

Public Policy and Gentrification in the Grandview Woodland Neighbourhood of
Vancouver, B.C.

by

Paul Kasman
B.A., University of Western Ontario, 2007

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
in the School of Public Administration

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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The Grandview Woodland local area of Vancouver, British Columbia, is an area in transition. Retail, demographic, residential occupancy, and changes to built structures indicate that gentrification has escalated in the past seven years. Long standing impediments to gentrification, including industrial manufacturing, social housing, and crime, are not deterring change in this area to the extent they once did. This thesis examines how public policy has affected these changes in Grandview Woodland.

Public policies embodied in laws and regulations have the capacity to either encourage or dissuade gentrification; however, other variables also influence gentrification making it difficult to determine the importance and influence of public policy in the process. This thesis uses semi-structured interviews and a document review in a case study of Grandview Woodland, to gain a better understanding of how public policies can influence gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded.

The findings from this study suggest that public policies can have a substantial, but not autonomous, effect on gentrification in such an area. In Grandview Woodland, policy makers facilitate gentrification through city-wide and province-wide policies, including zoning changes, the Strata Title Act, and the Residential Tenancy Act. While these public policies have streamlined the advance of gentrification in Grandview Woodland, the

catalysts for gentrification are the wider national trend of increased popularity of inner-city living, and the middle class moving eastwards in search of affordable homes in response to the massive property value increases in Vancouver's West Side.

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In 2013, Dr. Kimberly Speers believed in a distance student she'd never met. Since then, I have relied on your patience and wisdom, draft after draft, email and after email. I am very proud of what we have achieved.

Dedication

For Margaret Rose Cross, who taught me to write, who taught me to care.

Chapter 1.0. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

As a result of worldwide urbanization, globalization, and migration, gentrification is becoming an increasingly important issue. While there are many definitions of gentrification, Hackworth eloquently defines it as “the production of space for progressively more affluent users” (2002, p. 815). As gentrification advances in Canadian cities, it has expanded beyond the confines of scholarly discussion and has become a concern among governments, community associations, and the general public. This overall sense of uncertainty about the effects of gentrification adds urgency to the need to understand what propels and who regulates gentrification.

Public policy can have far-reaching powers to influence variables related to gentrification. Public policy is “a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems” (Pal, 2010, p. 2). An extreme example of the impact of public policy on gentrification is the rapid gentrification of central Moscow following the change from the Communist central-planning public policies of the Soviet era to the market economy and pro-development policies of the post-Soviet era (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005, p. 114, 118-119, p. 126). After the Soviet era, central-planning policies that encouraged social mix and moderated the service sector gave way to free-market policies that allow social stratification and commercialization (p. 114). Gentrification in Canadian cities is taking place in circumstances of comparatively little public policy change, but as found in this thesis, policy still plays an important role in shaping gentrification.

In Vancouver, British Columbia, one of Canada’s largest cities, drastic real estate

value increases started around 2002 (*Residential Average Sale Prices - January 1977 to February 2013*, Telf) and have put pressure on the middle class to find affordable homes. This has increasingly led the middle class to areas such as East Vancouver, an area historically shunned by Vancouver's middle and upper classes. This area has been and continues to be populated by low-income and working class residents; however, this area is now becoming gentrified, and different classes are co-existing in a sometimes uneasy manner.

Within East Vancouver, there are a number of distinct communities, including Grandview Woodland (Grandview) (see Appendix A). From the 1970's through to current times, this community has been viewed by various city officials and journalists as a likely candidate for gentrification because of its affordability in an expensive real estate market (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2487-88). Yet Grandview has historically experienced little gentrification. As recently as 2005, the City of Vancouver's budget described it as one "of the poorest communities in Canada" (Murray, 2011, para. 42). Ley & Dobson (2008) identified three impediments in Grandview that constrained gentrification: high levels of crime, a significant amount of social housing, and the presence of active industrial manufacturing (p. 2488, 2490, 2493-2494).

In concluding their study looking at the lack of gentrification in Grandview between 1971 and 2008, Ley & Dobson (2008) questioned whether the "antipathy to gentrification can be sustained much longer as reinvestment pressures become ever more formidable" (p. 2481). In the seven years since this study was released, gentrification has escalated in Grandview, as proven by the upscale condominium developments, retail gentrification, and demographic changes discussed in the Findings chapters below. The

interplay between public policy, real estate value changes, and the impediments to gentrification in Grandview present an interesting case study into gentrification processes and the manner in which public policy is involved in the process. This study aims to gain a better understanding of how public policies have influenced gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded.

1.2 Background and Historical Context

This section provides some historical context for the industrial manufacturing, social housing, and criminal elements that have long impeded gentrification in Grandview Woodland. This information is necessary to appreciate the changes to these impediments since 2006 that are addressed in the Findings and Discussion chapters. Despite the presence of these impediments, Grandview Woodland is currently experiencing many of the signs of gentrification, broadly described by Hackworth (2005) as “trendy” condos being built, attention from real estate press, and artists moving to the area (p. 231). This section provides a basic summary of how these signs are appearing in Grandview. The final subsection provides an overview of the Community Plan being developed to guide the current and impending change and has become a lightning rod for fears about gentrification in Grandview.

1.2.1 Industrial Manufacturing

Industrial manufacturing has been part of the built environment in Grandview Woodland since the beginning of the 20th century, when it came to occupy the entirety of what is now the Grandview waterfront area (Macdonald, 1992, p. 31). Today, that area is occupied by Port Vancouver terminals. Industry expanded into the western portion of

Grandview starting in the 1940s (Macdonald, p. 47). The presence of industry has historically impeded gentrification in Grandview. For example, the West Coast Reduction Animal Rendering and Recycling plant sends noxious fumes into much of the northern portion of Grandview, resulting in several thousand complaints being registered at the City of Vancouver's planning office since 1990 (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2492-93).

1.2.2 Social Housing

Like industry, social housing has a long history in Grandview Woodland. The inventory of social housing in Vancouver has increased from 610 units in 1961 to over 21,000 units in 2006 (McClanaghan & Associates, 2010, Figure 8). The development of a social housing stock in Vancouver has had major consequences for Grandview, where 15 percent of housing consists of social housing units (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2490). With over 2100 units, Grandview has more social housing than any other local area in Vancouver other than the Downtown Eastside (including Strathcona), the Central Business District, and Killarney (Dobson, 2007, p. 79). According to Dobson, the presence of social housing tends to repel gentrifiers (Dobson, p. 30). For example, this has been the case with Grandview's stock of social housing, which is particularly undesirable to potential gentrifiers because it includes a substantial number of units for mentally ill people (Dobson, p. 83-84).

1.2.3 Levels of Crime

Higher levels of crime in the area also clash with gentrifier expectations. Grandview Woodland has had more reported incidences of almost all categories of crime than most other Vancouver neighbourhoods since statistics started being posted on the Vancouver Police Department website in 2002 (The Vancouver Police Department, n.d.).

There is also anecdotal evidence from news articles of high levels of crime prior to 2002, such as a 1997 article that found that an “astonishing” 43 percent of Grandview residents had been victims of property crime (McCune, 1997, para. 6). Grandview’s proximity to the troubled Downtown Eastside neighbourhood has also been a contributor to crime in the area. During the 1980s and 1990s, increasing homelessness and addiction in the Downtown Eastside migrated into Grandview, which discouraged gentrification (Murray, 2011, para. 36).

1.2.4 Recent Signs of Gentrification in Grandview Woodland

New condo construction in Grandview Woodland indicates that the effectiveness of industry, social housing, and crime at impeding gentrification has begun to wane. A 66 unit condo development called “Boheme” broke ground at Hastings Street and McLean Drive in January of 2014. In early 2013, it was proposed that the block diagonally across the street be re-zoned, which was possibly a factor in the purchase of the Waldorf Hotel that sits on the rezoned space by a development company. Further east down Hastings St., a 38 unit development called “The Oxford” is under construction, whose website urges potential buyers to “Discover why many residents call this the best neighbourhood in Vancouver...” (BLVD, n.d.). The kind of imposed identity presented by the “best neighbourhood” marketing tagline shows how condo construction can lead to changes in not only the built form of the community but also in the way a community is branded.

Another intentional community rebranding effort took place in 2013, when the business district where “The Oxford” is being constructed was rebranded by the local Business Improvement Association (BIA) as the “East Village” with the motto “A vintage neighbourhood with a progressive attitude” (Jang, 2013, para. 13). Hackworth

(2005) links neighbourhood rebranding to gentrification. The rebranding strategy may be generating interest from the press, with a June 2014 news article calling the area “quickly changing” and “trend[y]” (Gee, 2014, para. 1 & 2).

The real estate press has also begun to take notice of the changes in Grandview Woodland, with the Canadian Real Estate Magazine including the area in its top 100 neighbourhoods in which to invest in Canada (Sinoski, 2014, para. 1). Interestingly, the piece on Grandview includes its industrial component as one of the positive aspects of the area. It also argues that prices will “inevitably jump”, as a result of such positives as proximity to downtown, transit, and the trendiness of the Commercial Drive area (We Love EastVan, 2014).

Major newspapers including The Globe and Mail and The Vancouver Sun have taken notice of Grandview Woodland’s arts community through the annual Eastside Culture Crawl festival (Keillor, 2014; Van Evra, 2014). This festival showcases East Vancouver artists and has steadily grown in popularity since it was founded in 1997 (18th Annual Eastside Culture Crawl, 2015, para. 3). The size of the local arts community is highlighted in the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan as “almost twice the city-wide average” (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 13). This presence of artists in Grandview is an indicator of gentrification.

1.2.5 The Grandview Woodland Community Plan

The link between public policy and gentrification in Grandview Woodland became a matter of public and media interest in June 2013 with the introduction of the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan (The Plan). The Plan was created by the City of Vancouver to guide development in the community for the next 20 - 30 years

(City of Vancouver, 2013a, para. 1). The Plan incorporates many of the public policies that Ley & Dobson (2008) argue encourage gentrification, such as historical preservation (e.g. adding more heritage assets to the Register), traffic controls (e.g. encouraging traffic calming), and environmental protection (e.g. encouraging energy retrofits) (p. 2476 & City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 3, 7, 12, 22, 27 & 33). This indicates that there may be a link between the Plan and gentrification.

The Plan supports population growth, economic growth, housing development and rezoning (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 2, 3, 20, 21, 26, 34). It encourages high-density along three of the four main streets in the community, and the replacement of some industrial zoning with commercial and residential zoning, while reinforcing low-density zoning on side streets (City of Vancouver, p. 3, 21, 26). The Plan proposes one condo tower up to 36 stories, four towers up to 26 stories, and six up to 22 stories (Smith, 2013, para. 4) near the Commercial/Broadway Skytrain Station, an area currently dominated by three story buildings and single family homes (Campbell, 2013, para. 6 & 7). Such dramatic changes illustrate the power of public policy to change cityscapes.

The proposed density increase has caused concern among many community activists that has attracted significant media coverage. For example, the purchase and closure of the Waldorf Hotel was followed by a petition opposing the closure with 20,000 signatures (CBC News, 2013a, para. 3). A city planner has stated that “a clear majority of opinion is against these building heights” (Campbell, para. 16). Charles Campbell, former editor of the Georgia Straight newspaper and former member of the Vancouver Sun’s editorial board, spent several weeks interviewing over a hundred community stakeholders and was able to identify only six who supported the density proposed in the Plan

(Campbell, para. 7).

As a result of the uproar caused by the Draft Community Plan, its original deadline for completion was extended from the fall of 2013 to the fall of 2014. At Vision Vancouver's Annual General Meeting in May of 2014, Mayor Gregor Robertson declared that proposing the increases in density near Commercial/Broadway Skytrain Station in the Plan was a key mistake of his administration (Ball, 2014, para. 5-6). Ultimately the Plan was put in suspension by the City, and a Citizens' Assembly was formed to provide recommendations for the Plan (City of Vancouver, 2015, para. 1). As of August 2015, the Community Plan has not been completed.

Recent events in Grandview Woodland show that while the disamenities that blocked gentrification are substantially still in place, gentrification is advancing in the community. Community resistance to the Plan has slowed it down considerably, but condos are still being developed in the absence of a completed Plan. The press has perceived that change is afoot in Grandview, even to the point of reframing the industrial disamenity as a positive. It is under these changing circumstances that the interplay between gentrification, disamenities, and public policies come into question.

1.3 Research Question & Hypothesis

The research question for this thesis is “what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded?” Though not explicitly identified as a hypothesis, the proposal paper for this thesis suggested that government was encouraging gentrification to take hold in Grandview through the Grandview Woodland Community Plan, social mix policy, an absence of regulation on foreign investment into real estate in Vancouver, and regional policies that attempt to preserve

agricultural and industrial land that would once have been used for new residential space. In the course of the research for the thesis, it became clear that some of these were not primary factors, and that a number of other major factors needed to be considered. This resulted in the research becoming exploratory and oriented around the development of a hypothesis.

1.4 Purpose and Importance of Study

This topic is important because it addresses gentrification that is taking place right now and is a concern to many members of the Grandview Woodland community. After having been impeded by disamenities for decades, gentrification has advanced in Grandview since 2008. It is resulting in changes to local retail, residential occupancy, and the built environment that is better suited to the new higher-income demographic than the traditional lower-income demographic. Local residents' concerns about these changes are manifested in media coverage, community insistence on a Citizens' Assembly to influence the Community Plan, and in community members enthusiastically taking part in interviews for this study. By answering the research question, this thesis is useful for all community stakeholders who desire a better understanding of what forces are at work in this changing community.

By gaining a better understanding of how public policies have influenced gentrification in this local area where gentrification was previously impeded, this thesis achieves three goals that are relevant to government, community members, and academics; first, it clarifies the link between public policy and gentrification, which allows government to better understand how policy decisions can impact their urban development goals; second, it empowers citizens with an improved frame of reference to

understand the sources of gentrification in their community; finally, it fills a gap in the existing literature by looking at the factors that propelled gentrification in an area previously sheltered from significant gentrification by specific disamenities, which has not been looked at in scholarly literature up to this time. While this thesis does not attempt to prove any universal claims, this understanding could provide some insight for similar neighbourhoods.

1.5 Research Design and Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of how public policies have influenced gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded. In studying gentrification, this thesis aims to develop a better understanding of social reality. Crotty (1998), states that understanding social reality usually involves “aspects that are unique, individual and qualitative” (p. 68). This understanding of social reality lends itself to gentrification research since gentrification is highly contextual. The research design for this thesis flows from an understanding that gentrification processes can best be viewed from an interpretivist standpoint, which looks at “culturally derived and historically situated interpretations” of social reality (Crotty, p. 67).

The research question guiding this thesis is “what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded?” The Grandview local area is a compelling case study into gentrification because impediments held off generalized gentrification for decades. This contrasts with the Kitsilano and Fairview neighbourhoods, which are roughly the same distance as Grandview from downtown Vancouver, but have completely gentrified since the 1970’s (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2479). Establishing how gentrification takes hold in a local area where it was previously

impeded allows gentrification theory to evolve by highlighting key aspects of the gentrification process, including the effects of public policy. Therefore, existing theories were taken into consideration in analyzing the interview data to test previous arguments, while remaining open to new explanations and evidence.

1.6 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is organized into Literature Review, Methodology and Methods, Findings, Discussion, and Conclusion. The Literature Review section addresses the key issues in the scholarly literature. Methodology and Methods describes the case study, stakeholder analysis, and environmental scan methodologies as well as the semi-structured interview and document review methods. The Findings section is divided into evidence of gentrification, stakeholder analysis, environmental scan, policies linked to gentrification, and analysis of interviews. The Discussion section makes links between the research question, literature review, theoretical framework, and findings. The conclusion includes a summary of the main points and recommendations for future study.

1.7 Conceptualization of Terms

This thesis discusses concepts surrounding gentrification and urban issues in Vancouver which some readers may not be familiar with. The definitions below explain key terms:

Built Changes. Changes to built structures including the renovation of homes, the tearing-downs of homes, the building of new housing developments, the replacement of single family homes with denser residential, the redevelopment of apartment buildings, and land assembly for future development.

Densification. “Increasing the number of units of housing per square foot of land, either through building on vacant land or allowing taller and larger structures” (Tenant Resource & Advisory Centre, 2009).

Disamenity. “Any undesired and unpleasing feature of the physical and social environment” (Langdon, 2008, p. 237).

East Vancouver. This area encompasses the five local areas defined by the City of Vancouver that roughly encompass the borders of the federal electoral riding of East Vancouver. These areas are Grandview-Woodland, its neighbours to the west (Strathcona, the Downtown Eastside, and Mount Pleasant) and its neighbour to the east (Hastings Sunrise) (see Appendix B). Sources sometimes identify the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona together and sometimes separately, so the description varies in this thesis depending on the source.

Gentrification. “The production of space for progressively more affluent users” (Hackworth, 2002, p. 815).

Gentrifier. The more affluent users of space who move to a traditionally low income area during the process of gentrification.

Grandview Woodland Community Plan. An official plan being developed by the City of Vancouver to guide development in the community for the next 20 - 30 years (City of Vancouver, 2013a, para. 1).

Grandview Woodland Resident. A person who lives at an address in Grandview Woodland.

Incumbent. A person or business in Grandview Woodland prior to 2008, the year that Ley & Dobson’s study established that gentrification was impeded in the area.

Local area. 23 local areas have been defined by the City of Vancouver for service and resource delivery, one of which is Grandview Woodland.

Low-Income. The scholars who use this terms in the literature review section sometimes use a statistical cutoff to define low-income and some scholars do not define the term at all. In order to give the reader context, Table 1 shows the 2011 Statistics Canada before tax low-income cutoff for cities with a population of over 500,000.

Regeneration. Describes attempts to bring capital investment back to an urban area. Historically, regeneration strategies included “renewal, rejuvenation, reinvestment, revitalization, renaissance, and smart growth”. More recently, strategies included “economic competitiveness, responsive governance, social cohesion, and social mix” (Winkler, 2009a, p. 365).

Social Mix. An urban planning policy that encourages socially and economically mixed neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008, p. 2451).

Stakeholders. Anyone who resides, does business, or is politically involved in Grandview-Woodland on an ongoing basis.

Table 1: 2011 Before Tax Low Income Cutoff by Family Size (Cities Over 500,000)

(Statistics Canada, 2013, Table 1)

Family Size	Cut-off
1	\$23,298
2	\$29,004
3	\$35,657
4	\$43,292
5	\$49,102
6	\$55,378
7 or more	\$61,656

Chapter 2.0. Literature Review

Gentrification in Grandview Woodland is an important topic because it is taking place right now and is a concern to many members of the Grandview community. This literature review places gentrification in Grandview within the context of the wider scholarly discussions about gentrification that have been taking place since the 1960's. It provides an overview of gentrification issues necessary to understand the topic, including origins of gentrification, different positions on definition, support and opposition to gentrification, different positions on context, theories about gentrification's causes, and stage models. It then goes on to explain gentrification in Vancouver, and the impact of public policy on gentrification, which are key issues in this thesis. Definition, theories, context, stage models, public policy, and gentrification in Vancouver are all topics that will be addressed in the Discussion section.

The sources referenced in this literature review were drawn from the University of Victoria library website by searching for terms that either link to the research question or were identified as key terms in understanding gentrification research. These terms were: "grandview woodland gentrification", "vancouver gentrification", "canada gentrification", "production theory", "consumption theory", "stage models gentrification", "gentrification public policy", "gentrification renovation", "gentrification densification", "gentrification education". Searches did not identify a date range because all gentrification research took place within the past 50 years and therefore all studies within the search parameters were potentially relevant. Articles resulting from these searches were reviewed and authors' positions on topics linked to the research question and purpose were identified. These positions were then synthesized into the literature

review, where the various sources were analyzed and connected.

2.1 Origins of Gentrification

British sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term “gentrification” in *Aspects of Change* (1964), in which she described the transformation of a working class London neighbourhood into a middle class area (Hannigan, 1995, p. 173). Since this time, there have been three chronological “waves” of gentrification in North America (Quastel, 2009). The first wave was identified by Hackworth and Smith as coming in the 1960s and early 1970s, led by governments trying to reduce the disinvestment that was taking place in inner-city urban areas (as cited in Quastel, p. 698); the 1970s brought the more “widespread” second wave, and was sometimes linked to the development of artist communities such as SoHo in New York City; the third wave started in the late 1990s and was driven by large-scale developments, government policies, and public-private partnerships (Quastel, p. 698). This wave occurred in most major cities following the early 1990s recession (Hackworth, 2005, p. 214). It also included the redevelopment of brownfield sites into buildings for wealthy or middle class people, often promoting “sustainability” features such as green roofs and water recycling (Quastel, p. 703). Throughout the history of gentrification, scholars have debated many of its aspects, including the definition, theories, context, and stages.

2.2 Definition of Gentrification

There is some debate regarding the definition of gentrification (Murdie & Teixeira, 2009, p. 61 & Hannigan, 1995, p. 173). Gentrification is defined for the purposes of this study as “the production of space for progressively more affluent users” (Hackworth, 2002, p. 815). Slater (2006) praised this definition as successfully

encompassing the progression of the term since its narrower application when it was coined in 1964 (p. 744). DeVerteuil (2011) uses the Hackworth definition in his discussion of how gentrification affects social services (p. 1563). The Hackworth definition is also very similar to the definition provided in Murdie & Teixeira (2009, p. 61). Hackworth's definition is appropriate because it has been used by several other scholars, with noteworthy enthusiasm in the case of Slater (2006). The interviewees for this study are not scholars, and the succinctness of this definition is appropriate for non-scholars to quickly understand.

Other scholars use more complex definitions of gentrification, including Zukin (1987) who defines gentrification as “a process of spatial and social differentiation in which a new middle-class segment rejects suburbia for a consumption-oriented lifestyle in the city centre” (as cited in Hannigan, 1995, p. 173). Maloutas (2011) states that gentrification is “a potential outcome of urban regeneration processes that has gained important impetus due to a combination of investment opportunities and changing socio-demographic profiles with favourable conditions created by the joint effect of neoliberal policies and local urban histories” (p. 42). Rose (1996) describes gentrification as a process “in which members of the ‘new middle class’ move into and physically and culturally reshape working-class inner city neighbourhoods” (p. 132). Hamnett (1984 as cited in Hamnett, 1991, p.175) provides a detailed definition of gentrification:

Simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon. Gentrification commonly involves the invasion by middle-class or higher-income groups of previously working-class neighborhoods or multi-occupied ‘twilight areas’ and the replacement or displacement of many of the original occupants. It involves the physical renovation or rehabilitation of what was frequently a highly deteriorated housing stock and its upgrading to meet the requirements of its new owners. In the process, housing in the areas affected, both renovated and unrenovated, undergoes a significant price appreciation. Such a process of

neighbourhood transition commonly involves a degree of tenure transformation from renting to owning.

Embedded in these definitions of gentrification are debatable questions of the role of the state (neo-liberalism), cultural movements (rejection of suburbia), intent of gentrifiers (invasion) and demographic profiles of gentrifiers (new middle class, middle-class or upper class). Their length and/or complexity make them likely to be difficult for non-scholars to quickly understand.

Clearly, scholars have not come to a consensus on the definition of gentrification. Discussions about gentrification are difficult under these circumstances. Without a consistent definition for the public and the media to draw from, the word “gentrification” is used to describe a variety of aspects of neighbourhood change.

A cursory look at some recent news articles shows that the word gentrification is being used to describe the displacement of residents (Lupick, 2014, para. 26), “loft-style” condominiums (Macklin, 2013, para. 8), a condo development that includes social housing (Stueck, 2012, para. 7), gourmet restaurants (Macklin, para. 8), and a diner that hires locals and provides meeting space for community groups (Hopper, 2013, para. 11-12). It has even been used to describe a 1993 change to the set of the children’s television show *Sesame Street* to include a luxury hotel and a new park and playground (Chu, 2015, para. 19). Deciding whether to apply the word gentrification to these various aspects of neighbourhood change is difficult without a concise definition that scholars consistently apply.

2.3 Support for Gentrification

Common claims in support of gentrification is that it stabilizes neighbourhoods in decline and portrays a better image of the gentrifying neighbourhood (Murdie & Teixeira,

2009, p. 76). Quastel (2009) states that support for gentrification is linked to a shift in the role of the state from providing social welfare to providing business services and amenities (p. 699); for example, gentrifiers provide the political effectiveness needed to draw more government funding towards physical and social area improvements (Murdie & Teixeira, p. 76 & Quastel, p. 699). Proponents also argue that gentrifiers improve overall quality of life by providing a larger tax base, as well as a work ethic that can “rub-off” on the poor in the community (Quastel, p. 699).

2.4 Opposition to Gentrification

The displacement of low-income residents is the primary negative aspect of gentrification discussed in the literature (Quastel, 2009, p. 699; Murdie & Teixeira, 2009, p. 62, Maloutas, 2011, p. 33; Hackworth, 2002, p. 821; Dobson, 2007, p. ii, Belanger, 2012, p. 32). Displacement results from the increased costs of real estate and evictions resulting from gentrification (Belanger, 2008, p. 3). This displacement threatens to turn an inner city working class areas into a “bourgeois playground” (Hamnett, 1991, p. 174). Boyd (2008a) adds the “increasing commercialization of space” as another negative aspect (p. 108). Policy makers are aware of the controversial nature of gentrification, and avoid using the word, opting for code-words such as “regeneration” (Smith as cited in Quastel, p. 699) and “social mixing” (Lees. 2008. p. 2452).

2.5 Theories about the Causes of Gentrification

The two primary theories of the cause of gentrification are the production and consumption theories (Boyd, 2008b, p. 753). Production theory is also referred to as economic theory and supply-side theory (Mills, 1991, p. 206). This theory sees landlords, capital, and profit as drivers of both the expansion of poverty in neighbourhoods and their

eventual gentrification (Quastel, 2009, p. 699). Mills explains the production theory as a process whereby the aging of properties in central city neighbourhoods results in the properties losing their value, building maintenance costs rising, the abandonment of some buildings, capital flight from older areas for newer ones, and the neighbourhood ultimately being left with inexpensive real estate in a good location near the city centre (p. 306).

The production theory also recognizes the influence of what Maloutas calls “urban managers”, such as city planners and politicians who use zoning to influence the “flows of private capital” and decide where and how public resources are used (p. 306). Smith (1996) finds that the state causes gentrification in the United States by initiating urban renewal projects (p. 65).

Hackworth (2005) explains that rent gap theory is central to explaining production theory (p. 213-214). Smith (1987) coined the phrase “rent gap” to refer to the difference between the rent earned from properties and the potential profit to be gained from developing them (as cited in Maloutas, 2011, p. 36). Quastel (2009) states that the age of properties and the potential rent that can be earned after development or reinvestment are key variables to determining the potential profits that drive gentrification in rent gap theory (p. 706).

Smith (1996), argues that rent gap can arise when disinvestment in buildings leads to them losing value, ultimately resulting in low-priced buildings sitting on valuable inner-city land. It can also result when rent-control regulation is repealed, or in periods of high and sustained inflation. Gentrification takes place when the rent gap becomes wide enough for developers to purchase buildings cheaply, pay all construction costs, and sell

the resulting properties at a reasonable profit (p. 65).

Quastel (2009) identified higher transportation costs and the protection of agricultural land as contemporary factors that increase the value of central-city land. Higher fuel and transportation costs encourage people to live closer to the city centre to save money, which results in a rent gap that encourages developers to build high-density residences near the city centre (p. 706-707). The protection of agricultural land around the city results in a reduced supply of land available for development, which inhibits new housing supply (Quastel, p. 706).

Hamnett (1991) cautions that gentrification is not to be expected in all cases where rent gap is taking place. Instead, rent gap can result in gentrification but also in other outcomes, including deterioration and abandonment (p. 181). Individual gentrifiers are the driving force behind gentrification, and are followed by developers and capital (Hamnett, p. 181-82).

This idea is more closely aligned with consumption theory, also known as culture theory (Hackworth, 2005) and demand-side theory. Ley (1986) questions the validity of rent gap in Canada (p. 531), proposing instead that consumption theory explains gentrification. This theory is based on the idea that starting in the 1970's middle-class people have increasingly valued features of living in the city, including access to cultural activities, recreational activities, and proximity to the high wages and employment opportunities that arose in the city centre as part of a post-industrial service-oriented economy (Ley, p. 521 & 524).

Quastel (2009) explains that consumption theory sees gentrifiers as white collar workers who tend to subscribe to a set of liberal political values, including tolerance of

“racial, ethnic, and class diversity in their neighbourhoods” (p. 699). Hannigan (1995) adds that these workers are particularly attracted to neighbourhoods beside downtown areas. Mills (1991) discusses this in the Canadian context, explaining that those in professional and managerial jobs are over-represented among gentrifiers, and increasing numbers of these jobs appeared in Canadian central cities during the 1970s (p. 308).

Quastel (2009) discusses this in a contemporary Vancouver context, where developers not only tapped into an existing professional-class preference for dense urban living, but also actively used marketing, landscape design, and city planning to “rebrand” condo life from unattractive to fashionable (p. 715). The exploitation of gentrifiers’ affinity for urban living is not a new phenomenon in Vancouver; Mills (1991) discusses how “urbanity” is important to gentrifiers’ view of themselves, and how developers in Vancouver’s Fairview Slopes neighbourhood in the 1970s and 1980s used “images of upward social mobility, convenience of location, and - most prominently - the qualities of urban living” to create demand for developments (p. 309).

Quastel (2009) states that researchers increasingly recognize the production and consumption theories as valid and compatible (p. 699). Hackworth (2005) advises that the cultural explanation for gentrification is incomplete without recognizing the importance of economics (aka production theory) (p. 233). Hackworth provides several examples of neighbourhoods in Toronto where local business interests facilitated gentrification in the process of packaging local culture to attract capital and profit. Maloutas (2011) argues that the debate regarding which of these two theories explain gentrification has waned in recent years, being replaced by an argument on how widely gentrification can be applied upon various contexts (p. 34).

2.6 Context of Gentrification

There is some disagreement among scholars on whether gentrification is limited to certain parts of the western world. Butler asserts that gentrification is mostly relevant to “Anglo-American” cities, which he describes as urban areas in English-speaking North America and a few other cities in the anglophone world (as cited in Maloutas, 2011, p. 43). Maloutas states that these cities share a unique history where higher-income groups abandoned the inner-city during industrialization; this was a precondition for the development of a large difference between actual and potential real estate values in the inner-city during de-industrialization (p. 36). The difference between actual and potential values drives gentrification in cities which share this history. In contrast, Maloutas gives the example of Paris, France, as a place where the inner city has always been occupied by higher status groups, and Istanbul, Turkey, as a place where processes resembling gentrification are unrelated to de-industrialization, and therefore are not gentrification (p. 37). Other scholars assert the existence of gentrification beyond Anglo-American cities. For example, Winkler (2009a) argues that Johannesburg, South Africa, is experiencing gentrification at the current time (p. 364). Badyina & Golubchikov (2005) describes gentrification taking place in Moscow, Russia.

As a North American city undergoing de-industrialization and containing several examples of gentrifying districts in the inner city (Mills, 1991, p. 306), gentrification in Vancouver resembles the Anglo-American gentrification pattern. Therefore, notwithstanding debates about the international context of gentrification, urban change in Vancouver that fits the definition of gentrification can safely be identified as such.

There is a separate contextual issue regarding how gentrification develops in different neighbourhoods. Maloutas (2011) asserts that within a city gentrification is

contextual to some extent (p. 41). For example, the Harlem and Williamsburg neighbourhoods in New York City both experienced significant gentrification in the 2000s despite different levels of government involvement. In Harlem, public policy initiatives resulted in reinvestment and gentrification in the area. By contrast, gentrification in Williamsburg was market-led and occurred well before similar public policy intervention began (Zukin et al., 2009, p. 50-54). That two neighbourhoods within the same city can gentrify at the same time from different causes illustrates the importance of context.

Rose (1996) suggests an approach to gentrification research that is “grounded” in the history and context of particular neighbourhoods, while looking for evidence of how those local experiences relate to more generalized economic and social “restructuring” (p. 161). This idea supports the usefulness of this case study of gentrification in Grandview Woodland, and the results of this study are generalized in a similar way.

2.7 Stage Models of Gentrification

Stage models explain the process of gentrification as passing through two or three stages (Caulfield, 1994, p. 125). Scholars including Caulfield, Ley (as cited in Boyd 2008a), Boyd (2008b), Rose (1996), and Lees et al. (2008) have outlined either basic stages of the gentrification process, or elements of a stage of gentrification. They show how different economic and social groups can come and go in a gentrifying neighbourhood over time (see Table 2).

As gentrification sets into a neighbourhood, there is a shift in the goods and services provided by local businesses to accommodate the higher incomes and different tastes of the gentrifying population. Lees calls this retail gentrification or commercial

gentrification (as cited in Murdie & Teixeira, 2009, p. 75).

2.7.1 Retail Gentrification

Zukin (2009) describes the process of retail gentrification as starting with privately-owned boutiques, sometimes owned by new residents of the gentrifying area (p. 62). Certain types of businesses have been noted around the world as signs of gentrification, including wine bars and designer clothes boutiques. These contrast with commercial establishments incumbent from the pre-gentrification period that cater to incumbent poorer residents (Zukin, p. 47). Murdie & Teixeira (2009) note that incumbent residents may dislike the increased cost of goods and services that accompany gentrification (p. 77).

Boutiques act as a sign that a neighbourhood is safe for further investment by private developers and public agencies, which is accompanied by increased rents, redevelopment, and improved services (Zukin, 2009, p. 48, 62). These boutiques are followed by chain stores, as well as higher rents which many boutiques are unable to afford (Zukin, p. 62). Zukin states that these chain stores “disrupt social bonds” as a result of older stores disappearing with higher rent or demolition for new condos. If they remain, residents must choose between them and well-stocked but impersonal chain stores (p. 48). Retail gentrification is a visible sign of gentrification in a community.

2.7.2 Stage 1 of Gentrification

Caulfield (1994) distills the theories of Holcomb, Beauregard, and Ley, into an early stage when artists, homosexuals, and others with “unconventional lifestyles” come to a neighbourhood for its affordability and tolerance (p. 125). Ley adds other

“counterculture” groups to this list of early-stage gentrifiers, including students, and political activists (as cited in Boyd, 2008a, p. 118). Rose uses the term “marginal gentrifier” to describe these first stage gentrifiers, whose motives are not usually to renovate their homes or invest on speculation (Caulfield, p. 126).

Hackworth (2005) states that the efforts of Business Improvement Associations to market the ethnic communities in which they operate (such as Corso Italia and Greektown in Toronto), now has the potential to spark gentrification in the way that artistic communities have done (p. 232). While he does not refer specifically to a stage model, this indicates that the presence of an ethnic community may now be part of the first stage of gentrification.

Boyd (2008b) states that it is difficult to detect early stage gentrification (p. 769). While Boyd does not elaborate, it stands to reason that the presence of artists, homosexuals, students, and most other groups associated with gentrification is not always obvious. The presence of ethnic groups is often obvious, but their involvement in Stage 1 is not strongly supported in the literature at this point in time. Census data later makes gentrification more apparent by showing a drop in low-income renters, an increase in high-income homeowners, and a general upwards shift in income (Boyd, p. 769).

2.7.3 Stage 2 of Gentrification

Caulfield (1994) describes a transitional stage between early and complete gentrification, where middle-class people are attracted by the “fashionability” and “security of investment” of the neighbourhood (p. 125). Rose (1996) describes the second-stage group as including young people who have the money and job security to

buy homes to live in and renovate (p. 132). Ley adds that these are often tolerant, progressive-minded types of people who appreciate the lifestyles of the incumbent residents of the neighbourhood (personal communication, May 15, 2014). However, Murdie & Teixeira (2009) state that even at the earlier stages, gentrifiers may be intolerant of incumbent residents, whose values and customs may differ from theirs (p. 77).

Boyd's (2008b) description of the changes that took place in the Douglas/Grand Boulevard area of Chicago between 1990 and the mid-2000s appears to be an example of the progression between an absence of gentrification and Stage 2. Census data indicates that the area was not gentrifying in 1990 (p. 769). Boyd reports the development of cultural institutions in the local area starting in 1993, including an annual Blues Fest and the Gateway public art project (p. 763). This new artistic presence could indicate the first phase of gentrification. By 2000, middle class people were replacing poor residents and retail gentrification was taking place (Boyd, p. 769-770). Belanger's (2012) exploratory study into residents' lived experiences with gentrification in the Montreal neighbourhood of Point-St-Charles also fits the profile of Stage 2 (p. 31-32).

2.7.4 Stage 3 of Gentrification

In the final stage of gentrification, increasingly wealthy people move in and real estate prices increase significantly (Caulfield, 1994, p. 125). Ley states that these people tend to be less progressive in their politics, and unlike people that came in previous stages, they often see the potential for further land value appreciation as an important priority (personal communication, May 15, 2014). Lees (2008) states that late-stage gentrifiers want their neighbourhood to be "sanitised and relatively homogeneous" when

compared to earlier-stage gentrifiers (p. 2464). Rose (1996) states that developers get involved at this stage, buying, developing, and selling property to take advantage of rent gap and anticipated property value increases (p. 132). Ley & Dobson (2008) identify the Vancouver neighbourhoods of Kitsilano and Fairview as examples of gentrified local areas (p. 2478). Throughout the process of gentrification, increasing prices lead to a loss of affordable housing and the consequent departure of many incumbent working-class residents (Murdie & Teixeira, 2009, p.73 & 77, Rose, 1996, p. 132).

Table 2: Stages of Gentrification

(Caulfield, 1994; Ley as cited in Boyd 2008a; Boyd, 2008b; Rose, 1996; and Lees et al., 2008)

1. Early Stage	2. Transitional Stage	3. Late Stage
Artists, writers, musicians, students, homosexuals, and political activists move in to a neighbourhood for its affordability and tolerance.	Middle-class professionals, often politically progressive (e.g. teachers, journalists, librarians), are attracted by the vibrancy created by the first arrivals.	Wealthier people (e.g. private sector managers) move in and real estate prices increase significantly. By this stage, high prices have excluded traditional residents and most of the types of people who arrived in stage 1 & 2.
Retail gentrification: Throughout the process, local businesses change to serve the higher incomes and different tastes of the gentrifying population.		

As with gentrification generally, context matters for stage models. Stage models should be applied with caution, since few gentrification processes develop in the same pattern (Caulfield, 1994, p. 127). While outlining a stage model, Caulfield (1994) cautions that gentrifiers can be diverse in many ways by highlighting the variation in tenure, occupation, income, political outlook, cultural affiliation, and household

composition of Toronto gentrifiers (p. 124). Ley (1996) indicates that gentrifiers now include groups other than young professionals, such as families with children and parents whose children have grown up and left home (p. 24). If the nature of gentrifiers is changeable then this may weaken the applicability of stage models.

Caulfield (1994) gives the example of three Toronto neighbourhoods that did not fit into the stage models at the time of his study (The Annex, Yorkville, and Southeast Spadina) (p. 126). Rose (1996) believes that stage models apply better to cities that are nationally or internationally important than to those that are not (p. 133). Limited application of stage models may weaken their applicability. However, any tool that can contribute to simplifying and compartmentalizing gentrification's complexity with some level of accuracy is useful to non-scholars seeking to understand it. Stage models are applied to this thesis.

2.8 Gentrification in Vancouver and Grandview Woodland

This study looks at gentrification in Grandview Woodland, which is linked to the context of the City of Vancouver. Along with other major Canadian downtown areas, Vancouver's downtown has enjoyed significant investment since the late 1960s by private and public components of the service economy, and by provincial and municipal governments attempting to make downtown areas more attractive to white collar professionals (Rose, 1996, p. 131). Gentrification in Vancouver has been exacerbated by amenities that draw international investors and increase property values, such as mild temperatures, beautiful views, outdoor activities, cleanliness, safety, and high quality services (Quastel, 2009, p. 710). Property values have been increased further by the protection of suburban agricultural land from development, which has limited the amount

of land available to the market (Quastel, 2009, p. 697).

Quastel (2009) links Vancouver municipal planning policies starting in the 1980s to a growing urban regeneration and environmental agenda revolving around “smart growth” principles. Smart growth has attracted the middle class to downtown Vancouver by encouraging dense, mixed-use, walkable, and transit-oriented developments and neighbourhoods that combine work, life and recreation (p. 703 & 710). Specific policies driving this agenda include Living First Strategy (1980s), Clouds of Change (1990), CityPlan (1995), and the Liveable Region Strategic Plan (1996), and EcoDensity (2007) (Quastel, p. 710).

Quastel (2009) explains the unique context in which gentrification has taken place in Vancouver, which includes a strong environmental movement, high land prices, the participation of public institutions such as universities in real estate development, and large former industrial sites owned by the City or whose redevelopment was influenced by City zoning regulation. This has resulted in “ecological gentrification” in Vancouver, in which development projects were marketed for meeting environmental and sustainability standards while at the same time causing gentrification (p. 697).

While Vancouver has received scholarly attention for its gentrification, the Grandview Woodland local area has been “almost completely ignored in academic research”, with the exception of Ley & Dobson’s 2008 study (Murray, 2011, para. 5). Another exception is Yoon & Gulson’s (2010) study on patterns of white middle-class preference for Grandview schools with French immersion programs. It is important because it provides a different take on Ley & Dobson’s (2008) assertion that the perception of low quality education in Grandview among gentrifiers causes them to leave

after the birth of children, thus limiting gentrification's overall effect (p. 2490). Yoon & Gulson note that white middle-class parents are gravitating toward French immersion schools in Grandview because of the prestige of French in providing better opportunities to gain leadership positions in the public sector (p. 712). Attending French immersion schools also allows their children to avoid poor-performing schools with high numbers of immigrant students, where resources are siphoned toward English Second Language programs (Yoon & Gulson, p. 706-09). These parents enjoy the "backdrop" of multiculturalism in Grandview, while avoiding multiculturalism's potential impact on their children's education (Yoon & Gulson, p. 710).

If Grandview Woodland has shifted from a place where schools were avoided by the middle class to a place where some schools are actively pursued by the middle class, this generates questions on how this is impacting the educational opportunities of traditional residents. Butler, Hamnett & Ramsden's (2013) study on gentrification and education in East London (UK) finds that gentrifiers there focus on particular schools in a way that displaces traditional residents (p. 558). Further study that complements that of Yoon & Gulson by focusing specifically on the impact of gentrification on schools may reinforce these findings. While this thesis does not fill this gap, it does provide new material on the relationship between education and gentrification that may be of some use.

2.9 Impact of Public Policy on Gentrification

This study looks at the links between public policy and gentrification in Grandview Woodland. Sometimes government policies create gentrification by accident. For example, governments pushing a multiculturalism agenda have supported the efforts of

local business groups to market ethnically (or culturally) unique neighbourhoods, but this policy has had the unintentional side effect of causing gentrification. This has led to the displacement of the very ethnic/cultural incumbent population that the government had meant to support (Hackworth, 2005, p. 232). This shows that government does not necessarily employ policies that drive gentrification with that intention in mind.

Governments sometimes promote gentrification intentionally. Winkler (2009a) cites a worldwide trend towards city governments moving away from traditional regulatory roles towards public policies that encourage neighbourhood regeneration, such as tax incentives, encouraging middle and higher income home ownership, and disintegrating concentrated poverty (p. 376). Marcuse (1986) states that governments have tried to encourage “marginalized” groups including artists, musicians and homosexuals, to move to neighbourhoods in order to spur gentrification (as cited in Hannigan, 1995, p. 175).

Lees (2008) argues that social mix has been intentionally used by government to create gentrification, as in the case of the Downtown Eastside in Vancouver (p. 2451). Government is motivated to support such an agenda because increased commercial activities and middle-income residents result in higher fiscal revenues (Belanger, 2012, p.31-32). However, Rose (1996) shows that in Montreal, Quebec, government maintained genuine social mix in three gentrifying neighbourhoods by intervening into local housing markets in a way that contributed to a “diversity in residential morphology” (p. 155). Diversity of residential morphology refers to housing options that are attractive to gentrifiers such as old buildings with Victorian architecture, new condominiums, new townhouses, and industrial buildings that have been converted to lofts being interspersed with less attractive housing options, including non-profit housing cooperatives, public

housing, and residences being located near industrial sites (Rose, p. 155-157). The different outcomes resulting from social mix in Vancouver in Montreal show that government may have different agendas behind the same policy.

Urban redevelopment theory has identified land-use zoning and public investments into a neighbourhood as ways that politicians and planners encourage gentrification (Mills, 1991, p. 306). Hackworth (2005) provides an example of how zoning can have this effect by describing how new condominium projects were planned along College Street in Toronto after the City's General Plan provided incentives for densification along transit corridors (p. 224). Zukin (1982) provides an example from Manhattan, where city planners rezoned industrial and commercial space for artists, setting the stage for gentrification in the process (as cited in Hannigan, 1995, p. 182). In Johannesburg, South Africa, the municipal public administration is using planning policies to provide affordable housing on the edge of the city in order to exclude lower-income population groups, with the ultimate goal of establishing the city as a "cultural capital" (Winkler, 2009b, p. 85 & Winkler, 2009a, p. 364). Therefore, zoning is a key policy tool government can use to influence gentrification.

The government makes use of a variety of policies that influence gentrification intentionally, unintentionally, and with ambiguity of intention. This illustrates the complexity of the cause-and-effect relationship between policy and gentrification. Badyina & Golubchikov (2005) argue that in many capitalist cities "power and capital, public policy and private interests, bureaucracy and the market" drive gentrification (p. 115). This indicates that public policy is just one of many causes of gentrification, which is one of the issues examined in this thesis.

2.10 Conclusion

Gentrification is an issue steeped in scholarly debate. There are a variety of definitions. Gentrification develops differently in different contexts, so stage models can be used only as a guideline. Long-standing debate between the production and consumption theories only recently appear to be fading. It is clear that gentrification is taking place in Vancouver and that public policy has a part to play in gentrification processes. However, it is unclear to what extent public policy drives gentrification independently of other variables. This gap in the literature compels a case study into the role of different variables during the process of gentrification in Grandview Woodland.

Chapter 3.0 Methodology and Methods

3.1 Methodology

This study's mixed methods research design uses the case study, stakeholder analysis, and environmental scan methodologies as way to collect data. This section explains these methodologies and why they were selected.

3.1.1 Case Study

This thesis uses the case study design to gain a better understanding of how public policies have influenced gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded. Gentrification in Grandview Woodland works well with the case study approach because it is a contemporary phenomenon that the researcher has no control over (Yin, 2009, p. 14). Murray (2011) states that Grandview has been “almost completely ignored in academic research” (para. 5), making the area deserving of an in-depth and descriptive case study.

Ley & Dobson (2008) undertook one of the few studies on Grandview Woodland, and by using the case study method, this thesis extends the insights found in their research. This thesis set out to use 2008 as the baseline year for research since this was the year that Ley & Dobson's study was published. In order to make use of the quinquennial Canadian census which fell in 2006, this year is also used as a baseline for some data. Therefore, this case study examines the 2006 to 2015 time period.

The unit of analysis is the Grandview Woodland local area, and the main focus is on what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview despite being previously impeded. Answering this question requires in-depth data on gentrification in Grandview, including information on the impediments, public policy issues, contributors and indicators of gentrification, and related issues in neighbouring communities. The case

study design meets this requirement by allowing the collection of “comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth” data about the case (Patton, 2002, p. 447).

The case study process is carried out in accordance with Patton’s three steps: assembling raw data, constructing a case record, and writing the case study narrative (Patton, 2002, p. 449-450). Raw case data is assembled using qualitative interviews and a document review that identifies evidence of gentrification, policies linked to gentrification, and applies the Environmental Scan and Stakeholder Analysis methodologies. A case record of the interviews is developed by thematically analyzing the interview data and organizing the document review into chapters and subsections that highlight themes. This case record is used to write the case study narrative, which is presented in the Findings and Discussion chapters. This case study does not attempt to prove any universal claims.

3.1.2 Stakeholder Analysis

This study uses a Basic Stakeholder Analysis approach as described in Bryson (2004), to identify which stakeholder groups and individuals impact gentrification, and which are impacted by gentrification (p. 109-113). This analysis provides a better understanding of which policies are linked to gentrification, which policies link to which stakeholders, competing demands, how decisions are made, and who the leading figures in gentrification policy action and reaction are. It also helped in the development of the interview questions and to generate ideas on whom to interview.

3.1.3 Environmental Scan

An environmental scan of East Vancouver places gentrification in Grandview Woodland in a wider context. This environmental scan looks at the social, technological,

economic, environmental, and political (STEEP) sectors as described in Morrison (1992), and identifies changes from approximately 2006 up to the current time. These changes illuminate trends in East Vancouver that link to what is happening in Grandview. Local Area Plans, crime statistics, school statistics, a variety of published reports, and news articles are used to determine changes over time.

3.2 Methods

This study uses semi-structured interviews and a document review as procedures for data collection. This section explains these methods and why they were selected.

3.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 stakeholders with knowledge and opinions of gentrification and public policy in Grandview Woodland and other local areas in East Vancouver. This number of interviewees reflects what was manageable given the length of the thesis. As a result of the complexity of public policy and gentrification issues, elite interviews with people likely to be knowledgeable in these areas were used to obtain data. Interviewees included politically involved people, providers of government services, and business people (see Table 3). These groups are expected to be most aware of public policy since they are likely to encounter it in their jobs, activism, or businesses (Ley, personal communication, May 15, 2014).

Table 3: Examples of Interviewee Groups Contacted

Business People	Politically Involved	Providers of Government Services
Long-term	Community activists	Public Administrators
Recent arrivals	Ethnic/Cultural groups	Law enforcement
Developers	Elected representatives	Community Centre Employees

Non-profit organizations		
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Ley & Dobson (2008) found that interviews produced explanations about gentrification in Grandview Woodland that were not shown in census data (p. 2488). Qualitative interviews appear to be the method of choice in gentrification research. Belanger (2012) conducted 24 interviews in a study of gentrification in the Montreal neighbourhood of Point-St-Charles (p. 38). Boyd (2008b) used an interview sample of 20 local homeowners, rehabbers, developers, and activists to study the impact of gentrification on African Americans in Douglas/Grand Boulevard in Chicago (p. 757). In a study on gentrification in Toronto's Little Portugal, Murdie & Teixeira (2009) used qualitative interviews to "evaluate perceptions of neighbourhood change and attitudes..." (p. 70). Boyd (2008a) used 25 in-depth interviews in a study of gentrification, zoning regulations, and the regulation of youth pleasure activities, to show evidence of a "much larger gentrifying trend in Vancouver" (p. 104 & 114). This thesis carries on the tradition of using qualitative interviews to study gentrification.

Interviewees included four providers of government services, four business people, eight politically involved people from Grandview Woodland, and two politically involved people from neighbouring communities (Mount Pleasant and Strathcona). This variety provided a diversity of views on how public policies influence gentrification at the local level, and included both pro and anti-gentrification stakeholders. Including interviewees from neighbouring communities allows a better understanding of how developments in neighbouring communities have affected Grandview.

Interviewees were identified in news articles or through snowball sampling. As

noted in Murdie & Teixeira (2009), the snowball sampling technique is not representative (p. 71), but meets the goal of gathering the knowledge and opinions of stakeholders. Out of 26 interviewees who were initially contacted through email, 14 responded and were interviewed. In the four cases where snowball sampling was used, previous interviewees gave potential interviewees the researcher's contact information and they contacted the researcher via phone or email.

The interview process utilized the combined approach described in Patton (2002), that includes elements of the Standardized Open-Ended approach and the Interview Guide approach (p. 347). The questions were worded prior to the interview per the Standardized Open-Ended approach (Patton, p. 344). Answers were then explored and probed as outlined in the Interview Guide approach (Patton, p. 343), limited only by a pre-determined list of basic topics in the Interview Guide (Appendix C). This method allowed key information to be gathered by asking specific questions, while maintaining the flexibility to obtain clarification, additional information, and otherwise probe interviewee responses to better understand their knowledge and opinions.

The interview questions gathered data on stakeholders' knowledge and opinions on what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded (see Appendix D). Several of the questions focused specifically on the disamenities discussed in Ley & Dobson (2008), in order to look at how those factors have impacted the pace of gentrification, examine links to public policy, and focus the line of questioning.

Other questions asked more broadly about contributors to, and indicators of, gentrification in order to give interviewees the flexibility to explore the wide variety of

other possible factors. The open-ended nature of the questions allowed interviewees to explore a wide range of issues. For example, no question specifically asked about community resistance to gentrification because it was not one of the primary three disamenities in Grandview identified by Ley & Dobson (2008); however, several interviewees brought this up as an issue, so it developed into a theme drawn from the analysis.

No demographic questions such as age, income, gender, ethnicity, education level, and employment status were asked. These demographic features are not necessary in the context of using elite interviews to determine what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded.

3.2.1.1 Data Analysis

Ritchie & Spencer's (1994) thematic analysis framework was used to analyze the raw interview data. This consists of gaining familiarization with the data, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and finally mapping and interpretation (p. 178). An inductive approach was used with analysis emerging from patterns found in the data. The researcher was open to themes that arose and did not code using prescribed codes to preserve the integrity of participant's views and to include rich details.

During the familiarization stage, the analyst reviewed the raw interview data in its entirety to gain an overview of all the material. This includes review of the transcripts, audio recordings, and field notes. During this process, recurring themes brought up by the respondents were written down.

To develop a thematic framework, the analyst went through the raw interview data a second time more closely to identify all of the themes, concepts and issues according to

which the data could be organized. A theme, concept, or issue was drawn from any point that was linked to gentrification ideas developed in the literature review and document review. Not surprisingly, themes often arose from the topics contained in the interview questions. The questions were substantially the same for all of the interviews, so it was likely that there would be some consistent themes arising from the responses (in one case the interview excluded some of the questions because of time constraints, but the topics of the unused questions were still broached in the course of answering the other questions). However, in many cases themes arose organically that were not directly linked to the interview questions. This resulted in some themes that were surprising to the researcher. After the thematic framework was developed, it was refined into an index with codes applied to each theme, concept, and issue, and connections were made between ideas using headings and subheadings.

The third step was the indexing phase, where the index was applied to the raw interview data. This involved reading each of the interview transcripts over again, making judgments about the meaning of the data, and applying the index codes to the material in the margins of each transcript document. This allowed the analyst to identify patterns in the data.

In the fourth step, a thematic chart was created to lift the material codified in the indexing phase and arrange it according to its thematic code. This material was not lifted verbatim, but was synthesized to summarize the interviewee's experience or viewpoint. The chart was organized according to headings and subheadings arising from the second step. The codified material was numbered with the relevant interviewees' participant number so that the original text could be referenced.

In the final step, the material was interpreted. This involved reviewing the thematic chart, comparing experiences and viewpoints, identifying patterns, and looking for explanations from within the interview data. The goal of interpretation is to provide explanations that address the research question, explain issues that arise from within the research itself, look for association between interviewees, and develop strategies for change.

3.2.2 Document Review

Patton (2002) suggests that a researcher can use documents to learn about things that cannot be observed. The Evidence of Gentrification, Stakeholder Analysis, Environmental Scan, and Policies Linked to Gentrification sections all use the document review method. Census data, newspapers, and other publicly available sources similar to the ones that Boyd (2008b) used in a study of gentrification in Chicago (p. 757) allows a fuller understanding of the circumstances surrounding gentrification in Grandview Woodland.

The Evidence of Gentrification section compares the 2006 and 2011 census data to identify changes in the characteristics of Grandview Woodland residents that indicate gentrification. Belanger (2012) states that these characteristics include a drop in the number of children per household, increased education, the number of non-traditional types of households, the number of dual-income households, and increased employment in the areas of new technology and media, culture, and education (p. 37). Boyd (2008b) adds to these variables a drop in low-income renters, an increase in high-income homeowners, and a general upwards shift in income (p. 769). The 2011 census did not contain the long form component included in previous census' including the 2006 census.

This information was collected using the voluntary National Household Survey (NHS). Some of the variables used in this analysis are drawn from the 2011 NHS. Issues with comparing the 2006 census and 2011 NHS are detailed in the Evidence of Gentrification section.

The Evidence of Gentrification section also uses a review of news articles. The often inaccurate application of the word “gentrification” by media makes a reliance on news articles an imperfect tool to identify the occurrence of gentrification. However, newspapers are quite adept at identifying obvious neighbourhood changes and points of controversy. Therefore, their identification of retail gentrification and controversy linked to gentrification is applicable.

3.3 Thesis Limitations and Delimitations

Quantitative research is not necessary for this thesis because the purpose is to gain a better understanding of how public policies influence gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded, not to measure variables in strict adherence to the scientific method. I acknowledge that 18 qualitative interviews are not representative of the population of Grandview Woodland, but this small sample size worked well in gathering and analyzing new data that answers the research question from stakeholders who are knowledgeable about complicated gentrification issues. It is too small a sample to use for making universal claims. In addition to interviews, the research question can be answered using the qualitative document review method to gather and analyze existing data to learn what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview despite being previously impeded. The resulting data generates ideas that will allow government to better understand how policy decisions can impact their urban

development goals, empower citizens with an improved frame of reference to understand the sources of gentrification in their community, and fill a gap in the existing literature by looking at the factors that propelled gentrification in an area previously sheltered from significant gentrification by specific disamenities.

Chapter 4.0 Findings

The following five findings chapters tell the story of gentrification in Grandview Woodland since approximately 2006. The Evidence of Gentrification chapter shows that gentrification is taking place in Grandview. The Stakeholder Analysis explains the process of gentrification in Grandview in terms of who the stakeholders are and who is influential. The Environmental Scan details the social, technological, economic, environmental, and political situation in Grandview and the rest of East Vancouver. Policies Linked to Gentrification outlines some of the provincial and municipal legislation linked with the gentrification process in Grandview and across Vancouver. Writing these four document review chapters made it possible to identify many of the elite interviewees invited to participate in interviews. They also provide the background information necessary to understand many of the issues raised by the interviewees, which are discussed in the Analysis of Interviews chapter. Together, these five chapters provide the in-depth, qualitative case study needed to understand gentrification in Grandview.

Chapter 5.0 Findings: Evidence of Gentrification

5.1 Introduction

This chapter uses the document review method to provide evidence that gentrification has taken place in Grandview Woodland. This addresses the research question because if gentrification were not taking place there would be no reason to explain the process of gentrification in Grandview since 2008. A review of newspaper articles since 2008 and real estate brochures from 2013 and 2014 shows that demographic and built changes indicate the production of space for progressively more affluent users in Grandview. Additionally, the 2011 and 2006 Canadian census' were reviewed and compared to provide quantitative demographic evidence that gentrification has taken place in Grandview. These sources, along with additional evidence provided in the Environmental Scan and Analysis of Interviews sections, show that gentrification took place in Grandview between 2006 and 2014.

5.2 Grandview Woodland Gentrification in the News

Gentrification in Grandview Woodland has been an enduring subject of discussion in the press since 2008. A 2008 article indicates that residential gentrification was taking place around Commercial Drive, but that the area's homeless problem, aggressive panhandling, and criminal element was enduring, and could be expected to continue despite gentrification (Vancouver Sun, 2008, para. 1, 4, 5 & 13). It discusses how the 2007 Commercial Drive Community Survey indicates that people moving to the Commercial Drive neighbourhood were generally tolerant of sex-trade workers, the homeless, and panhandlers, despite having the wealth to purchase a home in an area where housing prices tripled since 1998 (Vancouver Sun, 2008, para. 1 & 11). It

mentions that some of the sex-trade workers, homeless, and panhandlers were coming to the area from the Downtown Eastside (Vancouver Sun, para. 11), which shows that proximity to this community was still having an impact on Grandview at this time.

Another 2008 article highlighting the rapid increase in popularity of the Main St. neighbourhood also mentions the increasing popularity of Grandview Woodland, Strathcona, and Fraser Street. Larry Beasley, former director of planning for Vancouver, attributed these changes to housing price escalation throughout Vancouver, as well as good city planning in the inner city over many years (Gold, 2008, para. 28 - 30). The latter indicates that public policy has contributed to the increased popularity of these East Vancouver neighbourhoods.

A 2010 article discusses the changes in Grandview Woodland's Grandview Park, which was given a \$1.5 million redevelopment between July, 2010, and March, 2011. In the years prior to the redevelopment, the park was frequented by homeless people (Gold, 2010, para. 4). This is consistent with Quastel's (2009) description of the impact of gentrification on park ecologies, which includes the exclusion of the homeless and a reduction in crime (p. 700).

The same 2010 article also suggests that gentrification has been increasing with property values and middle class people moving in, as evidenced by new condos, duplexes, chain restaurants, and an upscale wine bar (Gold, 2010, para. 3). It discusses opposition to gentrification, including the vandalism of a home and a mural in the area with anti-gentrification graffiti (Gold, para. 1 & 11), and the circulation of intimidating posters targeting an area family who supported the park redevelopment (Gold, para. 13). It also discusses the concerns of incumbent residents about displacement and an

associated “class war” (Gold, para. 5, 8 - 10). A 2013 article about the arson of a house under construction in Grandview Woodland quotes the arsonist who claimed responsibility, who also declared that a “class war” was taking place and that gentrifiers should “never feel safe” (O’Connor, 2013, para. 3). Wilson, Wouters, & Gramenos (2004) contend that there are some urban neighbourhoods in which activities such as these have the ability to largely repel gentrification by intimidating developers and gentrifiers (p. 1188). However, reports of developers purchasing wide swaths of property in Grandview throw into question that idea that violent activists Grandview are able to hold off development by intimidation.

A 2013 article describes how developers are purchasing properties along Hastings Street, with the active encouragement of Vision Vancouver; these developers include Solterra Group, whose owners are funders of Vision Vancouver (Wallstam, Crompton, & Markle, 2013, para. 1). These properties have either been rezoned from industrial to residential or have rezoning pending awaiting the Grandview Woodland Local Area Plan being passed into law (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p.26). Gentrification’s effects on landscapes can be greatest when it takes place on former industrial land (Quastel, 2009, p. 700), so this area is likely to change dramatically. The changes to Hastings Street have already been significant. A 2014 article describes how Hastings Street has transitioned from an area known for crime and sex trade activity 20 years ago to a trendy neighbourhood with many culinary and brewery destinations (Stainsby, 2014, para. 1, 4 & 7).

Murdie & Teixeira (2009) suggest that the closing of businesses that serve low-income residents is a sign of accelerating gentrification (p. 76), and this appears to be

occurring in Grandview Woodland; a 2014 news article describing the area as “once populated by old, grungy cafés, jam-packed greengrocers, thrift shops and lottery ticket/tobacco shops, the 100-year-old plus Vancouver neighbourhood is now home to a burgeoning food and drink scene” (Gee, 2014, para. 2). This appears consistent with Zukin’s (2009) observation that when neighbourhood retail changes from “old, local retail capital” to “new, cosmopolitan entrepreneurs”, visitors, residents, and the media recognize a neighbourhood as changing, and the reversal of fortunes is considered news (p. 62).

The change in businesses may be associated with the large property value increases along the two primary business streets, Commercial Dr. & Hastings St., where increases of 10 - 25 percent were common occurrences between 2013 and 2014 (Bula, 2014, Infographic). According to Ley, these changes to the nature of retailing in a neighbourhood signal a transition from the “pioneer” to the “advanced” stage of gentrification (as cited in Murdie & Teixeira, 2009, p. 75).

A 2014 article about the Hastings area in Grandview Woodland attributes increased housing costs in western parts of Vancouver to the middle class moving to East Vancouver (Stainsby, para. 4). This is resulting in the recent surge in trendy restaurants and bars owned by independent entrepreneurs (Stainsby, para. 4), and is indicative of retail gentrification in this part of Grandview.

Another 2014 article about the Hastings St. area of Grandview credits the many heritage homes, proximity to downtown, and access to transportation routes as reasons for the area’s “rebirth” (Johnson, 2014, para. 14). A third article ascribes the increase in development projects along Hastings St. to the lack of development opportunities in West

Side Vancouver, the relatively low price and availability of land, close distance to downtown, and views of the North Shore (Hansen, 2013, p. 2).

A review of brochures from two residential developments currently under construction in Grandview Woodland shows that developers are focusing on area history, local parks, and cultural qualities to market the area. The brochure for “The Oxford” reflects upon the area’s history as “a resort destination for residents of New Westminster” and mentions “parks with green spaces that feel just like home”, while ignoring the industrial and labour movement history in the area (BLVD, n.d.). Similarly, the brochure for “Boheme” highlights that the area is “alive with European ambiance” and mentions that “the neighbourhood’s many parks are lined with leafy shade trees, beautiful playgrounds, pristine sports fields...” (Millennium, n.d.). This is consistent with a study of the Downtown South area of Vancouver’s downtown peninsula, which notes that developers in the 1990’s utilized the language of “safety, health, and cleanliness” to promote the area, while the area’s industrial and resource exploitation history was “either erased or ironically re-presented with the pathos of distance” (Quastel, 2009, p. 712).

While one would not expect companies trying to sell homes to highlight sometimes violent labour movement histories or the current reality of externality-creating industrial uses, the reality that large developers are now active in Grandview and are repeating the successful marketing campaigns from the Downtown South neighbourhood does give another indication that gentrification is in progress in Grandview.

5.3 Census Indicators of Gentrification in Grandview Woodland

Scholars including Belanger (2012) and Boyd (2008b) have identified census indicators that reveal gentrification is taking place in a given area. These include a drop in

the number of children per household, increased education among area residents, the number of non-traditional types of households (Belanger, p. 37), and a general upwards shift in income (Boyd, p. 769). A comparison of these data indicators from the 2006 census and the 2011 National Household Survey indicates that gentrification is occurring in Grandview Woodland.

A trend towards smaller households with fewer children indicate gentrification. The *average number of children at home per census family* in Grandview Woodland has dropped from 0.9 to 0.8, while the overall average for the City of Vancouver has remained consistent at 1.0. This minor change in Grandview could indicate gentrification.

Increased education indicates gentrification, and a comparison of the *total population aged 15 years and over by highest certificate, diploma or degree* shows that this trend was at work in Grandview Woodland and Vancouver overall between 2006 and 2011. The percentage of Grandview residents with no certificate, diploma or degree decreased from 20.5 in 2006 to 17.8 in 2011. The percentage across Vancouver decreased from 16.7 to 13.9. The percentage of Grandview residents whose highest level of education was high school also dropped, from 24.9 in 2006 to 21.9 in 2011. The percentage across Vancouver decreased from 23.6 to 22.8 percent. The decrease in these two categories corresponded with an increase in the percentage of Grandview residents with a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree from 54.6 percent to 60.2 percent. The percentage across Vancouver increased from 59.7 percent to 63.3 percent. This shows a clear increase in the level of education among both Grandview and Vancouver residents and indicates gentrification. The change in Grandview is even more pronounced than the change across Vancouver.

The number of non-traditional households has increased in Grandview Woodland. Traditional residents of Grandview are working class, and this class is most directly represented by three occupational classifications: *Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations, Occupations unique to primary industry, and Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities*. Representation of all three of these classifications have dropped in Grandview and in Vancouver overall between 2006 and 2011. In Grandview, these occupations dropped a total of 4.1 percent from 17.9 percent to 13.8 percent. In Vancouver, they dropped 2.3 percent from 13.2 percent to 10.9 percent. This is indicative of an overall gentrifying trend in Vancouver, with a greater trend in Grandview.

A general upwards shift in income indicates gentrification, and a comparison of the 2005 and 2010 median and average incomes found under the *total income of population aged 15 years and over* category shows that this trend was at work in Grandview Woodland (the 2006 census and 2011 National Household Survey provide income statistics for 2005 and 2010 respectively). Grandview Woodland has experienced an upwards shift in income both in comparison to 2005 and in comparison to the rest of Vancouver. Grandview's median and average incomes have increased from \$20,180 and \$26,713 respectively in 2005 to \$25,429 (+26.0 percent) and \$34,706 (+29.9 percent) respectively in 2010. This is a markedly higher rate of increase than the overall increase in the city of Vancouver; the city's median and average incomes have increased from \$23,682 and \$36,605 respectively in 2005 to \$27,815 (+17.4 percent) and \$43,058 (+17.6 percent) respectively in 2010. While Grandview's median and average incomes are still lower than the city average, the gap is narrowing. The upwards shift in income indicates

gentrification in Grandview.

5.4 Challenges to the Document Review

Some census indicators of gentrification identified by Belanger (2012) and Boyd (2008b) could not be included in this study as a result of inconsistencies between the availability of 2006 and 2011 census', or the cost of obtaining data that is not part of Statistics Canada's "standard product". These indicators include the number of dual-income households, increased employment in the areas of new technology and media, culture, and education (Belanger, p. 37), a drop in low-income renters, and an increase in high-income homeowners (Boyd, p. 769).

The long form census was not used during the 2011 census, and was replaced by the National Household Survey (NHS). Many researchers, business groups, NGOs, and other stakeholder have lobbied to restore the long form census (Maioni, 2015, para. 7). The results of the NHS has been described as incomplete due to its much lower response rate of 68.8 percent as compared to 93.5 percent for the previous long form census (Maioni, para. 8). These broad-based concerns about the accuracy and completeness of the data were acknowledged in the proposal stage of this study. What was unexpected was the incomparability problems between the results of the 2006 census and the 2011 NHS and the unwillingness of Statistics Canada to provide limited assistance at no or low cost.

Statistics Canada provides data specific about the Grandview Woodland local area through the "Census Data for City of Vancouver Local Areas" in the 2006 census, and through the "Profile for Vancouver and Its Local Areas" in the 2011 NHS. Some of the occupation classifications provided at the local area level in 2006 are not provided in

2011. For example, to determine changes in the gentrification indicator “increased employment in the areas of new technology and media, culture, and education”, it is possible to identify “Professional occupations in Arts and Culture” in the 2006 “Census Data for City of Vancouver Local Areas”. This category is not provided in the 2011 “Profile for Vancouver and Its Local Areas”, which contains only the data category that captures this and several other occupational classifications, called “Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport”. These two categories are not comparable.

There are some occupational classifications that changed slightly between 2006 and 2011, making it extremely difficult and time consuming to ensure that the data is comparable. For example, three census occupation classifications were used by Belanger (2012) to analyze the indicator “the number of non-traditional types of households”. Two of the three classifications had different titles in 2011 than they did in 2006 (*Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities* & *Occupations unique to primary industry*). In order to ensure comparability, the researcher analyzed the jobs that fell under the umbrellas of these two classifications in 2011 and 2006. The jobs appear to match, but sometimes have slightly different titles or are switched from one sub-category of the occupational classification to another. For example, the 2006 census category *Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities* contains the job *Water and waste plant operators* under the sub-category *Machine operators in manufacturing*. The 2011 NHS category *Occupations in manufacturing and utilities* contains the job *Water and waste treatment plant operators* under the sub-category *Processing, manufacturing and utilities supervisors and central control operators*. These jobs appear substantially the same, and the other differences between the 2006 and 2011 census

occupations for this indicator were similar. As a result, this indicator is used in the analysis.

Data relating to the indicators “a drop in low-income renters”, and “an increase in high-income homeowners”, were not available in 2011 census. Data relating to “the number of dual-income households” was not available in the 2006 or 2011 census. Statistics Canada responded to numerous emails from the researcher seeking clarification, and provided broad strategies that were not relevant for the data analysis of local area statistics. Their responses on how to obtain comparable data specific to the relevant indicators made it clear that further analysis would have to be carried out at a high cost to the researcher. The minimum cost for producing a custom tabulation through Statistics Canada is \$512.74 and takes a minimum of nine weeks to obtain. Therefore, the cost for the three required tabulations would have been at least \$1,528.22, and possibly far more. This cost was unanticipated and unaffordable to the researcher, and financial aid was inaccessible in the latter stages of the research when the scope of this problem became clear.

The Census Indicators of Gentrification in Grandview Woodland subsection of this study is weakened by the fact that some of the census indicators of gentrification could not be used. Future researchers may benefit from awareness of these weaknesses in the 2011 NHS, and the possible need to financially prepare for obtaining necessary funding to pay Statistics Canada for assistance.

An additional problem with comparing the 2006 census and 2011 NHS is that this timeframe only covers six years of the ten-year period discussed in this study. It would be interesting for future research on gentrification in Grandview Woodland to look at the

2016 census material in relation to the results found in this study. This could strengthen the current evidence indicating gentrification is taking place in the community.

5.5 Conclusion

A document review of news articles, real estate brochures, and the 2011 and 2006 Canadian census' indicate that gentrification took place in Grandview Woodland between 2006 and 2014. While there are difficulties inherent in comparing the 2011 NHS and 2006 census, the results support the idea that the production of space for progressively more affluent users is taking place in Grandview. This provides a foundation for the rest of the Findings in this thesis. This addresses the research question because if gentrification were not taking place there would be no reason to explain the process of gentrification in Grandview since 2008.

Chapter 6.0 Findings: Stakeholder Analysis

6.1 Introduction

Gentrification in Grandview Woodland is highly contentious, involving numerous stakeholders with conflicting and/or overlapping agendas. This chapter identifies the important stakeholders involved with gentrification in Grandview. Stakeholders were identified through a Document Review of newspaper articles about Grandview Woodland. These stakeholders include local residents, business, industry, business improvement associations, real estate developers, political parties and their representatives, public administrators, and community organizations. This addresses the research question because understanding these stakeholders and their interests helps explain the process of gentrification in Grandview since 2008.

6.2 Local Residents

The broadest stakeholder group is local residents, which can be divided into homeowners and renters. They are the most directly affected by gentrification as a result of changes in financial circumstances, such as rent and property values. Homeowners may enjoy an eventual financial windfall when they sell their property, but pay higher property taxes in the interim as their property assessments increase. Homeowners cause gentrification by making renovations to their homes (Lees, 2012, p. 241).

Landlords are able to charge higher rent as the neighbourhood becomes more attractive, which may result in gradually increasing rents for current renters. In some cases, renters experience “renoviction”, which occurs when a landlord evicts tenants to make renovations to an apartment building, and then substantially increases the rent (Cooper, 2011, para. 2).

6.3 Local Businesses

As an area gentrifies, long-term local businesses appealing to traditional residents may have to shut down or move to avoid rising rents. Retail gentrification occurs as these businesses are replaced by new ones suited to serve the more expensive tastes of gentrifiers. The process of retail gentrification occurs throughout the stages of gentrification.

6.4 Local Industry

Industry may be impacted by gentrifier expectations, which can lead to demands for industry to mitigate externalities such as smells emanating from factories or noisy truck traffic. This can make gentrification an irritant for some industrial stakeholders, the most high-profile in Grandview Woodland being the West Coast Reduction animal rendering plant. However, municipal policy makers have been largely supportive of a sustained industrial presence in Grandview.

6.5 Business Improvement Associations

Some Grandview Woodland businesses and industries are represented by the local Business Improvement Associations (BIA), whose interests can overlap with those of their members. The Commercial Drive Business Society represents businesses along the majority of Commercial Drive in Grandview. The Hastings North BIA represents businesses in the industrial area in the north of Grandview, along Hastings in Grandview, and beyond into the Hastings Sunrise local area.

6.6 Real Estate Developers

Real Estate Developers operating in Grandview Woodland are responsible for several recent upscale building projects that are part of the gentrification process.

Developers can also act as stakeholders through land assembly. An example of this is the

sale of 6 blocks from Woodland Drive in Grandview through to Campbell Avenue in the Downtown Eastside; a Colliers International advertisement for 1172 Hastings Street just outside Grandview describes how the area was recently sold to various developers and investors who plan to build “new condominiums, rental units, and retail” (2014, p. 2).

6.7 Political Parties and Representatives

Developers are major contributors to the election campaigns of the two largest political parties in Vancouver, Vision and the Non-Partisan Association (Williams, 2014, para. 11 & 13). Since developers sometimes build the upscale buildings that bring gentrification to an area, this puts political parties in a potential conflict of interest position when dealing with gentrification-related issues and public policies. For example, the community plans that directly affect development in Grandview Woodland, the Downtown Eastside, and other local areas were election issues in 2014 (Lee, 2014a, para. 4 & 5). Local political representatives from other levels of government are also stakeholders because of gentrification’s impacts on local residents, businesses, and industry. These include Vancouver East MP Libby Davies, Vancouver-Mount Pleasant MLA Jenny Kwan, and Vancouver-Hastings MLA Shane Simpson.

6.8 Public Administrators

Public policies on the location of local amenities, disamenities, and zoning decisions impact gentrification. Public administrators are both the front-line deliverers of public policy, as well as the eyes and ears of government in the local area. This makes such public administrators like City Planners, Community Centre employees, and locally-based police working through the Community Policing Centre important stakeholders.

6.9 Community Organizations

Local organizations operating in the community and sometimes representing local people, are stakeholders. In Grandview Woodland, these include social service providers such as the Grandview Woodland Food Connection, the Kettle Friendship Society, the Kiwassa Neighbourhood House, and MOSAIC. Local ethnic organizations like the Urban Native Youth Association and the Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Society are stakeholders. The Grandview Woodland Area Council is a stakeholder, and has been a leading critic of the community plan (Grandview-Woodland Area Council, 2013). Finally, the Grandview Heritage Group would have a stake in ensuring the preservation of historical buildings in the face of gentrification.

6.10 Conclusion

Gentrification in Grandview Woodland impacts a range of stakeholders that potentially includes most members of the Grandview community. These stakeholders may benefit or be disadvantaged by gentrification. This addresses the research question because understanding these stakeholders and their interests helps explain the process of gentrification in Grandview since 2008. A clear understanding of stakeholders contributed to the selection of a diverse group of interviewees. It also supports the Environmental Scan because some of these groups are linked to some of the changes to the social, technological, economic, environmental, and political circumstances in East Vancouver since 2006.

Chapter 7.0 Findings: Environmental Scan

7.1 Introduction

This chapter uses a Document Review to complete an Environmental Scan of East Vancouver. This addresses changes to the social, technological, economic, environmental, and political situation in the area from approximately 2006 to 2014. The scan incorporates local area plans, land use data, crime statistics, education test scores, real estate price changes, and other relevant resources to determine changes over time. This relates to the research question by showing that the five local areas that make up East Vancouver (Grandview Woodland, the Downtown Eastside, Strathcona, Mount Pleasant and Hastings Sunrise) are gentrifying, and have changed in ways that invite further gentrification.

7.2 Social

7.2.1 Crime

There has been a dramatic decrease in many categories of crime East Vancouver between 2006 and 2013 (see Appendices F - L). Zukin (2009) found that falling crime rates in neighbourhoods in New York City that were previously unattractive to developers contributed to their attractiveness (p. 49). Therefore, this drop in crime is likely to have made East Vancouver more attractive to gentrifiers.

Vancouver Police Department statistics on Grandview Woodland, Mount Pleasant, Hastings Sunrise, and Strathcona (combined with the Downtown Eastside), show that robberies, break & enters, and motor vehicle thefts have decreased throughout East Vancouver from 2006 to 2013. Assaults have decreased markedly in Grandview Woodland while increasing in Strathcona and remaining consistent in Mount Pleasant and Hastings Sunrise. Thefts have remained constant in Mount Pleasant while falling in

the other three local areas. Mischief has increased in Strathcona, remained constant in Grandview, and fallen in Hastings Sunrise and Mount Pleasant. Charges of prostitution gradually fell by 97 percent in Grandview, from 67 charges in 2006 to two charges in 2013. The other three local areas showed consistently low levels of prostitution over the same period, although it should be noted that prostitution laws are not enforced in the Strathcona local area as a matter of policy (Hutchinson, 2012, para. 8).

In addition to a drop in crime making East Vancouver more attractive to safety-conscious gentrifiers, there is also anecdotal evidence that gentrification can contribute to a decrease in crime. For example, the construction of the 97-unit Sequel 138 condominium building near Main and Hastings in the Downtown Eastside motivated the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users to declare that “gentrification destabilized the drug market...” as a result of the increased presence of police and private security (Stueck, 2012, para. 2, 10, 15). Therefore, gentrification and reduced crime could reinforce one-another in East Vancouver.

7.2.2 Social Housing

Like crime, social housing is seen as a disamenity by many potential gentrifiers (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2490, 2493 & 2494). In 2007, the City of Vancouver and the Province of British Columbia agreed to build new social and supportive housing units on 12 sites owned by the City (two more sites were later added). Six of the 14 sites are in East Vancouver, with two in Strathcona, two in Mount Pleasant, and two in the Downtown Eastside (BC Housing, 2010, para. 1 & 4). This has expanded the permanent presence of social housing that some potential gentrifiers view as a disamenity.

Also in 2007, the Provincial Government purchased 24 Single Room Occupancy

hotels in the Downtown Eastside and surrounding area through the BC Housing crown corporation. In 2011, BC Housing began the SRO Renewal Initiative project to restore the most deteriorated buildings (BC Housing, 2013, p. 1). While the purchase of these buildings guaranteed a permanent disamenity in the area, the physical improvements to the formerly neglected buildings have attracted investment into the neighbourhood, including condos and gourmet restaurants (Mackin, 2013, para. 9).

However, the purchase of the buildings by the province have not put an end to building management issues that may deter some gentrifiers; Atira Management, a subcontractor hired to manage some of the buildings, have admitted that they allow drug use and prostitution inside their buildings in order to fulfill a government mandate to offering a “low barrier to housing” (CBC News, 2012, para. 46)

7.2.3 Education Test Scores

Ley & Dobson (2008) found that Grandview Woodland’s standard education test scores and university enrolment rates were much lower than those of West Side Vancouver schools, which resulted in the quick departure of some Grandview gentrifier residents once they had children (p. 2490). There has been an improvement in education indicators that could indicate the removal of a barrier to gentrification. The East Vancouver school attendance districts include the Britannia, Templeton, and Vancouver Technical schools. These three district boundaries each cut across two or more of the local areas that make up East Vancouver (Vancouver School Board: School Locations and Boundaries, 2011). Data produced by the Vancouver School Board and compiled by the Fraser Institute (see Appendix E) shows that many indicators for schools have improved between 2006 and 2013. Average exam marks improved at all three schools;

percentage of exams failed decreased at two of the three schools; the graduation rate increased at all three schools; the delayed advancement rate dropped in all three schools. Other Fraser Institute indicators were not included in this study because their impact on school performance is less direct. The improvements in indicators directly linked to school performance indicate that East Vancouver schools could be becoming more attractive to potential gentrifiers.

7.2.4 Commodification of East Van Counterculture

The counterculture elements in East Vancouver are also attractive to potential gentrifiers and have been co-opted by developers in their marketing campaigns. Boyd (2008a) followed the commodification of Mount Pleasant's youth punk counterculture, which was being mythologized even as it was being discouraged by law enforcement (p. 104). The commodification of counterculture in Grandview Woodland is occurring at the current time, with the very first line of the *Marquee On the Drive* condo development website stating that "Musicians, artists, writers call the Drive home..." (Marquee On the Drive, n.d.), indicating a reliance on this element of Commercial Dr. culture to sell homes. Grandview is home to 24 performance spaces and seven galleries (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 13 & p. 36), the presence of which Zukin (2009) argues leads to residential gentrification (p. 50).

Another parallel between Mount Pleasant and Grandview Woodland is the enthusiasm among developers to rebrand these neighbourhoods in the midst of gentrification. Developers in Mount Pleasant advertised Main Street (a high street in Mount Pleasant) as "SOMA" and "Uptown" (Boyd, 2008a, p. 108). Similarly, the developers of "The Oxford" in Grandview are using the new "East Village"

neighbourhood brand coined by the local BIA in 2013 in their brochure, ahead of the historical area name (Grandview Woodland) (BLVD, n.d.). The phenomenon of rebranding accompanying gentrification also occurred in Toronto, where city planners sometimes invented a name for gentrifying neighbourhoods that lacked a link to the area's traditional name (Hannigan, 1995, p. 182).

7.3 Technological

7.3.1 Technology is Reducing Pollution

Pollution can have an effect on how appealing an area is to gentrifiers (Ley & Dobson, 2008, p. 2473), and advances in technology are reducing pollution arising from transportation and industry in East Vancouver. Recent efforts to reduce air pollution in East Vancouver may be contributing to increased gentrification in the area. These efforts include *Action Program: Addressing Air Quality and Climate Change*, and reductions in emissions at the West Coast Reduction animal rendering plant.

The Burrard Inlet off the northernmost portion of Grandview Woodland contains some of the highest levels of air pollution in Greater Vancouver as a result of tanker traffic transportation activity in the area (Metro Vancouver, 2014, p. 15). Port Metro Vancouver manages this issue and is using technology to achieve goals laid out in *Action Program: Addressing Air Quality and Climate Change* (2008). This technology includes reducing fuel use using truck reservation systems, hybrid technologies, alternative fuels (biodiesel and hydrogen), and hydroelectric shore power (p. 3 & 4). The railroads that run through the northern edge of Grandview are reducing their emissions by making use of hybrid locomotive technologies and idle shut-down technologies.

Local industry is also using technology to control pollution. A key example is West Coast Reduction Ltd., an animal rendering company whose fumes have generated complaints in the community for many years. The company installed a thermal oxidizer (a device that controls odorous emissions) in 1993 and a second in 2006 (Vancouver Courier, 2009, para. 17 & 18).

Despite these efforts, West Coast Reduction has continued to be the target of complaints, which resulted in the City of Vancouver drafting a law targeting odour-producing plants in 2012 (Woo, 2012, para. 1 & 2). The bylaw would assign a risk category to processing plants arising from the nature of the products being processed and the proximity of the plant to residents (Woo, para. 8). The risk category assigned would determine whether plants were required to pay fees of up to \$150,000 (Woo, para. 10). However, an email to the City of Vancouver to follow up on this draft law resulted in a response from a Senior Policy Analyst which may indicate the continued ability of industry stakeholders to influence pollution public policy in Grandview:

The proposed bylaw has not passed and the proposal is currently on hold. We had learned from the initial consultation that the proposal required some changes in order to gain broader support from stakeholders. Since that initial consultation, priorities have shifted such that this proposal is not currently active although interest in it remains. At this time, no timeline exists for a resumption of this proposal (personal communication, Sep 19, 2014).

Though the bylaw is on hold, it is possible that such ongoing pressure from the City has contributed to West Coast Reduction's ongoing efforts to reduce emissions. In 2013, West Coast Reduction replaced their old oxidizer with more effective direct fired thermal oxidizer, which they claim is the "most effective technology available to the industry" (Metro Vancouver, 2013 & West Coast Reduction Ltd., 2014, p. 3). A reduction in odour-producing emissions can be expected to appeal to gentrifier sensibilities.

7.4 Economic

Economic changes in East Vancouver indicate increased gentrification in the area. Increasing real estate prices, increased development activity, and changes to the types of business in the area are all likely to indicate a gentrifying trend.

7.4.1 Increasing Real Estate Prices & Immigration

According to the Demographia International Housing Affordability survey, Vancouver's housing market is now the second least affordable in the world (Saminather, 2014). The process of Vancouver becoming an expensive international real estate market has been decades in coming. Ley (2010) argues that this movement began with Canada's Asia-Pacific economic and immigration strategy in the 1980's (p. 150). Gutstein (1990) showed that in 1989 foreign and immigrant buyers were not procuring the most expensive real estate in the city, but predicted that urban property in Vancouver would become a global commodity in the long-term (p. 214). This has proven true, with the 1990s bringing an increase in housing prices as a result of factors including international capital being attracted to Vancouver by its cleanliness, safety, and temperature, beauty, and outdoor activities (Punter as cited in Quastel, 2009, p. 710).

Business immigrants have been attracted to Vancouver in large numbers, even compared to Toronto, becoming at least 4.7 percent of the population of metropolitan Vancouver by 2001 compared to Toronto's 1.7 percent. Many business immigrants are Chinese (Ley, 2010, p. 64), and are attracted by Vancouver's quality of life, quality of education, and geopolitics (Ley, p. 77).

In the 1990's, this influx of wealthy migrants resulted in criticism from the Anglo-Canadian upper-class that were the predominant occupiers of wealthy Vancouver

neighbourhoods at that time (Smart & Smart, 1996, p. 33). That criticism has dissipated since the 2000's as Vancouverites became increasingly comfortable with Vancouver's new identity as an Asia-Pacific city (The Vancouver Sun, 2007, para. 1, 26 & 27).

Housing prices approximately doubled in Vancouver between 2001 and 2007, with the average price for a regular two-bedroom condominium downtown or on the West Side increasing from \$260K to \$650K and average rentals for a regular two-bedroom condominium in those areas increasing from \$1,000 to \$2,200 (Quastel, 2009, p. 710). The average detached house in Vancouver is over \$1.2 million (Young, 2014, para. 4).

Sotheby's Top Tier Trends Report of 2013 found that foreign buyers, lead by buyers from China, make up approximately 40 percent of the market for Vancouver luxury real estate (Sotheby's, 2013, p. 6). This shows that Gutstein's prediction that Vancouver real estate would become a global commodity in the long-term was correct. Ley (2010) found that the correlation between net international immigration and Vancouver home prices was an "unusually decisive" +0.94 correlation between these factors, exceeding the relationship between prices and other factors such as and interest rates (-0.12), unemployment (0.16), and rental vacancies (-0.03) (p. 152 & 154; Young, 2014, para. 10).

Between 2005 and 2012, 36,973 millionaire migrants moved to British Columbia through the now defunct immigrant investor program, with a likely additional 20,000 arriving by way of Quebec during that same period under Quebec's provincial immigrant investor program (Young, 2014, para. 12). There is evidence that an increase in immigrant millionaire investment into Vancouver real estate has resulted in escalating housing prices in recent years. No level of government in Canada collects data on the

citizenship of real estate owners (Hutchins, 2015, para. 3), and in this vacuum of information the Conference Board of Canada, MacDonald Realty Ltd., and Landcor Data have all released reports indicating that Chinese investment is causing real estate prices to increase in Vancouver.

A Conference Board of Canada analysis shows that Vancouver's overall housing market is effected more by GDP growth in China than by improvements in Vancouver employment, and that GDP growth in China is just as important to the housing market as a drop in Canadian interest rates (Wiebe, 2013, para. 7). This is further confirmed by a study from MacDonald Realty Ltd, one of BC's largest real estate companies, which reported that in 2013 it sold 33.5 percent of single-family detached homes in the City of Vancouver to "people with ties to mainland China" (Marlow, 2014, para. 1, 2 & 4). The methods of this study have been criticized in the Financial Post as too simplistic, consisting of Macdonald Realty going through real estate transactions to identify names that the company believed were Chinese (Marr, 2014, para. 7). While far from an ideal study, it does indicate a trend that the City of Vancouver's 27.7 percent ethnic Chinese population (BC Stats, n.d. p. 3) may be over-represented in the single-family detached home market.

Landcor Data carried out a similar study in Richmond and West Side Vancouver in 2011, which found that people with mainland Chinese names made up 74 percent of luxury purchases in those areas in 2010 (Young, 2014, para. 11). Again, a person having a mainland Chinese name is not a strong indicator of being foreign in 21st century Canada, and likely exaggerates the link between foreign investment and real estate increases. However, there is little reasonable doubt that there are clear links between

Chinese investment and higher housing prices, even if this link is exaggerated by studies focusing on Chinese names.

Discussions of Chinese impact on the real estate market have prompted accusations of racism and the Chinese head tax, with non-Chinese development industry professionals sometimes pushing versions of this idea, including developer Bob Rennie and consultant Bob Ransford (Young, 2014, para. 3 & 5). This is consistent with historical practices of pro-development businesses in Vancouver; for example, the West Side Builders Association successfully used the spectre of racism to discourage resistance to neighbourhood change in the Shaughnessy local area in the 1990s (Ley, 2010, p. 190-91). This shows that the development industry has a vested interest in avoiding a discussion of the impact of foreign investment on the real estate market.

Vancouverites of Asian descent, including Vancouver city planning commissioner Brandon Yan, Head Tax Families Society of Canada founder Sid Chow Tan, and Chinatown activist David Wong have all expressed that accusations of racism and comparisons to the Chinese head tax may be inaccurate and could be being used to stifle discussion about the effect of Chinese investment on the real estate market (Young, 2014, para. 4 & 7, 8, 15). This reinforces the legitimacy of the discussion.

The Financial Post argues that the Chinese investment in Vancouver's luxury housing areas is pushing up housing costs in other parts of Vancouver, because people are selling their homes in these areas and moving to other areas of Vancouver, which is pushing up prices in those areas (Gordon, 2014, para. 2, 21). Similarly, Zukin (2009) found that the high price of land in New York City encouraged private developers to become active in areas they previously ignored (p. 49). Sotheby's Top Tier Trends

Report (2013) found that none of Vancouver's most desirable local areas are in East Vancouver (p. 5). However, increasing housing costs in the rest of Vancouver are pushing the middle class into East Vancouver (Stainsby, 2014, para. 4).

7.4.2 Money Moving Eastward in Vancouver

Between 1970 and 2005, the share of high-income neighbourhoods in Vancouver doubled to 32 percent, resulting in many low-income residents leaving for the suburbs of Surrey, Langley, and Coquitlam (Gillis, 2014, para. 10). As a result of real estate price increases throughout Vancouver, formerly low-income and crime-ridden areas such as Main Street in East Vancouver have become trendy and expensive (Gold, 2008, para. 5, 12 & 22).

In 2007, a building boom began along the long downtrodden East Hastings Street, which runs through the East Vancouver local areas of Downtown Eastside, Grandview Woodland, and Hastings Sunrise. This has included 25 building projects completed along it since 2007, with two more under construction, five other major projects approved, and six others under review by the City as of 2013 (Hansen, 2013, p. 1). There are other properties in the area that have been purchased by investors for development, including a site purchased by Onni at East Hastings and Clark, and two sites (895 & 828 East Hastings) purchased by Lululemon founder Chip Wilson along East Hastings Street (Mackie, 2014, para. 50). These examples show that Hastings Street is now seen by big business as safe for investment.

7.4.3 Municipal Policy Attempts to Address Affordability

The City of Vancouver has made several attempts to manage real estate and rent

increases through public policy. The Short Term Incentives for Rental (STIR) is a City policy meant to address housing affordability. Passed into law in 2009, this program exempts developers from paying some development taxes and allows building higher and denser residential development in exchange for building (for-profit) rental housing (Antrim, 2011, para. 2-4). However, due to the lack of a rent cap set on this housing, the STIR program has been criticized as doing nothing to benefit low-income people (Antrim, para. 4). This program was supported by Vision councillors unanimously while being opposed by the opposition Non Partisan Association and Green Party (Antrim, para. 7). This appears to be an example of public policy failing to effectively address housing affordability issues related to gentrification.

In 2007, the City of Vancouver launched the EcoDensity program to address housing affordability and environmental sustainability challenges in Vancouver by encouraging higher-density developments throughout the city (Quastel, 2009, p. 710; City of Vancouver, n.d., p. 1 & 2). This public policy was the precursor to the current local area planning process (Lee, 2014b, para. 7).

7.4.4 The Downtown Eastside Local Area Plan

The Downtown Eastside Local Area Plan (DTES LAP) public policy was approved on March 15, 2014 (Lupick, 2014, para. 6), and has been a lightning rod for concerns about gentrification in the Downtown Eastside. One of the key goal of the DTES LAP is to improve “the diversity of affordable market and non-market option in the neighbourhood” (City of Vancouver, 2014e, p. 3). The DTES LAP comes at a time of change for an area where property values more than tripled between 2001 and 2013 (Lupick, para. 14).

The DTES LAP has been criticized from both the left and right sides of the political spectrum. On the right, it was criticized by Shelley Fralic of the Vancouver Sun as a misguided “effort to put even more low-income housing in an area already over-saturated with folks who might best be served residing in more healthy environs” (Fralic, 2014, para. 9). On the left, it has been criticized by the Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP) for plans to relocate 36 percent of low-income people to other parts of the city through rent subsidies and by building social housing outside DTES. CCAP anticipates that this and the loss of housing rented at the shelter rate will result in the displacement of “thousands of low-income people” (Carnegie Community Action Project, 2014, para. 2, 12, 14).

CCAP does support the provision of DTES LAP that reserved 60 percent of new housing in the Oppenheimer subdistrict of the Downtown Eastside for social housing since it will “slow down gentrification a bit” (Carnegie Community Action Project, 2014, para. 2, 4, 6). However, this policy has been criticized as financially unviable to developers by real estate consultant Michael Geller and local community centre coordinator Judy McGuire, and therefore likely to result in little or no new development Oppenheimer (Mackie, 2014, para. 62-68). The impact of the DTES LAP will be felt in the years to come, and the results for the large low-income community could affect surrounding local areas.

Social problems in DTES have a history of impacting neighbouring Grandview Woodland. For example, increasing homelessness and addiction in the Downtown Eastside migrated into Grandview during the 1980s and 1990s, which discouraged gentrification (Murray, 2011, para. 36). The social outcomes of the DTES LAP are likely

to have implications for Grandview, but it is not yet clear what those implications will be.

7.4.5 Protection of Industry & Industrial Integration

Murdie & Teixeira's (2009) argument that gentrification will cause a loss of industry (p. 75) has not been well represented in East Vancouver. The DTES LAP, Mount Pleasant Community Plan, and Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan all show that the City of Vancouver is committed to protecting the bulk of the active industrial area in East Vancouver from rezoning. Industry occupies the land where DTES and Grandview border one another, as well as the port lands at the northernmost edges of these local areas. Maintaining this industrial zoning will prevent this area from being converted into residential space. This support for industry contradicts Murdie & Teixeira's argument that gentrifier objections to unpleasant industrial externalities will result in the loss of political support for industrial uses (p. 75).

While the vast majority of East Vancouver industrial space will remain, new uses are being permitted. The city has made zoning changes which allow industrial land to be used for artist studios and breweries. This phenomenon is producing a new and understudied phenomenon that is described in this thesis as industrial integration. It is called industrial integration because it results in some industrial buildings becoming accessible to the general public, which has the effect of integrating an industrial area into the wider community. Artist studios and breweries draw customers directly to the industrial site, and customers remain there for pleasure as opposed to necessity. This is in contrast to traditional industrial manufacturing, where few or no customers come on site (e.g. meatpacking), or where customers go out of necessity (e.g. auto shops).

It is tempting to describe this phenomenon as "industrial gentrification" to be

consistent with the retail gentrification taking place in commercial areas. However, the industrial manufacturers that are replaced in the process of industrial integration are rarely open to the public, so businesses that low-income incumbents depend on are unlikely to be replaced. This contrasts with retail gentrification. Furthermore, breweries and artist studios do not necessarily produce goods that are unaffordable to low-income incumbents. Industrial integration does create a “cool” factor in the neighbourhood that attracts tourists, and potentially gentrifiers. Therefore, industrial integration can be linked to gentrification processes while it is not gentrification in itself.

One possible indicator of the process of industrial integration in East Vancouver is the East Van Culture Crawl, a four-day annual event that opens up artists’ studios to the public, including painters, jewelers, sculptors, weavers, potters, furniture makers, photographers, printmakers, and glassblowers (18th Annual Eastside Culture Crawl, n.d., para. 2). Records provided by the organizers and shown in Appendices M & N show steady growth in both the number of attendees and the number the number of artists participating since the event was launched in 1994 (18th Annual Eastside Culture Crawl, para. 5 - 24).

There was an exponential increase in the number of breweries in East Vancouver in 2014. Although it is not known why each individual brewery opened, it is likely that this is connected to Vancouver’s City Council changing zoning laws in 2013 to allow breweries to serve more than the one beer per customer on-site (CBC News, 2013b, para. 1 & 2). This closely followed the provincial government’s changes to liquor laws which allowed lounges and tasting rooms on-site at breweries (CBC News, 2013c, para. 3). This appears to be an example of how public policy can quickly and directly result in

industrial integration.

Eight of the 31 breweries in Greater Vancouver (as of 2014) are in the Grandview Woodland industrial area (The Hoppy Ending, n.d), which has been coined “Yeast Van” (Luba, 2014, para. 18) and “Vancouver’s Brewery District” (Johnson, 2014, para. 11). Several opened in 2014, including Bomber Brewing (Zeschky, 2014, para. 43), Doan’s Craft Brewing, Off the Rail Brewing Co., and Callister Brewing Co. Additionally, Powell Street Craft Brewery opened in 2012, Coal Harbour Brewing Co. in 2011, Parallel 49 in 2008, and Storm Brewing Ltd., one of Vancouver’s first microbreweries, opened in 1995 (Wakefield, 2013, para. 7 & Storm Brewing, n.d., para. 1). An additional four breweries have opened in “Brewery Creek” in Mount Pleasant (Luba, para. 2). These include Steel Toad Brewpub which opened 2014, Main Street Brewing Co. which opened 2014, Brassneck Brewery which opened in 2013, and R & B Brewing which opened in 1997. In addition, Strange Fellows Brewing will be opening in 2014 in Strathcona, and Postmark Brewing opened in the Downtown Eastside in 2014. The exponential increase in brewery activity is a recent development that could have further consequences for gentrification in the coming years.

7.4.6 Increasing Jobs in Technology

East Vancouver is developing as a hub for technology jobs in Vancouver. The site of the former Vancouver Police Department in the Downtown Eastside is being replaced by a Technology and Social Innovation Centre meant to support “technology start-ups, sustainability and clean-tech, social enterprise, and micro-enterprise”. This was chosen over turning the building into social housing, as suggested by community anti-gentrification activists (Hui, 2014, para. 1-3, 10). Gastown, at the border of East

Vancouver and Downtown, is experiencing an increasing presence of technology companies including Salesforce (Weise, 2014, para. 5), Anthem Visual Effects, Industrial Light & Magic, Omni Film, and many others (Gastown, n.d.). The presence of relatively skilled and well-paid tech jobs at work sites that produce little or no pollution could be a contributor to gentrification in East Vancouver.

7.5 Environmental

Most environmental changes to the East Vancouver area between 2006 and 2014 were changes to the built environment. These include residential densification and physical changes resulting from public works projects. Residential developments have been using the language of “sustainability and green consumption” in marketing these physical changes. There have also been changes to the pollution levels in parts of East Vancouver.

7.5.1 Densification & Environmental Sustainability

The physical environment of East Vancouver has changed significantly in recent years as a result of densification. Densification has been official City policy since the release of the EcoDensity public policy in 2007. This policy aimed to increase density to allow for environmental sustainability and affordability in Vancouver (City of Vancouver, n.d., p. 1). Former Mayor Sam Sullivan stated that he wanted to make densification “official city policy” in support of environmental sustainability (The Vancouver Sun, 2006, para. 3 - 5). However, Quastel (2009) assigns the densification and gentrification resulting from the EcoDensity program with some responsibility for the increase in property values in the Downtown Eastside and resulting displacement of low income residents (p. 718). This shows how a public policy attempting to encourage

environmental sustainability can be a contributor to gentrification.

One aim of EcoDensity was to bring density to neighbourhoods outside of the downtown core (The Vancouver Sun, 2006, para. 6), such as those in East Vancouver. The website of Brent Toderian, Vancouver's Chief Planner during the introduction of EcoDensity, describes it as having "transformed planning and design in Vancouver", with key elements including densification along transit and corridors, as well as gentle density increases such as laneway houses in former-single family residential areas (Toderian Urbanworks, n.d., para. 3). Since 2009, over a thousand one-and-a-half to two story laneway houses have been built in Vancouver (Crawford, 2013, para. 3 & 13). Laneway houses are now a frequent sight in East Vancouver, with many retirees selling their homes on the West Side, moving to East Vancouver and building laneway houses (Gold, 2014, para. 23).

Numerous tall new developments are either built or under construction along major streets in East Vancouver, such as Hastings, Kingsway, and Broadway. The Grandview Woodland Community Plan is likely to continue the densification started with EcoDensity, as the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan proposes mixed use residential and commercial buildings at seven key intersections and focusing new housing on main arterial streets (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 3 & 21). This parallels what has taken place in Harlem, New York, where the city government rezoned the arterial streets for the construction of high-rise apartments with ground-floor retail to encourage redevelopment (Zukin, 2009, p. 50).

Some developers constructing residential buildings in East Vancouver are using what Quastel (2009) describes as the language of "sustainability and green consumption"

in their marketing campaigns. The brochure for the “Boheme” development in Grandview Woodland does this quite literally, using the tag line “SUSTAIN” twice, first overlaying a photo of a bicycle on the cover, and again inside the brochure overlaying a woman in a garden holding a handful of freshly harvested carrots (Millennium, n.d.). Quastel (2009) identified that the use of this sort of environmentally conscious language in Vancouver contributes to gentrification (p. 694).

In the Hastings Sunrise local area to the east of Grandview Woodland, a vacant lot which will be the future site of a mixed-use development called *Alba* is currently being used as a community garden with the full support of the developer who owns the land (Stueck, 2013, p.19). Quastel (2009) identifies that when a developer holding land makes it available for a community garden, this is part of the wider use of environmental discourse in the process of gentrification (p. 695 & 719).

Physical environment upgrades in East Vancouver have made the area more environmentally friendly. Improvements to the heavily-used Adanac bikeway took place in 2013, including installing separated bike lanes and the removal of automobile parking spaces to make way for bikes (City of Vancouver, 2013c, p. 1).

7.5.2 Built Environment Legacies of the 2010 Olympics

The 2010 Vancouver Olympics resulted in the development of the Olympic Village in Mount Pleasant on a former industrial site. This is now a community of about 1,100 residential units. The community uses solar heating and green roofs, and is described by the City of Vancouver as “one of the greenest communities in the world” (City of Vancouver, 2014c, para. 1, 2 & 5). The City attributes this new community with the rejuvenation of the surrounding neighbourhood (City of Vancouver, 2014d, para. 13).

Two of the eight Olympic venues in Vancouver were in East Vancouver, including the Pacific Coliseum in Hastings Sunrise and the Britannia Centre in Grandview Woodland; both venues enjoyed facility and equipment upgrades and the installation of aboriginal art (Vancouver 2010, n.d., p. 117 & 118). The Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC) for the Olympics built their headquarters in Hastings Sunrise, which is now an office of the Vancouver Police Department (Mackin, 2013, para. 21).

7.5.3 Implications of the Pacific Gateway Strategy

The built environment in East Vancouver has been directly effected by public policy measures contained in the Pacific Gateway strategy. Pacific Gateway was launched in 2005 by the provincial government to increase exports of raw materials to Asia (TranBC, n.d., para. 1, 2 & 3). In East Vancouver, two major construction projects were completed in 2014 as part of the Pacific Gateway, including the Powell Street Grade Separation project and the South Shore Corridor Project, both meant to improve the operation of trucks, rail, and the port that run all along the Burrard Inlet in the northern portion of East Vancouver (Government of Canada, 2014, para. 1). The Powell Street Grade Separation project overpasses the former at-grade road-rail intersection, improving vehicular, cyclist, and pedestrian traffic. The South Shore Corridor Project provided an elevated road and other improvements, which allow for longer trains while reducing road congestion and train-related noise (Government of Canada, para. 6).

Pollution in East Vancouver is likely to be reduced by Pacific Gateway initiatives, such as ecoFREIGHT, which aims to use technology to reduce environmental and health effects of freight transportation (Canada's Pacific Gateway, n.d., p. 2). There have also been changes to the levels of pollution in East Vancouver as a result of environmental

requirements introduced by Port Metro Vancouver in 2008-09 to reduce idling and phase out older trucks which generated the most pollution (Port Metro Vancouver, 2008, p. 7).

Decreased pollution in East Vancouver is likely to appeal to gentrifier sensibilities.

7.6 Political

7.6.1 Political Representation - Provincial & Federal

All elected officials in East Vancouver at the federal and provincial levels are members of the New Democratic Party (NDP). The federal riding of East Vancouver has been held by Libby Davies since 1997. Provincially the riding is split into Vancouver-Mount Pleasant and Vancouver-Hastings. Vancouver-Mount Pleasant has been held by Jenny Kwan since 1996 (Jenny Kwan, n.d., para. 1) and NDP Premier Mike Harcourt prior to that since 1991 (B.C. Votes 2005, n.d., para. 3). Vancouver-Hastings has been held by Shane Simpson since 2005 (Shane Simpson MLA, n.d., para. 1) and former NDP cabinet minister and interim leader Joy MacPhail prior to that since 1991 (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 2006).

Despite this history of NDP dominance, Georgia Straight writer Charlie Smith has published two articles asserting that East Vancouver may be less secure for the NDP in the 2015 federal election; he attributes this to gentrification in East Vancouver as well as the planned retirement of NDP MP Libby Davies, a rising number of homeowners (a more Liberal constituency), changes to the federal election law that could reduce the ability of NDP constituencies (seniors, First Nations and students) to vote, and a surge in the popularity of the Liberal Party across Canada (Smith, 2014a, para. 6 & 7; Smith, 2014b, para. 8 - 10).

7.6.2 Political Issues

Housing affordability and managing population growth are major political issues at the municipal level. Housing affordability was a central issue in the Vancouver 2014 municipal election. Although the City of Vancouver has few public policy tools to counter the effects of foreign investment (Ward, 2014, para. 22), some parties did offer policy solutions. The Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) proposed a tax on foreign buyers, property speculators, and the owners of properties who leave them vacant, while the Greens proposed a tax on buyers purchasing homes over \$4 million (Yaffe, 2014a, para. 3).

Successive municipal administrations have attempted to deal with population growth in the City of Vancouver, currently expected to be 5,000 per year over the next 30 years (Ward, 2014, para. 16). Gordon Price, the director of the City Program at Simon Fraser University and former Vancouver city councillor has said that there are three ways to absorb new residents into Vancouver: building new housing, shifting growth to the suburbs, or ignoring the demand and the resulting population crowding (Lee, 2014c, para. 22). In the past, there was room for new developments on former industrial lands and brownfield sites, but those lands have been built out (Ward, para. 16 - 18). This has led the current Vision Vancouver administration to the sometimes unpopular strategy of locating new developments at the edges of low-density neighbourhoods (Ward, para. 17). City of Vancouver Planning Director Brian Jackson has said that the need to accommodate growth in single-family neighbourhoods is likely to cause “friction” into the future (Lee, para. 8 & 9).

7.6.3 Political Protest

Judging by the hostile response to the DTES LAP and the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan, this friction is already a reality. The LAP for the DTES was passed into law in 2014, but not without facing significant resistance from community groups, including a march through the area the week before the City Council vote (Robinson, 2014, para. 8). There has been active political resistance in the Downtown Eastside to retail gentrification in that area, which has targeted two restaurants in particular, Cuchillo and Pigeon (Hopper, 2013, para. 4 & 5). In Grandview, local opposition to the increased density captured in the Draft Community Plan resulted in the City postponing the Community Plan to form a citizens' assembly that could be used to examine development options and provide recommendations to the City (Yaffe, 2014b, para. 1, 4-6).

7.6.4 Political Representation - Municipal

Despite these controversies, East Vancouver is municipally dominated by the currently ruling Vision Vancouver party (Vision). Vision is considered politically to the right of COPE and Green, and to the left of the Non-Partisan Association. Many former Vision supporters have been disappointed by the party's results in dealing with Vancouver's housing affordability problems (Ward, 2014, para. 22). This strategy has involved increasing housing supply by encouraging private sector condos and rental developments, but has failed to bring down prices (Ward, para. 23 & 24).

Vision's development policies have been particularly unpopular in Grandview Woodland, despite strong support for the party there in previous elections (Ward, 2014, para. 19 & 21). A large part of this unpopularity has been as a result of the component of

the 2013 Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan which would have allowed for towers of up to 36 stories in the area (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 31). The City backed off this proposal as a result of community pressure, and organized a Citizen's Assembly of 48 randomly selected Grandview locals, with whom the city will consult on developing a revised Plan (O'Connor, 2014, para. 1 & 2).

Despite the controversy, Vision won in all but 3 of the roughly 25 East Vancouver polling stations in the 2014 election (Global News, 2014, Interactive Map). Mayor Gregor Robertson, the leader of Vision, received 64.8 percent of the vote in Grandview Woodland. This was his best result in the city, although it was down from the 75.4 percent received in Grandview in 2011 (The Vancouver Sun, 2014, Interactive Map 2). The three local areas of the city to experience the largest decreases in Vision Vancouver support during the 2014 election were Grandview Woodland, Strathcona and Marpole, all local areas that were the subject of community plans prior to the election. This may reflect the unpopularity of the community planning process. However, the fourth local area to receive a community plan, the West End, received only a small (2.3 percent) decrease in popularity (The Vancouver Sun, para. 5).

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown a variety of trends in East Vancouver that link to gentrification in Grandview Woodland. This relates to the research question by showing that the five local areas that make up East Vancouver are gentrifying, and/or have changed in ways that invite further gentrification. EcoDensity, Short Term Incentives for Rental, the Pacific Gateway Strategy, and community planning public policies are all part of these trends in East Vancouver. The next chapter looks at long-standing public policies

that may be linked to gentrification in Grandview and the broader Vancouver context.

Chapter 8.0 Findings: Policies Linked to Gentrification

This chapter uses the document review method to identify policies that have the potential to directly affect gentrification in Vancouver. This addresses the research question by discussing potential factors that propel gentrification. Policy documents were selected for review that have the potential to influence gentrification as defined by Hackworth (the production of space for progressively more affluent users). These include the Vancouver Charter, the Zoning and Development Bylaw, and the Residential Tenancy Act, which govern the production of space in Vancouver. These sources show that policies have the potential to influence gentrification.

8.1 The Vancouver Charter

The Province of British Columbia endowed the City of Vancouver with the Vancouver Charter in 1953, which is legislation that provides the City with more self-governing power than that of many other cities in Canada (Punter, 2003, p. 13). Part XXVII of the Charter gives the City Council the power to develop policy and approve development plans and rezoning (Vancouver Charter, 1953; Punter, p. 14), and gives the Director of Planning authority to decide on development permissions (Punter, p. 14).

Section 561 of the Charter allows the City Council to designate land for purposes such as parks, affordable housing, and heritage conservation. These land use decisions directly impact the desirability of a community and the viability of development options, and therefore affect the pace of gentrification.

Section 565 of the Charter allows the City Council to determine densities, heights, and other features of buildings, including allowing increased density for the provision of affordable housing. Density decisions can impact gentrification by changing property tax

levels for area businesses, which are taxed more based on the higher allowed density. It can reduce gentrification by encouraging the construction of affordable housing.

Section 566 orders the City Council to have a public hearing prior to any amendment or repealing of a zoning by-law. This allows a degree of public scrutiny over policy decisions that may affect the pace of gentrification.

The Vancouver Charter is the legislation that governs the City of Vancouver (Murphy, 2013, para. 2). The wide-ranging authorities that it provides to the City relating to development, land-use, zoning, and public consultation make its application important to the gentrification process.

8.2 The Zoning and Development Bylaw

The Zoning and Development Bylaw has been the main regulator of the development of land in Vancouver since 1956 (City of Vancouver, 1997a, p. 1). It determines what purposes land can be used for, including residential, industrial, commercial, trade, recreational, and cultural. It regulates many features of buildings which may influence the production of space, such as the design, height, construction, number of stories, size of buildings, and density of the population. This Bylaw divides the City into districts to carry out these regulations and to grant or refuse development permits. It also lays out penalties for when regulations are violated (City of Vancouver, 1997b).

Development permit applications for projects that are generating community controversy or will have a major impact on their surroundings are reviewed by the Development Permit Board (City of Vancouver, 2014a, para. 1). The provisions of Section 3.3 of the Zoning and Development Bylaw guides the Director or the

Development Permit Board on how to deal with applications for development. The clearest gentrification-related reason that a development permit may be refused is if the development “...includes a conversion or demolition under the Single Room Accommodation By-law...” that City Council has not approved. This appears to safeguard a large portion of Single Room Occupancy housing in the Downtown Eastside, blocking it from redevelopment and gentrification in the process.

The provisions of Section 11.27 allow for micro dwellings, which are apartments of a minimum of 23.2 m² (250 square feet). These are only allowed in buildings with secured market rental housing or social housing in parts of Downtown Eastside, Strathcona, and Downtown, and may only be occupied by a single person (City of Vancouver, 2014b, p. 11). Micro dwellings are the most recent legal names of Single Room Occupancy units, brought into existence with an amendment in 2014 (Zoning & Development By-law Amendments, 2014, p. 2 & 3). The renovation of these small units in recent years has been a source of anxiety about gentrification in Vancouver (Weder, 2012, para. 4). For example, renovation at a Downtown Eastside building called Burns Block caused rents to increase from \$375 per month to up to \$1000 (Lupick, 2014, para. 3). Ray Spaxman, former Vancouver director of planning, believed that micro dwellings in their current legal iteration are particularly problematic for low income housing; the Downtown Eastside Local Area Plan requires developments in parts of the Downtown Eastside to contain 60 percent social housing units (City of Vancouver, 2014e, p. 48), but the micro dwelling designation allows social housing in a building to take up much less than 60 percent of the actual area of the building. Spaxman believes this definition of micro dwelling will favour market housing over social housing in the Downtown Eastside

(Lupick, para. 20). If this premonition is realized, it will result in gentrification.

8.3 The Residential Tenancy Act

The Residential Tenancy Act (The Act) of 2002 is the primary provincial government legislation that affects the pace of gentrification. The Act controls rent increases and other elements of the landlord-tenant relationship (Crompton, 2012), which indirectly impacts gentrification by regulating the differences between actual and potential values of a landlord's real estate holdings. This is known as "rent gap" in gentrification literature.

For example, Section 42 specifies the conditions for a rent increase, which can only be increased 12 months after a previous increase. Section 22 of the Residential Tenancy Regulation portion of the Residential Tenancy Act specifies the formula for the percentage of annual rental increases, which is usually the inflation rate plus two percent. Section 43(3) allows landlords to apply to the Residential Tenancy Branch for higher rent increases under certain conditions, such as demonstrating that "the rent for a rental unit is significantly lower than that of similar rental units in the area" (British Columbia, 2015). Notwithstanding such potential loopholes, the limits to rental increases imposed by the Act can result in rent gap if land values are increasing, as is occurring in Grandview Woodland and Vancouver as a whole.

8.3.1 Rent Gap in Grandview Woodland

In Grandview Woodland, there is anecdotal evidence that rent gap has resulted in landlords neglecting maintenance to make older rental buildings uninhabitable for their low-income tenants, with the ultimate goal of replacing them with higher-income tenants at a higher level of rent. For example, a damaged roof at 2131 Pandora St. resulted in a

City inspector condemning the building in 2007 and dislocating the tenants (Rupp, 2007, para. 6 & 7). Section 32 of the Residential Tenancy Act does outline landlord and tenant responsibilities for maintaining health and safety standards, but enforcement of maintenance bylaws could result in landlords closing the buildings and leaving tenants homeless (Rupp, para. 13). In the case of 2131 Pandora St., rent for a one-bedroom apartment increased from \$800 a month to \$950 a month when the building eventually reopened (Condon, 2008, para. 8 & Houseme.ca, n.d., para. 3).

A 2009 risk analysis of older rental units for the City of Vancouver by Coriolis Consulting Corp. shows the threat that demolition and redevelopment pose to rental property in Grandview Woodland when “market value as an income producing investment property is less than (or equal to) its value as a redevelopment site (land value)” (Coriolis Consulting Corp., 2009, p. 12). This basically describes rent gap theory. The study projects that the number of rental properties at risk of redevelopment will increase “if land values for strata development sites increase at a faster pace than the value of rental apartment buildings” (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 33).

Key characteristics identified in the Coriolis study that make a property financially attractive for redevelopment include age, location, structure type, and existing built density (Coriolis Consulting Corp., 2009, p. 12). This last point refers to situations where properties are under-utilizing the zoning allowed at their site (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 31). For example, this would apply if a one-family dwelling was located on a site zoned for multiple dwellings. As shown in Table 4, the number of low rise rental buildings in Grandview Woodland under threat of redevelopment is expected to amount to 22.6 percent of buildings representing 14.6 percent of the low rise rental units in

Grandview by 2019. These are rated as at risk of redevelopment because they have greater value as redevelopment sites than as rental properties (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 42). While the study found that areas in the East Side of Vancouver were generally less threatened in 2009 in comparison to the West Side (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 32), it specifically identified Commercial Drive in Grandview as one of the areas “most at risk” of redevelopment (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 17). By 2019, the East Side’s share of at risk units will increase as potential strata development sites’ values increase (Coriolis Consulting Corp., p. 35).

Table 4: Low Rise Rental Buildings Threatened in Grandview Woodland

(Coriolis Consulting, 2009, Maps 1,3,4)

	Low Rise Rental buildings in Grandview	Low Rise Rental units in Grandview
Total number	665	5543
Under threat in 2009	44 (6.6 percent)	176 (3.2 percent)
Under threat in 2019	150 (22.6 percent)	807 (14.6 percent)

8.3.2 Renoviction in Grandview Woodland

The Residential Tenancy Act allows an owner to have a tenant vacate her unit if the landlord has permits to make renovations to the unit. Opponents of the practice call this “renoviction”. Renoviction is an issue in the neighbouring Downtown Eastside and Strathcona areas (McLachlan, 2013, para. 7), and there is evidence that renoviction has become an issue in Grandview Woodland. In 2012, residents of 1850 Adanac St. staged a protest outside their building after their new landlord was accused of “intimidat[ing] and bull[y]ing” tenants into either moving out of the building permanently, or re-occupying their suites after renovations. The renovated suite would come with a \$300 to \$400

monthly rent increase (Webb, 2012, para. 3). On Jan. 28, 2015, residents of 1925 Woodland Dr. were given until April 30, 2015 to vacate the building for renovations, described by residents as “renoviction” (Mackin, 2015, para. 5 & 6). Vancouver-West End MLA Spencer Herbert states that landlords have been evicting tenants in cases where they “just want to slap on a coat of paint” instead of limiting eviction to structural or electrical repairs for which the eviction mechanism was intended (Vancouver Sun, 2012, para. 23).

8.4 Conclusion

Public policy has the potential to propel gentrification in Vancouver. The Vancouver Charter provides the City with legislative authority over a variety of variables that can influence the gentrification process. The Zoning and Development bylaw encourages low-cost micro dwelling residences in the Downtown Eastside, but can be used in combination with the Downtown Eastside Local Area Plan policy to favour market housing geared towards more affluent users. The Residential Tenancy Act theoretically safeguards existing tenants from rent increases, but creates rent gap conditions. These conditions combined with the clause of The Act allowing landlords to order a unit be vacated for renovations can ultimately result in renovictions. These findings address the research question by discussing potential factors that propel gentrification. The Analysis of Interviews chapter expands on some of these issues.

Chapter 9.0 Findings: Analysis of Interviews

9.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters generated ideas, which helped to identify many of the elite interviewees who were invited to participate in this study. This chapter provides the themes that arose in the course of 18 semi-structured interviews with elite interviewees. These themes directly address the research question “what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded?” in four ways. First, by identifying indicators that show gentrification has taken place in Grandview. Second, by looking at whether the disamenities that Ley & Dobson (2008) found impeded gentrification still do so. Third, by identifying the contributors that have propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview since 2008. Fourth, by looking at specific public policies that impact gentrification. The themes also address the definition of gentrification and stage models, important areas of scholarly debate that arose during the course of the interviews.

9.2 Definition of Gentrification

This study used Hackworth’s definition of gentrification, “the production of space for progressively more affluent users” (2002, p. 815). This definition was shared with the interviewees as early in the interview as the dialogue would allow, and usually at the beginning of the interview. The intention was to ensure that the interviewees were engaging in the interview with a shared understanding of the meaning of gentrification. Each interviewee was invited to comment on the definition. The purpose of this was to discover if the definition is a reflection of how they viewed gentrification.

Reaction to the definition is mixed. Criticism of the definition revolves around the meaning of “the production of space”. There is also concern about placing the emphasis

on “for progressively more affluent users”, which takes the focus off the experiences of those being displaced by gentrification.

The key point of confusion was what “production” meant in the context of the definition. Some interviewees believed that it meant constructing brand new condos, while others believed it referred to the upgrading of existing structures to fit the desires of wealthy new residents. The opposing opinions are shown in the following quotes, both made by politically involved residents of Grandview Woodland:

“...my definition is the distinction between renovation and gentrification. Renovation is what the residents do themselves, gentrification is from an outside source. That’s really how I define gentrification.”

“And then over the next ten years – we’re talking ’88 to ’98 say. [I] gradually watched. People were doing what we were doing. Moving into one of these houses and over time you’d fix it up. And I always sort of thought of that as gentrification.”

The former quote attributes gentrification to the efforts of an “outside source” which was later clarified to mean professional developers. The latter attributes gentrification to the efforts of new residents to fix up their homes. Many other interviewees did not express that gentrification was only one of these two activities, believing instead that both can result in the production of space for gentrification. This consistent with Bridge (2003), who argues that large developments built by corporations and small-scale renovations of homes are both forms of gentrification (p. 2547).

Many interviewees feel that the definition of gentrification used in this study is incomplete because it doesn’t clearly indicate that displacement of existing residents is part of gentrification. It is true that the definition focuses on the experiences of the gentrifiers (“more affluent users”) as opposed to non-gentrifiers. One politically involved

resident described the experience as a “reduction of space” for non-gentrifiers:

“Residentially around here, it’s the reduction of space ok? It’s not the production of space, and I’ll give you an example. On my block there was a house, it had two basement suites and a main floor with multiple rooms. So a lot of people, you know, with moderate to low cost. So they all lived there. So somebody buys it, tears it down, and makes two side-by-side duplexes. So in two of those one person occupies it.”

In this scenario, the Hackworth definition may still apply, with duplexes being produced by an unknown party for unknown, and presumably wealthier, future occupants. However, the interviewee turns the definition on its head to focus on the experience of the non-gentrifier whose space is being reduced.

A definition of gentrification that includes displacement would exclude neighbourhoods that many people view as gentrified, such as Yaletown in downtown Vancouver. Once an industrial area, it was transformed into residential space primarily consisting of condos. Yet one public administrator who is involved with workshops on community change states that “Yaletown comes out a lot” among participants as an example of gentrification. A definition of gentrification that includes Yaletown cannot include displacement as a prerequisite.

Some interviewees believe that the definition should go beyond the idea of “the production of space” to include other sorts of consumption aimed at more affluent users. One politician hints at the place of retail gentrification in a complete understanding of gentrification:

“...it’s a location for expenditure, not just a production of space for people with affluence. You know, there’s a status-seeking - or status showing part of that culture, even though it pretends to be down-market. You know, hand build fixies [type of bike] and, you know, expensive beer, and now distilleries that do tiny batches of gin, and you know, these things are all - they’re all fun but they’re only - they’re the kinds of things you can only do in a wealthy society.”

The interviews produced significant criticism of Hackworth's definition as well as support. Emphasizing the place of "more affluent users" leaves the experience of displaced residents out of the definition. The "production of space" component is the weaker part of the definition and generates some confusion.

9.3 Stages of Gentrification in Grandview Woodland

Many interviewees believe that gentrification goes through "stages" or "waves" that start with a working class community and end with a wealthy community. The arrival and presence of artists was mentioned a number of times as an early factor in the gentrification process. Several placed Grandview Woodland at stage well past the arrival of artists, with wealthier people increasingly present in the community. One local businessperson who is also active in business throughout Vancouver describes waves of gentrification:

"Generally you know, what I observed is neighbourhoods go through waves. The first wave that comes through a neighbourhood when it changes is usually the sort of - call it the artist/hippy group - come in and look for places that, you know, generally offer, you know, cheap rents and more flexible spaces or things that allow - that are very adaptable for their particular uses. And then through the passage of time, you know, neighbourhoods will evolve and the people who were hippies who moved into the neighbourhood will have kids and have families and just as by virtue of the consequences of that they will need more space."

Several interviewees note the significant and continuing presence of artists in Grandview Woodland, which was noted to be a higher proportion of the population than any other local area in Vancouver. This presence was noted to revolve around the Vancouver East Culture Crawl, and around a concentration of artists at 1000 Parker St., a large building in the Grandview industrial area. One provider of government services points out the potential for gentrification when public bodies promote the local arts

communities:

“...we often get asked, you know, is there something we can do to better promote the arts in the neighbourhood, which always gives me a bit of pause. Like I wonder if that’s actually what you wanna do or if that would dial up the cool factor to the point where you - that potential, you know, the pull factor of the arts would maybe trigger some of that [gentrification activity]. I’m not sure.”

Despite the continued presence of artists in Grandview Woodland, one local businessperson with links to the arts community expressed concerns that rising prices are a threat to artists in both Grandview and the Downtown Eastside:

“So I’m sure the artists started coming here like 20 years ago, and then you know, last seven or eight years it’s getting harder and harder to - the studios getting more expensive for example. I run a studio, 5000 square foot studio, and we have [many] artists. I only see one or two artists ever in there because everyone’s too busy making a living. They have no time to come in studio.”

The arrival of artists 20 years ago matches with the timeframe a provider of government services gave for when gentrification started to occur in the area. However, other interviewees suggested gentrification started more recently, between 7 and 10 years ago. This matches the timeframe this interviewee gave for circumstances getting harder for artists in Grandview and the Downtown Eastside.

9.4 Indicators of Gentrification

Interviewees report a variety of retail, demographic, residential occupancy, and built changes in Grandview Woodland that they view as indicators of gentrification and have noticed since around 2008. Retail gentrification has been occurring in Grandview Woodland along both of the primary commercial streets, Hastings Street and Commercial Drive. Interviewees see retail gentrification as including the arrival of baby specialty stores, clothing stores, bars, and restaurants. One politically involved resident points out that the number of restaurants in Grandview has increased from 40 around 1990 to 97

today. Another politically involved resident reflects on the exclusionary effect that retail gentrification has on non-gentrifier residents and the local culture:

“Yah, baby and kid stores. Which is great cause it reflects the new demographic of young families, but on the other hand I think, you know, people I know who raised kids then, and a lot of people in this neighbourhood who are raising kids now, couldn’t afford a pair of socks in those stores, right? So who are they targeting? They’re bringing in people from other parts of the city, and also the new residents. And it changes the kind of culture of the place. And I think it polarizes in a way, right? The new ‘haves’ moved in with certain expectations, and the people who thought, ‘you know this is just life, it’s mine’, are now the ‘have nots’.”

In asking “who are they targeting”, this interviewee hints at the trend towards businesses targeting the wealthier new residents. Other interviewees also express that the changes to retail have been a response to the demands of these gentrifiers.

Two other explanations interviewees give for the changes to retail are an increase in the rent charged to area businesses by landlords, and zoning changes leading to much higher taxes for landlords. A Vancouver-area politician explains that rezoning commercial areas in Grandview Woodland into higher-density buildings with commercial on the bottom and three levels of condos above results in higher taxes for the business property owners:

“...when they changed and allowed the three-over-one - three stories, the residential over retail - that was a significant one. And of course the debate that’s on now based on propositions around the new Grandview Woodlands Plan, which is very controversial, would allow in places like Nanaimo and Hastings potentially eight to nine stories. A lot of resistance to that, and I think for good reason. But the thing that happens there is that would radically change the retail because tax policy, property tax policy, says if you build eight or nine stories, the tax - the value - or you have the capacity - then they tax based on the potential density rather than the real density.”

A politically involved area resident notes that this residential-over-commercial style of buildings creates architectural “homogeneity” along the commercial streets. He points out that this indicator of gentrification is not limited to Grandview Woodland, and is now

common along other commercial streets in Vancouver, including Main Street and 4th Avenue.

One unique aspect of the Commercial Drive retail area identified by two interviewees is that a large number of the buildings are owned by now elderly people of Italian descent who purchased them in the 1950's and 1960's. A local business person gives one example of an elderly gentlemen who "owns the hardware store owns about nine other buildings on Commercial Drive". This generation of property owners is in the process of transitioning ownership to their children, who are sometimes gentrifying or selling the shops. As one politically active resident described, "the middle aged kids wanna cash in now right, and live the good life and go to Palm Springs in the winter or whatever".

Interviewees identify demographic changes that indicate gentrification in Grandview Woodland, including reduced cultural diversity among residents, fewer low-income and working class residents, less immigrants, fewer homosexuals, fewer artists, fewer people with significant tattoos and body piercings, more wealthy residents, and more young professionals. There is also reported to be a tendency among gentrifier residents to be house-proud and more involved with their children's schools.

One area where interviewees do not agree is whether there are more or fewer young families in Grandview Woodland as a result of gentrification. Three interviewees believe that what they perceive as an increase in the number of children and families in the area is an indicator of gentrification, while three others perceive a drop in the number of children in the area as an indicator of gentrification.

These various demographic changes are reflected in the changing nature of

residential occupancy in Grandview Woodland, which includes the loss of affordable homes in apartment buildings and rooming houses. Many interviewees mention that landlords are evicting lower-income apartment tenants in order to renovate the building and attract wealthier occupants, a practice known as “renoviction”. One politically involved resident suggests that renovictions have been occurring in Grandview starting around 2009-2010. Another resident describes how the process of renoviction had begun just weeks before our interview at her friend’s apartment building at East 3rd Ave. and Woodland Drive in Grandview:

“...they’re claiming they are the first renoviction in Grandview Woodland and of course they’re not. It’s happened a lot. But I have a friend in that building and they had no clue, no warning, she’s lived in there for like 15 years, and on a Saturday night they had a letter slipped under their door, on the - on January 31st - it was Saturday. And February 1st the clock started ticking, and they had three months to get out cause they’re renovating the building.”

Another resident describing this same building outlines how the process of renoviction will occur:

“...the building would stay rental but instead of these being you know, old suites with, you know, the harvest gold stove and the avocado coloured fridge and the dirty line on top, these thing’ll get fixed up and then get re-rented instead of for \$1200 per month [for] \$2000. So that’s the renoviction.”

The conversion of houses divided as rental suites into single family homes was cited by many interviewees an indicator of gentrification in Grandview Woodland. By one account, this began to occur around 2010 and has quickened since 2013. One politically active resident explains that Grandview has a history of hosting a large numbers of rental suites stretching back to the 1920’s. Several interviewees stated that these suites are often occupied by members of the artist community, and that the loss of the suites leads to a loss of the cultural wellspring of the community. This is explained by a politically active resident describing a former rooming house:

“There were I think somewhere - depending on whom you talk to, between 9 and 11 people living there - singles, couples, you know, sort of housekeeping suites, that sort of thing. So, you know, not to romanticize it but you know, maybe the woman who wrote the play that you just saw at the Cultch (a local theatre) lived there. Maybe the musician playing in a band at Falconetti’s (a local bar) lived there or you know, the struggling novelist, or you know, I mean could’ve been just totally ordinary people, but that type of person who has been so much a part of the Grandview community, and has made the arts scene here so vibrant, you know everything to do with the kind of edge of the (Culture) Crawl and the sort of artisan home feel. They were living in buildings like that or buildings very similar to that at affordable rents.”

The conversion of these homes into single family homes was also seen as one factor in the fall of the population of Grandview Woodland. Two interviewees felt that encouraging the division of houses into rental units was a good way to reduce gentrification in Grandview. One suggested that this could be made possible by a change to the Income Tax Act that would give the owner of the house an accelerated depreciation on any improvements to the house, subject to it remaining divided into suites.

Residential occupancy changes are sometimes associated with changes to the structure of the houses and buildings where they take place. Built changes, including the renovation of homes, the tearing-downs of homes, the building of new housing developments, the replacement of single family homes with denser residential, the redevelopment of apartment buildings, and land assembly for future development, are all seen by interviewees as built changes that indicate gentrification.

Several interviewees see the renovation of homes as an indicator of gentrification. One businessperson with links to the real estate industry explains the differences between the home renovation that took place in the past and the renovation trends indicative of gentrification in recent years:

“...it was all about affordability, when we first started, you know, we did kitchen

maybe one year, and we wait years and years before we got to the next level. And we didn't have these monster budgets. When all of a sudden I was told, you know, '[interviewee name redacted] what do you think, you know, should I add another floor and spend X?'. And that X would be, you know, quite high."

The next gentrification step beyond renovation noted by several interviewees is existing houses in the neighbourhood being gutted or torn down and rebuilt. A politically involved resident recalls the 2011 gutting and resale of the first house on her block to sell for over \$1,000,000:

"...they (former residents) paved over the back yard, it was kind of a ratty place, but they, you know, they just lived there. So someone came in, totally transformed it once they sold it, gutted it, made it this amazing place, and that was the first place on our block that sold for over \$1,000,000. And no one could believe it. Like that's insane."

While the torn-down house appears to have been replaced by another single family home in this instance, in some cases area homes have been torn down and replaced with denser residential buildings. Interviewees indicated that single family houses were being replaced by duplexes and townhouses.

In addition to these smaller scale developments, interviewees indicate that larger-scale new residential developments are indicative of gentrification. These developments are reportedly occurring in Grandview Woodland, Strathcona, the Downtown Eastside, and across East Vancouver. Future development is anticipated as a result of the purchase and assembly of land along Hastings Street and on the west side of Grandview near Clark Drive, as explained by a politically active resident:

"I think what you're beginning to see here - and I mean you're certainly seeing it of course along Hastings Street and in the apartment areas, is you're seeing a lot more interest by what you can call organized money, which is speculative money."

Another indicator of gentrification identified by several interviewees is that the

owners of some rental stock in Grandview Woodland are allowing their buildings to run-down in anticipation of purchase by developers. Another politically involved resident is particularly concerned about a cluster of relatively cheap rental buildings in the southwestern portion of Grandview between Commercial Drive and Clark Drive built in the 1950's and 60's:

“...they are three storey walk-ups, a lot of them. And I suspect because the Community Plan is ignoring it - they say they don't know how to deal with it. But what we're looking at in the next 15 years is massive renovictions. Either those buildings will fall down - and I think a lot of the owners are waiting for them to fall down so they can put up condos. I mean that's what would happen. And City has had no creative policy whatsoever to deal with that. We are going to lose a lot of affordable - I mean thousands of affordable rentals in the next half generation, I think.”

Another politically involved resident suggested that property taxes could be used to discourage owners from letting houses used as rental suites run down.

The retail, demographic, residential occupancy, and built changes identified by interviewees indicate that gentrification in Grandview Woodland has advanced since 2008. These indicators combined with interviewees' finding that Grandview is going through stages leading from a working class community to a wealthy community, support the notion that this is a community in transition. In order to better understand what is contributing to this transition, the interviewees were asked about impediments and contributors to gentrification.

9.5 Impediments to Gentrification

Four of the interview questions revolved around the effect that the presence of industrial manufacturing, crime, and social housing had on gentrification in Grandview Woodland since 2008 (see Appendix D). The importance given to this topic arose from Ley & Dobson's 2008 study, which found that these factors had acted as impediments to

gentrification up to that time. In order to understand what contributed to the gentrification that has taken place since 2008, there is a need to understand the role of these three factors. There is no consistent agreement among the interviewees on which of the three factors has had the greatest impact on the pace of gentrification since 2008. Overall, these factors were reported by most interviewees to have had a role in gentrification in Grandview since 2008, as well as the potential to influence gentrification in the years to come. A minority of interviewees also stated that these factors had no effect on gentrification between 2008 and 2015.

9.5.1 Industrial Manufacturing

Most interviewees believe that industrial manufacturing has had an impact on the pace of gentrification in Grandview Woodland since 2008. Simply put, the presence of industrial zoning precludes residential gentrification by virtue of the fact that it is not zoned for residential. Additionally, residential areas in Grandview that border industrial areas will gentrify more slowly because developers have trouble marketing buildings right beside active industrial areas. One politically active resident explains how a neighbouring industrial facility is an irritant to her workplace and nearby residents:

“...we’ve had a carpentry business that was small initially, but has expanded. They’ve grown their business. And now we have to put up with the noise level for their machinery. You know, they have some – some type of power machine that just creates the ‘hummmmm’ you know, and we used to have – one of the beautiful things about our [redacted for anonymity] Room was the ambience in the room where you could go in there and it was just so peaceful, you know? Now you go in there and there’s this ‘hummmmm’ and you know, you try to talk above it, you try to ignore it and everything else, but it creates – I’m sure not just for us, but I think about those people living in that slum area, what it must be like for them.”

Conversely, two of the interviewees believe that the presence of industry attracts gentrification. One reason given for this was the convenience and increasing popularity

of people wanting to be able to walk to work, and some workplaces are located in the industrial area.

Many interviewees identified changes to the nature of industrial manufacturing in Grandview Woodland since 2008 that could have reduced its effect on impeding gentrification. There has been a reduction in waterfront supporting industries and manufacturing uses, and reduced noxious emissions from the West Coast Reduction animal rendering plant. There has also been a municipal policy decision to allow the conversion of industrial to residential and commercial zoning along Hastings Street in Grandview. This sort of conversion was also reportedly taking place along part of Main Street in Mount Pleasant. However, the vast majority of industrial uses in Grandview remain entrenched, and many interviewees point out that the city has a policy to protect the industrial area from conversion to residential and commercial uses.

One major change to the industrial area is the reduction in the amount of sex work activity. This has made the area less of an impediment to gentrification. Several interviewees recall the former reputation of the Grandview Woodland industrial area as a popular area for street-level sex workers to operate. It was also Vancouver's underaged sex work centre, known for a time as the "kiddy stroll". While there are still some sex workers operating in the area, the kiddy stroll is now gone.

While the industrial area remains largely intact, it has been converted to what two interviewees describe as "friendlier" uses. Interviewees describe a range of uses that are changing the nature of the industrial area that make it friendlier to gentrifiers, including filmmaking, self-storage, artist studios, and breweries. Breweries in particular are seen by several interviewees as a new use that has contributed to gentrification by attracting

visitors who might not otherwise discover Grandview Woodland.

Interviewees note the increasing number of breweries in Grandview Woodland and Mount Pleasant. Two interviewees connected this to a change in municipal liquor laws. A public administrator stated that breweries are a draw for educated people with money from inside and outside the local area. Two interviewees connected the increase in breweries to decreased crime in the industrial area as a result of all the activity arising from the breweries. A politically involved resident describes how a local non-profit group is considering encouraging “industrial gentrification” in the Grandview industrial area:

“...we were talking about calling it the GrandBrew District. And making banners saying the GrandBrew District and in some of the Community Plan discussions we were suggesting now there’s so many, and they have tasting rooms and you know, cafes are moving down there. You know, lets liven up the area, make it more lively at night so they’ll be less crime there, you know, by bringing people in. So in that regard, that kind of industrial gentrification is kind of a good thing for the neighbourhood. ‘Cause it used to be the kiddy stroll down there. Yah, for prostitution, but really young kids. Victoria Drive and Commercial.”

Overall, the interviewees paint a picture of an industrial area whose built structure is similar to the way it has been for decades, but different in term of the activities taking place there.

9.5.2 Crime

Interviewees reported that falling crime rates and in Grandview Woodland have resulted in crime ceasing to be an impediment to gentrification in Grandview since 2008. Several interviewees noted a drop in the crime rate in the past five to 10 years, including a reduction in prostitution and gang activity. A local businessperson explains the changing crime situation Grandview:

“...it’s funny you know, the reporters lately have been saying to me, “so your challenge was crime and safety. What’s your challenge now?” My challenge now is managing change. And making sure we don’t lose our identity.”

Several interviewees report a significant increase in crime in the 1990's and carrying through to the early 2000's. This period of actual high crime rates resulted in a perception of high crime rates that lasted until recently. Many interviewees stated that the "perception" of high crime rates in Grandview Woodland has long been out of proportion to reality, and that even the "perception" is now dissipating. Two interviewees report that crime is higher around the Commercial-Broadway Skytrain station at the southern edge of Grandview, but one public administrator counters that crime at the station has decreased significantly in the past 10 to 15 years. A drop in actual crime combined with the waning of the perception of high crime in the area removes an impediment to gentrification.

9.5.3 Social Housing

Interviewees find that social housing in Grandview Woodland has not affected gentrification since 2008. One reason for this is that social housing is so well integrated into the community that even local residents do not know that it is there. While there were no reports of any significant changes in social housing since 2008, several interviewees felt that big changes were on the horizon as a result of the provincial government's plan to sell its social housing to non-profits and the federal government's plan to stop funding non-profit co-operative housing programs.

In 2014, the provincial government declared its plan to sell its social housing to non-profits, with about 115 properties to be sold to non-profits in 2015 and the remaining roughly 235 in the three subsequent years (Pablo, 2014, para. 6). Several interviewees are concerned that turning over ownership of social housing to non-profits will reduce the sustainability of social housing. One politically active resident expresses concern:

“...at least with BC Housing you had an established framework in place. There was accessibility to rental subsidies, there was an assurance that there was some level of maintenance. You had some security that there were rules in place, and that it was sustainable. Sustainable housing.”

Another politically active resident anticipates that a loss of social housing as a result of the province’s withdrawal would open up space for development and gentrification. This resident refers to Stamps Place, a large social housing complex in the Downtown Eastside slated to be sold:

“City policy is certainly to invite in the development industry and encourage, hey, there may be poor people there, and they may be living in lowing income housing, but you know what, we’ll get rid of em. And we’re gonna work with BC Housing to help that because BC Housing is subsidizing, all of a sudden there’s no more money, and sells out, as they’re doing with Stamps Place...”

Many interviewees anticipate that the end of federal government funding toward non-profit co-operative (co-op) housing programs holds the potential to increase gentrification. Co-op housing is a type of social housing that is jointly owned by the residents of the co-op (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2015, para. 4). One politically active resident provides a background about co-op housing’s role in providing affordable housing to people in Grandview Woodland, Kitsilano, and Mount Pleasant:

“the non-profit co-op is interesting, but very much of the idealism of the 1970’s and the ability of federal government - again a public policy. It had a, you know, a lot of what has kept that kind of - what would you call it - kind of a church of the latter-day hippie thing going here and in Kits and Mount Pleasant has been the non-profit co-ops from the 1970’s. A lot of the people who moved here, who were here for a number of years, and in some cases had moved on from co-ops, would never have really been able to get themselves as settled into the community if it hadn’t been for the stability that the non-profit co-op model offered.”

Two other interviewees indicated that the end of federal government funding would result in co-ops becoming unaffordable for current low-income residents and that some co-ops could be demolished and replaced with market housing. Expanding the co-op

housing instead of ending the program was viewed by many interviewees as a policy tool to stop gentrification:

“And that’s one way to halt gentrification, really. And I think it’s great housing cause you can get in with five grand or something, right? And you become a member of the co-op and you have tenure.”

9.5.4 Community Resistance to Gentrification

Several interviewees identify active resistance to development and gentrification in the Grandview Woodland community as an important factor in slowing community change. For example, a Vancouver area politician describes how community members have been successful in setting back the Local Area Planning process by 5 to 10 years:

“...they’ve been successful in stalling even the community planning process from being completed, and you know, for reasons - there are problems in our process. I certainly acknowledge that, it was - I think it was quite appropriate to delay it, because there was no confidence in it. But they - nothing happened there. When it started to happen they demanded the planning process and the planning process just lead to a moratorium, so arguably it’ll slow down things for another 5 to 10 years.”

However, several interviewees proposed that community activism has begun to wane in Grandview Woodland in recent years. One interviewee recalled how a 2006 Supreme Court of BC decision which removed the right of residents to appeal development decisions at the Board of Variance has contributed to reduced community activism and gentrification. The Court decision arose from an incident in Grandview in which two heritage houses that were home to working class tenants were purchased by a developer for replacement with two new duplexes (Vancouver Courier, 2007, para. 4).

The community activist explains:

“...it was the norm for 40, 50 years that you could have, you know, a say in what happens next door. Particularly when it was new zoning or a change to the zoning that was allowed - all of a sudden that changed the whole look and feel of

the neighbourhood.”

This shows that while community activism is an important factor in gentrification in Grandview Woodland, it may be reduced from what it once was.

9.6 Contributors to Gentrification

Interviewees report four contributors to gentrification in Grandview Woodland since 2008, including increased real estate prices across Vancouver, gentrifier sensibilities increasingly matching with life in Grandview, political motivations for community change, and increased popularity of living near downtown. Gentrification in other local areas in Vancouver were found to have both contributed to, and countered, gentrification in Grandview.

Almost every interviewee states that increased real estate prices in Vancouver have resulted in increased gentrification in Grandview Woodland. One public administrator links the successful bid for the 2010 Olympics to rapid increases in real estate prices and development activity in Grandview and throughout Vancouver, noting a “sense of urgency” among developers to get projects started in the run-up to 2010. Two interviewees mention overseas Chinese investment into Vancouver real estate as a reason for the price increases in the city. However, both agreed that the effects on Chinese investment in the Grandview local area was indirect, with this investment concentrated on the West Side of Vancouver. An East Vancouver area politician describes the effects of increased real estate prices on Vancouver:

“I’d say mostly housing prices. That’s probably the biggest driver. The cost of housing, you know, it’s the single biggest - when I look at my constituency here and I look at the people who come through the door, probably the biggest group of people that jump out at me aren’t the folks at the low end of income who absolutely need help and where you’re looking for social housing and - to support them, but folks who are at the lower end of the middle class.”

Most interviewees stated that housing prices are resulting in a process where both middle class and upper-middle class residents are being priced out of other parts of Vancouver, and subsequently move to Grandview Woodland due to its relative affordability. The West Side of Vancouver was the area mentioned by the majority of interviewees as either the source of wealthy gentrifiers moving to Grandview, or the former destination of middle class people who are now forced to look at other neighbourhood options. A politically active resident summarizes both of these scenarios:

“...the young couples who are moving in here are people who probably would've been - in some cases would've been contemplating Dunbar - certainly Kits. I mean you know, and that - you know, Kits is more just gentrification by a growing middle class in a growing city. But um, you know we've got neighbours who lived on the West Side, didn't like the West Side anymore, you know, got the suitcase full a money effectively from their place, and then they're coming over here. And no question about it, they are outbidding people who might traditionally have been East Side, you know, sort of East Side buyers.”

Along with the push factors of real estate prices, interviewees cited pull factors that have made Grandview Woodland more attractive to gentrifiers, including the growing desire to live in a walkable and transit oriented community, the large number of heritage buildings, the end of an aversion to living in East Vancouver, breweries and artists in the industrial area, and the increasing popularity of Grandview area French immersion schools. Overall, many interviewees reported a general growing positive impression of Grandview among locals and outsiders alike. It has become a neighbourhood where people want to move to, and want to remain.

Interviewees noted the increasing popularity of living in Grandview Woodland since it is transit oriented and there are numerous shops within walking distance of home. A local businessperson summarizes both of these points:

“And I think some of the appeal is to do I think with Commercial Drive, has to people in the area and immediately around it too, is it’s a very walkable community where you’ve got, you know, everything that you need here. The butcher, the barber, the baker, the candlestick maker, it’s all here. You don’t need a car for it. Um, and that’s increasingly becoming a pattern that’s very appealing to people. You know, nobody’s accustomed to the, you know, living in a house in the suburbs with a two-car garage where nothing’s close by and you’ve gotta drive everywhere.”

A politically active resident described how the Commercial Drive area was originally designed as a street car village, which contributes to the walkability and limited role of cars in the community in the present day. This interviewee links the historic walkability and village feel of Grandview Woodland to it’s heritage building assets, which several interviewees found were attracting gentrifiers:

“Everything within walking distance because there was no cars anyhow, you know, so it just developed naturally, and that’s why - and of course now 100 years later we’ve got all these historic buildings. And we also got this type of building which is really well built particle board in this house, you know. Really well built houses built by craftsmen who really knew what they were doing and cared about what they were doing and they were artists amongst themselves.”

Several interviewees mentioned the dissipation in recent years of a long-standing divide between the East Side and West Side of Vancouver, in which the East Side was considered less attractive to live. This change in attitude has been especially pronounced among young adults, who were credited by one interviewee with having a worldview that accepts the disamenities in Grandview Woodland. Some of these young adults moved to the area earlier in life and are now staying in the area and buying homes. A local business person described the mindset of young adults in the area:

“I think that what you’re seeing is a younger generation that’s looking for a different experience. So we’re still 24/7 light industrial, and we still have the congestion, and we still have the smells, and we still have the social housing, but what we have is a demographic that’s saying, “that is actually a good thing”. Right? That adds to the experience, it adds to the neighbourhood.”

Many interviewees believe that changes to the industrial area contributed to gentrification. Artist studios in the Grandview Woodland industrial area are seen to attract gentrifiers, with one public administrator describing the arrival of the artist community as a “canary in the coal mine” for gentrification. The breweries in the industrial area were also seen as contributors to gentrification. A Vancouver area politician describes the attraction of breweries:

“...the liquor industry that’s opening up down there [is] pretty appealing. It’s appealing to young people. Um, both as a place to work, but also, you know, as a place to socialize. Most of those places all have tasting rooms now. They’re bars.”

Several interviewees living in Grandview Woodland and Strathcona believe that growing quality and popularity of French immersion schools in the local areas are contributing to gentrification. One politically active Grandview resident describes them as “poor man’s private school”. A long time resident states that the first time she noticed gentrification in the area was around 2005 when her son transferred from one Grandview school to the Grandview French immersion school, with the two school populations having a “different demographic”. A local businessperson supports this point, adding that the increase in gentrifier parent involvement at the French immersion school has had a self-reinforcing effect, with more gentrifier parents deciding stay in Grandview instead of moving to one of the neighbourhoods formerly believed to be better and putting them in school in there. She estimates this change had occurred in the past 10 - 15 years. A politically active resident of Strathcona reports a similar effect in that area when a local school started a French immersion program 5 years ago.

Interviewees note other instances where gentrifier expectations were having a self-reinforcing effect on gentrification, especially in demanding that the City upgrade public

spaces. Several interviewees identify upgrades to Grandview Woodland parks as an example of where gentrifier demands for park upgrades clashed with the desires of traditional residents to keep the parks the same.

Interviewees also indicate political motivations at the municipal government level, and particularly the important role of the development industry, as having contributed to gentrification. Several interviewees mention the lack of locations available for development in the city is causing developers to increasingly look to Grandview Woodland. Two interviewees mention the critical part that the development industry plays in Vancouver's economy. These interviewees also discuss that the City is looking at ways to accommodate population growth, often using zoning changes that increase density (up-zoning) to try to accomplish this, and that this up-zoning results in gentrification. One politically active resident describes the process as he sees it:

“Government’s creating the disaster, which is a quick rise in property values, by signalling that they’re willing to up-zone, ok, so that’s important, you know? You gotta have the signal. But you gotta have the impetus for the signal too. The impetus is the expectation that people are gonna move here. A million people in the next 20 years.”

A Vancouver area politician provides a counter point to this view of up-zoning, including a review of the political problems associated with policy tools that can reduce gentrification by providing low-cost housing:

“...when we try to fight gentrification through the production of low-cost housing - I don’t mean affordable or subsidized, I mean stuff like rental - we run into a political problem, which is that we don’t get any credit for that effort. And it’s not like I’m being selfish - although I would like to get credit and a pat on the back from time-to-time - but if you put in a [pedestrian] crossing, everybody who - people see it as very tangible. But if you make a decision now and having a rezoning now and put in rental housing, the people who are gonna benefit from that decision may not come till after the next election. And I’m just being very candid about this. So you have the argument in the present, but the benefits flow in the future to unknown individuals. And I think that one of the responses to

gentrification is the production of more housing that's accessible to people with lower incomes. And even working people will not support that if they feel threatened by that. They see that that's gonna cause dislocation by putting upward pressure on rents or whatever, and so these become very difficult problems politically. As a result, gentrification can proceed largely unchecked.”

Interviewees find that gentrification that has taken place since 2008 in Grandview Woodland, Downtown, Downtown Eastside, Strathcona, and Mount Pleasant has been linked. Grandview, Strathona, and the Downtown Eastside are all experiencing heightened interest from gentrifiers as a result of the increasing popularity of living in close proximity to the Downtown. Several interviewees report that condo dwellers in Downtown Vancouver residential areas such as Yaletown are moving to Grandview to buy a home with more space while maintaining proximity to Downtown. A Grandview businessperson explains the phenomenon:

“...guy who lives in a condo in Yaletown meets gal who lives in a condo in Yaletown, the two of them move in together, sell one of the condos, and then next thing you know she's pregnant, they need more space. And you know, for them to come over here with close proximity to downtown where they work has got some appeal.”

In addition to the pressures coming from neighbouring areas that are driving gentrification in Grandview Woodland, there are converse pressures from those areas that are adding to the low-income demographic of Grandview. The gentrification that is occurring in the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona has resulted a wave of non-gentrifier low-income former residents of these neighbourhoods moving to nearby Grandview and Mount Pleasant. This could also be linked to the rise in the number of homeless people in Grandview which was reported by several interviewees.

9.7 Public Policy and Gentrification

Interviewees present a range of municipal and provincial public policies that they

feel impact gentrification. While many interviewees state that policy did not have significant impact on gentrification, many of these same interviewees provide examples of impactful policy in the course of the interview. Zoning policy, the Grandview Woodland Community Plan, Rental 100, STIR, the Residential Tenancy Act, Rate of Change, the Strata Title Act, and Density Bonuses are all seen as influencing the pace of gentrification in Grandview.

Rezoning land for higher density is the policy instrument interviewees most often associate with influencing the pace of gentrification. However, interviewees have differing views on whether rezoning for densification results in gentrification or increased housing affordability. A politically active resident provides insight on how rezoning can have different results in different neighbourhoods:

“[An] area where you got more people who own their homes - and Dunbar is probably a good example of that - the displacement is, you could argue, by choice or positive. When you’ve got a lot of renters, as in the case of Grandview Woodlands or Mount Pleasant, then they lose. I mean they gain nothing at all other than a, you know, a ticket to ride. And really, you know, horrible displacement happens, and a lotta times you’re forced out of a place you can afford and there’s no other place to go.”

Rezoning is a major component of the the Grandview Woodland Community Plan. The Community Plan is cited by many interviewees as having an impact on the pace of gentrification since the planning process began in May 2011. Two interviewees point out that land speculation resulting from the planning process has propelled gentrification. After the Plan passes City Council, it is anticipated to result in increased development. A local businessperson with ties to the development community explains the effect of the Plan:

“...when a Plan takes place then, you know, the real estate and development community take notice of that. And they’ll go out and start making strategic

acquisitions in anticipation of some land use plan...some land use change taking place. Ah, and so I know there's been some of that going on right around the Skytrain Station area. Um, you know, so it's just people sort of getting lined up. Ready to do something. And of course once the Plan is adopted and then there's policies in place to encourage that sort of development, then it will happen."

Several interviewees mention that the municipal government has been attempting to encourage the development community to build more rental housing through the Short Term Incentives for Rental Housing (STIR) and Rental 100 policies. However, no interviewees state that the rental housing resulting from this policy is considered affordable.

In fact, these policies may be causing decreased affordability as a result of changes to the Residential Tenancy Act that allows a land owner to make an appeal to increase rents on tenants more than the allowable annual amount if the land owner can show that rents in the neighbourhood are much higher than rents in his/her building. A politically active resident explains how this combination of policies is encouraging gentrification:

"if you look at the local rentals in the neighbourhood, you know, older buildings, particularly Mount Pleasant, lots of older buildings were you could - people are paying \$600, \$700 a month in rent, cause they have been for so long, and they've been there forever, and they got a one or two percent increase every year, so the - it's cut pretty low. And bottom line is those buildings are sitting there, but new STIR/Rental 100 buildings are going up around them. Landlords are now saying that its happening - because it's happened for a while now in Mount Pleasant - "hey, someone's paying \$1500 next door, I'm still charging my tenants \$700. That's unfair to me". Now all of a sudden they're allowed to increase it to \$1100 or \$1200. (Because of previously mentioned changes to Residential Tenancy Act). And folks who are on fixed incomes who you know, work for \$12 an hour. You know, pouring coffee or whatever they're doing, have to leave. And that's gentrification."

Several interviewees identified the municipal Rate of Change policy as useful in slowing gentrification by preventing land owners from replacing rental housing with strata condos.

The Strata Title Act is seen by several interviewees as a contributor to gentrification. One politically active resident states that they cause gentrification because they are “expensive suites for sale” as opposed to affordable rental stock. Another interviewee points out that rental units in Grandview Woodland have been converted to strata title, resulting in a loss of rental stock. A politically active resident argues that the Strata Title Act allows gentrification by allowing the sale of strata complexes without consulting renters living in the complex:

“the reality is, if you have mostly renters in location, and the owners are just getting a buy-out then there’s no way to stop it, really. And that’s pure gentrification in the worst form. Because essentially what you’re doing is you’re incentivizing or at least taking away any restrictions on the sale of property that is now housing, you know, at a cheaper price in an older building [for] people who are of lesser means perhaps.”

Interviewees feel that encouraging the construction and maintenance of space for artists to live and work is an effective way to mitigate gentrification. Two interviewees identify the municipal Density Bonus policy as a useful tool in this respect. This policy has shown results in Grandview Woodland, including a heritage density transfer that saved the historical York Theatre, a popular spot for local artists to feature their work. Another example is a development of artist studios that may otherwise have been regular market housing. In Mount Pleasant, a City owned site is currently under construction that will have dedicated units for artists with specific requirements for access. A public administrator describes how this approach could be effective in comparison to units zoned as artist studios built through market development:

“...we don’t have control over who moves in. Because we don’t own it. You know, we don’t own the spaces. They’re market developments. The difference in the spaces that are being proposed as part of rezoning at Main and 2nd is that the artist production space will actually be an amenity that the City owns and that [the City] can control - have a higher level of control over. So we would

work with a non-profit to - who would operate the space. Ideally one non-profit operator to operate both the housing and the artists production space. And there'd be quite defined, you know, requirements as to who moves in.”

The current live-work studio zoning policy is considered to be ineffective at mitigating gentrification because it does not require the occupants to be artists. As a result, live-work studios have often become expensive condos occupied by non-artists. Since live-work studio zoning is considered a type of industrial space, it has effectively allowed residential condos to encroach into industrial space. One politically involved interviewee linked to the artist community gives the example of ARC in the northern part of Grandview Woodland as a place where artists are being priced out (Zeidler, 2012, para. 1).

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter directly addressed all aspects of the research question by identifying indicators of gentrification that show gentrification has taken place in Grandview Woodland, looking at whether the disamenities that Ley & Dobson (2008) found impeded gentrification are still factors, identifying the contributors that have propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview since 2008, and looking at specific public policies that impact gentrification. The findings show that indicators of gentrification in Grandview include retail, demographic, residential occupancy and built changes. There have been changes to the industrial and crime disamenities that make them less of a disamenity. Social housing remains unchanged but changes are coming that may encourage gentrification. Community resistance has slowed gentrification. Contributors to gentrification in Grandview include increased real estate prices throughout Vancouver, gentrifier sensibilities increasingly matching with life in Grandview, political motivations

for community change, and the increased popularity of living near downtown.

Interviewees present a variety of policies that have either contributed to or reduced gentrification in Grandview.

Interviewees also provided insights on where Grandview Woodland falls in the stages of gentrification and critiqued Hackworth's definition of gentrification. These are both key areas in the scholarly literature. Artists are well established in Grandview, but are increasingly threatened by the higher prices that accompany wealthier residents. This may place Grandview in Stage 2. Hackworth's definition of gentrification could be strengthened with reference to displacement and retail gentrification. The "production of space" generates confusion. The Discussion section will expand upon these issues.

Chapter 10.0 Discussion

This chapter explains the implications of the findings and makes links to the research question and literature review. This answers the research question and provides a hypothesis upon which further research on gentrification can be based. The hypothesis satisfies the theoretical framework by providing a better understanding of social reality.

The research question for this thesis is “what factors propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite being previously impeded?”. The results of this study suggest a hypothesis that public policies can have a substantial, but not autonomous, effect on gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded.

In the case of Grandview Woodland, policy makers set conditions that allow gentrification through city-wide and province-wide policies, including zoning changes, the Strata Title Act (STA), and the Residential Tenancy Act (RTA). These policies laid the foundation for gentrification in Grandview, but are not directly responsible. Zoning changes in Grandview since 2008 have been limited to spot rezoning and the signal that future rezoning will take place as a result of the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan. The STA and RTA policies pre-dated gentrification in Grandview and therefore cannot be factors that propelled gentrification there since 2008. These public policies set the conditions that support market-driven gentrification.

The catalysts for gentrification in Grandview Woodland are the massive property value increases across Vancouver, and the increasing popularity of inner-city living, including specific inner-city quality of life aspects possessed by Grandview. They have created the market that attracts gentrifiers to Grandview and are ultimately responsible

for gentrification. These catalysts are substantially, but not completely, the result of public policy.

10.1 Sets conditions for gentrification - Zoning Policy

Large-scale new developments are viewed as indicators of gentrification, and these are usually made possible through up-zoning. Density can generate affordability, but not if that density either displaces existing residents, is geared towards gentrifiers, or both. A public administrator broadly acknowledges the potential impact of some types of new development on gentrification:

“...I guess we set up the framework for change and growth and maybe some level of gentrification. So certainly as we change the policy - so yah, policy changes effect gentrification too. We allow for new development, new types of development, change in communities.”

Zoning policy can encourage gentrification even before new developments are built. Municipal property tax policy applies taxes to a commercial building based on it's “highest and best use”, which means that an existing building occupying land that is rezoned to allow for a larger building will be taxed based on the potential size instead of the actual size (Kunin, 2013, p. 1). Higher taxes have made it more difficult for traditional businesses to survive, which has resulted in retail gentrification.

Zoning policy has also set the conditions for community change in the Grandview Woodland industrial area. Traditional industrial businesses are threatened by a community planning process that identifies sites for possible future rezoning, resulting in speculation that causes market property values to increase. An example of this process in Grandview is the current land speculation along Hastings Street west of Victoria Drive, which the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan signalled will be rezoned from industrial to mixed commercial and residential uses up to 12 stories high.

Community Planning policies that protect industrial areas from encroachment by residential developments are effective at stopping these areas from transforming into upscale residential zones, and keeps them job-producing areas. This is important in the Grandview Woodland context where the increasing popularity of inner-city living is creating a market for residential units. However, a municipal policy allowing artist live-work studios that doesn't require artists to live there has allowed for some residential encroachment into industrial areas. Policies allowing breweries and active artist studios have resulted in industrial integration, which can indirectly encourage gentrification by attracting upscale visitors to the area who may find it an attractive place to live.

10.2 Sets conditions for gentrification - Strata Title Act Policy

The provincial government's Strata Title Act is contributing to gentrification by allowing for expensive suites to be built and sold quickly by developers, instead of encouraging the construction of rental units which have traditionally been more affordable. City policies such as STIR and Rental 100 are attempts to reverse the trend away from rental construction, but rental units built under these policies have not been affordable to low-income Vancouverites (Antrim, 2011, para. 4; Lee, 2014d, para. 4 & 5). This has made it possible for neighbouring low-income rental buildings to make an appeal under the Residential Tenancy Act to increase rent at a faster rate than would generally be allowed. The likely result has been less affordability and more gentrification.

10.3 Sets conditions for gentrification - Residential Tenancy Act Policy

The Residential Tenancy Act slows gentrification by limiting rent increases to levels below what the market will bear in a gentrifying area. However, the component of the Act that allows an owner to have a tenant vacate their unit if the landlord has a permit

to make renovations to the unit is a loophole that is allowing gentrification. Owners have greater incentive to engage in these sorts of “renovictions” because of the rent gap that has resulted from increasing property values all over Vancouver.

10.4 Factors Propelling Gentrification - Higher Property Values

Currently available information indicates that property values have increased across Vancouver because investors and wealthy immigrants have driven demand for higher-end West Side real estate, and because of the lack of locations available for new residential development. Public policies governing immigration and international capital flows have allowed wealthy people from abroad to invest in Vancouver real estate through such policies as the immigrant investor program (cancelled in 2014). It is possible that there are other factors involved, and comprehensive research is needed on what has caused high property values in Vancouver. Such a study will not be possible until government collects and provides necessary data on the citizenship of real estate owners. In the absence of such data, studies have been produced by the Conference Board of Canada, MacDonald Realty Ltd., and Landcor Data which indicate that foreign buyers are having a major impact on the affordability of Vancouver real estate.

The 2014 municipal election included a policy proposal from the left-wing Coalition of Progressive Electors to address real estate affordability using a tax on foreign buyers, property speculators, and the owners of properties who leave them vacant. This party was not elected. The municipal government’s policy attempt to increase the supply of housing through density via the EcoDensity program has had limited success at producing affordability. Public policy has thus far been unable to deliver solutions.

In this atmosphere of increased property values in Vancouver's West Side, the middle class is increasingly looking to East Vancouver for homes that are comparatively affordable. Ley & Dobson (2008) describe Vancouver's "east-west perceptual boundary" as counteracting Grandview Woodland's relative affordability (p. 2488), but it appears that the unrelenting price increases on the West Side have finally overcome the ability of middle-class Vancouverites to buy property there. This has overcome the "perceptual boundary", increased demand for homes in Grandview, and driven prices up as a result.

Rent gap has arisen from higher property values in East Vancouver. This rent gap is central to production theory (Hackworth, 2005, p. 213-214), the idea that landlords, capital and profit are drivers of gentrification (Quastel, 2009, p. 699). The demolition and redevelopment of relatively affordable rental properties is expected to quicken in Grandview Woodland through to 2019, compounding the effects of the Strata Title Act on reducing the availability of affordable rental stock and contributing to gentrification.

10.5 Factors Propelling Gentrification - Popularity of Inner-City Living

Grandview Woodland's recent popularity among the middle class has also resulted from its location close to downtown Vancouver, along with local transit, shopping, and other trendy aspects of inner-city living. This trend is consistent with Rose (1996) describing municipal governments attempting to make downtown more attractive to professionals (p. 131), and the success of the municipal "Smart Growth" policies to emphasize walkable and transit-oriented neighbourhoods in downtown Vancouver described by Quastel (2009, p. 703 & 710). Smart Growth oriented public policies in Vancouver have included the Living First Strategy (1980s), Clouds of Change (1990), CityPlan (1995), the Liveable Region Strategic Plan (1996), and EcoDensity (2007).

However, the fact that inner-city living has become popular among white collar professionals across Canada and beyond indicates that public policy is only part of the reason for this phenomenon.

This factor illustrates the continued relevance of consumption theory in the gentrification processes. Neighbouring East Vancouver communities including the Downtown Eastside, Strathcona, and Mount Pleasant have also become more popular as a result of the trend towards inner-city living. East Vancouver neighbourhoods have become even more palatable to the middle class as a result of reduced crime and pollution in East Vancouver overall.

10.6 Unanticipated Findings

The only unanticipated contributor to gentrification is that the presence of French immersion schools can contribute to gentrification. French immersion has been growing in popularity in British Columbia for the past 14 years, with one news article attributing part of this popularity to these schools having few special needs students and few English as a second language students (Sherlock, 2014, para. 2 & 27). Yoon & Gulson (2010), find that there is a preference for French immersion schools among white middle-class residents in Grandview Woodland (p. 705-07). This preference appears to not only be influencing school choice, but also acting as a contributor to gentrification. The presence of French immersion along with the overall improvement in the scores of East Vancouver schools has reduced the tendency Ley & Dobson (2008) found, where gentrifiers would “touch down” in Grandview, accumulate equity in their home, and leave as soon as children were born (p. 2490).

10.7 The Barriers

Massive property value increases and the increasing popularity of inner-city living that propelled gentrification, streamlined with public policy, were responsible for overcoming the barrier effect that crime, industrial manufacturing, and social housing had on gentrification before 2008. Ley & Dobson (2008) asked “are barriers a temporary or permanent safeguard against gentrification and displacement?” (p. 2494). The answer appears to be that barriers are a temporary safeguard because other factors can attract gentrification despite the barriers, and because the circumstances of the barriers themselves change over time.

10.7.1 Changes to Crime

Many categories of crime have gone down across East Vancouver, and the long-held perception of high crime-rates in Grandview Woodland has dissipated. Sex work has dropped particularly sharply since 2008. The drop in crime could have occurred because of gentrification, gentrification could have occurred because of a drop in crime, or perhaps a combination of both. Either way, crime has fallen in Grandview as gentrification has advanced. The criminal element’s pre-2008 overflow from the Downtown Eastside to Grandview described by Ley & Dobson (2008, p. 2488) could also have been mitigated by gentrification in the Downtown Eastside.

10.7.2 Changes to Industry

Reduced sex work and policy initiatives have resulted in industrial integration in Grandview Woodland since 2008. A reduction in sex work in the industrial area has contributed to a friendlier atmosphere. Technological advancements and public policy initiatives such as the *Pacific Gateway*, have contributed to the industrial manufacturing area becoming cleaner. The introduction of breweries to Grandview as a direct result of

municipal and provincial policy changes has led to a friendlier industrial area with more foot traffic. The anticipated rezoning of industrial land along Hastings Street captured in the Draft Grandview Woodland Community Plan has resulted in land assembly for the conversion of industrial land into condos in that area, ensuring that further changes are on the horizon. Overall, the industrial area in Grandview is friendlier, cleaner, and less of an impediment to gentrification than it was in 2008.

10.7.3 Changes to Community Resistance

The Grandview Woodland Community Plan has been successfully delayed by community activism in Grandview. Grandview has a history of community activism that has made the area less inviting to gentrifiers and developers. This may have manifested in decades of left-wing political representation at all levels of government. This factor has been weakened by the 2006 Supreme Court of BC decision which removed the right of residents to appeal development decisions at the Board of Variance. This illustrates the potential of public policy to weaken community tools to resist gentrification.

10.7.4 Changes to Social Housing

While the amount of social housing in Grandview Woodland has remained constant since 2008, it has expanded in Strathcona, the Downtown Eastside, and Mount Pleasant. There are indicators of gentrification in all three of these areas despite this expanded social housing. This indicates social housing has limited effectiveness as a gentrification deterrent.

Over the next several years, the provincial government will be selling its social housing assets to non-profits and the federal government will be ceasing funding to non-profit co-op housing. This change will directly impact social housing in Grandview

Woodland as well as the rest of East Vancouver. Should these changes destabilize the stock of social housing, it will provide an interesting opportunity to research how the loss of social housing interacts with gentrification.

10.8 Stages of Gentrification in the Context of Grandview Woodland

Grandview Woodland is going through the traditional stages of gentrification in its transition from working class to wealthy. Many indicators of gentrification in Grandview support the idea that the area is going through stages described in the stage models, including the occurrence of retail gentrification, demographic changes, an upwards shift in income, and a loss of affordable housing.

The process of retail gentrification has been occurring since at least 2008 on Commercial Drive and since around 2014 on East Hastings Street, with upscale food, drink, and specialty stores replacing traditional businesses. Murdie & Teixeira (2009) suggest that the closing of businesses that serve low-income residents is a sign of accelerating gentrification (p. 76).

The stage models theory outlines demographic changes that occur throughout the stages of gentrification, including an increase in the number of artists and homosexuals in the first stage with decreasing numbers into the last stage, and decreasing numbers of traditional low-income and working class residents throughout the process (Table 2). Census data and interviewee accounts confirm a drop in working class and low income residents in Grandview Woodland. Census data shows an upwards shift in income between 2006 and 2011 that is beyond the Vancouver average, a drop in traditional working class occupations, and increased education among residents. Interviewees indicated a drop in the number of artists and homosexuals in the area (this cannot be

confirmed by census data, as this information is not available at the local area level).

Decreased numbers of low-income, working class, artists, and homosexual residents in Grandview indicates that the area is transitioning through the stages of gentrification. A

Vancouver area politician explains how the processes has unfolded in Grandview:

“And you’ve seen it go through what is a pretty conventional traditional model where it’s pretty - fairly lower-end working class area - and I went to school at [redacted - area school], so I hung out on the Drive as a kid and - so lower working-class area. And then what that tends to bring is it, you know, it brings some interesting people who show up and that’s usually followed, you know, by the arts community in some way wanting to have an affordable kinda hip place to do work. And that brings money after it, cause there’s lotsa people who want to - who are attracted by that community. And the next thing you know is you have what’s occurred here. And then that’s driven by things like the shops on Hastings.”

Artists continue to make up a high proportion of Grandview Woodland residents, but rising prices threaten their continued ability to live in Grandview and other areas of East Vancouver. Public policy tools that reserve live-work spaces for artists could facilitate the continued presence of artists into the latter stages of gentrification.

10.9 Rent Gap in Grandview Woodland

The loss of affordable housing in the area has resulted in the decline of low-income demographic groups. An important cause of the loss of affordable housing is rent gap arising from higher property values in the area. Rooming houses affordable to low-income, working-class, and counter-culture groups have been converted into single family homes and new developments inaccessible to these groups. Some single family homes have been razed to make way for new developments. Some owners of affordable rental stock may be allowing buildings to run-down in anticipation of purchase by developers.

This shows that rent gap in Grandview Woodland has resulted in both gentrification

and (at least temporary) deterioration of some properties. This supports Hamnett's (1991) argument that rent gap can result in gentrification but also in other outcomes, including deterioration (p. 181). The deteriorating rental building area in the south-western portion of Grandview between Commercial Drive and Clark Drive built in the 1950's and 60's provides an opportunity for further study into rent gap processes.

10.10 Social Mix in Grandview Woodland

The gradual loss of low-income, working-class, and counter-culture groups in Grandview Woodland in favour of increasingly wealthy residents indicates that social mix is only part of the transitional stage of gentrification. This result differs from the enduring social mix that Rose (1996) found in three Montreal neighbourhoods (p. 157). Looking at Grandview's 2016 census data will confirm whether social mix is being reduced over the long-term. If so, the difference between this outcome and the Montreal study will reinforce the contextual nature of gentrification.

Rose (1996) also argued that there are government intervention options that could maintain some level of social mix (p. 155). This idea is supported by interviewees who argue that co-op housing and tax changes are government intervention options that could reduce gentrification and maintain social mix in Grandview Woodland. An expansion of the federal government's co-op housing program would increase the available amount of low-income housing. Providing tax incentives to encourage rooming houses would reduce the loss of low-income housing.

10.11 Challenges to Defining Gentrification

This study has used Hackworth's definition, "the production of space for progressively more affluent users". Interviewees often came into an interview curious

about how gentrification was being defined for the purposes of this thesis. Providing the Hackworth definition satisfied many interviewees, but many others had concerns about this definition. One concern with the Hackworth definition was the meaning of the word “production”. It can be interpreted to represent new developments, renovations of existing structures, or both, so long as the space is geared towards more affluent users.

The Hackworth definition focuses on new users of space, while leaving the place of incumbent residents unclear. In situations when the production of space for more affluent users doesn't displace the traditional low-income residents or the affordable retail spaces geared towards them, is it appropriate to describe them as gentrification? If so, what word does one use to describe situations where traditional residents are displaced? The situations are different, and therefore, the same word cannot be used to describe both situations. Maloutas (2011) argues that not all urban regeneration is gentrification (p. 33), but until there is a definition that distinguishes different types of urban regeneration from gentrification, all sorts of community change is open to be labelled as gentrification. A concise definition of gentrification that recognizes that it is experienced by the displaced would help to clarify.

Additionally, the important place that retail gentrification takes in the literature also deserves some reference in a strong definition of gentrification. Interviewees commonly recognized retail change as a clear indicator of gentrification. A Vancouver politician explains how retail gentrification is linked to the “production of space”:

“...you talk about this space for producing affluence; I think that the affluence has to find expression. It finds expression in paying too much for coffee and bread and things like that.”

While this study did not set out to produce a new definition of gentrification, the

findings indicate that producing one adds to the discussion. Gentrification would be better defined in the context of this study as “the reduction of residential and retail space affordable to low-income residents”. This definition recognizes displacement and retail gentrification as important conditions in describing the meaning of gentrification in accordance with analysis of the literature and interviewee feedback.

This definition excludes neighbourhoods that were not previously occupied, such as Yaletown in Vancouver, an industrial area converted to residential. This definition narrows the understanding of gentrification by excluding this circumstance. The conversion of industrial into residential is a fundamentally different process from the conversion of an established area into an area unaffordable to traditional residents, and should be part of a different conversation. The Hackworth definition can also be interpreted to exclude industrial conversion to residential since the residential “users” are new and not necessarily part of a pattern of becoming “progressively more affluent”. However, the definition produced in this thesis is clearer about this.

The definition produced in this thesis also excludes industrial integration. This is appropriate because industrial area change to include breweries and active artist studios (not to be mistaken with artists’ presence in residential areas) is not directly linked to gentrification processes in scholarly literature, whereas stage models show that residential and retail gentrification clearly are. It is also reflected in major differences between industrial integration and retail gentrification, which differ in two ways; firstly, unlike commercial businesses, traditional industrial manufacturing does not respond to the arrival of wealthier residents (with the exception of major polluters like West Coast Reduction); secondly, industrial integration does not alienate low-income residents, since

traditional industrial manufacturing rarely sells directly to members of the public in the local community. Therefore, the transition of a nondescript factory into a public-facing producer of beer or art does not reduce space for low-income residents. In fact, the opposite may be true if the beer and art are sold at a low cost. While potentially linked to gentrification by drawing tourism, it is a separate process and should not be captured in a definition. The definition produced in this thesis is clearer about this than the Hackworth definition.

The definition produced in this thesis also excludes middle or upper class areas from the definition of gentrification. One politically involved interviewee made a strong point about the wealthy Dunbar area in Vancouver's West Side gentrifying, which technically fits with the Hackworth definition:

"Dunbar's been gentrified - not that it started out being gentrified anyway but that it certainly has - call it the nouveau riche, but lots of money are landing in Dunbar. People paying in cash, you know, 3 or 4 million for a house. Just cause they can. And that's why - but that's a form of gentrification, that's just a little higher than we're probably most worried about. Because the people who are bailing out, that are being displaced, are being displaced by selling their house for \$2,000,000 or \$3,000,000, and going to Palm Springs or wherever, and buying a mansion or 10 houses for that same money."

There is no question that an interesting phenomenon of middle-class displacement is taking place in Dunbar, but this quote illustrates the problem with the Hackworth definition - that low-income displacement from Grandview Woodland that can reasonably be assumed to leave the displaced with few options, can be described with the same word as the displacement of middle class Dunbar residents who leave the neighbourhood as millionaires. An additional irony is that these former Dunbar residents are just the kind of people that interviewees reported were moving to Grandview and causing displacement there. Therefore, the two phenomena warrant separate words.

While clearer than many other definitions of gentrification, the Hackworth definition still leaves some interviewees confused. Many interviewees accept this definition, but their responses reveal that it allows a broad interpretation of gentrification. The potential for broad interpretation found in some definitions of gentrification is likely why the word is used by the media to describe a variety of phenomena linked to urban change. Misuse by the media contributes to misunderstanding in the general public. A new definition such as that presented here, “the reduction of residential and retail space affordable to low-income residents”, adds necessary clarity.

10.12 Conclusion

The results of this study suggest a hypothesis that public policies can have a substantial, but not autonomous, effect on gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded. Zoning policy, the Strata Title Act, and the Residential Tenancy Act set the conditions for gentrification, while higher property values and the increasing popularity of inner-city living were the factors that propelled it. Public policy decisions are only partly responsible for higher property values and the increasing popularity of inner-city living. The results also show the relevance of stage theory and rent gap theory to the case of Grandview Woodland. Finally, the results challenge the sustainability of social mix and the clarity of existing definitions of gentrification.

11.0 Conclusion

Gentrification is a complex phenomenon that involves many variables. While there is merit in the stage theory, gentrification still tends to be contextual. As a result, a widely understood and agreed upon definition of gentrification continues to be elusive.

Discussing gentrification without a consistent definition is difficult. It is under these circumstances that this study attempts to establish a better understanding of how public policies have influenced gentrification in a local area where gentrification was previously impeded.

It is clear that gentrification in Grandview Woodland has resulted from large increases in property values in the city of Vancouver, as well as the increased popularity of inner-city living. Rising property values and the resulting rent gap supports the production theory, while the increasing popularity of inner-city living supports consumption theory. The relevance of both theories supports the idea in Quastel (2009) that the production and consumption theories are compatible ways to understand the gentrification process.

The Strata Title Act, the Residential Tenancy Act, and zoning policy that invites speculation, retail gentrification, and the loss of low-income housing have streamlined a process of gentrification in Grandview Woodland that would likely have taken place anyways within the confines of a market economy. All other major Canadian cities have comparable legislation, and further research could compare the circumstances of gentrification in Grandview with those of a similar neighbourhood elsewhere in Canada to determine similarities and differences.

Further research is needed on the growing popularity of French immersion and corresponding influences on gentrification. There is minimal research in this area. Yoon & Gulson (2010) have established that there is a preference for French immersion among white middle-class residents in Grandview Woodland, but research needs to determine to what extent French immersion is actually drawing in gentrifiers, as opposed to merely being a preference for gentrifiers attracted to Grandview for other reasons. As second and third generation non-white Vancouverites increasingly join the ranks of gentrifiers, it would be interesting to widen the scope of research to determine if there is actually a difference in the way Canadians who identify as non-white view French immersion. This could influence gentrification patterns in the years to come as Canada heads towards becoming a country without an ethnic majority.

Interviewee accounts revealed that major changes will be coming to long-standing social housing policies in Vancouver over the next few years. The sale of BC Housing's social housing assets to non-profits and the end of federal funding for co-op housing provide interesting and rare opportunities for researchers to study the impact of social housing policy on gentrification.

Some interviewees argued that gentrification could be slowed by an expansion of co-op housing in Vancouver, as summarized by one politically involved interviewee:

“I think one of the real pitfalls is that there's isn't provincial or federal government money to start up a whole new generation of co-operatives. Whether they would be co-operative organizations who would be buying existing buildings and changing it to a non-profit co-op model. Cause that - you look at the kind of people who live in Grandview Woodlands, you know young people, I mean what would you say the - you know, one day they're painting their masterpiece. Next day they're driving for Uber. You know, day 3 they're you know, being bike couriers. You know, they're sort of cobbling together a living. And it's those people who become the creative drivers in the community.”

It would be difficult to test how a new generation of co-ops would effect gentrification since it is currently very unlikely that the co-op program will be expanded. However, studying the upcoming contraction of the co-op program could produce interesting insights; what happens to a community's objective demographics and subjective cultural landscape when co-ops disappear? A similar question applies to the transfer of social housing to the non-profit sector; will this result in the deterioration and loss of social housing as some fear? Or will social housing remain consistent under the care of non-profits? These questions have significant implications for the interplay of gentrification and public policy.

This study has shown that public policy can streamline gentrification in the context of a local area being directly impacted by high real estate prices and a trend towards inner-city living. These factors have overcome previously effective impediments to gentrification. Politicians and local residents with concerns about gentrification may have success in slowing gentrification in Grandview Woodland through changes to the Strata Title Act, Residential Tenancy Act, and zoning regulation. However, success is likely to be limited without reducing real estate prices and demand for inner-city living.

These catalysts of gentrification are linked to public policy. High real estate prices are impacted by demand-side and supply-side policies. Demand-side policies that encourage the immigration of wealthy people from abroad are increasing real estate prices. Supply is reduced by a lack of new space to develop in Vancouver, which is a fact not linked to policy. Zoning policy that allows a greater number of high-density developments would fit more homes onto limited space. However, affordability will not occur if new buildings result in the demolition of existing low-cost housing. Real estate

prices involve many factors, and further study is needed to obtain all the facts as to why real estate prices are so high in Vancouver.

Heightened popularity of inner-city living has been actively supported by public policy and has driven demand among gentrifiers to live in central-city areas including Grandview Woodland. Vancouver's municipal governments have been supporting Smart Growth policies since the 1980's which have encouraged dense, mixed-use, neighbourhoods that are attractive to the middle class for their walkability, transit accessibility, and combining work, life and recreation. The fact that inner-city living has become popular among white collar professionals across Canada and beyond, shows that Vancouver municipal policy is only part of the reason for this trend. It is unlikely that a shift in public policy could reverse this, which indicates that public policy does not have autonomous effect on gentrification.

High real estate prices and increased popularity of inner-city living are the factors that propelled gentrification to take hold in Grandview Woodland despite the formerly effective impediments. While not the only elements, public policies are substantial elements in the development of these two factors. The Residential Tenancy Act, the Strata Title Act, and zoning policy have streamlined the resulting gentrification. Public policy has substantially contributed to gentrification in Grandview Woodland.

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Appendix A: Grandview Woodland Map



(Top Vancouver Real Estate, n.d.)

Appendix B: Vancouver Local Areas



(Grandview Heritage Group, 2013).

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

1. What is your background in Grandview Woodland?
2. As you know, I'm interested in gentrification. To you, is it good, bad, or a mixed blessing?
 - What are the lifestyle choices of gentrifiers moving to GW? (consumption theory)
 - How are rising property values in GW impacting the redevelopment of rental properties? (production theory)
3. What are the indicators, since 2008, of gentrification in Grandview-Woodland?
 - effects on housing
 - effects on community members
 - reversal of neighbourhood decline
 - increased condominiums
 - anti-gentrification violence
 - resulting population growth
 - increased housing development
 - decreased affordability
 - neighbourhood rebranding
 - increased real estate values
 - shift in the goods and services provided by local businesses to accommodate the higher incomes
4. What do you think has contributed to this gentrification since approximately 2008?
 - foreign investment into real estate
 - municipal zoning policies
 - de-industrialization along Hastings St.
 - neighbouring residential neighbourhoods gentrifying
 - supply and demand

A 2008 study found that gentrification in Grandview Woodland occurred much more slowly than in other neighbourhoods in Vancouver because of the presence of industrial manufacturing, social housing, and crime. The next three questions follow up on these three factors.

5. What do you think that the effect of the presence of industrial manufacturing in Grandview/Woodland has had on the pace of gentrification in the area since about

2008, if any?

6. What do you think that the effect of the presence of social housing in Grandview Woodland has had on the pace of gentrification in the area since about 2008, if any?
7. What do you think that the effect of crime has had on the pace of gentrification in Grandview Woodland since about 2008, if any?
 - Have there been changes in these factors?
 - Has there been a policy change to encourage changes?
8. Out of these three factors, industrial manufacturing, social housing, and crime, do you find that one factor has had more of an impact on the pace of gentrification than the others?
9. What has been the effect, if any, of city or provincial policies on gentrification in Grandview Woodland since about 2008?
 - impact of the Community Plan
 - City of Vancouver policy changes
 - rezoning laws
 - encouraging social mix in GW
 - encouraging densification at the municipal level
 - governments promoting gentrification intentionally or unintentionally?
10. Neighbourhoods surrounding Grandview Woodland and around Vancouver have experienced gentrification since 2008. How do you think that gentrification in other parts of Vancouver have impacted Grandview Woodland?
 - Downtown Eastside drop in crime effecting GW
 - middle class have less option in affordable neighbourhoods
 - Mount Pleasant becomes trendy, attracts people to nearby GW

Appendix D: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

1. What is your background in Grandview Woodland?

This interview focuses on the concept of gentrification, and I've been using the definition, "the production of space for progressively more affluent users". A generally accepted example of gentrification has been the transition of the SoHo area of Manhattan, New York City where it changed from an area occupied by artists and hippies in the 1960s to an expensive area for wealthy residents in the present time.

2. As you know, I'm interested in gentrification. To you, is it good, bad, or a mixed blessing?
3. What indicators of gentrification in Grandview-Woodland have you noticed since 2008?
4. What do you think has contributed to this gentrification since approximately 2008?

A 2008 study found that gentrification in Grandview Woodland occurred much more slowly than in other neighbourhoods in Vancouver because of the presence of industrial manufacturing, social housing, and crime. The next three questions follow up on these three factors.

5. What effect has the presence of industrial manufacturing in Grandview Woodland had on gentrification in the area since about 2008, if any?
6. What effect has the presence of social housing in Grandview Woodland had on gentrification in the area since about 2008, if any?
7. What effect has crime in Grandview Woodland had on gentrification in the area since about 2008, if any?
8. Out of these three factors, industrial manufacturing, social housing, and crime, do you find that one factor has had more of an impact on the pace of gentrification than the others?
9. What has been the effect, if any, of city or provincial policies on gentrification in Grandview Woodland since about 2008?
10. Neighbourhoods surrounding Grandview Woodland and around Vancouver have experienced gentrification since 2008. How do you think that gentrification in other parts of Vancouver have impacted Grandview Woodland?
11. Would you like to make any additional comments or are there any questions you wish I had asked?

Appendix E: East Vancouver School Statistics

Britannia School 2006 - 2010

Britannia [Public] Vancouver					Gr 12 Enrollme nt: 125
ESL (%): 5.1			Special needs (%): 25.4		French Imm (%): 0.0
Actual rating vs predicted based			2009-10		Last 5 Years
on parents' avg. inc. of \$33,000: -1.2		Rank:	259/274		244/256
Academic Performance	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Average exam mark	65.1	60.6	64	62.5	62.9
Percentage of exams failed	15	25	15.5	18.6	15.9
School vs exam mark difference	6.1	8.1	4.8	4.9	4.6
English gender gap	F 2.2	M 2.1	F 12.6	F 3.6	F 4.3
Math gender gap	M 2.1	M 5.6	F 1.0	M 0.3	F 4.6
Graduation rate	89	96.3	93.7	84.2	91.6
Delayed advancement rate	44.7	52.1	60.8	42	36.2
Overall rating out of 10	5.2	3.5	4.2	3	3.6

Britannia School 2009 - 2013

Britannia [Public] Vancouver					
ESL (%): 2.5			Special needs (%): 25.3		
Actual rating vs predicted based				2012-13	
on parents' avg. inc. of \$ n/a: n/a			Rank:	240/293	
Academic Performance	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Average exam mark	62.5	62.9	62.4	64	65.2
Percentage of exams failed	18.6	15.9	20.7	20.9	15.5
School vs exam mark difference	4.9	4.6	7.2	5.4	3.2
English gender gap	F 3.6	F 4.3	M 0.3	F 6.7	F 0.9
Math gender gap	M 0.3	F 4.6	M 2.6	F 2.1	F 4.3
Graduation rate	84.2	91.6	90.2	88.5	91.4
Delayed advancement rate	42	36.2	31.6	38.7	26
Overall rating out of 10	3	3.6	3.9	3.5	4.4

Vancouver Technical School 2006 - 2010

Vancouver Technical [Public] Vancouver					Gr 12 Enrollment: 317
ESL (%): 3.2			Special needs (%): 17.9		French Imm (%): 12.1
Actual rating vs predicted based			2009-10		Last 5 Years
on parents' avg. inc. of \$39,000: -0.1		Rank:	209/274		191/256
Academic Performance	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Average exam mark	67.5	63.4	65.8	65.8	67.9
Percentage of exams failed	13.3	19	13.3	12.6	8.3
School vs exam mark difference	4.9	6	2.9	4.3	3
English gender gap	M 1.8	F 1.0	F 5.4	F 1.8	F 3.9
Math gender gap	F 1.5	E	F 1.1	M 0.6	M 0.9
Graduation rate	91.4	92.7	94.6	90.8	88.3
Delayed advancement rate	31.8	21.3	38.3	40.1	41.1
Overall rating out of 10	5.8	5.3	5.5	4.7	4.9

Vancouver Technical School 2009 - 2013

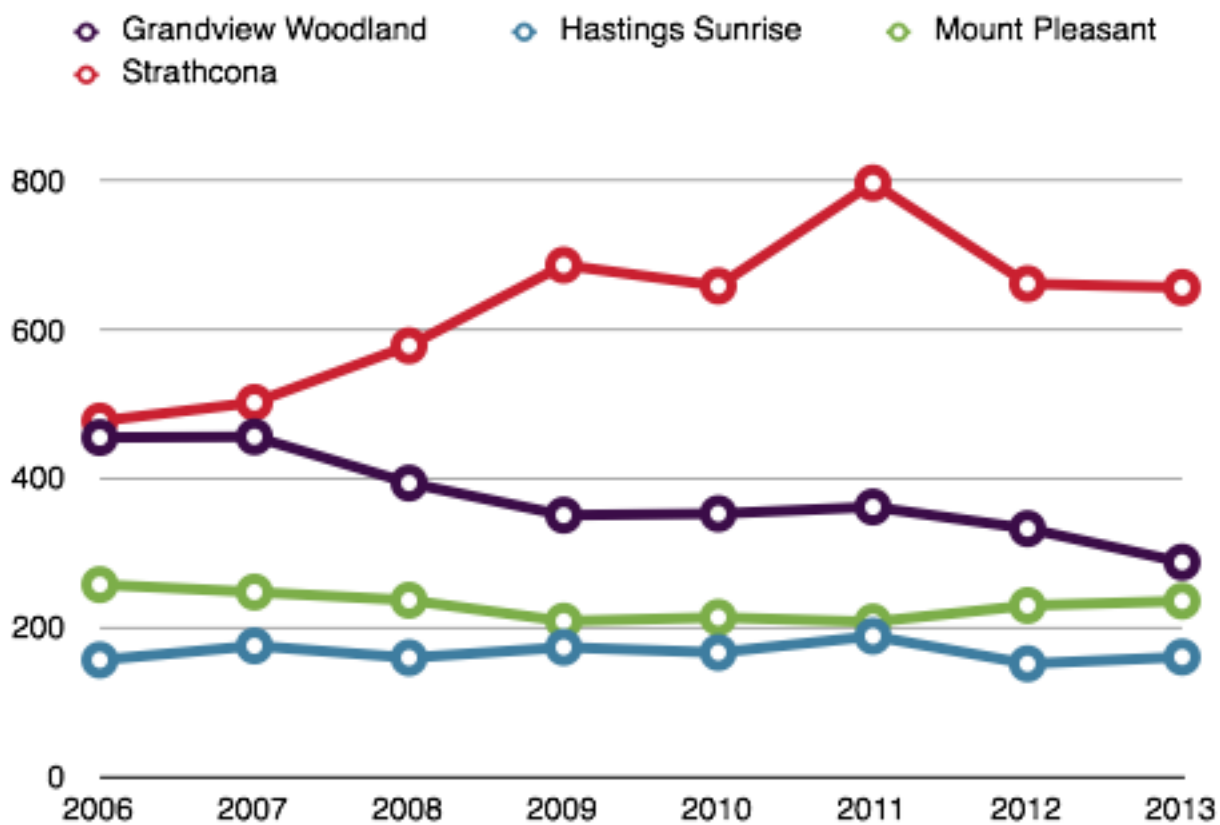
Vancouver Technical [Public] Vancouver					
ESL (%): 1.2			Special needs (%): 12.0		
Actual rating vs predicted based				2012-13	
on parents' avg. inc. of \$ n/a: n/a			Rank:	125/293	
Academic Performance	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Average exam mark	65.8	67.9	69.3	69.7	70.6
Percentage of exams failed	12.6	8.3	9	8.3	8.1
School vs exam mark difference	4.3	3	2.9	4.3	4.4
English gender gap	F 1.8	F 3.9	F 5.7	F 7.3	F 5.5
Math gender gap	M 0.6	M 0.9	F 1.5	F 6.8	F 2.1
Graduation rate	90.8	88.3	93.5	93.5	98.1
Delayed advancement rate	40.1	41.1	23.1	23.9	13
Overall rating out of 10	4.7	4.9	6.2	5.6	6.3

Templeton School 2006 - 2010

Templeton [Public] Vancouver					Gr 12 Enrollment: 165
ESL (%): 4.1			Special needs (%): 15.6		French Imm (%): 0.0
Actual rating vs predicted based			2009-10		Last 5 Years
on parents' avg. inc. of \$43,500: -0.2		Rank:	203/274		146/256
Academic Performance	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Average exam mark	68.6	69.2	68.8	67.3	67.5
Percentage of exams failed	10.4	9.8	10.8	12	10.4
School vs exam mark difference	4	3.6	2.5	3	3
English gender gap	M 0.2	F 1.7	F 7.7	F 7.6	F 4.7
Math gender gap	F 1.8	F 2.2	F 8.2	F 2.7	F 5.6
Graduation rate	93.2	96.1	92.9	94	93.9
Delayed advancement rate	32.7	30.4	35.7	27.9	32.2
Overall rating out of 10	6.5	7	5.6	5.2	5

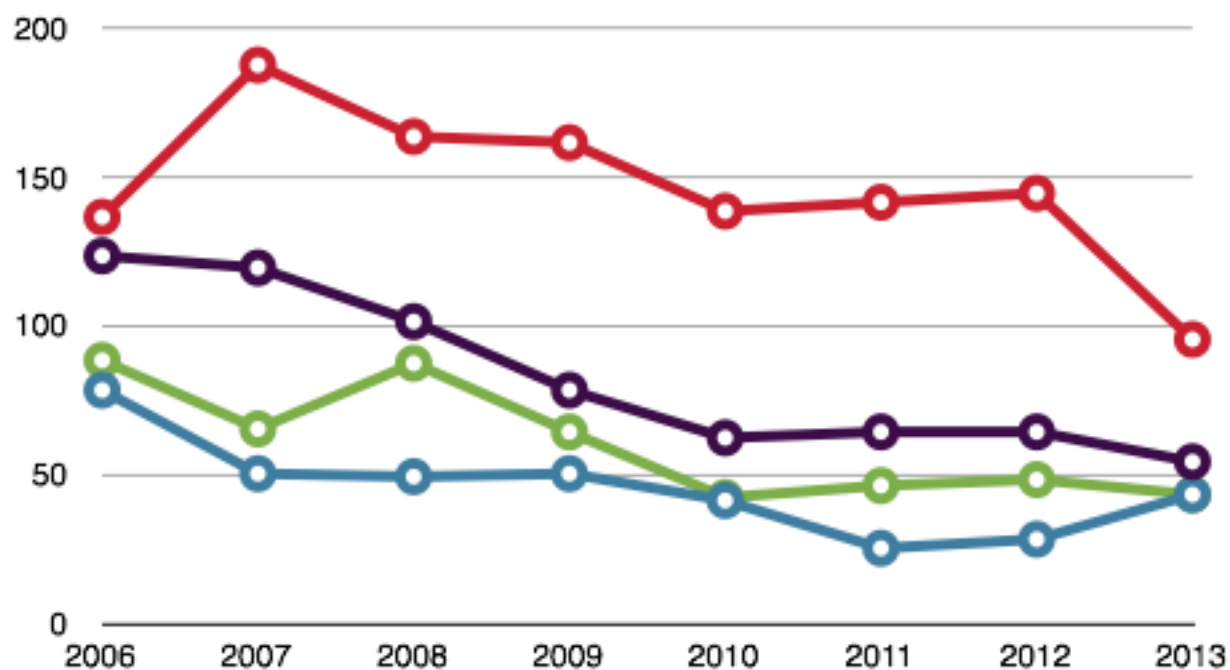
Templeton School 2009 - 2013

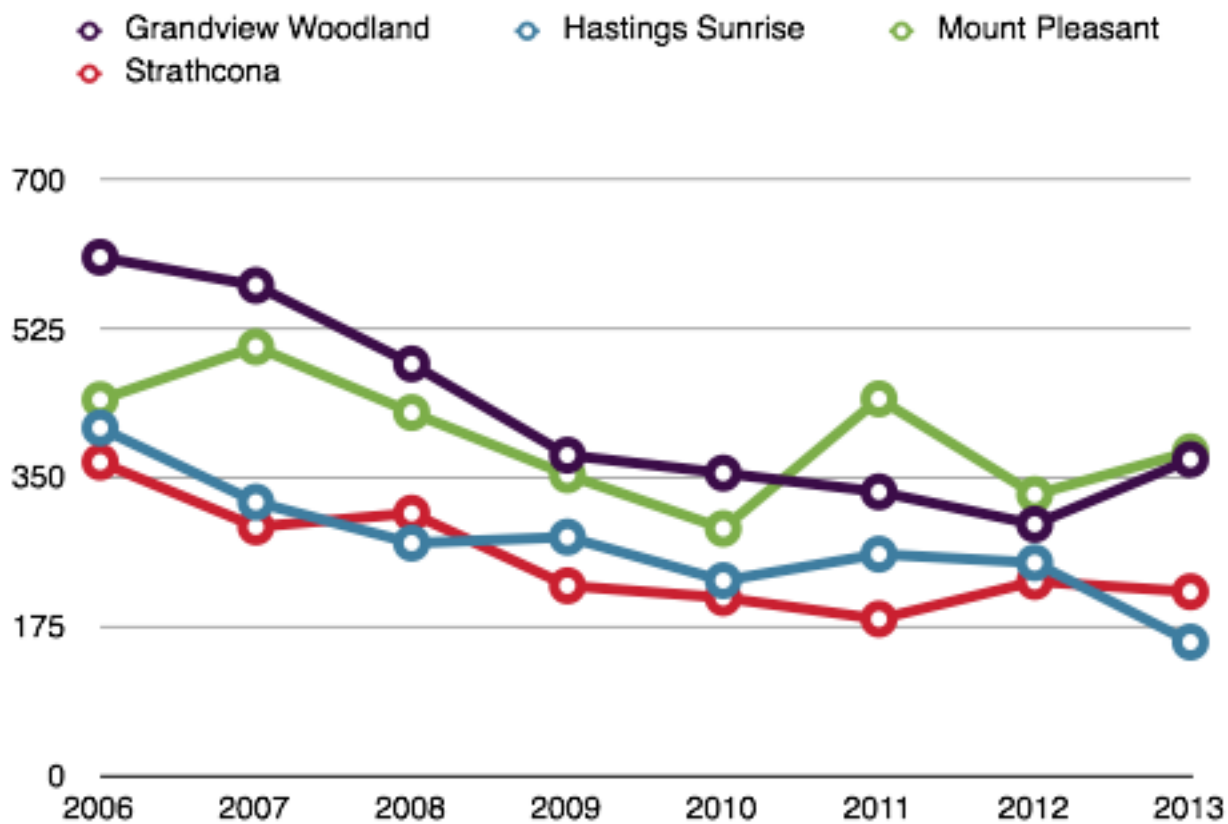
Templeton [Public] Vancouver					
ESL (%): 3.2			Special needs (%): 14.4		
Actual rating vs predicted based				2012-13	
on parents' avg. inc. of \$ n/a: n/a			Rank:	182/293	
Academic Performance	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Average exam mark	67.3	67.5	67.4	66.4	69.5
Percentage of exams failed	12.0	10.4	12.0	14.3	10.0
School vs exam mark difference	3.0	3.0	5.8	6.7	3.0
English gender gap	F 7.6	F 4.7	F 4.9	F 5.4	F 6.2
Math gender gap	F 2.7	F 5.6	M 3.7	F 6.6	F 5.0
Graduation rate	94.0	93.9	94.4	97.8	96.5
Delayed advancement rate	27.9	32.2	19.5	29.8	20.3
Overall rating out of 10	5.2	5.0	5.5	4.7	5.5

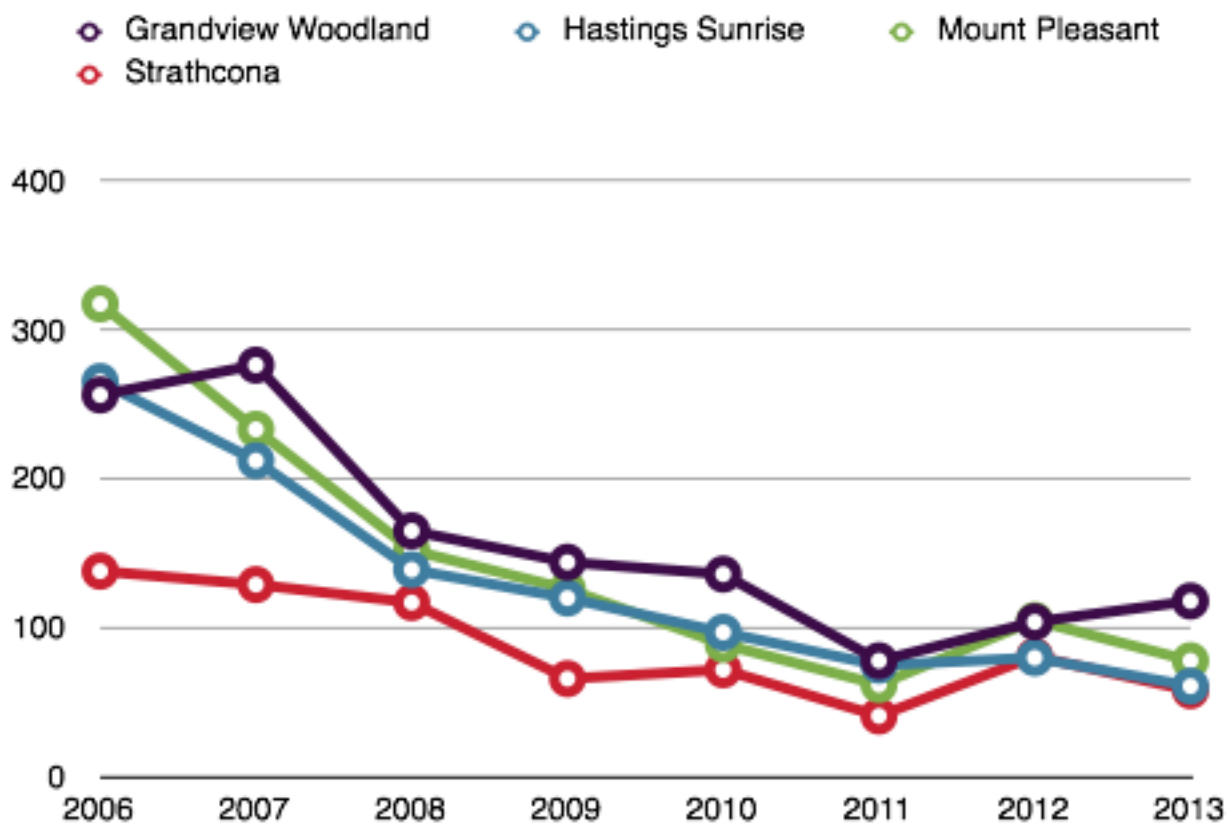
Appendix F: Assault in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

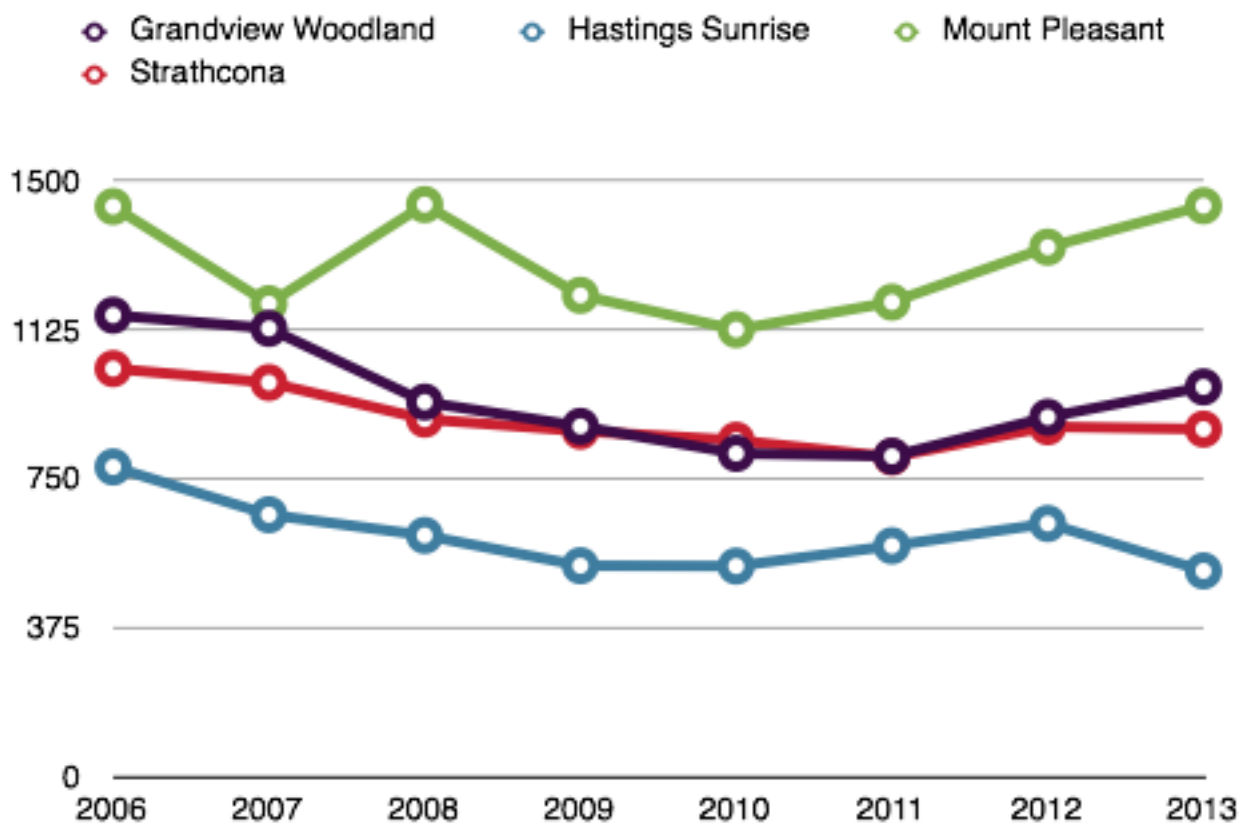
Appendix G: Robbery in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

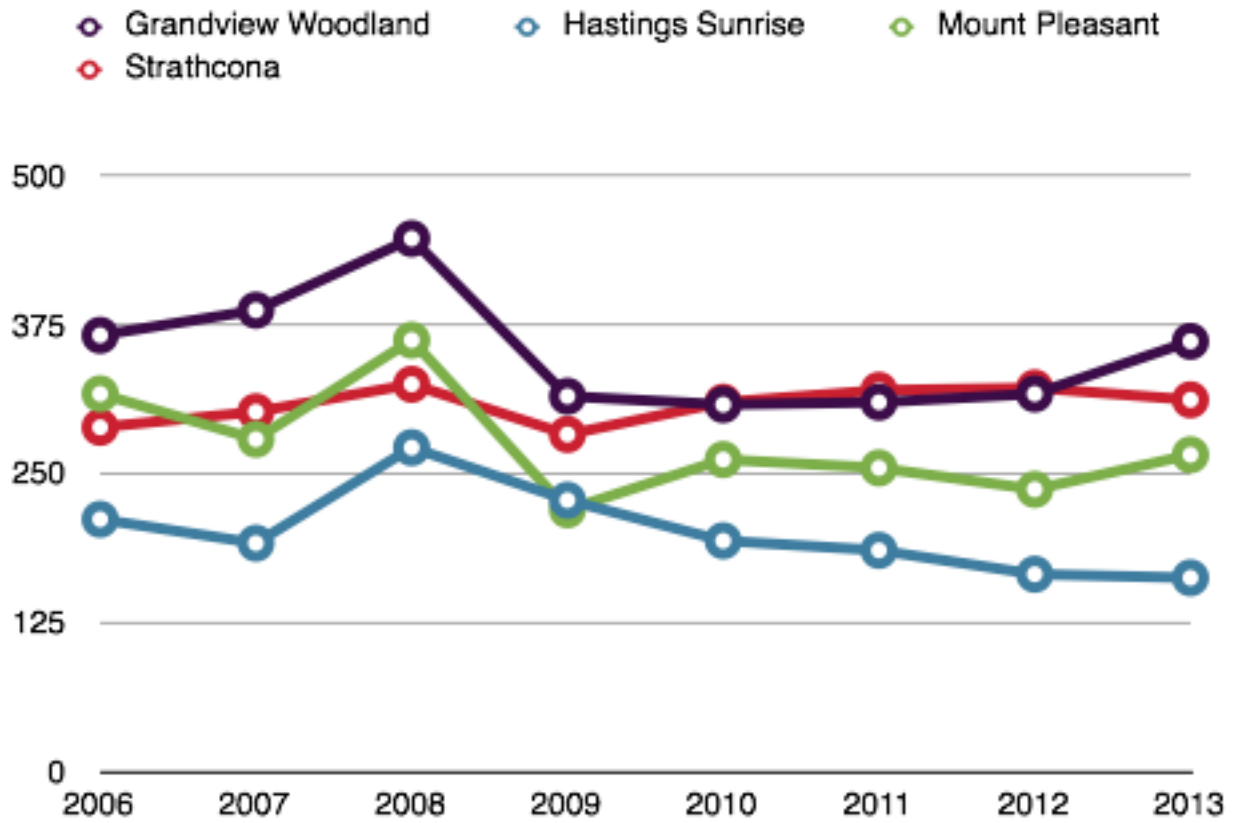
Grandview Woodland Hastings Sunrise Mount Pleasant
Strathcona



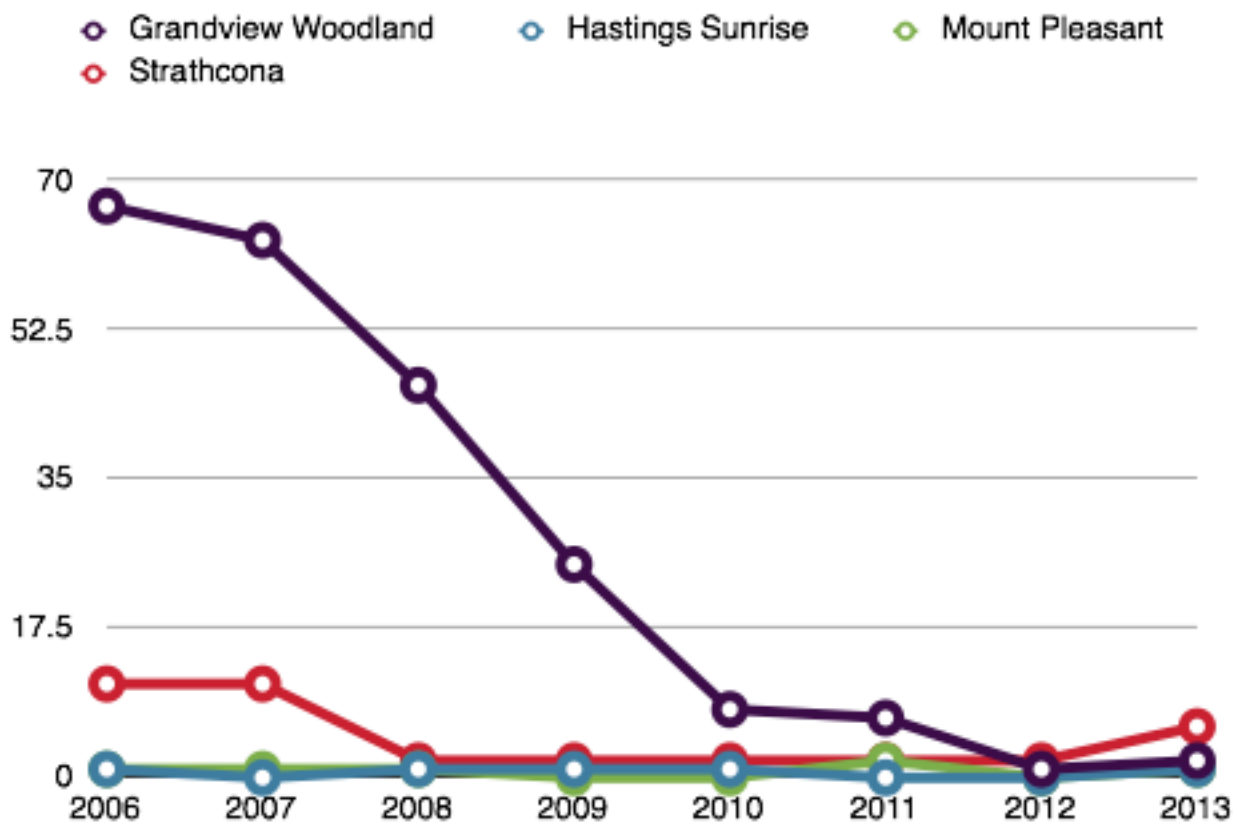
Appendix H: B & E in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

Appendix I: Theft MV in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

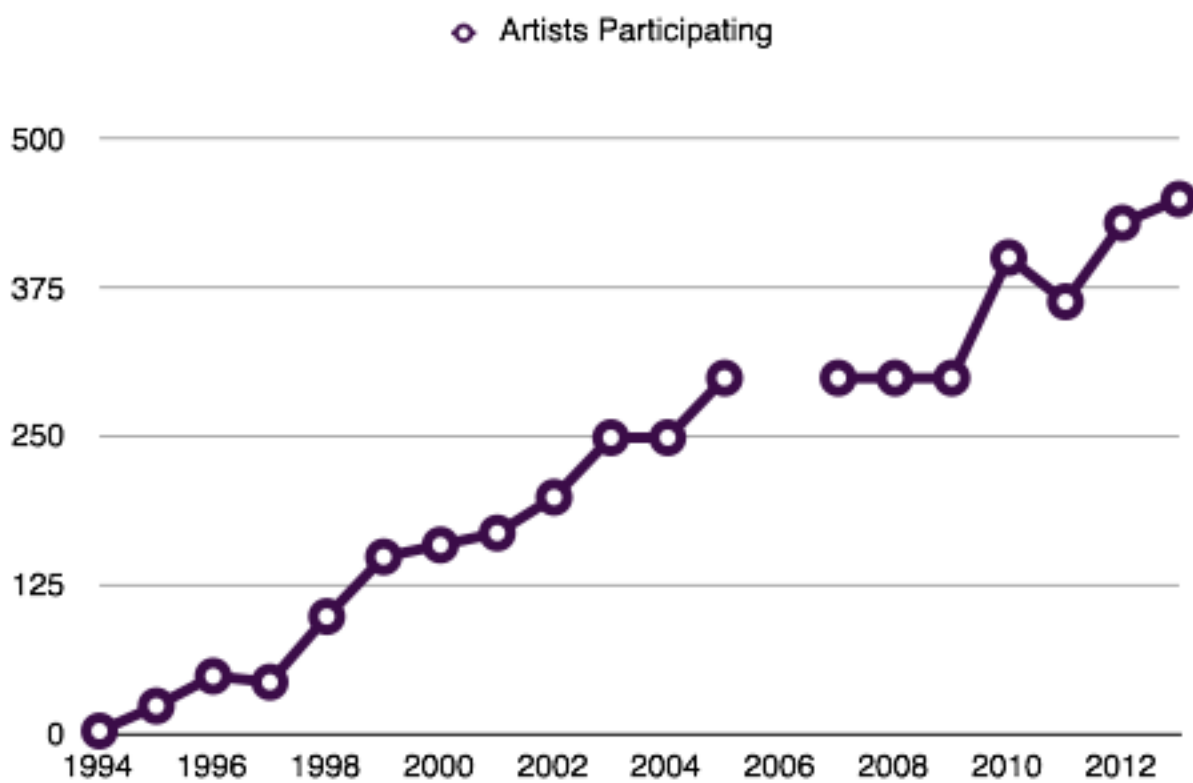
Appendix J: Theft in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

Appendix K: Mischief in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)

Appendix L: Prostitution in East Vancouver Local Areas (Year-end statistics)



Appendix M: East Van Culture Crawl Artists Participating



Appendix N: East Van Culture Crawl Attendance

