding revealed that low-income residents continued to build a strong community, despite impacts from social mix. Their community encompassed knowing who their neighbours were and knowing how to take care on one another.

In the next chapter, I will examine and analyse these findings further and highlight some significant elements.

Chapter 4: Discussion

In this chapter I will highlight findings from my study's three key themes: displacement, social polarization, and strong community connections. I will show that my findings are consistent with the literature, offer new insights, and contextualize the discussion in historical and contemporary climates. Furthermore, I will discuss the implications of these findings for low-income residents in the DTES.

4.1.0 Displacement in an Unaffordable City

Displacement is characterized by an involuntary move of residents due to quickly inflating rents and, at times, landlord harassment, which is triggered by motivations to make homes available for higher profits (Atkinson, 2004). Problematically, homelessness can be a consequence of displacement.

Access to housing is a key determinant of health (Bryant, Raphael, Schrecker, & Labonte, 2011). Homelessness has vast implications, including the subjectification of homeless people, which is explicated in a United Nations' (UN) report on adequate housing:

The term "homeless" describes not only a lack of housing but also identifies a social group. The close link between the denial of rights and a social identity distinguishes homelessness from deprivations of other socio-economic rights. People denied water or food are rarely treated as a social group the way homeless people are. Those who are homeless are subject to stigmatization, social exclusion and criminalization. (Farha, 2015, p. 5)

The UN concluded that homelessness is an extreme human rights violation (Farha, 2015).

Although the ramifications of homelessness have been established by reports from the UN, homelessness has increased in Vancouver (Urban Matters CCC and the BC Non-Profit Housing Association, 2018). Shifts in Canadian affordable-housing policies, such as the federal withdrawal from social housing provisions during the 1990s, eroded a successful social housing

program with more than half a million homes from the 1970s, and produced the current homelessness crisis (Bryant et al., 2011; Kothari, 2008).

The UN Special Rapporteur on affordable housing, Miloon Kothari (2008) visited Vancouver's Downtown Eastside in 2008. Afterwards, Kothari reported that income-assistance rates inadequately met the cost of housing and other living expenses. Additionally, Kothari reported that the lack of low-cost housing particularly impacted women, who as a group are disproportionately affected by homelessness, affordability problems, violence, and discrimination. In relation to affordable housing and Indigenous People, Kothari expressed that he was disturbed by the unduly paternalistic federal and provincial government's legislations, policies, and budgetary allocations for Indigenous People in Canada. Kothari explained that these policies negatively impact the rights to self-determination and adequate housing conditions. Based on the assessment from his visit, Kothari recommended a housing continuum concept with various forms of housing.

Since Kothari's visit, the affordability of housing in Vancouver has worsened. House prices have risen rapidly, and the detached housing market is now unaffordable to most Vancouver residents. Vancouver became the most popular destination of wealthy business migrants to Canada, and its property was deemed a global asset (Ley D. , 2015). In 2015, a benchmark price for a detached house, which excludes distortions of high values, reached \$1.2 million in Greater Vancouver (Ley D. , 2015). These popular, expensive properties led to high-cost apartment rentals and a competitive market. In the aftermath of the inflated Vancouver housing market and the corrosion of affordable housing, people with low incomes, income assistance, disability benefits, or pensions are at a higher risk of homelessness than ever (Urban Matters CCC and the BC Non-Profit Housing Association, 2018).

Since affordable housing is scarce, and due to the various health and social problems that result from homelessness, my findings, which suggest low-income residents are being harassed by landlords and displaced from their homes, are significant. Many research participants were able to recall a recent unjustified eviction, and seven out of the 24 identified themselves as either living on the streets, in a shelter, or in a 'tent city'. It is not surprising that research participants expressed a need to protect the housing for them that remains in the neighbourhood, as illustrated below in focus group two:

“You don't see them opening the door and places for us, like, so, what's the difference, why should they, why should we? We only have the six blocks as it is, y'know.”

“Yeah.”

“Why, like, all of a sudden, moving all these hipsters, and stuff like that, whoever else wants to live here for whatever reason, right? . . . We only have so much space as it is, right? The homeless problem is larger than ever so why would we, like, build these places?”

These quotes illustrate that low-income residents have limited options as to where to live in the city, and when high-cost condominiums replace low-cost housing there is a threat of more homelessness.

In this section about displacement in an unaffordable city, I discussed the importance of housing as a social determinant of health and the subjectification of the homeless identity which produces stigma, social exclusion, and criminalization. I also discussed the conditions in Canada and Vancouver that put low-income people at risk of homelessness, such as the past erosion of a national social housing program, inadequate income assistance, paternalistic relations with Indigenous Nations, and the inflation of housing costs. Housing is essential and a human right, but nevertheless not easily attained or secured in Vancouver. Thus, findings in this research that reveal occurrences of displacement of low-income residents in the DTES is significant. In the next section I will discuss the implications of losing a range of housing in the DTES.

4.1.1 Displacement of a Range of Housing

My findings suggest that social mix narrowed the range of types of housing in the DTES. In this section, I will demonstrate that a range of housing has been recognized as an essential need, show statistics which indicate a weaker range since the approval of the Local Area Plan (LAP), and discuss the surprising repercussions.

As noted in the City of Vancouver's Social Impact Assessment (2014), the DTES lacked housing for a diverse population prior to the implementation of LAP. The assessment recognized the erosion of affordable, non-supported housing and approximately 2,100 residents who required supported housing due to mental illness and addictions (City of Vancouver, 2014a). In response to their assessment, the city included the social impact objective to "encourage a wide range of housing options in the neighbourhood, with a particular focus on new and improved social and affordable housing for the homeless and other low- and moderate-income singles and families" (City of Vancouver, 2014b). However, according to my findings, the city's encouragement did not amount to a wide range of housing options for low-income residents.

Affordable housing in the DTES requires financial commitments from provincial and federal governments. Lack of a tri-government commitment to ensure a range of housing in the DTES is unfortunate because the city's three-year LAP progress update reported that private, single-room-occupancies (SROs) at income-assistance rates decreased from 24% in 2013 to 17% in 2015, homelessness increased from 1,600 in 2013 to 1,847 in 2016, and the amount of supported housing remained the same at 2,777 in both 2013 and 2016 (General Manager of Planning, Three-Year Progress Update of the Downtown Eastside Plan, 2017a).

My study's findings are consistent with the city's progress report; research participants described a loss of low-cost housing options due to new high-income residents in the neighbourhood. The loss of private SROs in particular resulted in narrowing the range of

housing. What was not discussed in previous literature, or in city's reports, is that as a repercussion of losing private SROs a squeeze of low-income residents into the already limited supported housing occurred. Since supported housing is meant for tenants who need high levels of care and supervision, they incorporate a number of strategies. However, for people who do not require that type of support, the strategies are restrictive.

Several research participants in my study were greatly impacted by the loss of range of housing. They described living in buildings, or only having the option to live in a building, that enforced strict guest restrictions and prohibited tenants from entering floors other than their own. Participants also described common dining areas with set meal times and foregoing their tenant rights under the Residential Tenancy Act, because these buildings were designated as care or therapeutic facilities. One participant explained that in her non-supported building for elders displaced residents who needed high levels of support due to severe mental illness and substance addiction moved in, and subsequently transformed her housing. Though living in the building became difficult for her, she could not find better options. She remained in the building, but her daughter would not visit anymore. Several participants explained that the experiences of living in supported housing amounted to feeling like they were living in an institution, or in jail, rather than in a home. While these participants understood the need for supported housing, for them, they just needed low-cost, safe, and clean housing, and that was not available.

Considering that low-income residents in my study identified few places they can gather with friends and family other than their home, it is important to note when their homes become restrictive. When guest policies increase, the ability to break bread and gather with neighbours, friends, and family becomes more limited. Additionally, as illustrated by a participant who explained, "they're too institutionalized. Like, who wants to live in a place where they have to be

told when you have to be home, who you could have at your place, like, that's no way to live at all," residents misplaced into supportive housing can produce a loss of freedoms.

In this section I discussed the consequential narrowing of a range of housing due to social mix. The City of Vancouver and the UN recognized that the availability of a range of housing in the DTES was important (City of Vancouver, 2014a; Kothari, 2008), however, it is diminishing (General Manager of Planning, Three-Year Progress Update of the Downtown Eastside Plan, 2017a). The loss of range of housing resulted in constricting some residents into supported housing and, as I illustrated through focus-group findings, this significantly impacted how they can gather with family, friends, and neighbours. My finding about loss of range of housing and the implications on how people can gather was unexpected, yet when affordable housing stock diminishes it is a logical outcome that people will be squeezed into whichever housing that remains. Loss of range of housing is a useful finding to consider when evaluating whether social mix is beneficial for low-income residents. Next, I will discuss community consultations in social mix.

4.1.2 Community Consultations

In this section I take a closer look at sites that have been, and plan to be, redesigned based on the LAP: Blood Alley, 58 West Hastings Street, 124 Dunlevy Street, and 439 Powell Street. In the following sections, I describe these redesigns, as well as the involvement or, at times, lack of involvement from low-income residents. I highlight significant features of new developments, such as the definition of social housing which requires one-third income assistance-rate rentals and two-thirds market rate.

Blood Alley

Prior to the approval of the DTES LAP in 2014, Blood Alley was a cobblestone lane where low-income DTES residents gathered. When I visited in 2017, however, the presence of DTES residents with low incomes was non-existent. Instead, I saw high-end clothing retailers, a wine bar, a condominium, a trendy restaurant patio, and three people engaged in a photo shoot. Before the City of Vancouver (2016) completed the redesign of Blood Alley they made a public announcement about their plan to update the space for neighbourhood gatherings, a process that would be guided by the LAP's Social Impact Objectives. However, of the people who completed the public consultation surveys for the redesign of Blood Alley 61% identified that their connection to the neighbourhood was by going to restaurants and entertainment venues, 39% of those consulted lived outside the neighbourhood, 19% owned a home in the neighbourhood, and 15% rented (City of Vancouver, 2016). The community-consultation process for the redesign of Blood Alley appears to have privileged the desires of high-income visitors to the district over the low-income residents who used to gather there.

58 West Hastings

In 2017 the City of Vancouver received a rezoning application for a proposed 231-unit social housing building at 58 West Hastings, which had been the site of demonstration, occupation, and campaigns for 100% income assistance-rate rentals since 2008 (Rajala & Crompton, 2016). Two community open houses were held, and an application was approved in January, 2018, for a proposed 10-storey mixed-use building with integrated health services (City of Vancouver, 2018). However, "social housing," as has been defined in the LAP, does not need to include more than one-third of total units at social-assistance rates (Pablo, 2018), thus only 76 out of 231 units at 58 West Hastings are required to be available to low-income residents in the

DTES. The rest of the rentals, two-thirds of the building, could be rented at market rate, if the developers wish, and it still would be deemed as a social housing building.

In light of displacement of low-income residents in the DTES social mix, and the social polarization that occurs in mixed-income buildings, it is not surprising that advocates continued to battle for the building at 58 West Hastings to be rented at 100% income-assistance rates. Community demonstrations were visible, and the perseverance of community resistance have managed to keep the discussions about the plan for 58 West Hastings open in city council (O'Connor, 2018). The city appeared to be influenced by advocacy groups, such as Our Homes Can't Wait Coalition and Vancouver Chinatown Foundation, but how much the city included community groups to determine their plans remains unclear.

124 Dunlevy and 439 Powell

The policy report on the rezoning of 124 Dunlevy Street indicated plans for an 11-storey mixed-use building, again with a social housing designation that only requires one-third of units to rent at income-assistance rates (Hoese, 2017). The summary and recommendations from the public hearing held in October of 2017 included rezoning issues in its urban design, such as ceiling height and architectural style, but not how many units would be rented at income-assistance rates or if the building would be supported housing (City of Vancouver, 2017b). Yet, the General Manager of Planning, Urban Design, and Sustainability (2017b) recommended approval of the plan and concluded that “if approved, the application would contribute to the city’s housing goals, as identified in the Housing and Homelessness Strategy, as well as the social facility and housing goals as set out in the DTES [Local Area] Plan.” Even though this building, which is near Oppenheimer Park, could be occupied by mostly high-income tenants, and findings from my research suggest that low-income residents are threatened by an increase

of social mix, the general manager of urban planning in the district deemed it in alignment with the LAP. Involvement of low-income residents in the design of new developments around Oppenheimer Park appears to be lacking.

Similarly, another proposal for development, this time across the street from Oppenheimer Park, at 439 Powell Street, was again required to only supply one-third of units at income-assistance rates (City of Vancouver, 2019). Who will be able to live there, and how they will be able to live in terms of support and restriction in the building, is yet to be revealed. However, in an area that remains predominately low-income, there is hope that both these buildings will wholly be for residents with low incomes, replenish affordable housing stock, and contribute to a wider range of housing.

These four developments, Blood Alley, 58 West Hastings, 124 Dunlevy, and 439 Powell provide insight into some of the issues faced by low-income residents, such as lack of meaningful community consultation with low-income residents and lack of discussion about affordable rentals in public hearings. Additionally, I argue that co-opting the term “social housing” to mean minimum of one-third income assistance-rate rentals, of which the rest could be rented at high-market costs, could mislead the public into believing there is adequate affordable housing, or that the problem of homelessness is being solved. The one-third minimum income assistance-rate requirement may on one hand be better than a clear-cut of affordable housing and zero assistance-rate housing; on the other hand, these mixed-income buildings can produce social polarization and a sense of exclusion for low-income residents, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.1.3 Indigenous Homelessness

Displacement of Indigenous People requires additional considerations. Dr. Jesse Thistle (2017) argued that there are 12 dimensions of Indigenous homelessness, which extend beyond lacking physical structures to include “individuals, families and communities isolated from their relationships to land, water, place, family, kin, each other, animals, cultures, languages and identities” (p. 6). These dimensions, Thistle explains, contextualizes Indigenous People’s experiences as outcomes of historical and ongoing settler racism and colonization that have displaced and dispossessed Indigenous People from “their traditional governance systems and laws, territories, histories, worldviews, ancestors and stories” (p. 6). In addition to experiencing what Thistle calls “historic displacement homelessness” from pre-colonial relationships (p. 33), Indigenous People experience “contemporary geographic separation homelessness” (p. 34) which, as a result of settler encroachment, severs their relationships to their land and its resources. Indigenous homelessness can also be discussed in terms of spiritual disconnection, mental disruption/imbalance, cultural losses, escaping harm, and having nowhere to go (Thistle, 2017). Accordingly, discussions about displacement and homelessness in the DTES must include implications for Indigenous People in terms greater than physical shelters.

DTES is on unceded Coast Salish territory and home to Indigenous People from different Nations across the land, who connect with their cultures and each other in the community. My research findings suggest that places such as Oppenheimer Park are important historic and contemporary spaces to gather and have ceremonies. One research participant in focus group four illustrated the meaning of being displaced from Oppenheimer Park in the following way: “If they tried to take that from me, then that’s like losing my heritage.” Any further loss of freedoms to practice traditions and connect with land, waters, and each other, would re-produce dimensions of homelessness.

Since findings from my study suggest that social mix has resulted in occurrences of displacement from homes and public places, I argue that an increase of social mix, particularly into the Oppenheimer Park area, increases the risk of Indigenous People's displacement and multiple dimensions of homelessness.

4.1.4 Summary

Displacement of residents with low incomes for the placement of high-income residents are contextualized in a climate of neoliberalism, colonization, and racial and gender inequality. The city's objectives in the LAP to benefit all, including low-income residents, through social mix developments is not being fulfilled when there are low-income residents being displaced and the loss of range of housing is costing freedoms of autonomy. I argued that displacement of low-income residents in the DTES advances colonization and Indigenous People's homelessness.

Low-income residents have fought to be part of the planning process of affordable housing and have managed successfully to keep the waves of gentrification from flooding them out. However, when the city keeps the development of housing out of the control of community members, they uphold political dominance, exclusion of Coast Salish people, and White settler entitlement over the land. The contemporary neoliberal agenda, which places market desires at the head of decision-making, produces the lack of adequate housing and human rights violations. The city's objectives to "encourage" a range of housing is shadowed by the neoliberal agenda, which can erode affordable housing like a tsunami.

4.2.0 Marginalization in Social Mix

Based on the findings from my research, I argue that an increase of high-income residents in the DTES social mix has failed to produce a cohesive and harmonious community. The wealth

gap was far too deep and wide for spontaneous relationships to spark and flourish between low- and high-income residents. Instead there was disconnection and, at times, hostility. Moreover, the repercussions from social mix resulted in marginalization of low-income residents within their neighbourhood. In this section I will discuss the rise of unaffordability of goods and services that occurred with the rise of social mix, and the resultant marginalization of low-income residents; how social polarization fosters discordant relationships between low- and high-income residents; and how discordant relationships negatively affect low-income residents more than high-income ones.

4.2.1 Unaffordability of Goods and Services

One of the benefits of living in a predominately low-income neighbourhood can be the ample affordable goods and services to enjoy. When affluent people became residents in the DTES, affordable stores transformed into exclusive, high-end businesses, and produced experiences of “everything is just so unaffordable for us” (focus group 3). Literature suggests that the loss of affordable stores is a negative consequence of gentrification and social mix. In Atkinson’s (2004) report, he concluded that the rising costs of local services were negative consequences of gentrification. Similarly, the City of Vancouver’s (2014a) Social Impact Assessment recognized that an increase of high-income residents in the social mix could result in the loss of affordable shops, which would negatively impact the low-income community. In another study of social mix in Melbourne, Australia, Kate Shaw and Iris Hagemans (2015) concluded that low-income residents who “managed to stay put” in gentrifying neighbourhoods had a sense of loss of place when shops and meeting places transformed, resulting in a sense of displacement without physical displacement (p. 324). Unsurprisingly, the research participants in

my study were negatively affected by the conversion of affordable stores into high-end stores. Furthermore, I argue that the loss seemed to extend deeper than not being able to buy something.

The results of a social mix are just part of a bigger story. One cannot discuss social mix without discussing what the neighbourhood was before the mix. A social mix that changed an upscale neighbourhood into one of greater affordability is a much different conversation than a social mix which changed a predominantly low-income neighbourhood into an unaffordable one. The context and implications are different. In the case of the DTES, since the 1800s the district has been settled by racialized groups and by people with disabilities, mental illness, and substance addictions (Plant, 2008). These marginalized groups built a neighbourhood and fought off many redevelopment and displacement battles since the 1950s (Plant, 2008).

The marginalized, low-income residents in the neighbourhood worked to create an environment where their marginalization was less significant. Through community organization efforts typical margins that excluded groups were moved toward the centre, and it was much easier to get jobs, homes, and belong to organizations than anywhere else. These efforts and achievements are evident in the abundance of opportunities in the DTES for low-income residents; 18 out of 24 research participants in my study were employed and/or volunteered in the community. The DTES community enabled inclusion of groups who would otherwise be marginalized in other districts.

Seemingly minor changes, like those described in the focus groups, occurred—such as the loss of a barber shop to a high-end salon and the rise in cost of freezies and pizza slices—and amounted to a marginalization based on race, gender, age, and abilities. Moreover, as Winifred Curran (2018) noted in Pilsen, Chicago, “an entitlement to place, comes much more easily for

gentrifiers” (p. 10). As such, low-income residents in my study described their neighbourhood as being “exploited” and “taken over.”

In a three-year progress update of the DTES LAP, the General Manager of Planning, Urban Design, and Sustainability (2017a) reported that displacement of community retail assets is a pertinent issue, and that a new non-profit was established to lease commercial spaces to those who would sell affordable goods and services. Whether this non-profit initiative can prevent the conversion of affordable shops into exclusive shops enough to curtail the experience of “nothing is affordable for us anymore” is questionable. Although my findings revealed that when private businesses offered goods at different prices, so both low-income and high-income community members could be included, they countered marginalization but there were not enough of them to offset harms from polarizing businesses. In a neoliberal climate, where maximum profits are prioritized, it appeared that high-end businesses were reluctant to reduce prices for low-income community members. Since the LAP aims to change the DTES from a predominately low-income area into a neighbourhood occupied by a majority of mid- to high-income residents, unless significant shifts in ideology occurs social mix can be expected to produce unaffordability of goods and services and, thus, marginalization of low-income community members as well.

In this section I reviewed the literature and my findings, which conclude that the increase of unaffordability that results from social mix negatively impacts low-income residents. My analysis suggests that the conversion of affordable stores into high-end stores that occurs in social mix undoes low-income community-building efforts and achievements and produces marginalization. In the next section I will discuss discorded relationships that resulted from social polarization.

4.2.2 Discordant Relations Across a Wealth Gap

In this section I will begin with a brief literature review about poverty and polarization. Then I will review my research findings about discordant relationships, which at times reached hostility and challenged notions that social mix is harmonious. I analyse these findings with attention to inequitable power structures that exists based on race, class, and gender, and which can threaten low-income residents' sense of place.

The City of Vancouver (2014a) claimed that poverty is the most important overarching issue for the majority of DTES residents. Poverty, they explained, is not just defined by income level, but is an experience “of compounding layers, often generational, and includes economic pressure, feeling of being beaten down, food insecurity, lack of adequate housing, mental distress/illness/addictions, physical ill health, social marginalization” (p. 19). The City recognized the problems that conditions of poverty produced, however they did not recognize a solution. The wealth gap between people living in poverty and affluent people has been steadily rising since the 1970s, producing greater polarization (Yalnizyan, 2007) and, despite the relentless poverty it seems low-income residents are expected to face, the city still aimed for harmonious relationships over a wealth gap between low- and high-income residents (City of Vancouver, 2014b).

Other studies show that even when affordable housing was protected in social-mix aims, a cohesive community was not attained (Curran, 2018; Hyra, 2015; Pederson, 2009; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Walks & Maaranen, 2008). Social mix initiatives did not relieve poverty within the neighbourhood, thus they were not able to relieve polarization to produce a cohesive community (Rose et al., 2012). Although the City of Vancouver's (2014a) Social Impact Assessment (SIA) reported that it is important for vulnerable residents to have harmonious

relationships with new residents, my findings reveal that social polarization blocked harmonious relationships—as in other cities.

Consistent with the literature, my key findings revealed that as high-income residents increased in the DTES, low-income residents experienced deep social polarization within their neighbourhood. Polarization was marked by upscale condominiums next to run-down single-room-occupancy hotels; high-end shops that are completely unattainable for low-income residents, regardless how hard they work; and gates around condominiums. These markers of polarization profoundly affected some low-income residents. For example, one research participant said, “I scrape by, and right beside me is a store that sells lamps for \$10 to \$20 thousand dollars. Like, I find it truly offensive that that store is down here.” This participant illustrated the demoralizing effect of social polarization, which was expressed by several participants.

My research suggests that the polarization between the income groups resulted in discordant relationships. None of the research participants in my study mentioned a meaningful relationship, mutual aid, or even described a positive encounter with a new high-income neighbour. However, some low-income residents described instances when they or other low-income residents in their community were misjudged as thieves, assumed to be sex workers available for hire, publicly humiliated, and invasively watched and recorded. Discussions from focus groups in my study revealed experiences of being judged, discriminated against, and mocked. My findings also showed that greater discord appeared in areas of greater social mix.

I argue that due to the power imbalance between low- and high-income groups, low-income residents would be most impacted by discordant relationships. Though each group may judge the other, as was noted by a research participant: “there’s power asymmetry, so our

judgements don't affect them, but their judgements sure as hell affect us." High-income earners have greater influence on which projects will be developed in the neighbourhood, as was exemplified in the Blood Alley redesign and the 58 West Hastings development. High-income residents also have influence on who has access to public spaces, as was exemplified by the presence of police who, as some research participants expressed, "move along" low-income residents for the benefit of high-income consumers and businesses. One research participant illustrated the power, and the threat, high-income residents in the DTES bring:

and they're going to complain that when people sleep on the street they're not going to want them there, and they're going to say they feel unsafe and 'cause the neighbourhood; and they're going to want to change the neighbourhood and I feel that's unfair because it'd be like us going into a high-end neighbourhood, y'know, and trying to kick them out, y'know. (focus group 4)

Polarized, discordant relationships in the DTES social mix are asymmetrical. Furthermore, the power imbalance produced an environment where low-income residents experienced a threat to their entitlement to space in the DTES.

Focus groups illustrated polarization and discordance when they talked about high-income residents living in segregated condos behind a private gate, secluded from the community, or living in the same building as them in mixed-income housing, but remaining disconnected. However, one research focus group in my study illustrated how tensions are mounting in the discordant relationships between low- and high-income residents, which they fear could escalate:

"They make themselves feel better about themselves, but for somebody that's trying to make a living, that's doing everything they can to make a dollar so they can eat, like, y'know."

"But they'll come, and they'll make disparaging remarks and jokes like they think that person doesn't get it, y'know."

"They're going to say something to the wrong person at the wrong time and one of these hipsters is going to end up [pause]; and that going to be unfortunate because when that happens, that will then change the situation down here where suddenly then—"

“It’s not going to be so cool.”

“Then we’ll be seen as a threat down here. Right now, we’re just a nuisance.”

“Well put.”

“But, um, when something like that happens then we will be an outright threat. We’ll be dangerous.” (focus group 2)

This focus group illustrated exasperation from being insulted and disrespected by high-income people in the neighbourhood. Again, the power imbalance is evident, as the fear of consequences of an escalated discordant relationship is expected to fall heavier on the low-income population.

My research findings suggest that social polarization and discordant relationships has occurred in social mix. These findings are unsurprising in a contemporary neoliberal environment that steadily advances a wealth gap (Yalnizyan, 2007), yet is important to pay attention due to the power imbalance between the income groups. Participants in my study illustrated how some high-income residents carry misconceptions and hostility toward low-income residents; furthermore, high-income residents carry the power to displace low-income residents from public spaces and the neighbourhood.

4.2.3 Summary

Findings from the focus groups in my research demonstrated experiences of social polarization. Income levels, as well as access to power, differed significantly between low-income and high-income residents in the DTES. High-income residents and businesses that cater to them had immense influence on the design of the neighbourhood and who had access to goods, services, and public spaces; the outcome was marginalization of low-income residents, who for decades had built an accessible neighbourhood. For some of the research participants in this study, high-income residents played a seemingly inconsequential part in in day-to-day life; for others, the chasm between the income levels resulted in experiences of exclusion and the swift loss of a place they used to be just as entitled to.

In this chapter I discussed one of the three key themes of my research findings: the increase of social polarization in social mix. The conversion of affordable stores into exclusive, high-end businesses contributed to a socially polarized neighbourhood and the subsequent marginalization of low-income residents. Discordant, polarized relationships, which, due to the power imbalance, threatened low-income residents' place in the neighbourhood. In the next section, I will discuss the strong community connections that continue in the social mix, and why that is important.

4.3.0 Strong Community Connections

In this section I will discuss the third key theme from my research findings: strong community connections. First, I will show that my findings are consistent with the literature. Then, I will discuss how strong community connections in the DTES fostered safety, Indigenous People's culture, and resistance to gentrification.

4.3.1 Sense of Community

The City of Vancouver (2014) Social Impact Assessment identified that for over 70 years the DTES was a predominantly low-income and working-class neighbourhood. They reached the same conclusions as Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP) mapping project: that DTES low-income residents have a strong sense of community, and feel accepted and at home (City of Vancouver, 2014a; Pedersen, 2009). My study shows that despite the increase of polarization and displacement in the neighbourhood, low-income residents continue to have a sense of belonging and community.

4.3.2 Safety Needs Community

In this section I will discuss how community connections foster safety and are necessary for low-income residents. I will begin with discussing how low-income residents developed community through shared experiences. Then I discuss groups in the DTES who face a risk of harm, followed by a discussion about the lack of confidence in the provision of safety from police and private security. Finally, I will discuss my findings from focus groups that suggest low-income residents are finding safety among their community.

The sense of community among low-income residents in the DTES was strong because people shared similar experiences. They shopped in the same stores, used the same services, and worked and volunteered together. They shared experiences of living on low incomes, the struggles with poverty and discrimination. Many shared experiences living with mental illness, addictions, or disabilities. They also shared knowledge about personal survival and community living in the DTES. Many considered themselves family, who shared the good times and the bad times. Through these shared experiences, low-income residents in the DTES knew how to support one another, help each other, and keep each other safe. Although the City of Vancouver (2014a) recognized community assets of inclusion, belonging, and safety I argue, based on my research, that low-income residents feel safe *because* of one another, their friends, and their community.

Findings from my research indicate that low-income residents who are homeless or are sex workers are at a high risk of harm, as illustrated by the following statements from focus groups:

If you're by yourself and you're out there and you don't have a place to stay, it's a lot easier to make suggestions than it is to actually being out there, because every time you lay your head down and close your eyes, you're vulnerable. (focus group 3)

Second, "right there in Crab Park, there were 24 women raped and brutally attacked, and before

Pickton . . . it was ‘you were a dead junky whore’ and that’s why the cops didn’t give a shit.”
(focus group 2).

Moreover, the intersecting oppressions affecting Indigenous women increase their risk of experiencing violence (Smith A. , 2005). Since the 1980s, over 60 women who did sex work were murdered or went missing from the DTES, and sex workers continue to be at high risk of harm and abuse (Janssen, Gibson, Bowen, Spittal, & Peterson, 2009).

In the DTES LAP, the city aimed to implement recommendations from the report of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry and the city’s Task Force on Sex Work and Sexual Exploitation (City of Vancouver, 2014b). The city’s report recognized that women and sex workers face safety concerns due to prevalent experiences of violence, racism, harassment, and abuse. The City of Vancouver (2014) agreed that Indigenous women are at greater risk of violence than other groups. However, according to my study, the increase of social mix in the DTES is not serving to increase safety.

There were Indigenous women in this study who felt safer in Tent City than in the affordable housing available to them. The social housing available prohibited guests, including family. Given these findings, the city’s LAP is not supporting Indigenous women. In Crenshaw’s theory of intersectionality, she explains “problems of exclusion cannot be solved by simply including Black women within an already established analytical structure because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Likewise, Indigenous women’s experiences around safety cannot be understood in the city’s crime reports or protected by universalized guest restrictions. My research reveals a lack of appropriate, culturally safe housing options for Indigenous women. Further increase of high-

income residents into the social mix further reduces housing options, and thus furthers the risk of harm Indigenous women face.

Onlookers driving through the DTES may perceive a dangerous neighbourhood because the street life is busy with substance use and low-income residents are pursued by the police. It is important to challenge common perceptions about crime and safety and discuss the real dangers people in the DTES face. Conclusions from community groups, the City of Vancouver (2014a), and findings from my research concur that low-income residents of the DTES face risk of harm from racialized and gender violence, prohibition, police harassment, lack of safe places to go, and from people outside of their community (Pederson & Swanson, 2009).

CCAP's report revealed that vulnerable populations felt that private security guards interacted with them in a way that they experienced harassment rather than safety; thus, CCAP recommended peer safety patrols, and low-income residents educating police and mentoring community leaders (Pederson & Swanson, 2009). Peer-led safety measures proved effective in the case of the Mobile Access Project (MAP Van). In 2016, over 90% of clients surveyed who accessed the MAP Van said it made them feel safer on the street (Janssen et al., 2009).

Similarly, my study reveals that low-income residents lack conventional access to safety measures from police or security guards; instead, they rely on one another. Some participants explained that when they tried to get help from police, they encountered indifference or disbelief in their story. Other experiences with the police included harassment and being told to "move along." One participant said that a new store, which catered to mid-income clientele, would call the police to move people out of an alcove which low-income residents had utilized for years as a place of refuge and safety. Some participants also described experiences of being racially

profiled and physically assaulted by security guards. Links between social mix and an increase of this kind of policing were also expressed in the focus groups.

Consistent with prior studies, my research revealed that the streets or accommodations operated by “slumlords,” who neglect to maintain their buildings, are unsafe conditions to live in (Pederson & Swanson, 2009). There are several buildings notorious for violence, pest infestations, and abuse from landlords in the DTES. Most of the participants in the focus group expressed that their foremost safety measure in those environments was one another, their neighbours, and their friends and families.

While most participants interviewed continue to have a strong sense of community, one participant from the western, more gentrified, side of the DTES revealed that the sense of community was compromised by seeing “waves of different people coming and going” and feeling like there were “barely a few of us left down here . . . now it’s everyone for themselves.” This participant demonstrated that without an “us,” people need to fend for themselves. Therefore, an increase of high-income residents in a social mix risks the most fundamental part for low-income resident safety. If residents lose their neighbours due to displacement with the rise of social mix, their safety may be compromised.

In this section I described how low-income residents developed a supportive community through mutual experiences. I also discussed how some populations, such as people who are homeless, women whose job is sex work, and Indigenous women, are disproportionately at risk of violence. I contextualized Indigenous women’s experiences in the intersection of gender and colonial oppression, and suggest that solving the oppression requires different analytic structures than typical ones based on crime and policing. Findings from my research suggest that low-income resident rely on one another for safety, hence displacement due to social mix can

jeopardize low-income safety measures. In the next section about the key theme of strong community connections, I will discuss Indigenous People's culture in the DTES.

4.3.3 Indigenous Culture in DTES

As discussed in the literature chapter, the DTES is on unceded Coast Salish territory. The first Indigenous communities included the Musqueam, the Tsleil-Wauthuth, and the Squamish First Nations (City of Vancouver, 2014b). In 1763 the Royal Proclamation of October was issued by King George III and explicitly recognized that Indigenous People's land ownership, title, and authority would continue under British sovereignty; according to this proclamation, the Crown could only acquire lands through treaties (Government of Canada; Province of BC; City of Vancouver, 2003). Colonial settlers did not receive Vancouver's Downtown Eastside through treaties, and thus the area remains to Indigenous title. However, Indigenous People's rights to the land largely goes unrecognized and, according to Taiaiake Alfred, "lacking treaty relations, British Columbia remains—'in a perpetual colonialism-resistance dynamic'" (as cited in Boykoff, 2011, p. 47).

The effects of colonization and the attempted genocide of Indigenous People themselves, their language, and their culture is well documented (Fournier & Crey, 1997; Frideres & Gadacz, 2005) and contemporary endeavours like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission attempt to educate the public about the impacts of residential schools (University of Manitoba, n.d.). The City of Vancouver's (2014) Social Impact Assessment recognized the importance of conserving Indigenous People's cultural aspects in the neighbourhood, to maintain their connection to the area and to ensure the availability of cultural education and learning for Indigenous residents. Moreover, the city recognized that Indigenous residents should be able to access social services and health care that support Indigenous cultural needs. CCAP offered an expansive

understanding of Indigenous People's needs and included the importance of connection to lands, waters, heritage, and spiritual practices in the DTES (Pedersen & Swanson, 2010), which reflect what the area needs to counter the 12 dimensions of Indigenous homelessness (Thistle, 2017).

Findings from my research suggest that people connect with culture and spiritual practices in many places and in many ways in the DTES. Indigenous culture is present throughout the neighbourhood; as one participant said, "just even in the streets you have people walking around with drums and singing, and sweet grass" (focus group 3). The list of places where research participants said they connect with their culture include: Culture Saves Lives, The Dudes Club, Native Health, Neighbourhood House, Aboriginal Front Door, Carnegie, VANDU, PHS, the 44, and Pigeon Park. Indigenous women who participated in this research provided leadership in community organizing and advocacy, as well as operated drop-in centres and other programs.

The centrality of Indigenous People's culture in the DTES is more noticeable than most other neighbourhoods in Vancouver. It appeared that the increase of high-income residents in the social mix had not diminished this centrality. At the same time, the increase of social mix did not advance decolonization and instead reproduced settler domination of the land and waters. The encroachment of high-income settlers, and the resultant loss of space, particularly in the Oppenheimer Park area, could lead to multiple dimensions of Indigenous homelessness.

In this section I explained that the Indigenous People of Coast Salish have title to the lands and water the DTES is on. The preservation and centralizing of Indigenous culture are important to counter negative colonial impacts. My findings suggest that Indigenous presence is strong in the DTES and does not seem to be diminished by social mix, however, social mix strategies fail to recognize Indigenous title or support decolonization. Rather, social mix

reproduces settler dominance and could contribute to multiple dimensions of Indigenous homelessness if high-income residents encroach further.

4.3.4 Community Resistance

In this section of the key theme of strong community connections, I highlight the efforts and achievements of low-income community resistance that pushes back gentrification. Curran (2018) drew attention to how gentrification does not go uncontested. She argued that those contentions from community shape neighbourhoods into an “uneven landscape of gentrification” (p. 1711), which lessen the extent of harms. Likewise, the uneven landscape in the DTES social mix has been the result of persistent activism, community visioning, holding landlords accountable to illegal evictions, and other such acts of resistance that has forced governments to take notice that for DTES low-income residents, high-end developments are an invasion.

One research participant from a focus group in my study illustrated community resistance in this way:

We protested. We shut down the Main Street, and we shut down Hastings, and there must have been at least over 30 or 40 of us on the street, and we wanted social housing, and we didn't want SROs, and said no to the condos that are coming up in the community, and, y'know, that's one way of getting your voice out there and making people aware. (focus group 4)

This quote illustrates that there are low-income residents who speak out for better affordable-housing options and fight to stop high-cost condominium developments. I suggest that the connections and cohesion of the low-income community in the DTES make these acts of resistance possible, and these acts of resistance further connect the low-income community to one another.

4.3.5 Community Connections: Summary

In this chapter I discussed one of three key themes from my research: strong community connections. Through consistency in the literature and findings from my study, I showed that low-income residents in the DTES have built strong connections and a strong Indigenous community, despite social mix. Low-income residents rely on one another; furthermore, they need to rely on each other for safety, which is important because the DTES is home to populations that are at high risk of experiencing harm. Through various acts of resistance, the community challenges gentrifying harms.

4.4 Discussion Summary

This chapter highlighted that housing is a human right yet, due to the lack of affordable housing in Vancouver, is difficult to secure. Accounts from my study's focus groups suggest that displacement of low-income residents from their homes occurred in the DTES as a result of social mix, and created conditions for homelessness as well as multiple dimensions of Indigenous homelessness. A diminished range of housing also occurred due to social mix, which often constricted low-income residents into supported housing impacting their freedoms to gather and be with their families. Consultations for new developments did not centre low-income residents, even though the neighbourhood was predominately low-income. Nevertheless, public demonstrations by low-income earners brought attention to problematic definitions of social housing. According to the LAP, social housing only requires that one-third of rentals be at income-assistance rates, meanwhile demonstrators expressed their needs for 100% income assistance-rate social housing.

In addition to displacement from housing, social mix resulted in displacement of affordable stores. The rise of unaffordability in the DTES produced an environment of

marginalization of low-income residents and negated the community's efforts and achievements that had built an accessible community. This chapter also highlighted the discordant relationships between the polarized income groups. Contextualized in inequality based on race, gender, class, and abilities, the imbalance of power in discordant relationships allowed high-income residents to displace low-income residents. Low-income residents' strong connections kept one another safe. Since the DTES is home to groups that face racial, gender, colonial, and class oppressions and violence, I argued that is important to attend to how low-income residents in the DTES find safety and the risks social mix can bring.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This case study sought to better understand the experiences of low-income residents in an escalating social-mix neighbourhood. The case was Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) on unceded Coast Salish territories, where in 2014 the city had approved a social mix strategy, along with Social Impact Objectives, to mitigate gentrifying harms to low-income residents. The research neighbourhood included personal observations and those of four focus groups, with a total of 24 low-income residents from the DTES. I used a thematic analysis with the discussions from the focus groups and identified three key themes: 1) Displacement: when high-income earners increased in the social mix, displacement of low-income residents from their homes occurred in the neighbourhood; 2) Social Polarization and Discord: the relationships between residents of low incomes and high incomes were polarized and discordant in the social mix, and subsequently the experiences of marginalization and threat of displacement was experienced by low-income residents; and 3) Strong Community Connections: despite the negative impacts of social mix, low-income residents continued to build a strong community, which fostered safety, sense of belonging, and opportunities.

My research suggests that after three years since the Local Area Plan (LAP) and its social-mix strategy was approved, strong community connections between low-income residents and a strong Indigenous community remain intact in the DTES. However, like typical harms of gentrification, social mix in the DTES also resulted in significantly less affordable housing, range of housing, and accessible stores and services. Moreover, the increased social polarization between low and high incomes resulted in marginalization within the neighbourhood for at least some of the low-income residents in this study. Though social mix is not exactly like typical processes of gentrification, which results in mass displacement of low-income communities, assurances that social mix is beneficial for low-income residents appears unfounded in this case.

I recommend, firstly, that the City of Vancouver examine the discrepancies between the objectives to create benefits for all DTES residents through social mix and the realities of displacement and marginalization that this study suggests are occurring. Social mix has not proven to be a solution for poverty in the DTES, or beyond. Instead, the movement of affluent people into a predominately low-income neighbourhood accentuates poverty. Urban planning that aims to improve the city for all must consider that problems from poverty worsen when a neighbourhood becomes increasingly costly to live in. Therefore, secondly, I recommend a tri-government approach to address the wealth gap in the region with sustainable strategies such as a basic income program or adequate social assistance that would ensure community members would be able to afford to remain in their neighbourhood.

I cannot say whether urban planners in the DTES were motivated to pursue social mix to attract a creative class with high purchasing power to a trendy, edgy neighbourhood. Conceivably, the predominately low-income community could have successfully curtailed gentrification through acts of resistance and maintained their place in the neighbourhood. Possibly, urban planners deeply care about gender inequalities, colonial and racial oppressions, and the resulting harms to marginalized groups, but simply created a myopic plan. The motivations of urban planners who pursue social mix, and those who approve social mix plans, could be studied further to gain a better understanding as to why these social mix plans are being implemented.

The gaze can also be shifted from investigating experiences of low-income residents onto the experiences of mid- and high-income residents in social mix. One of the research participants in this study said, “like, they don’t understand the politics down here” about high-income residents who moved into apartments from where low-income residents were displaced. What

are the experiences of high-income residents when they move into a predominately low-income neighbourhood? Are they aware of displacement, polarization, and marginalization? What are their visions for a social mix in the neighbourhood? Do the visions of high-income residents in social mix align with the urban planners' vision of harmony and low-income residents' needs to protect affordability and access to public spaces? Insights from researching high-income residents could, perhaps, offer better predictors of how social mix may gentrify a neighbourhood, as well place responsibility on privileged classes to speak about the inequality they participate in.

Since this study is for a Master of Social Work, I suggest that social work practice supports acts of resistance to displacement. Social workers can reach out to community groups and ask what kind of support they need. Social workers can offer to do the following, if organizations agree it would be useful: request information about developments and notes from community consultations through The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPPA); analyse how zoning changes impact affordable housing and stores; pressure governments to provide adequate income assistance and housing funds; go to community consultations and demonstrations, and stand in solidarity and take notes; or write an opinion editorial for a major newspaper. I suggest there is time and place for this kind activist work for social workers.

This study reveals that while the city has protected affordable housing stock, they are also encouraging the increase of mid- and high-income residents to the neighbourhood. The resulting increase of high-income residents in the social mix diminished range of housing, and increased displacement, renovictions, and homelessness in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the tensions, judgments, rudeness, apathy, and at times hate experienced by low-income residents are indications that social mix is not producing a harmonious and cohesive community. The

displacement of affordable shops for grossly unaffordable high-end businesses reflect the stark social polarization between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ in this social mix landscape. Given these outcomes of social mix, it is not surprising the low-income residents continue to protest gentrifying developments. Findings from this research show that there are benefits of having predominantly low-income areas and, conclusively, this research supports local community efforts to slow the growth of social mix and to sustain, then increase, 100% income assistant rate buildings in the DTES.

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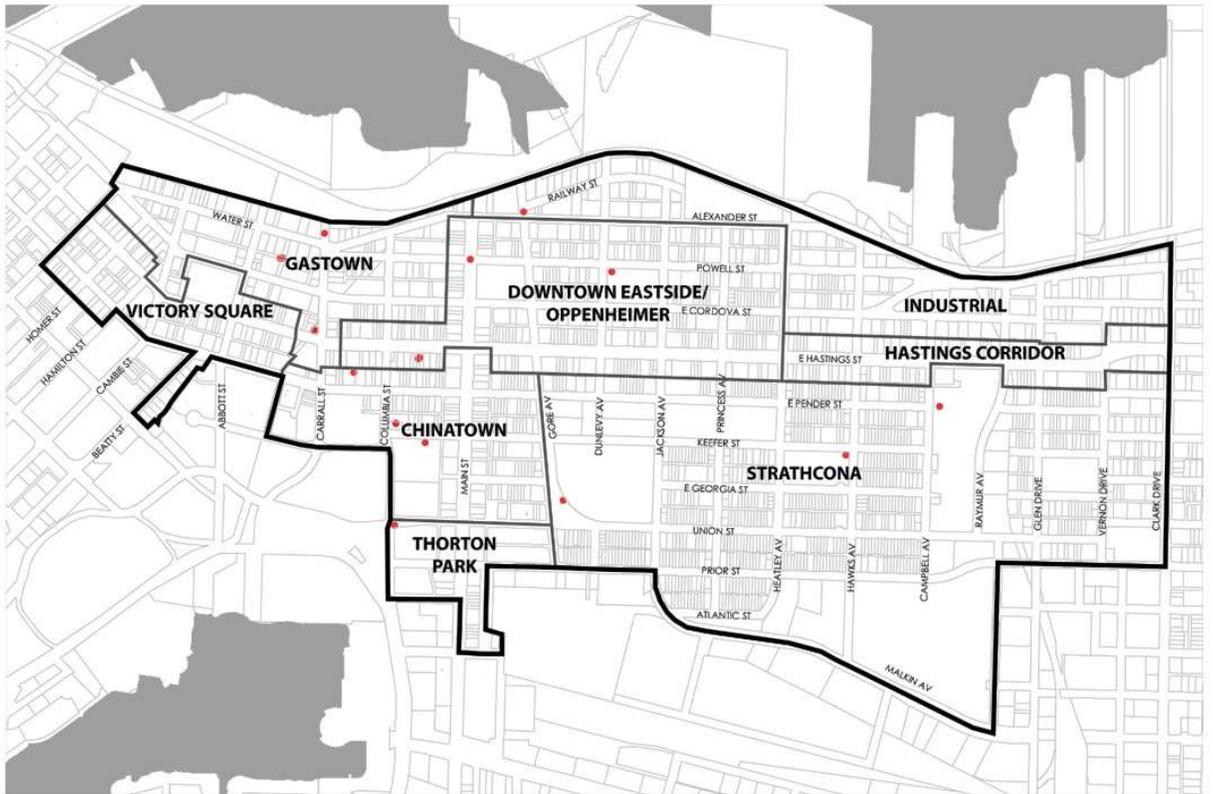
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Appendix A: Map of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside



Retrieved from *The Mainlander*, Ivan Drury (2013)

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

School of Social Work

University of Victoria

PO Box 1700 STN CSC

Victoria BC V8W 2Y2

Phone: 250-721-8036

Fax: 250-721-6228

Participant Consent Form

There Goes the Neighbourhood: Experiences of Social Mix Policies and Gentrification

You are invited to participate in a study entitled There Goes the Neighbourhood: Experiences of Social Mix Policies and Gentrification that is being conducted by Valerie Edelman.

Valerie Edelman is a Master's student in the department of Social Work at the University of Victoria, and you may contact her if you have further questions by calling 506-261-7355 or emailing vedelman@uvic.ca

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in Master of Social Work. It is being conducted under the supervision of Leslie Brown. You may contact my supervisor at 250-508-0678.

Purpose and Objectives

The City of Vancouver is developing incentives for high-income earners to move into the Downtown Eastside. Some say it's better for everyone. Some have protested and say these policies is just gentrification with a different name. We need to hear more from the people who have low incomes who live in the neighbourhood. We need to hear how people are being affected. Housing and community is so important to people's lives, and the city needs to be accountable if their policies are causing harm. They also need to know what works well, so they can do more of it.

Importance of this Research

The City of Vancouver is not the only place getting high-income earners to move into low-income neighbourhoods. This is happening across North America. There are a lot of assumptions that support urban planning policies, but policies need to be based on actual experiences, not assumptions. This research is an opportunity to provide information to city planners and advocates to help guide their decisions.

Participants Selection

You are being asked to participate in this study because you live in the DTES, earn a low income, and may be affected by social mix developments and/or gentrification.

What is Involved

If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include filling out a form with your age, gender, ethnicity, if you have disabilities or if you have addictions, and if you're currently working and/or volunteering. After, you will be asked to participate in a group discussion about the DTES and share your thoughts about the increase of mixed income living in the neighbourhood, and your experiences. There will be some questions to discuss topics associated with social mix and gentrification. We ask you to participate for 1 hour. You will receive a \$20 honorarium at the end of the discussion.

Your voice will be taped, and the researcher will write notes too. A transcription will be made and Valerie Edelman will use the transcription to write an analysis about social mix developments and gentrification. Her analysis will be presented to the University of Victoria School of Social Work.

Inconvenience

Participation in a 1 hour discussion may cause some inconvenience to you.

Risks

You are anonymous in the research, but your privacy cannot be guaranteed from others in the focus group.

Please keep in mind the limits to confidentiality before disclosing personal information.

The group will be asked to keep it a safe space, and the researcher may shut down language that is homophobic, transphobic, or racist because those things cause harm.

Benefits

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include:

An opportunity to discuss your neighbourhood with your peers

Your knowledge can be used to guide advocates and city planners

Your knowledge will be included and others will be able to learn from you.

Compensation

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given \$20. If you consent to participate in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would not participate if the compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data will be destroyed and omitted from the final analysis and paper. If you withdraw after you have already received \$20 compensation, you do not have to return it. If you withdraw before you receive the compensation, you will not receive the compensation.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity, your name will not be included in the final paper.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by password protected computers that are only used by primary investigator.

Dissemination of Results

The final analysis will be presented to the School of Social Work. All participants like yourself can have a copy. A copy will also be offered to Carnegie Community Action Project, PIVOT Legal Society, Aboriginal Front Door, and the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council (MVAEC). The final analysis will be available to anyone who wants it.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will be disposed of after the final paper receives approval from the School of Social Work, unless permission is granted below to keep for future studies. All data on the computer will be deleted and all data on paper will be shredded, unless permission is granted below to keep for future studies.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include

Researcher: Valerie Edelman 506-261-7355

Supervisor: Leslie Brown 250-508-0678

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix D: Certificate of Approval



Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
 Administrative Services Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
 T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | uvic.ca/research | ethics@uvic.ca

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Valerya Edelman	ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER 17-104 Minimal Risk Review - Delegated
UVic STATUS: Master's Student	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE: 12-Apr-17
UVic DEPARTMENT: SOCW	APPROVED ON: 12-Apr-17
SUPERVISOR: Dr. Leslie Brown	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE: 11-Apr-18

PROJECT TITLE: There Goes the Neighbourhood: Outcomes of Social Mix Policies and Gentrification

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBER: None

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: None

CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

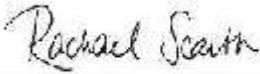
Modifications
 To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.

Renewals
 Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.

Project Closures
 When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.



 Dr. Rachael Scarth
 Associate Vice-President Research Operations

Certificate Issued On: 12-Apr-17

17-104
 Edelman, Valerya

Appendix E: Rental Advertisement, Hastings Street

CL vancouver, BC > vancouver > housing > apts/housing for rent

Contact Information:

\$1800 / 1br - 450ft² - Fully Furnished one bedroom (138 E. Hastings)

image 2 of 13



1BR / 1Ba 450ft² available mar 1

dogs are OK - woof

furnished

condo

w/d in unit

no smoking

attached garage

FULLY FURNISHED 1 BEDROOM APARTMENT CLOSE TO HISTORIC GASTOWN, CHINATOWN AND DOWNTOWN.

THIS IS VANCOUVER'S FASTEST DEVELOPING NEIGHBORHOOD WITH EXCELLENT ACCESS TO PUBLIC TRANSIT, DOWNTOWN SCHOOLS, JUST STEPS AWAY FROM SOME OF THE CITY'S BEST DINING, TINSELTOWN, COSTCO, STADIUMS.

FEATURES: 450 sq. feet. South facing, 4th floor
 1 bedroom
 1 bathroom
 Washer/dryer combo unit
 Stainless Frigidaire range and mounted Frigidaire microwave
 Integrated Bloomberg Fridge
 White Corian countertops
 Fully equipped kitchen with generous storage
 Queen size bed with linens
 Pax wardrobe unit
 9 foot ceilings
 Wolf grey flooring
 Original art
 Ample storage throughout
 Wall mounted 42" smart TV
 Hydro and strata fees included
 Secure underground parking included

QR Code Link to This Post



Appendix F: Neighbourhood Photos



Development Site (2015)



Gate in front of condominium that is across the street from Insite, supervised injection site (July, 2017)



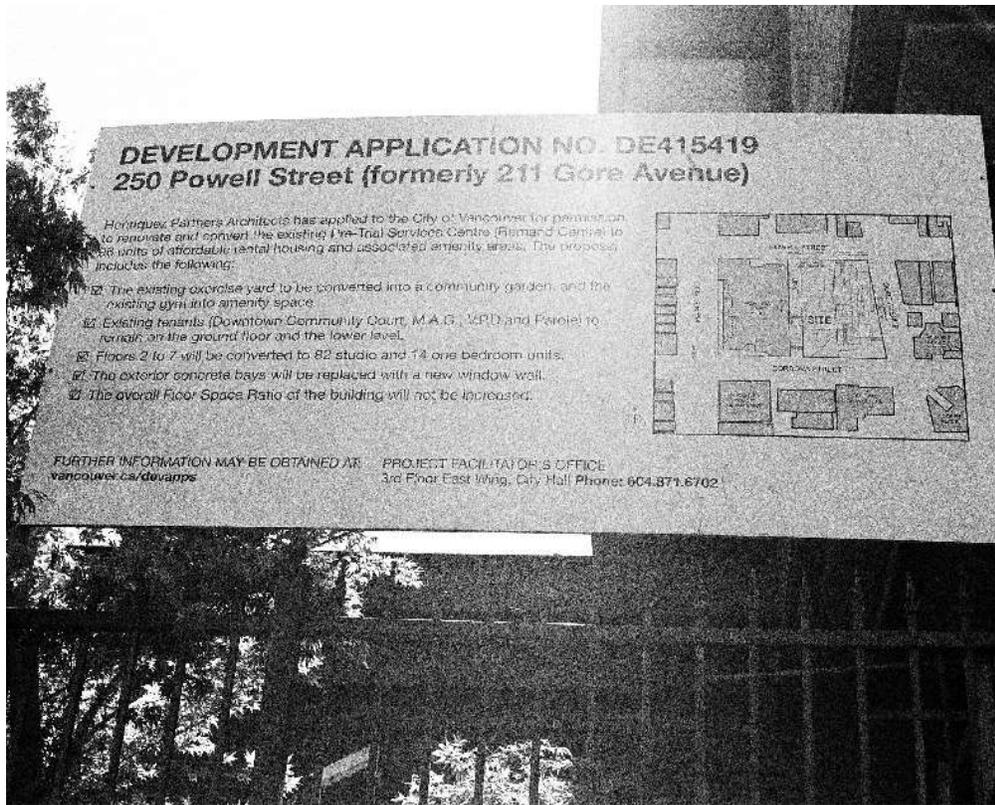
High-end boutique (July, 2017)



High-end boutique (2015).



Development site (July, 2017)



Development site (2015)

DEVELOPMENT APPLICATION NO. DE418612
215 Main Street (formerly 211 Main Street)

Robert Turecki Architect has applied to the City of Vancouver for permission to construct a two-storey plus basement building, consisting of:

- restaurant use and retail use on the main floor;
- 6 dwelling units on the 2nd floor;
- a total Floor Space Ratio (FSR) of 1.0 (approximately 6000 square feet); and
- provision of 6 parking spaces and 1 loading space.

Further Information May Be Obtained At:
vancouver.ca/devapps

Project Coordinator's Office
 1st Floor, West Annex, City Hall, Phone 604.873.6036

The site plan diagram shows a rectangular lot bounded by Powell Street to the north, Main Street to the east, and a Lane to the west. The lot is divided into several sections. A north arrow is located in the top right corner of the plan. The lot number 215 is indicated on the eastern boundary.

Development site (2015)



Site of previous supported housing and shelter in Blood Alley (July, 2017)



Building for sale (2015)



Across the street from Oppenheimer Park, on Powell Street (2015)



Low-cost housing (2015)



Low-cost housing (2015)



Condominiums



New Development (2015)



Hildon Hotel, rooms rent starting from \$400-\$600 (Swanson et al. 2018)



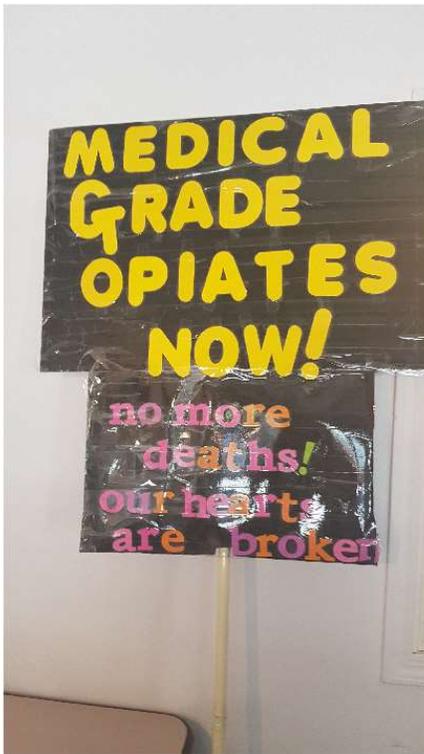
Crossfit gym next to shelter (2015)



New Developments (2015)



Patrol cars (2015)



Placard for harm reduction (2015)



PHS Community Thrift and Vintage, social enterprise (2015)



PHS East Van Roasters, social enterprise (2015)



Patricia Hotel, with Pat's Pub (2015)



Carnegie Community Centre board of activities, 2017



A café below single rooms that start at \$600-\$800 per month, which had previously had been rented for \$400 (Swanson, Mugabo & Chan, 2018)



Princess Rooms, supported housing (2015)



Downtown Community Health Centre (2015)



Lana Lou's live music venue and eatery on Powell Street (2015)



Memorial poster, with ceremony information (2015)



Indigenous community art, 2017



Totem poles at one of the entrances to Oppenheimer Park



Trees in Oppenheimer Park



DTES resident's pet rabbit at Oppenheimer Park (2015)

Table 1: Demographics

Demographic Characteristics of Study Sample

Characteristics	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus group 3	Focus group 4
Gender				
Male	5	3	3	0
Female	1	2	7	3
Transgender	0	0	0	0
Nonbinary	0	0	0	0
Age				
> 65 years	0	0	0	0
Ethnicity				
Indigenous	5	1	7	3
White & Indigenous	1	1	0	0
Jewish & Indigenous	0	1	0	0
Irish	0	1	0	0
European/White	0	0	3	0
Disabilities				
Lives with Disability	6	4	7	0
Substance use				
Lives with addiction	6	5	10	3
Occupation status				
Employed	3	4	5	2
Volunteers	4	1	5	0
Type of residence				
SRO	3	2	3	0
Apartment	1	4	5	0
Shelter	3	0	1	1
Streets	0	0	0	3

Family/ friends	0	0	0	1
Years living in the DTES				
< 2	1	0	0	0
2-5	2	0	3	0
6-10	1	1	1	0
11-20		3		0
21+	1	1	1	
Did not answer	2	0	5	3