

**Revitalize, Rebuild, Replace:
Investigating Socio-Economic Change in a Canada
Lands Company-led Redevelopment in Chilliwack,
British Columbia.**

by
Christian Parr

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Name: Christian Parr

Degree: Master of Urban Studies

Title: Revitalize, Rebuild, Replace:
Investigating Socio-Economic Change in a
Canada Lands Company-led Redevelopment in
Chilliwack, British Columbia

Committee: **Chair: Karen Ferguson**
Professor, Urban Studies and History

Yushu Zhu
Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Urban Studies and Public Policy

Aude-Claire Fourot
Committee Member
Professor, Urban Studies and Political Science

David Ley
Examiner
Professor Emeritus, Geography
University of British Columbia

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Abstract

Research on gentrification in Canada has been traditionally limited to large urban centres like Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal and more recently, into suburban areas adjacent to them. In acknowledgement of this gap, my research concentrates on a Canada Lands Company-led project known as Garrison Crossing in the City of Chilliwack. This project was selected for review not only because of its location in an ex-urban city, identified by its low-density housing, high population growth, located outside the immediate influence of Vancouver but also because of project was led by a crown corporation: Canada Lands Company.

In 2003, Canada Lands Company began the process of transforming the former Permanent Married Quarters (PMQ) for Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Chilliwack to a new master planned mixed-use neighbourhood now known as Garrison Crossing. This project was one of many similar projects that occurred following the closure of CFB's throughout Canada.

Today, Garrison Crossing is a multi-award-winning neighbourhood praised for its quality of design, timelessness, and liveability. But while this space continues to shine for these reasons, there are unanswered questions about who this space was made for. Was this project's end result a diverse vibrant community or something more homogenous and if so, how?

Using a multi-modal approach rooted in gentrification research, this paper explores the socio-economic changes that occurred because of this redevelopment and how Canada Lands Company's vision and mandate influenced these outcomes.

Keywords: Canada Lands Company; Gentrification; Neoliberalism; Federal Government; Suburban Gentrification

Dedication

To my wife Christy and daughter Alannah, who without I never would have finished this project. Your constant love and support provide the focus, courage and wisdom needed to go beyond anything I could have done alone.

Acknowledgements

This study was done on and seeks to expand understanding of lands on the unceded territory of the Ts'elxwéyeqw and Stó:lō Peoples.

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List of Acronyms

CADREB	Chilliwack and District Real Estate Board
CLC	Canada Lands Company
COC	City of Chilliwack
CN	Canadian National
GR	Growth Rate
LQ	Location Quotient
MLS	Multiple Listing Services
PMQ	Permanent Married Quarters

Glossary

Intercensal a time between official censuses.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Research on gentrification in Canada has traditionally been limited to large urban centres like Vancouver, Toronto, and Montréal and more recently, suburban areas adjacent to them. With this fractional attention to gentrification, a knowledge gap exists as to whether gentrification is occurring in ex-urban cities, outside the immediate influence of these massive urban centres; and, if gentrification is occurring, how is it manifesting in these communities. This knowledge gap is becoming more pronounced as ex-urban communities like Kelowna, Chilliwack and Nanaimo are now the fastest-growing Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada (Zimonjic, 2022). Ex-urban cities are defined and described as “a largely residential community located outside of a major city and its suburban periphery that maintains a connection to the metropolis through jobs and services” (Planetizen, 2024). This definition fits with Chilliwack as its outside the direct suburban periphery of Vancouver but does maintain some connections to it.

Acknowledging this gap, my research concentrates on a Canada Lands Company (CLC) led project known as Garrison Crossing in the City of Chilliwack. Garrison Crossing is an award-winning, mixed commercial, recreation and residential New Urbanism development spread over approximately 160 acres of land in southern Chilliwack. These lands were developed primarily over 12 years from 2004 to 2016 with some projects,

including the final phase of Elim Village retirement home, still under construction today. CLC's primary role was facilitating the project, while private construction companies typically handled the planning and infrastructure improvement phases (Canada Lands Company, 2023)

Garrison Crossing was selected for review for two reasons, the project was located in an ex-urban city located outside the immediate influence of Vancouver and led by a state actor, Canada Lands Company. Since 1996 CLC, the self-financing Crown corporation, has engaged in two major roles in managing federal government real estate. The first role is operating federal government-owned attractions throughout Canada, including the CN Tower in Toronto and the Montréal Science Centre. The second role CLC has regarding federal land is that of real estate development which includes the redevelopments of former Canadian Forces Bases (CFB).

This study focuses on CLC's second role, particularly the CFB located in Chilliwack, British Columbia. When the Chilliwack CFB closed in 1998, most of its personnel and operations relocated to Edmonton, Alberta (Welsh, 1996). For the next six years, the Permanent Married Quarters (PMQ), originally constructed to house service members, operated as rental housing for the public before the redevelopment into Garrison Crossing commenced in 2004.

While the physical and land use changes resulting from this redevelopment are apparent, an analysis of the socio-economic changes

has not been conducted, leaving uncertainty as to how the processes administered by CLC and their partners influenced the community's social fabric. Was the outcome of this project a diverse vibrant community or something more homogenous; and, if so, how? Additionally, determining who has been able to make Garrison Crossing their home matters as CLC continues to engage in similar projects today.

The goal of this study is to determine if the CLC-led redevelopment of CFB Chilliwack's PMQ was a form of gentrification, and if so, how does it fit within existing gentrification discourse and research. Further, this research intends to address and add to the relatively small research body of suburban gentrification in Canada, examine a CLC-led PMQ redevelopment through a gentrification lens, and enhance the understanding of how CLC projects impact and change the socio-economic make up of a neighbourhood following completion of the redevelopment.

Chapter 2. Research Context

2.1. History of Garrison Crossing

Canadian Forces Base (CFB) Chilliwack started as Camp Chilliwack in 1858 as one of five camps established by the Royal Engineers to support the Canada-United States Boundary Commission Survey, a purpose it would serve for the first 100-years of its history. On April 1, 1942, 55.8 hectares of abandoned farmland was purchased as A6 Canadian Engineering Training Centre (A6 CETC) and its soldiers were relocated to Chilliwack from Saskatchewan (CFB Chilliwack Historical Society, “A Brief History of CFB Chilliwack”).

Construction of the first on-site accommodation at A6 CETC, a couple of small huts, broke ground in June 1942 with the first wood quarters following in September 1942.

In October 1946, following the end of the Second World War, A6 CETC was re-designated “The Royal Canadian School of Military Engineering” (RCSME) and made the permanent home of the Corps of Royal Canadian Engineers (CFB Chilliwack Historical Society, “A Brief History of CFB Chilliwack” 2023). A6 CETC received its final name change in April 1966 becoming CFB Chilliwack and in 1968 the Royal Canadian School of Military Engineering was redesignated as the Canadian Forces School of Military Engineering (CFSME).

At its peak CFB Chilliwack had approximately 2,300 people working or studying on the base including 1,000 military and 600 civilian employees as well as 700 students. As for amenities, CFB Chilliwack featured both Roman Catholic and Protestant chapels, a 10-bed hospital, retail stores, a gas station, a recreation centre, sports fields as well as a Military Engineer Museum. There were 388 Permanent Married Quarters (PMQ) houses on site providing housing for upwards of 375 personnel and 1,200 dependants. CFB Chilliwack was the District of Chilliwack's second largest employer after the agricultural sector (CFB Chilliwack Historical Society, "A Brief History of CFB Chilliwack" 2022).

As previously noted, the decision to close CFB Chilliwack was finalized in 1996 and the closure was completed in 1998 with most operations relocated to Edmonton, Alberta (Welsh, 1996). Bases were selected for closure by the Department of Defence with consideration for the economic impact on the area. Chilliwack was considered economically resilient enough to withstand the closure. Small reservist branches, the 39 Combat Engineer and Service Battalion and Royal Westminster Regiment, remained in Chilliwack following the closure of the base and continued to have a presence to this day. The 1996 closure of the base saw the PMQ, located on what is now Garrison Crossing, become below market rental housing for the public until the redevelopment of the area commenced in 2004.

These dwellings were between 40 to 50 years old by the time the redevelopment began and were extremely basic accommodations featuring few, if any, modern comforts, or updated amenities. There was a mix of one and two storey single-family dwellings, two-storey duplexes and several rowhouses throughout the site. Despite these differences in unit type, finishes and floor areas were extremely similar throughout the development, typical of government-provided military housing.

2.1.1. Canada Lands Company

Canada Lands Company (CLC) entered the picture in 1995, having been formed from the ashes of the Public Works Lands Company Limited Crown Corporation, with the mandate of ensuring the best possible financial return for the federal government on the sale of federal surplus properties (Canada Lands Company, 2021). During this time, CLC was reformed for the purpose of managing the sale of the Canadian National Railway (CN) as well as the sale of surplus federal lands generated from CNs privatization (Canada Lands Company, 2021).

In 1996, CLC acquired the title for five closed or soon to be closed CFBs including CFB Chilliwack with the mandate of revaluating these lands for future development and again, “deliver the best value and financial return to Canadians” (Canada Lands Company, 2021). The redevelopment of CFB Chilliwack began in 2004 and was mostly completed in 2016 outside

of a few larger projects (Whiteside 2019, p. 509-510, Canada Lands Company, 2021).

2.2. Neoliberal Shift of the Federal Government

Neoliberal ideological shifts and legislative frameworks are what enabled and empowered Canada Lands Company (CLC) to begin leading redevelopment projects on former PMQ housing. To illustrate this shift, I reviewed literature regarding the impact of the neoliberalization of the federal government on Crown corporations, the fiscal justifications for these neoliberal shifts and the specific legislation that empowered CLC. Literature related to non-market housing provision by the federal government in order to provide context into how neoliberalization changed the federal government's relationship with the housing market was also studied.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Canadian federal government began a series of neoliberal-inspired policy shifts across nearly all Ministries and sectors. These shifts included the deregulation of the finance sector in 1986-87 and the privatization of numerous federal crown corporations, such as Air Canada in 1988, with the stated goal of increasing their economic efficiency (Carroll and Little 2001, p.33-34, Gillen et al 1989, p. 285-286).

In the middle of this shift, the *Federal Real Property Act* (The "Act") was brought into force in September 1992. The Act allowed the federal

government the ability to grant federal real property title through deeds and pass this title to Crown corporations administering that land and permitted the use of conveyancing methods used within the private real estate sector (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 1996). In addition, the Act provided the necessary legislative framework for CLC to acquire, reevaluate and dispose of federal lands to private interest. However, the Act did not generate surplus lands for CLC to sell meaning further policy shifts that would see federal lands made available for purchase needed to occur before CLC's operations could manifest as they did at CFB Chilliwack (Whiteside 2019, p. 505-506).

Neoliberal policy shifts that began in the 1980s reached their zenith in the mid-nineties in the form of the 1994-1995 budget. The 1994-95 budget was a result of what was called the Program Review involving a review of all government agencies and Ministries and offered each the opportunity to "redesign itself to fulfil its roles and responsibilities within a federal government better adapted to the needs and requirements of the future and within its constrained budget" (Massé, 1994 quoted in Bourgon, 2009, p. 14). What the Program Review resulted in was a decrease in federal program spending from 16.8% of the GDP in 1993-94 to 12.1% by the end of the decade (Federal Government Public Accounts in Bourgon, 2009, p. 19).

A key target of the Program Review's cuts for this research was the Department of Defence with a spending cut of 8% from 1993-94 to 1996-

97 for a total saving of \$1.9 billion over three years. These savings were primarily achieved by reducing overhead expenses including the closure of Canada Forces Bases (Martin 1994). One of the first Canadian Forces Bases (CFB) pegged by the federal government for closure was CFB Chilliwack, which resulted in the elimination of 1,600 civilian and military employees from the federal payroll (Budget takes toll on base, 1995).

The outcomes of the Program Review, which manifested in the 1994-95 budget as well as the preceding recession of the early nineties, fully entrenched the federal government's commitment to the neoliberal dogma of "starving the government beast", cutting social spending and the veneration of private markets and finance over government intervention (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Carroll and Little 2001, Harvey 2000).

The second aspect of the philosophic shift taken by the federal government toward a more market-based neoliberal approach is the federal government's relationship with the housing market. Following the Second World War, the federal government's contributions towards and relationship with housing has had six distinct phases: the early-postwar phase, three unique social housing-oriented phases between the 1960s and 1990s, and two phases from the 1990s to the present.

The postwar phase from 1949 to 1964 saw the Canadian government begin to own and operate public housing. This phase was followed by the

1965-73 phase in which Canada was in a social housing “hey day” with social housing making up around 10% of all housing starts (Suttor 2016).

In 1974, following amendments to the National Housing Act, the investment from the federal government continued but evolved to include cooperative and mixed-income non-profit housing. Social housing starts peaked in the second social housing phase.

By 1985, federal funding for social housing remained but provinces were more involved in the process of providing social housing. By this phase, federal social housing funding began shrinking with deeply subsidized housing being defunded completely in favour of mixed-income and cooperative housing models (Sousa and Quarter 2003, p. 594 and Suttor 2016).

In 1993, as the influence of neoliberal ideology continued to increase, the federal government turned off the taps for social housing funding as part of the greater market-focused policy reforms and social program cutbacks that were a staple in the early to mid-nineties. In addition to the funding cutbacks, social housing program management was handed down to provinces. A key feature of this phase was the disparity between provinces on how they managed the exit of the federal government from the housing market. British Columbia and Québec continued funding social housing to varying degrees while Ontario not only froze funding but sought to cancel approved projects. This phase also saw the devolution of social housing

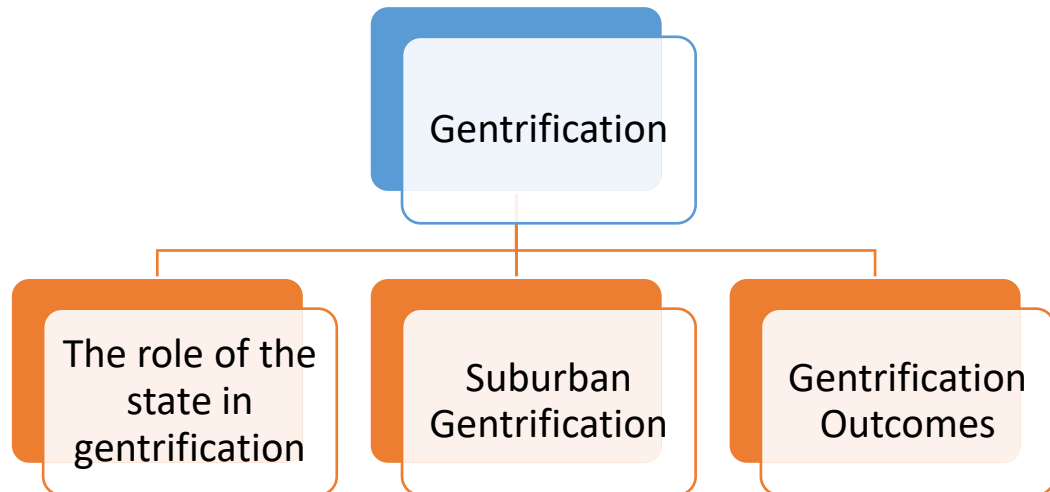
management continue with provinces handing responsibility for administering social housing programs to municipalities (Sousa and Quarter 2003; Suttor 2016).

2001 to the present has seen a slight return to housing provision by the federal government; however, this reinvestment in housing hardly compares to pre-1990s spending levels. In addition, much of this reinvestment was an attempt to stop or slow down surging homelessness rates in Canada's urban centres where the homelessness rates became so problematic it was impossible for the federal government to ignore (Suttor 2016).

The Program Review of the early nineties and the 1994-95 budget, through the privatization of Crown corporations and closure of CFBs, provided surplus lands for Canada Lands Company to reevaluate and sell. Meanwhile, by removing itself as an impactful provider of housing, the federal government cemented the private sector as the only meaningful player in housing provision. This exodus provided cover for the federal government to engage in market rate real estate development through CLC as these redevelopments of public lands were now filtered through a financial lens not a housing or social equity policy lens as the federal government was no longer a player in the provision of housing.

Chapter 3. Conceptual Framework

While the neoliberalization of the federal government provides context to CLC's purpose, analyzing the outcomes of their projects to determine if they qualify as gentrification requires a clear understanding of what gentrification means in this context. To determine this context, I reviewed literature regarding gentrification to provide background information on the state of the field of study and determine a workable definition for this project. Further, suburban gentrification, gentrification outcomes and representations of gentrification literature were studied to best understand how to identify if the phenomenon had occurred in Garrison Crossing.



3.1. Gentrification

Gentrification as a concept has found itself stretched in urban studies literature. The use of the term has expanded beyond the phenomenon originally identified in Western urban centres such as New York and London as well as large Canadian metros such as Toronto and Montreal to include a greater variety of urban spaces, cities, and neighbourhood types as well as a new class of gentrifiers (Hochstenbach 2015, Walks 2014).

This conceptual stretching has made gentrification a difficult term to define. In 1996, Hammel and Wyly defined gentrification as “the replacement of low-income, inner-city working-class residents by middle or upper-class households, either through the market for existing housing or demolition to make way for new upscale housing construction” (p. 250). This definition is limited in scope to include only inner-city urban residents as well as the direct replacement of low-income residents by middle- or upper-class households. However, since the economic recession of the early nineteen nineties, gentrification as a concept has evolved beyond this definition as state-actors began using their authority and enforcement powers to facilitate gentrification (Smith and DeFilippis 1999 and Hackworth 2002).

This phase of gentrification is commonly referred to as the third wave of gentrification. Smith (2002) identified five key characteristics that differentiate third wave gentrification from the previous two waves:

1. The role of the state evolved as partnerships between state and private capital intensified. This evolution saw federal, state and city level public actors change from managing and regulating private capital to becoming a “junior partner” following in the footsteps of private capital and simply accepting the terms as presented.
2. Corporate and state actors are now more committed to gentrification efforts.
3. Gentrification has expanded beyond urban centers into peripheral neighbourhoods.
4. Opposition to gentrification has been sidelined and ignored.
5. Financing of gentrification projects is now facilitated by global actors.

Gentrification was no longer the result of bottom-up initiatives by individual gentrifiers with larger private financial interest only moving into neighbourhoods once the initial taming of a neighbourhood had been completed. Instead, it became the result of a state-led approach to sanitize and prepare neighbourhoods for an influx of capital at a neighbourhood scale (Aalbers 2019 ; Hackworth 2002).

As a result of these changes, Hackworth (2002) proposed a new definition for gentrification as “the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users” (p. 815). While the processes of displacement and replacement became more indirect in the third wave than in previous waves, the resulting transition from lower-income residents to higher income remained the same (p. 815). Clark (2005) also generated a similar definition that reads “a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital”. Hackworth’s definition is suitable to my projects needs when combined with the characteristics of third wave gentrification described by Smith. Third wave gentrification also fits the timeframe of the Garrison Crossing redevelopment from the closure of CFB Chilliwack in 1996 to the beginning of the redevelopment in 2004.

To determine if Garrison Crossing was in fact a form of gentrification, the socio-economic outcomes of the project will need to be analyzed to see how if the neighbourhood match known characteristics of gentrified spaces.

3.2. The Role of the State in Third Wave Gentrification

As previously noted, the role of the state in gentrification has evolved since the initial two waves of gentrification. As gentrification has shifted

from being driven primarily by individuals such as artists, tech and fashion workers, and Wall Street employees to becoming a policy option for cash strapped cities, western states including the US and Canada, principally at the local and federal levels, has taken an active role in facilitating the gentrification process (Smith and DeFilippis 1999, Smith 2002; Hackworth and Smith 2001).

One-way local governments facilitate gentrification is through zoning regulations and enforcement bodies such as bylaw officers and police to “clean up” neighbourhoods to make the area more attractive to capital investment (Smith and DeFilippis 1999).

Another way the third wave of gentrification was led by both local and federal state actors was that the state began to support gentrification projects in suburban areas where redevelopment was not previously supported. This type of support was provided as the “easy” gentrification targets had been exhausted and private capital was unwilling to move further without state support (Smith and DeFilippis 1999, Mösgen, Rosol and Schipper 2019, Hackworth and Smith 2001).

Hackworth and Smith (2001) describe the federal government’s role in gentrification less in terms of directly facilitating through site preparation but rather removing regulatory barriers to gentrification. One example is how the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD) HOPE VI program allowed for the removal of public housing for

redevelopment without a requirement to provide 1 to 1 replacement of these units (Wyly and Hammel 1999). Mösgen, Rosol & Schipper (2019) identified Little Mountain in Vancouver as an example of this facilitation via divestment. In the 1993 budget, the federal government stepped away from housing provision and transferred ownership of the site to the BC provincial government who was equally uninterested in providing housing. This ownership transfer eventually led to the privatization and redevelopment of most of the site.

In a suburban context, both in the West (North America and Australia) and the East (China, India, and Southeast Asia), Hudalah and Adharina (2019) note the importance of the state as a facilitator of suburban gentrification: they detail how both local and federal governments utilize market-friendly economic policies with the goal of boosting suburban economies through the redevelopment of economically depressed or stagnant areas.

Garrison Crossing was led by CLC, a Crown corporation, as opposed to being led directly by a federal ministry or the City of Chilliwack. As a result, CLC is the principal state actor involved in this case study with the CITY OF CHILLIWACK being a secondary player. While CLC was the lead on the Garrison Crossing project, the CITY OF CHILLIWACK held all the power when it came to land use regulations. Understanding this dynamic is key to answering if both parties were active and engaged in promoting the development or if there was resistance from one side or the other regarding the vision of the project.

3.3. Suburban Gentrification

Smith (2002) noted the third wave of gentrification saw an expansion of the phenomenon beyond urban centers into peripheral cities and neighbourhoods. Previous research into suburban gentrification has identified three gentrification approaches that will be guiding my analysis in the metrics and qualitative analysis. The three approaches identified are: neighbourhood housing cycle, megaprojects, and institutional approaches (Hudalah and Adharina 2019). These approaches were selected as there is nearly no Canadian suburban gentrification research for cities similar to Chilliwack, so I adapted these approaches to the exurban context of my research. As previously noted, most research into suburban gentrification in Canada concentrates on municipalities directly adjacent to large urban centres such as Coquitlam and Etobicoke and ties back into established research on gentrification as being the gradual remaking of space for more affluent individuals (Jones 2023, Keatinge and Martin 2016). While these suburbs are not necessarily comparable to Chilliwack, they are at the very least evidence that gentrification is occurring in suburbs in Canada.

The neighbourhood housing cycle approach ties in heavily with literature on early urban centric gentrification and is concentrated on the decline associated with the aging of a neighbourhood. As neighbourhoods age and housing in the area becomes increasingly expensive to maintain, a decline in quality and housing value follows suit and eventually the

neighbourhood is abandoned. This process along with redlining and blockbusting begins to create a gap between the actual rent and the potential rent of a property called the rent gap. As the rent gap of a neighbourhood widens, the possibility of market interventions and gentrification increases (Smith 1979). This approach was applied in the metric section as part of the review on the age of the PMQ's housing.

The next approach identified by Hudalah and Adharina (2019) is the megaproject approach. The megaproject approach typically sees a national or state level government take the lead on a major large-scale project aimed at generating economic growth in the name of public interest. In this process, local level negative impacts including displacement or job loss are deemed acceptable consequences and a distant second to the goal of generating capital investment (Zhang 2002 in Hudalah and Adharina 2019, Goldman 2011).

Hudalah and Adharina (2019) note that suburban gentrification megaprojects typically consist of state facilitated, privately built projects involving large scale public to private land-transfers and the displacement of existing residents. Garrison Crossing featured both traits as during the site improvement stages residents of CFB Chilliwack's PMQ were forced to leave; and, following these improvements, lands were sold to builders to develop the lands in accordance with CLC's approved plan (Canada Lands Company, 2021). In addition to these two traits, suburban

gentrification mega-projects also tend to be welcomed enthusiastically by local authorities.

The institutional approach concerns the impact and interactions of government institutions on and with individuals and how institutional norms, interest and behaviours contribute to gentrification (Hudalah and Adharina 2019 p. 100). As CLC is effectively an arm of the federal government, understanding CLC's motivations and interests is key to determine if gentrification was an unintended consequence or part of the project's design.

The institutional approach draws on previous research into the post-recession third wave of gentrification, where governments began to use their authority as a means to effectively sanitize and prepare neighbourhoods for influxes of capital investment (Smith 2002, Smith and Defippis 1999). Hackworth and Smith (2001, 2002) argue that the relationship between state and developer is now a necessary relationship as easy gentrification targets have already been exhausted and local authorities see gentrification as the most efficient way to encourage investment and growth in an area.

At first glance, Garrison Crossing is an imperfect match with any one of these approaches but features parts of all three. Because of this imperfection, it is reasonable to apply all three approaches at some level to the review of the development in both quantitative and qualitative

analysis. In addition, all three approaches have ties into the characteristics of third wave gentrification described by Smith making the review of these approaches justifiable.

3.4. Gentrification Outcomes

For gentrification outcomes, Hackworth's definition is combined with the gentrification criteria identified in Freeman (2005) and Easton et al (2020) that have been adapted to work within the scope of my project. Freeman (2005), attempting to determine an effective measure for gentrification, noted five criteria deemed necessary for a neighbourhood to be considered gentrifying. These criteria are: be located in a central city; have a median income less than the median (40th percentile) for the metro area at the beginning of an intercensal period; have a proportion of housing built within the past 20 years lower than the proportion found at the median (40th percentile) for the respective metro area; have a percentage increase in education attainment greater than the median increase in educational attainment for the metro area; have an increase in real housing prices during the intercensal period. Easton et al (2020) noted the following four variables identified by Walks and Maaranen (2008) as additional measures for gentrification: increased mean individual income; reduced proportion of tenants; increases in socioeconomic status measured by employment rate and professionals/managers; increases in the percentage of artist living in an area.

In addition, the elements of suburban gentrification identified by Hudalah and Adharina (2019) through examination of seven suburban gentrification projects is reviewed to bring a suburban gentrification context into the analysis of gentrification outcomes.

Of the criteria identified by Freeman (2005) and Easton et al (2020), as applying to neighbourhoods before and after gentrification has occurred, I have selected the following variables for the purposes of my research:

1. Relatively low income prior to redevelopment (compared to the median for the metro area).
2. Older housing stock prior to redevelopment beginning (under the 40th percentile of dwellings in the areas constructed in the past twenty years).
3. Increase in higher mean educational attainment level relative to the metro area following gentrification.
4. Increase in individual income.
5. Employment rate and sector.

These variables were selected as they capture quantifiable socio-economic measures of gentrification used extensively in previous gentrification research. In addition, these variables are consistent with Hackworth's (2002) definition of gentrification. Displacement is not included as a metric to determine whether a space has experienced gentrification due to limitations in data. Without appropriate data, it is

currently impossible to determine if permanent displacement occurred because of the redevelopment. However, the redevelopment of Garrison Crossing required every PMQ resident to relocate away from the area and the previous closure of CFB Chilliwack also initiated a wave of displacement, one that was likely even more disruptive than the second as those residents would have also had to change their employers to remain in Chilliwack.

Variables identified by Easton and Freeman not being used in this project include central city location, proportion of tenants and percentage of artist residents. These variables were excluded as they are not applicable to Garrison Crossing and not required to be present for a project to be considered third wave gentrification. Proportion of tenants was excluded from the review as there were no privately owned dwellings in the PMQ prior to the redevelopment. Central city location and percentage of artist residents were excluded as Smith (2002) noted that during the third wave of gentrification, the practice had moved beyond central cities and no longer necessarily involved members of the creative class.

In addition to these metrics, Hudalah and Adharina (2019) attributed four elements to suburban gentrification: physical change, socio-economic change, displacement driven by megaprojects and actors involved in the project. Actors involved in the project are divided into rent seekers such as landlords and developers and facilitators such as local or higher levels of government.

Physical changes involve the upgrading of the architecture and building quality as well as an intensification of site density and height. These changes may also include changes to the infrastructure and amenities of a neighbourhood including roads, parks and recreational facilities and commercial activities. This change will be measured in the metric section by examining upgrades to neighbourhood amenities and changes in land use that occurred as a result of the redevelopment.

Socio-economic changes come with the physical changes as wealthier residents are drawn towards the redeveloped neighbourhood, which in turn has the effect of increasing land values (Hudalah and Adharina 2019, p. 101). Socio-economic changes resulting from the redevelopment, including education and income level changes, are analyzed throughout the metric section.

The third element of suburban gentrification is direct displacement. Direct displacement is a normal part of megaproject gentrification as existing residents are forcibly evicted or resettled to make way for the new development and the new residents that come with it (Hudalah and Adharina 2019). As noted previously, residents of the PMQ were required to move away from the area as the redevelopment began and were not guaranteed any opportunity to return. As such this element of suburban gentrification has already been identified as present in the study area.

The final element is the actors involved in suburban gentrification. As noted, these actors can be divided into two groups: rent seekers and facilitators. Rent seekers include developers and financial institutions seeking financial benefit from a gentrification project. Facilitators, as previously discussed, are often but not always state actors with market friendly economic policies and goals of boosting suburban economies through redevelopment of economically depressed or stagnant areas (Hudalah and Adharina 2019). One part of this project will be identifying which of these two roles were played by CLC, the COC, the federal government and private sector partners of CLC. By determining what role was played by who, we can determine what motivates each party.

By identifying the outcomes and characteristics of gentrification, a workable methodology is formed. The identified metrics also tie into the gentrification definition coined by Hackworth because they tie into neighbourhood upgrading.

Table 1 *List of Metrics*

Type	Metric	Measurement	Source
Economic	Relatively low income prior to redevelopment (compared to the median for the metro area).	Individual Income from 2001 for both the PMQ and COC.	Statistics Canada 2001 Census Custom Tabulations
	Comparatively higher sales prices in the redeveloped neighbourhood.	Comparison of sales prices over three years for the study area and COC	MLS Sales Data
	Increase in resident income	Comparison of individual income levels for the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
	Employment rates and employment sectors	Employment rates per sector for both the study	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census

		area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Custom Tabulations
Demographic	Increase in higher mean educational level relative to the metro area following gentrification as well as the pre-redevelopment site	Highest educational levels attained for both the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
	Household makeup	Types of households in both the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016.	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
Built form and land use	Older housing stock prior to redevelopment.	Inventory of housing stock taken obtained by reviewing COC aerial photos	Historic COC aerial photos and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan
	Upgrading of neighbourhood amenities.	Review of COC aerial photos and walk through of the study area	COC aerial photos, walkthrough notes and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan
	Changes in land use.	Review of COC aerial photos and walk through of the study area	COC aerial photos, walkthrough notes and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan

3.5. The Canadian Context

Existing literature observes processes of first wave gentrification brought about by the emerging presence of artists in lower income neighbourhoods in Canadian cities including Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Ley 2003). This initial foray into the inner city then led to the upgrading of inner-city, working-class neighbourhoods in these cities. This upgrading took various forms including rental buildings becoming owner-occupied buildings, renovations of non-residential buildings into lofts and condominiums and new-build gentrification. Following this initial wave of artist residents and changes to the built environment came the increased number of residents in the managerial, professional class seeking these

improved housing amenities as well as the amenities of these new “liveable” spaces (Mills 1988, Walks 2014).

These new types of gentrifiers benefitted from their numbers and influence over the political powers of their time allowing them to directly shape neighbourhoods to meet their preferences (Mills 1988). This influence ties into third wave gentrification given the role the state plays, particularly local governments, in facilitating new build gentrification through public policy, zoning, and development strategies (Graham 2023, Bunce 2009 and Jones 2023). In addition, the new gentrifiers of the professional class influence on commercial activities in Canadian cities saw shifts towards specialty shops, clothing boutiques and fancy restaurants, typical of the impacts on commercial operations expected in gentrified spaces elsewhere (Ley 1980).

State involvement in gentrification in Canadian cities is not restricted to policy, zoning and facilitating the desires of the professional class, it is also key to facilitating gentrification in areas previously saved from the phenomenon. Of interest to this research is the divestment in public housing and other government activities that the state, in this case the federal government and CLC as its agent, took part in to facilitate gentrification. Mösgen, Rosol, and Schipper (2019) identified Little Mountain in Vancouver as a space that was previously “ungentrifiable” by virtue of it being publicly owned but detailed the process of making it gentrifiable. This process involved the privatization of the publicly owned

space and noted how the reorientation of social housing and austerity policies created a political environment that encouraged this type of gentrification. This process, while not identical to the process that created Garrison Crossing, has comparable characteristics including the fact that the PMQ was made gentrifiable by changes to laws, policies and government priorities. As discussed previously, these changes were principally at the federal level, however, without these changes, the PMQ probably would have been considered ungentrifiable given its nature as housing for military service members and status as federally owned land.

While this discourse around third wave gentrification in Canada is concentrated on larger metros and their suburbs, there are parallels to the development of Garrison Crossing such as the influence of the professional class on the redevelopment. Instead of gentrifiers directly influencing the redevelopment of the space via political influence on a municipal Council, this influence instead came from CLC via their consultants. As noted, CLC relied on planning and architecture professionals for the development of the neighbourhood plan and the vision for Garrison Crossing. As this vision was developed by the professional class, it will be important to examine if this vision in turn attracted more of the professional class to the redeveloped space.

In addition, previous literature notes gentrifiers sought out improved housing, commercial and community amenities within these gentrified spaces. Part of my analysis includes a review of the amenity upgrades

that occurred in Garrison Crossing but my analysis does not review how these may have influenced residents choice to live in the neighbourhood.

The expansion of gentrification research into Canadian cities like Chilliwack represents the next natural evolution in the discourse around the phenomenon. Parallels exist between Garrison Crossing and gentrification outcomes and projects throughout cities in Canada, however, it is important to contextualize these parallels by adapting gentrification measures identified previously to the space while maintaining the key outcome of the generation of space for gradually more affluent users.

Chapter 4. Methodology and Analysis Plan

This research project adapts a multi-modal methodology from the approach detailed in Legendijk et al. (2014). This methodology takes a three-level approach to gentrification research based on metrics, interpretations, and practices. Metrics consist of quantifiable information including demographics (household make up, age), wealth and education levels and real estate market data. These three levels were then reviewed in a multi-modal approach that included both quantitative and qualitative analysis. This approach was utilized as neither a purely quantitative nor qualitative analysis would suffice for understanding the study area.

Shifting away from quantitative methods to qualitative methods, interpretations are the shaping of identities, stories, and images of urban areas by residents, marketing and plans (Legendijk et al, 2014). Examples of interpretative data would be stories of social mixing or social clustering, branding, and marketing of space and visions, and plans for urban revitalization. For research purposes, interviews were conducted with CLCs private sector and City of Chilliwack representatives to gain insight to the vision, plans and outcomes of the Garrison Crossing development.

The third level identified is practices. Practices are temporal and space specific ways of thinking and doing (Legendijk et al, 2014). Practices vary from daily social activities, entrepreneurship, and commercial operations in

neighbourhoods to planning and project desires. For the purposes of my research, I examined what types of commercial operations are active in the study area and how they fit into commercial operations identified as gentrification signifiers.

My research will be an adaption of these three levels to first identify if the socio-economic outcomes of the redevelopment of CFB Chilliwack into Garrison Crossing qualifies as gentrification and secondly, determine what underlying motivations and goals went into the planning and development of the neighbourhood.

4.1. Metrics

For the metrics portion, the gentrification variables detailed in the conceptual framework were adapted from those identified by Freeman (2005), Easton et al (2020) and Hudalah and Adharina (2019) as well as variables associated with gentrification to work within the scope of this project. Justifications for inclusion of each metric is included below and the variables are organized into three categories: economic, demographic, and built form and land use. These categories were generated based on the previous identified gentrification identifiers that also informed the metric analysis. For the metric analysis, 2001 and 2016 custom censuses data sets were acquired from Statistics Canada for the study area. These censuses were selected as 2001 is the last pre-redevelopment census

and 2016 was the more recent post-redevelopment census when the analysis began.

In addition to the Statistics Canada data, Multiple Listing Services data for sale price data was used for detached and attached residences in Garrison Crossing and compared to sale prices for similar dwellings in the surrounding neighbourhood. Rent data was based on anecdotal data from renters in the neighbourhood.

For data relating to density and height changes, historic aerial photos were reviewed to complete a site inventory of all the pre-redevelopment dwelling units and compared to the current density levels and maximum building heights. This data will also be used to generate land use maps to show what types of land use occurred in the pre-development site and what occurs there now.

All data involving prices or monetary values will be adjusted for inflation and presented in 2022 values for ease of comparison.

Table 2 List of Metrics

Type	Metric	Measurement	Source
Economic	Relatively low income prior to redevelopment (compared to the median for the metro area).	Individual Income from 2001 for both the PMQ and COC.	Statistics Canada 2001 Census Custom Tabulations
	Comparatively higher sales prices in the redeveloped neighbourhood.	Comparison of sales prices over three years for the study area and COC	MLS Sales Data
	Increase in resident income	Comparison of individual income levels for the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations

	Employment rates and employment sectors	Employment rates per sector for both the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
Demographic	Increase in higher mean educational level relative to the metro area following gentrification as well as the pre-redevelopment site	Highest educational levels attained for both the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
	Household makeup	Types of households in both the study area and COC in 2001 and 2016.	Statistics Canada 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations
Built form and land use	Older housing stock prior to redevelopment.	Inventory of housing stock taken obtained by reviewing COC aerial photos	Historic COC aerial photos and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan
	Upgrading of neighbourhood amenities.	Review of COC aerial photos and walk through of the study area	COC aerial photos, walkthrough notes and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan
	Changes in land use.	Review of COC aerial photos and walk through of the study area	COC aerial photos, walkthrough notes and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan

4.1.1. Economic

Relatively Low Income Prior to Redevelopment (Compared to the Median for the Metro Area).

Freeman (2005) as well as Hammel and Wyly (1996) identify the presence of low-income households and individuals, relative to the greater community, prior to redevelopment as core to the concept of gentrification. While early stages of gentrification can occur without displacement of existing residents, in the context of the Garrison Crossing project, gentrification will involve displacement as the project involved demolition (Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

To investigate this element of gentrification, 2001 census data for median income and income distribution data from the CITY OF CHILLIWACK and the PMQ were compared; and Location Quotients (LQ) were used to measure the concentration of income levels in the PMQ. LQ is a statistic used to measure the concentration of a specific variable, such as employment sector, within a neighbourhood compared to the city as a whole (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2018). This statistic is calculated by taking the percentage of observations within the neighbourhood and dividing it by the percentage of observations in the city. When the value is 1 or higher it means there is a higher concentration of observations within the neighbourhood compared to the city, when it is below 1 there is a lower concentration.

To account for inflation in the comparison of incomes, 2015 real dollars were used.

Comparatively Higher Sales Prices in the Redeveloped Neighbourhood.

While older housing stock can be used to show disinvestment in a neighbourhood, housing prices can be used as a proxy for reinvestment (Freeman 2005, p. 471-472). This metric will be adapted to fit the research as interview data collected confirmed my observation that every dwelling unit within Garrison Crossing is either entirely new construction or underwent an extensive renovation. This adaptation will involve a comparison of sales prices for attached and detached dwelling unit types

within Garrison Crossing against sales prices for Chilliwack as a whole. To assess the increase in overall value, the assessed values of different dwelling unit types within Garrison Crossing are compared to the assessed value of comparable dwellings in the surrounding area.

Increase in Resident Income.

Hammel and Wyly (1996) and Easton et al (2020) use increases in resident income to identify if economic upgrading has occurred in a gentrified space. Again, looking to both Hammel and Wyly's and Hackworth's definitions of gentrification, the replacement of low-income residents by middle- and upper-class residents is necessary even if it was not direct.

Increases in household income will be made by comparing 2001 census data to 2016 census data for household income. In addition, a comparison of income levels in the study area to the City of Chilliwack will be completed to confirm if changes from 2001 to 2016 were in fact limited to the study area. These values will all be adjusted to 2015 dollars.

Employment Rates and Employment Sector.

Employment rates and sector provide similar data on socio-economic upgrading as increases in resident income. If more of the management class, which includes health, care, teaching and other "high order" professionals, is present in a neighbourhood than pre-redevelopment, it

could indicate gentrification is occurring (Hammel and Wyly 1996, Easton et al, 2020 p. 289, Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

This portion of the analysis begins with a review of the 2001 employment sectors rates and LQ for the City of Chilliwack and the PMQ. This analysis is broken down by sex to provide insight on how employment sectors may have impacted incomes. Following this review, the same analysis is completed with data from the 2016 census.

This analysis concludes with a comparison of 2001 and 2016 employment sector rates in both the study area and City of Chilliwack Comparisons between the study area over time was done to show changes in employment type. Comparisons to the City of Chilliwack at large was done to ensure this change was distinct from changes that occurred to the city as a whole.

4.1.2. Demographic

Increase in Higher Mean Educational Level Relative to the Metro Area

Following Gentrification as well as the Pre-Redevelopment Site

Measuring education levels allows the researcher to account for higher educated individuals that may have lower incomes such as younger professionals and artists (Freeman, 2005). While gentrification led by young professionals and artists is a gentrification trait better applied to revanchist inner-city gentrifications, identifying an increase in educational levels post redevelopment in Garrison Crossing informs the content

analysis of the project work and provides a clearer image of who was being drawn to this new neighbourhood.

This portion begins with a review of 2001 broad highest education level completed rates and levels for the PMQ and the City of Chilliwack. This same review is then repeated with the 2016 data for Garrison Crossing. These comparisons were made to identify the differences in education levels between the study area and the greater Chilliwack area. This section ends with a comparison of 2001 and 2016 educational levels and rates for the study area to determine what changes occurred in the area.

Household Make Up

An analysis of pre and post redevelopment household make up was required to determine if more marginalized household types such as working-class single parent households were more prevalent in the pre or post redevelopment neighbourhood (Markusen 1980).

This analysis was completed first by comparing PMQ and City of Chilliwack census and non-census family households in 2001 then breaking these comparisons down further by sex. This analysis was then repeated but with the data from the 2016 census.

4.1.3. Built Form and Land Use

Older Housing Stock Prior to Redevelopment (Approximately 20 Years or Older)

Freeman (2005) uses older housing stock as a stand in for disinvestment as investment data in housing can be troublesome to measure, and neighbourhoods featuring principally newer dwellings have not reached a state of decline necessary to facilitate gentrification (p. 470) (Smith 1979). While it is difficult to get exact construction dates, the approximate age of the pre-redevelopment housing stock is confirmed via historic aerial photos hosted on the City of Chilliwack's online GIS mapping. Although this method may not be 100% accurate it provides usable information regarding the age of the buildings for the purposes of this analysis.

Upgrading of Neighbourhood Amenities

Upgrades to existing and the creation of new neighbourhood amenities are key components of the mega-project suburban gentrification approach as well as a driver of gentrification in Canadian cities (Hudalah and Adharina, 2019, Mills 1988, Walks 2014). Previous research identified four critical urban amenities: the first being a variety of services and goods; second, aesthetics or how an area presents itself through urban design or architecture; third, good public services including parks and schools; and fourth, the speed with which the other three amenities are accessible (Gleaser et al 2001). Specific forms these amenities take in gentrified

neighbourhoods include coffee shops, specialty restaurants and food vendors, gyms, alternative therapy and medical offices, beauty salons and boutique stores (Gleaser et al, 2018, Chapple and Loukaitou-Sideis 2019, Zeng et al 2022). These amenities emphasize entertainment, aesthetics, and consumption with the intention of making neighbourhoods and cities livable and enjoyable spaces for consumers while encouraging the spending of money over earning it (Clark et al, 2002). If an amenity was either included in the type of spaces previously identified or could be considered a space emphasizing entertainment and aesthetic value, it was classified as a signifier of gentrification.

In addition, these types of amenities have also been called “consumption spaces”, symbolically important spaces for the affluent gentrifiers to display their identity. These spaces are curated as reflections of the residents themselves (Rofe 2003).

For this metric, this project analyses the current and past commercial and public amenities in the study area by creating an inventory of services in the area and comparing it to the amenities found to be associated with gentrification in Zeng et al (2022) and contributing to spaces described by Clark et al (2002) as creating spaces concentrating on entertainment, aesthetics, and consumption.

This analysis was done with a combination of GIS remote analysis and a walkthrough of the Garrison Crossings commercial area which involved

the cataloguing of current businesses and general observations of the area. The catalogue of businesses was then broken down into categories identified in Zeng et al 2022 as signifiers of gentrification.

Changes in Land Use

In addition to increases and improvements to amenities, Hudalah and Adharina (2019) note that changes in land use to include commercial uses are also commonplace in suburban gentrification projects. These land use changes were measured comparing land uses in current and historic aerial photos as well as the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan and zoning information to determine what types of land uses were present pre and post redevelopment. These changes are visualized in GIS maps for ease of comparison.

4.2. Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan Analysis

part of my discourse analysis, I reviewed the Garrison Crossing Neighborhood Plan and noted key themes present in the plan. This review was done by analyzing the language and imagery used in the plan and what was attempting to be conveyed through it. In addition, how the PMQ was depicted in contrast to what the plan envisioned for the area was reviewed to provide insight into how the existing space was viewed by the project's proponents.

The key observations made in my research were then included in the metric discussions where necessary. When certain key themes were identified but did not fit into discussion points within the metrics, the themes were discussed in a separate section.

Previous work in New Urbanist research in British Columbia and abroad has shown that these developments tend to promote values of racial and social equality in marketing but the reality trends towards predominantly white and upper middle class (Al-Hindi, 2001, Keyes, 2015).

Following the content analysis, the narrative, if present, is compared to the reality presented by the metrics to determine if the marketing did in fact connect with the intended targets. Depending on what emerged from the content review, the metrics portion of the discussion may be expanded to include other demographic or economic data.

4.3. Insider and Expert Interviews

4.3.1. Interview Information

The second part of the qualitative analysis consists of insider and expert interviews with key actors involved in the redevelopment project. The interviews were conducted in reference to Rubin and Rubin's *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (2005) for guidance on interviewee selection and question generation. Rubin and Rubin (2005) note the importance of selecting interviewees having firsthand knowledge and

experience with the interview subject. In addition, interviewees should have a range of professional backgrounds and relationships with the interview subject to provide both a balanced perspective and new information on the subject.

For this project, four interviews were conducted: two with elected officials from the City of Chilliwack and two from the private sector.

From the City, interviews were conducted with former Councillors who were on City Council during the early stages of the redevelopment. One of the interviews remained on Council into the middle stages of the project.

For private sector representatives, interviews were conducted with key private sector partners of CLC. These individuals were selected as they were the principal planning and architectural consultants involved in the redevelopment of the PMQ into Garrison Crossing.

Originally, interviews with CLC representatives were planned; however, contacting representatives was difficult as attempts to go through CLC were fruitless. Most employees had moved on from the organization.

Attempts were made to interview construction contractors involved in the project, but these were also unsuccessful.

The purpose of these interviews is to buttress the metric and analysis with information from actors directly involved in the project. While the metric analysis can provide information on the outcomes and the discourse

analysis can provide glimpse into who the redevelopment project was aimed at attracting to the neighbourhood, both methods fail to capture the intent and unwritten nuances involved in the redevelopment.

The intention was to have the metric analysis and review of the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan complete prior to conducting the interviews to allow for better in-interview examination of answers provided and follow-up questions. Unfortunately, there were numerous difficulties in data acquisition from Statistics Canada which circumvented this plan. All four interviews were conducted via Zoom due to COVID risk and for ease of arrangement. These meetings were between 20-40 minutes and recorded and auto transcribed using Zoom's transcriber and then edited by the author.

Following the completion of the interviews, reflection was made on what was discussed and to see if any immediate patterns, emotions, or other highlights emerged from the discussion. These observations were noted accordingly.

Originally these interviews were intended to form a more significant portion of the study, however, the information gathered ended up being used more as auxiliary information to buttress certain observations. In addition, the interviewees did provide information that would have been unobtainable otherwise.

Chapter 5. Metric Analysis

The metric analysis is intended to determine if the eight-ge­trification metrics identified in existing literature measurable in Garrison Crossing. The eight-ge­trification metrics selected are detailed below along with an analysis plan for each.

The Statistics Canada data for the study area was acquired as custom data sets made up of data from the 2001 and 2016 censuses. As part of this data acquisition, Statistics Canada also adjusted the income data to 2015 dollars and provided provincial level data.

To place the overall increases described in the metric section in context, from 2001 to 2016 the population of the City of Chilliwack grew from 48,375 to 66,305, an increase of 37.1%. For the study area the population grew from 450 to 2,345 (421.1%) over the same period.

5.1. Relatively Low Income prior to Redevelopment (Compared to the Median for the Metro Area).

2001 Median Income

Combined median income in the PMQ (\$34,000) was higher than the City of Chilliwack (\$31,800) however, this changes when broken down between sexes (Figure 1). Men in the PMQ (\$34,000) had a lower median income than men in the City of Chilliwack (\$40,800) but women in the PMQ (\$30,400) had a higher median income than women in the City of Chilliwack (\$23,200). This implies the higher median income overall in the

PMQ compared to the City of Chilliwack is the result of the much higher median income for women in the neighbourhood relative to women in the City of Chilliwack.

This data does not conform with the assertion by Freeman (2005) and Hammel and Wyly (1996) that gentrification typically occurs in areas featuring lower individual income levels than the surrounding metro area. However, I believe this data tells an incomplete story about the PMQ that is further elaborated on in the following sections.

Table 3 2001 Individual Incomes. Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada.

Type	Chilliwack	PMQ
Combined	\$31,800	\$34,000
Men	\$40,800	\$34,000
Women	\$23,200	\$30,400

2001 Employment Income Distribution

The City of Chilliwack employment income level distribution stretches over all income levels with no notable spike at any level while the PMQ spikes at the \$30,000 to \$39,999 bracket. In addition, there was a relatively heavy concentration of people earning \$30,000 to \$39,999 (LQ 1.72) and \$40,000 to \$49,999 (1.32) in the PMQ relative to the population.

Table 4 2001 Income Bracket Distribution. Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulation Statistics Canada.

2001 Income Bracket	Chilliwack	PMQ	LQ
Under \$5,000 (including loss, excluding no income)	13.8%	5.3%	0.38
\$5,000 to \$9,999	8.6%	10.5%	1.22
\$10,000 to \$19,999	14.6%	13.2%	0.90
\$20,000 to \$29,999	11.3%	10.5%	0.93
\$30,000 to \$39,999	11.5%	19.7%	1.72
\$40,000 to \$49,999	8.9%	11.8%	1.32
\$50,000 to \$59,999	10.6%	6.6%	0.62
\$60,000 to \$69,999	7.3%	6.6%	0.90
\$70,000 to \$79,999	4.8%	5.3%	1.09
\$80,000 to \$89,999	2.6%	0.0%	0.00
\$90,000 to \$99,999	1.8%	0.0%	0.00
\$100,000 and over	3.0%	0.0%	0.00

The City of Chilliwack had a greater proportion of income earners below \$5,000 than the PMQ (13.8% vs 5.3%) but also has a combined 7.4% of earners making \$80,000 or more compared to 0% in the PMQ. The income bracket profile of the PMQ appears to have been soundly middle income with a small portion of the population being upper middle and lower income. The City of Chilliwack in contrast did have a portion of higher income earners but the overall profile was much closer to that of British Columbia than the PMQ.

5.2. Comparatively Higher Sale Values

As previously mentioned, the 488 dwelling units in the PMQ consisted entirely of rental housing owned by the federal government meaning there were no privately owned dwellings in the study area prior to the redevelopment (Canada Lands Company, 2003). In 2001, there were

24,245 dwellings in the City of Chilliwack with 17,310 of them privately owned (71.4%) and of these privately owned dwellings 96.7% were owner occupied (Statistics Canada, 2019).

To account for the fact that all PMQ dwellings were rentals while still obtaining a better understanding of land values in Garrison Crossing, sale prices from 2020-2022 were reviewed for attached (apartments, townhouses, duplexes and triplexes) and detached (single-family dwellings) dwellings in the study area and compared to the benchmark housing cost in Chilliwack and Sardis and the average combined sale price of dwellings in these areas (Figure 1). The benchmark house price is the Multiple Listing Service (MLS) estimate of a hypothetical “typical” home in an area based on a combination of features including age, size and number of bedrooms and bathrooms (Wilson 2014).

The sale prices for Garrison Crossing were sourced from MLS sales data from January 2020 to November 2022 with December 2022 excluded as the data was not available at the time of analysis. This data was filtered by excluding road names that did not include roads within the study area.

Benchmark prices for Sardis and Chilliwack were sourced from the Chilliwack and District Real Estate Boards (CADREB) consumer House Price Index (HPI). Sardis and Chilliwack were selected as they provide the best comparison to the property’s available in the study area. Other areas within CADREB feature sale prices that include larger agricultural lots

which may skew the sale prices with a property type unavailable in Garrison Crossing. These neighbourhoods are shown on Figure 2. Garrison Crossing is within the Sardis neighbourhood highlighted in yellow.

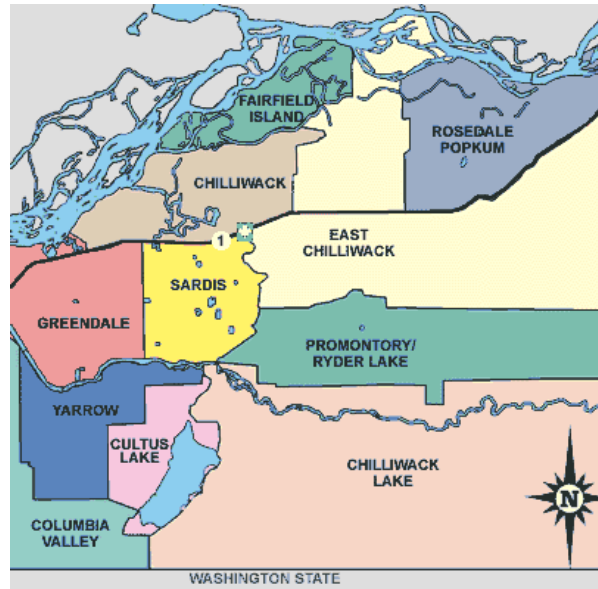


Figure 1 CADREB Map of Neighbourhoods. Source © Cadreb

Sales Prices for Detached and Attached Dwellings

For detached homes in Garrison Crossing, there was a total of 18 units sold in 2020, 27 in 2021 and 13 in 2022. The following tables detail the average sale price for detached homes in Garrison Crossing and provides comparisons to the benchmark detached home price in Chilliwack and Sardis as well as the average between the two.

2020	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Avg
Average Price	\$ 799,122	\$ 597,617	\$ 706,692	\$ 681,392
Dif\$	0	\$ 201,506	\$ 92,431	\$ 117,731
Dif%		34%	13%	17%

2021	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Avg
Average Price	\$ 1,030,240	\$ 828,525	\$ 950,833	\$ 923,600
Dif\$	\$ -	\$ 201,715	\$ 79,407	\$ 106,640
Dif%		24%	8%	12%

2022	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Avg
Average Price	\$ 1,263,492	\$ 939,155	\$ 1,040,864	\$ 1,034,558
Dif\$	\$ -	\$ 324,338	\$ 222,629	\$ 228,935
Dif%		35%	21%	22%

In all three years detached Garrison Crossing house prices outpaced prices in other neighbourhoods in Chilliwack. The gap between house prices was expected as during one interview, it was noted that houses in the development were typically priced 10 to 15% above market in Chilliwack at the original sale. This data shows the initial price difference has remained since the redevelopment finished and by 2022, the price had grown well beyond that initial difference.

One interviewee noted the development was advertised as a luxury option for buyers in Chilliwack; so, while there was a variety of housing types, it seems clear there was a specific buyer in mind and the real estate prices both today and at the beginning of the redevelopment reflect this mindset. Again, this targeting of wealthier buyers could have influenced the New Urbanist, Neo-Traditional design of the development but that was not specifically reviewed as part of this project.

For attached homes in Garrison Crossing, there were 97 attached units sold in 2020, 115 in 2021 and 65 in 2022. The following tables detail the average sale price for attached homes in Garrison Crossing and provides comparisons to the benchmark detached home price in Chilliwack and Sardis as well as the average between the two.

2020 Average Sale Prices	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Combined
	\$ 461,763	\$ 324,383	\$ 382,642	\$ 353,513
Dif\$		\$ 137,380	\$ 79,121	\$ 108,250
Dif%		42%	21%	31%

2021 Average Sale Prices	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Combined
	\$ 587,497	\$ 413,529	\$ 475,596	\$ 444,563
Dif\$		\$ 173,967	\$ 111,901	\$ 142,934
Dif%		42%	24%	32%

2022 Average Sale Prices	Garrison Crossing	Chilliwack	Sardis	Combined
	\$ 709,040	\$ 509,105	\$ 586,464	\$ 547,784
Dif\$		\$ 199,935	\$ 122,576	\$ 161,256
Dif%		39%	21%	29%

Similar to detached homes, attached home sales prices in Garrison Crossing outpaced Chilliwack and Sardis prices, however, the difference in prices between Garrison Crossing and the City of Chilliwack is substantially greater than the gap in prices for detached homes. The price gap noted in the interviews regarding initial sales prices also applied to attached dwellings.

While concrete evidence was not found regarding why the price gap is so great for attached dwelling units or what influenced residents to be willing to pay these higher housing cost, the hypothesis is it relates to the neighbourhood and its amenities versus the actual buildings.

There is evidence from urban areas that residents in areas with a higher volume of amenities, including natural amenities like weather, public amenities such as parks and schools, and private amenities like retail and restaurants, are generally willing to spend more on housing to have easy access to these amenities (Beracha et al 2018, Hoyt and Rosenthal 1997, Glaeser et al, 2001).

A brief GIS review of multi-family residential zoned areas in the City of Chilliwack and amenities within 200 m of their proximity to amenities such as parks and retail spaces showed what amenities were readily available nearby varied greatly. Some multi-family areas had no amenities within 200 m, others had access to retail spaces but at the cost of being located on a busy collector road. Parks were the most commonly available amenity however the quality and amenities within these parks also varies massively with some featuring only a small play area and other having courts, larger fields, and different play areas for different age groups. In addition to this review, the age and general location of the attached dwelling units in the City of Chilliwack vary greatly compared to those in Garrison Crossing and likely have additional impacts on sale prices.

Further, one interviewee noted that one half of a refurbished duplex in Garrison Crossing early in the development sold for approximately \$220,000 and by the next year these units were selling in the \$350,000 range. This price increase may have signaled that as the neighbourhood design began to coalesce the desirability of attached units may have increased as the design and amenities made the neighbourhood more desirable.

5.3. Increase in Resident Income

2016 Median Income

In 2016, the combined median income in the study area was \$37,600, an increase of 11% over the adjusted 2001 median income. This outpaced the median income in the City of Chilliwack which dropped by 4% from 2001 to 2016 going from \$31,800 to \$30,400 in 2015 dollars. For men, 2016 median income was \$54,400 with an increase of 60% from the adjusted 2001 median income. In addition, the \$54,400 median income for men in the study area was higher than that of the City of Chilliwack (\$40,400) reversing what was seen in 2001. For women, the median income in the study area was 31,000 an increase of 1.9% over the adjusted 2001 median income and remained higher in the study area than in the City of Chilliwack (\$23,400).

Table 5 2016 Individual Median Income for the City of Chilliwack and Garrison Crossing. Source: 2016 Census Custom Tabulations. Statistics Canada.

2016 Individual Median Income	Chilliwack	Garrison Crossing
Combined	30,400	37,600
Men	40,400	54,400
Women	23,400	31,000

2016 Employment Income Distribution

The employment income distribution in the study area in 2016 didn't have a clear bump in distribution. However, there is a clear overrepresentation of individuals earning \$80,000 or higher in Garrison Crossing (18%) compared to compared to the PMQ (0%).

Whereas in the PMQ there was a heavy concentration of middle-income earners relative to the City of Chilliwack, Garrison Crossing had an overrepresentation of high-income earners particularly in the \$70,000 to \$79,999 (LQ 1.47), \$90,000 to \$99,999 (2.19) and \$100,000 and over (1.59). Underrepresented income brackets included all groups below \$40,000 to \$49,999 except the \$30,000 to \$39,999 bracket (1.32).

For men, the overrepresented brackets were nearly identical to the combined brackets, except for the \$50,000 to \$59,999 bracket which was slightly underrepresented (LQ 0.91). The brackets with the largest overrepresentations were \$100,000 and over (1.77), \$90,000 to \$99,999 (1.72) and \$70,000 to \$79,999 (LQ 1.50). Income for women in Garrison Crossing also skewed higher overall than the City of Chilliwack. The three largest income brackets for women were \$10,000 to \$19,999 (17%)

\$30,000 to \$39,999 (16%) and under \$5,000 (15%). All income brackets above \$50,000 to \$59,999, except \$100,000 and over, were overrepresented in Garrison Crossing with the largest three being \$90,000 to \$99,999 (LQ 2.61), \$60,000 to \$69,999 (1.69) and \$50,000 to \$59,999 (1.56).

Table 6 Income brackets for the City of Chilliwack and Garrison Crossing. Source: 2016 Census custom tabs. Statistics Canada

2016 Income Bracket	COC	GC	LQ	COC Men	GC Men	LQ	COC Women	GC Women	LQ
Under \$5,000 (including loss)	16%	14%	0.86	14%	11%	0.84	19%	15%	0.83
\$5,000 to \$9,999	7%	6%	0.78	6%	5%	0.92	9%	6%	0.67
\$10,000 to \$19,999	13%	13%	0.97	10%	9%	0.85	17%	17%	1.03
\$20,000 to \$29,999	11%	9%	0.76	9%	6%	0.64	14%	11%	0.8
\$30,000 to \$39,999	10%	14%	1.32	9%	10%	1.16	12%	16%	1.38
\$40,000 to \$49,999	9%	5%	0.54	9%	5%	0.61	8%	4%	0.53
\$50,000 to \$59,999	7%	9%	1.19	8%	8%	0.91	7%	10%	1.56
\$60,000 to \$69,999	6%	8%	1.28	8%	9%	1.11	4%	7%	1.69
\$70,000 to \$79,999	4%	7%	1.47	6%	9%	1.5	3%	4%	1.49
\$80,000 to \$89,999	4%	5%	1.13	5%	5%	1.02	3%	4%	1.38
\$90,000 to \$99,999	2%	5%	2.19	3%	6%	1.72	2%	4%	2.61
\$100,000 and over	5%	8%	1.59	8%	15%	1.77	2%	2%	0.97

5.4. Employment Sector

5.4.1. 2001 Employment Sector Rates

In 2001, employment in the PMQ was spread over unapplicable industries and seven defined industries: construction, manufacturing, retail trade, health care and social assistance, accommodation and food services, other services, and public administration. Sectors with no employees in the study area include: agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; mining,

quarrying and oil and gas extraction; utilities; wholesale trade; transportation and warehousing; information and cultural industries; finance and insurance; real estate and rental and leasing; professional, scientific and technical services; management of companies and enterprises; administrative and support; waste management and remediation services; educational services; and arts, entertainment and recreation. Given the population of the PMQ, it was not surprising there were sectors not represented in the neighbourhood. The sector with the largest percentage of employees in the City of Chilliwack not present in the PMQ was the agricultural sector which employed 7.3% of residents. Total employment rates and LQ as well as rates and LQ for men and women are detailed in the table below.

The PMQ had a hugely outsized portion of residents employed in public administration not only locally where it made up a plurality of employment with 28% of residents employed in the sector but also relative to the City of Chilliwack with a combined LQ of 6.31, 5.55 for men and 7.03 for women. To illustrate how great the concentration of individuals employed in public administration was, the PMQ was home to only 0.9% of all people in the City of Chilliwack but 5.8% of people employed in public administration. While data providing a breakdown as to what types of employment made up public administration, the definition Statistics Canada uses does include national defense and the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan did note some military personnel remained in the PMQ after the base was

closed, likely employed by the reservist forces. Conversely, the construction sector was underrepresented with a combined LQ of 0.48, and 0.59 for men and 0.0 for women.

Table 7 2001 Employment Sectors Men (M) and Women (W). Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulations. Statistics Canada

2001 Employment Sector	COC	%	PMQ	%	LQ	M	%	LQ	W	%	LQ
Industry - not applicable	16,230	34	70	16	0.46	20	10	0.38	45	18	0.44
Construction	2,250	5	10	2	0.48	10	5	0.59	0	0	0.00
Manufacturing	3,140	6	40	9	1.37	15	8	0.72	20	8	2.96
Retail trade	4,370	9	65	14	1.60	25	13	1.60	40	16	1.58
Health care and social assistance	3,460	7	35	8	1.09	0	0	0.00	35	14	1.20
Accommodation and food services	2,620	5	30	7	1.23	10	5	1.27	25	10	1.47
Other services (except public administration)	1,900	4	30	7	1.70	20	10	2.47	0	0	0.00
Public administration	2,130	4	125	28	6.31	60	31%	5.55	60	24%	7.03

5.4.2. 2016 Employment Sector Rates

In 2016, the employment sector types and rates diversified substantially with all Garrison Crossing having employees in every sector except management of companies and enterprises and utilities. The largest defined sectors were healthcare and social assistance (13.7%), educational services (12.0%) and public administration (12.0%). The smallest defined sectors represented were agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting and mining quarrying, and oil and gas extraction (0.9%). Sectors

with location quotients showing substantial overrepresentation in Garrison Crossing include public administration (2.1), professional, scientific and technical services (2.0), mining, quarrying and oil and gas extraction educational services and finance and insurance (1.9) and real estate and rental and leasing (1.8). Substantially underrepresented sectors include agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting (0.2), manufacturing (0.6) and construction (0.7).

As previously noted, the large representation of healthcare and social assistance and educational services workers in Garrison Crossing may indicate that the neighbourhood had undergone gentrification as a result of the project (Hammel and Wyly 1996 and Easton et al, 2020 p. 289, Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

For men, public administration (10.1%), construction (9.2%) and educational services and accommodation and food services (7.3%) were the largest employment sectors. Finance and insurance and educational services (2.4) and professional, scientific and technical services (2.1) were the three most overrepresented sectors. Underrepresented sectors include agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting (0.2), transportation and warehousing (0.5) and manufacturing (0.6).

The largest defined employee sectors for women were health care and social assistance (15.5%), educational services (10.8%) and public administration (8.4%). There were no women employed in information and

cultural industries in the study area in 2016. Overrepresented sectors included mining, quarrying and oil and gas extraction (7.8), real estate and rental and leasing (2.4) and public administration (2.1). Underrepresented sectors include agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting (0.2), manufacturing and administrative and support, waste management and remediation services (0.5) and transportation and warehousing (0.7).

Table 8 City of Chilliwack and Garrison Crossing Men (M) and Women (W) Employment Sectors. Source: 2016 Census Custom Tabulations. Statistics Canada.

Sector	COC			GC			GC M			GC W			L Q
	COC	%	LQ	GC	%	LQ	M	%	LQ	W	%	LQ	
Not applicable	20945	31.6	0.8	560	23.9	0.8	195	17.9	0.7	360	28.7	0.8	
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	2805	4.2	0.2	20	0.9	0.2	10	0.9	0.2	10	0.8	0.2	
Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	280	0.4	2	20	0.9	2	10	0.9	1.2	10	0.8	7.8	
Construction	4835	7.3	0.7	125	5.3	0.7	100	9.2	0.7	20	1.6	0.9	
Manufacturing	3725	5.6	0.6	80	3.4	0.6	65	6.0	0.7	15	1.2	0.5	
Wholesale trade	1255	1.9	0.9	40	1.7	0.9	30	2.8	0.9	10	0.8	0.9	
Retail trade	5345	8.1	0.8	145	6.2	0.8	70	6.4	0.9	80	6.4	0.7	
Transportation and warehousing	2030	3.1	0.5	35	1.5	0.5	30	2.8	0.5	10	0.8	0.7	
Information and cultural industries	515	0.8	1.4	25	1.1	1.4	25	2.3	2.5	0	0.0	0	
Finance and insurance	1125	1.7	1.9	75	3.2	1.9	25	2.3	2.4	45	3.6	1.5	
Real estate and rental and leasing	720	1.1	1.8	45	1.9	1.8	10	0.9	0.9	35	2.8	2.4	
Professional, scientific and technical services	2000	3.0	2	145	6.2	2	75	6.9	2.1	65	5.2	1.9	
Administrative	2455	3.7	0.9	75	3.2	0.9	55	5.0	1.1	20	1.6	0.5	

and support, waste management and remediation services												
Educational services	3190	4.8	215	9.2	1.9	80	7.3	2.4	135	10.8	1.7	
Health care and social assistance	5200	7.8	245	10.4	1.3	50	4.6	1.9	195	15.5	1.2	
Arts, entertainment and recreation	870	1.3	40	1.7	1.3	20	1.8	1.3	20	1.6	1.3	
Accommodation and food services	3505	5.3	160	6.8	1.3	80	7.3	2	85	6.8	1	
Other services (except public administration)	2400	3.6	70	3.0	0.8	35	3.2	0.9	40	3.2	0.9	
Public administration	2940	4.4	215	9.2	2.1	110	10.1	2	105	8.4	2.1	

5.4.3. 2016 vs 2001 Employment Sector Rates

From 2001 to 2016, the three biggest increases for a defined employment sector having employees in 2001 in the study area were healthcare and social assistance (+4.5 percentage points), construction (+4.4 points) and arts, entertainment and recreation (+2.2 points). The three biggest decreases were in public administration (-20.8 points), retail trade (-9.0 points) and manufacturing (-6.0 points). While drops in the proportions of these sectors occurred, the number of people in these sectors increased from 2001 to 2016. The largest overall increases for industries without employees in 2001 were in educational (+12.0 points), professional, scientific and technical services (+8.1 points) and healthcare and social

assistance (+4.5 points). The increases in healthcare, educational services and professional, scientific and technical services signal that gentrification may have occurred in the area as a result of the project (Hammel and Wyly 1996 and Easton et al, 2020 p. 289, Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

The City of Chilliwack saw relatively minor changes overall in employment sectors with only the construction (+0.3 points) and administrative and support, waste management and remediation services (+0.1 points) sectors increasing. The largest decrease in the City of Chilliwack was in the retail sector which saw its share of employment decrease by 5.5 from 13.6% to 8.1%. All changes in the employment sector from 2001 to 2016 for both the City of Chilliwack and the study area are detailed in the following table.

Table 9 Employment sector changes from 2001 to 2016 for the City of Chilliwack and the study area.

Sector	GC 2016	PMQ 2001	Dif.	COC 2016	COC 2001	Dif.
Educational services	12.00%	0.00%	12	4.80%	6.20%	-1.4
Industry Not Applicable	23.90%	16%	8.3	31.60%	33.60%	-2.0
Professional, scientific and technical services	8.10%	0.00%	8.1	3.00%	4.00%	-1.0
Health care and social assistance	13.70%	9.20%	4.5	7.80%	10.80%	-2.9
Construction	7.00%	2.60%	4.4	7.30%	7.00%	0.3
Finance and insurance	4.20%	0.00%	4.2	1.70%	2.60%	-0.9
Administrative and support, waste management and remediation services	4.20%	0.00%	4.2	3.70%	3.60%	0.1
Real estate and rental and leasing	2.50%	0.00%	2.5	1.10%	1.60%	-0.5
Wholesale trade	2.20%	0.00%	2.2	1.90%	3.70%	-1.8
Arts, entertainment and recreation	2.20%	0.00%	2.2	1.30%	1.90%	-0.6
Transportation and warehousing	2.00%	0.00%	2	3.10%	5.10%	-2.1
Information and cultural industries	1.40%	0.00%	1.4	0.80%	1.20%	-0.5
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	1.10%	0.00%	1.1	4.20%	7.30%	-3.1
Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	1.10%	0.00%	1.1	0.40%	0.50%	0.0

Accommodation and food services	9.00%	7.90%	1.1	5.30%	8.20%	-2.9
Utilities	0.00%	0.00%	0	0.20%	0.30%	-0.1
Management of companies and enterprises	0.00%	0.00%	0	0.10%	0.10%	0.0
Other services (except public administration)	3.90%	7.90%	-4	3.60%	5.90%	-2.3
Manufacturing	4.50%	10.50%	-6	5.60%	9.80%	-4.2
Retail trade	8.10%	17.10%	-9	8.10%	13.60%	-5.5
Public administration	12.00%	32.90%	-	4.40%	6.60%	-2.2
			20.8			

5.5. Increase in Higher Mean Educational Level Relative to the Metro Area Following Gentrification as well as the Pre-Redevelopment Site

5.5.1. PMQ vs Chilliwack

In 2001, the PMQ had an outsized concentration of individuals with trades certificates and diplomas (LQ 1.5), college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma (1.46), university certificate or diploma below bachelor level (1.58) and bachelor's degrees (2.42). Lower concentrations of individuals with no degree, certificate or diploma (0.45) were present while there was close to even concentration of individuals with secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate (0.97). No LQ was generated for university certificate or diploma above bachelor level, degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry, master's degrees or earned doctorates as no residents in the PMQ obtained those levels of education. Overall, this data shows that the residents in the PMQ were more likely to have completed high school as well as at least some level of post-secondary education compared to the general population of Chilliwack.

Table 10 Highest certificate, diploma or degree. Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada

Total - Highest degree, certificate or diploma	Chilliwack	PMQ	LQ
No degree, certificate or diploma	36.9%	16.7%	0.45
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	24.1%	23.3%	0.97
Trades certificate or diploma	13.4%	20.0%	1.50
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	15.2%	22.2%	1.46
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	2.8%	4.4%	1.58
Bachelor's degree	4.6%	11.1%	2.42
University certificate or diploma above bachelor level	1.0%	0.0%	0.00
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, or optometry	0.4%	0.0%	0.00
Master's degree	1.3%	0.0%	0.00
Earned doctorate	0.2%	0.0%	0.00

As shown in Table 9 Garrison Crossing has a greater concentration of individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher level of education compared to the City of Chilliwack. The largest over representations were seen in the three highest levels of education: earned doctorate (LQ 6.0), master's degree (2.74) and degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, or optometry (2.61). Every group had over double the concentration than the City of Chilliwack and the concentration of earned doctorate holders was vastly overconcentrated in Garrison Crossing (LQ 6.0). Underrepresented groups included no certificate, diploma, or degree (LQ 0.45), secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate (0.82), and an apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma (0.65). There was a relatively even concentration of college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma (1.14) and university certificate or diploma below bachelor level (1.01).

In addition, while education levels increased in both the City of Chilliwack and Garrison Crossing from 2001 to 2016, the increases in Garrison Crossing outpaced those of the City of Chilliwack. The PMQ already had higher education rates than the City of Chilliwack in 2001 but Garrison Crossing had a more pronounced overconcentration. This skew further emphasizes that Garrison Crossing is not just a physically district neighbourhood within Chilliwack but also a demographically distinct one.

Table 11 Highest certificate, diploma or degree. Source: 2016 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada

Total - Highest certificate, diploma, or degree	Chilliwack	GC	LQ
No certificate, diploma, or degree	18.9%	8.5%	0.45
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	34.7%	28.6%	0.82
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	10.8%	7.0%	0.65
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	18.6%	21.1%	1.14
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	4.6%	4.7%	1.01
Bachelor's degree	8.0%	17.7%	2.21
University certificate or diploma above bachelor level	1.4%	3.4%	2.46
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, or optometry	0.5%	1.3%	2.61
Master's degree	2.3%	6.2%	2.74
Earned doctorate	0.2%	1.5%	6.00

5.5.2. Education Levels 2001 vs 2016

The changes in highest certificate, diploma, or degree from 2001 to 2016 for the study area are detailed in table 9 below. For context, the population growth rate in the study over that period was 421.1%.

From 2001 to 2016, no degree, certificate, or diploma (-8.1%), trades certificate or diploma (-13.0%) and college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma (-1.1%) saw reductions in their proportion of the population in the study area. Increases in population proportion were seen

in most every other group with the largest increases seen in bachelor's degree holders (6.6%), master's degree holders (6.2%) and secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate (5.2%).

Table 12 Highest degree, certificate or diploma obtained 2001 and 2016. Source: 2001 and 2016 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada.

Total - Highest degree, certificate, or diploma	GC	PM Q	Dif.	GR	COC 2016	COC 2001	Dif.	GR
			-				-	-
No degree, certificate, or diploma	8.5 %	16. 7%	8.1 %	166. 7%	18.9%	36.9%	18.0 %	29.9 %
Secondary (high) school diploma or equivalency certificate	28. 6%	23. 3%	5.2 %	538. 1%	34.7%	24.1%	10.6 %	97.4 %
			-				-	
Trades certificate or diploma	7.0 %	20. 0%	13.0 %	83.3 %	10.8%	13.4%	2.6 %	10.8 %
			-					
College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma	21. 1%	22. 2%	1.1 %	395. 0%	18.6%	15.2%	3.4 %	67.6 %
University certificate or diploma below bachelor level	4.7 %	4.4 %	0.2 %	450. 0%	4.6%	2.8%	1.8 %	124. 5%
Bachelor's degree	17. 7%	11. 1%	6.6 %	730. 0%	8.0%	4.6%	3.4 %	139. 1%
University certificate or diploma above bachelor level	3.4 %	0.0 %	3.4 %	Null	1.4%	1.0%	0.4 %	85.9 %
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, or optometry	1.3 %	0.0 %	1.3 %	Null	0.5%	0.4%	0.1 %	58.5 %
Master's degree	6.2 %	0.0 %	6.2 %	Null	2.3%	1.3%	0.9 %	135. 4%
Earned doctorate	1.5 %	0.0 %	1.5 %	Null	0.2%	0.2%	0.0 %	43.5 %

5.6. Older Housing Stock

The housing stock in the PMQ consisted of two-storey single- and two-family dwelling units and 1.5-storey rowhomes. These dwelling units were extremely basic in design and amenities, which is attributed to their age

and their purpose as military housing. Rent in the PMQ for a single-family two storey building with a basement was approximately \$563 dollars a month compared to an average rent of \$862.3 for rented dwellings in the City of Chilliwack adjusted to 2015 dollars (Statistics Canada).

An inventory of dwellings in the PMQ generated by review of the City of Chilliwack historic aerial photos from 1954 to 2003 show the PMQ had the majority its single and two-family dwellings established by 1954. The multi-family rowhouses were built sometime between 1954 and 1963. As the redevelopment began in 2004, it is estimated the newest residences in the PMQ were between 40 and 50 years old when the project started. There is some debate about the lifespan of wood frame buildings, but typical estimates put the average expected lifespan of a wood frame building at about 52 years, an age which most of the dwellings in the PMQ were approaching or surpassed (O'Connor 2004). Conversely the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan noted most buildings were in good condition during the planning stages of the project (Canada Lands Company 2003). Beyond the residences' age, the development pattern of large lots with little site coverage and overall urban design of the PMQ was dated by the time the redevelopment began.

In addition, the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan noted the age of the buildings, combined with their dated amenities, designs and the federal government 's divestment, made the area ripe for redevelopment as the potential return and development possibilities were well beyond

what the area was worth in its pre-redeveloped state (Canada Lands Company 2003).

5.7. Household Make-up

5.7.1. 2001 Household Make-up

Adults Living in Census Families

In 2001, 72% of households in the PMQ lived in a census family compared to 67% in the City of Chilliwack. Ninety-one percent of census families in the City of Chilliwack were married spouses and common-law partners compared to 82% for the PMQ (LQ 0.9). The PMQ had nearly twice the concentration of lone parent households (18%) compared to the City of Chilliwack (9%) (LQ 1.95) with lone parent households making up nearly one fifth of every census family household.

Breaking the data down by sex shows a slightly lower number of men in the PMQ living in census families (69%) than the City of Chilliwack (72%). This number was higher than City of Chilliwack total of 66% but overall, the concentration was extremely close (LQ 1.1). Men living with spouses and common-law partners had a slightly lower concentration in the PMQ (LQ 0.96) than the City of Chilliwack. The Statistics Canada data was incomplete regarding adults living in census families so no LQ or percentage of men in lone parent households is available.

Women in the PMQ were less likely to be living with married spouses and common-law partners (71%) than in women in the City of Chilliwack

(86%). The concentration of women living with spouses and common-law partners was also lower in the PMQ (0.83). PMQ women were more likely to be in lone parent households (26%) than women in the City of Chilliwack (14%). There was also a substantial overrepresentation of women in lone parent households in the PMQ compared to the City of Chilliwack (LQ 1.84). During the interview process, it was mentioned that some of this disparity may be the result of a housing program for women fleeing intimate partner violent in the former PMQ. Due to data limitations, it is impossible to determine how much influence this program had in drawing lone parent women to the PMQ compared to other factors such as affordable monthly rent or location.

Table 13 2001 Adults living in census families. Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada.

2001 Adults living in census families	COC	PMQ	LQ	COC Men	PMQ Men	LQ	COC Women	PMQ Women	LQ
Married spouses and common-law partners	91%	82%	0.9	96%	93%	0.96	86%	71%	0.83
Lone parents (in lone-parent census families)	9%	18%	1.95	4%	0%	0	14%	26%	1.84

Adults Not Living in Census Families

In 2001, approximately 17% of adults in the PMQ lived in non-census family households compared to 19% in the City of Chilliwack. No adults in the PMQ lived with other relatives while the City of Chilliwack had overrepresentation of adults living with non-relatives only (LQ 1.44) in comparison. In addition, there was a slightly smaller representation of adults living alone in the PMQ (LQ 0.88) compared to the City of Chilliwack.

For men, the household make up in the PMQ is relatively similar to the City of Chilliwack however, there was a slight overrepresentation of individuals living alone (LQ 1.14).

For women, the Statistics Canada data was incomplete making it difficult to accurately assess the household make up. Women living alone without children were vastly underrepresented in the PMQ compared to the City of Chilliwack (LQ 0.52).

Table 14 2001 Adults not living in census families. Source: 2001 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada

2001 Adults not living in census families	COC	PMQ	LQ	COC Men	PMQ Men	LQ	COC Women	PMQ Women	LQ
Living with other relatives	9%	0%	0	9%	0%	0	9%	0%	0
Living with non-relatives only	23%	33%	1.44	28%	29%	1.02	19%	25%	1.3
Living alone	68%	60%	0.88	63%	71%	1.14	72%	38%	0.52

5.7.2. 2016 Household Make-up

Adults Living in Census Families

By 2016, the household make up for adults living in census families in Garrison Crossing was a much closer reflection of the City of Chilliwack than it was in 2001. Ninety percent of Garrison Crossing adults living in census families lived with a spouse or common law partner compared to 91% for the City of Chilliwack (LQ 0.98). Ten percent of households in Garrison Crossing were lone parent compared to 9% for the City of Chilliwack (LQ 1.18).

For men living in census families, there were no lone parent households in Garrison Crossing. Overall, the household make up for men in census families in Garrison Crossing is nearly identical to both the City of Chilliwack and the 2001 PMQ make up.

For women in census families in Garrison Crossing, 81% lived with a spouse or common partner and 18% were lone parent families (LQ 1.3). Like the PMQ, there was a relatively high concentration of women in lone parent families compared to the City of Chilliwack, but the concentration was not as strong (LQ 1.32 vs 1.82). From the information available, no support program for women fleeing domestic violence existed in the study area now as it did pre-redevelopment.

While there is no data available to support this theory, previous research on single mother households shows increased neighbourhood satisfaction for suburban single mother households when they are located in close proximity to shopping and quality schools (Cook, 2002). As discussed further in the next section, Garrison Crossing is in proximity to these amenities.

Another speculative theory would be that, as confirmed during the interview process, Garrison Crossing does have many secondary suites and other Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs). These forms of dwelling units may have provided an alternative and more affordable form of housing option for single mother households.

Table 15 2016 Adults living in census families. Source: 2016 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada.

2016 Adults living in census families	COC	Garrison Crossing	LQ	COC Men	Garrison Crossing Men	LQ	COC Women	Garrison Crossing Women	LQ
Married spouses and common-law partners	91%	90%	0.98	96%	99%	1.03	87%	81%	0.94
Lone parents (in lone-parent census families)	9%	10%	1.18	4%	0%	0	14%	18%	1.32

Adults Not Living in Census Families

In 2016, 22% of adults in Garrison Crossing lived in non-census family households compared to 20% in the City of Chilliwack. There was an underrepresentation in the study area of adults living with other relatives (LQ 0.6) and adults living with non-relatives (0.8) and a slight over representation of adults living alone (1.2). The over representation of adults living alone in the study area could again be the result of the high number of ADUs in the neighbourhood.

Men in Garrison Crossing living in non-census family households were more likely to be living alone than in the City of Chilliwack but overall, the differences in rates and concentration were relatively small. There was a slightly higher concentration of women in Garrison Crossing living alone than in the City of Chilliwack (LQ 1.2).

Table 16 2016 Adults not living in census families. Source: 2016 Census Custom Tabulations Statistics Canada

2016 Adults not living in census families	COC	Garrison Crossing	LQ	COC Men	GC Men	LQ	COC Women	GC Women	LQ
Living with other relatives	12%	7%	0.6	11%	6%	0.6	12%	8%	0.6
Living with non- relatives only	24%	20%	0.8	29%	25%	0.8	24%	13%	0.7
Living alone	64%	74%	1.2	60%	67%	1.1	64%	81%	1.2

5.8. Upgrading of Neighbourhood Amenities

The four previously identified aspects of neighbourhood amenities were reviewed to determine if an overall upgrade of amenities occurred because of the redevelopment. These amenities were one, a variety of services and goods; two, aesthetics or how an area presents itself through urban design or architecture; three, good public services including parks and schools; and fourth, the speed with which the other three amenities are accessible (Gleaser et al 2001).

5.8.1. Variety of Goods

Pre-Redevelopment Commercial Amenities

At the peak of the PMQs' life, it featured several commercial and public amenities including a gas station, hospital, fire station, several commercial stores, dental office, chapels as well as the previously mentioned Cheam

Recreation Centre. As noted in the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan, the PMQs were a complete community within itself but its residents also supported other businesses in the surrounding area (Canada Lands Company 2003).

By the time the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan was complete in 2003, the chapels had been removed and the commercial stores, hospital, fire station and dental office had closed, and the Cheam Recreation Centre was operated by the YMCA. In addition, an administration building had been leased for commercial use and remains on the site to this day (Canada Lands Company 2003).

The surrounding area had a relatively large commercial area along Vedder Road consisting of a gas station, bike store, dental office, vet office, video rental store, McDonalds, Dairy Queen, pub, Legion, two strip malls and a hardware store.

Post-Redevelopment Commercial Amenities

Today, Garrison Crossing features a relatively large commercial area at the south-east corner of the study area. This area consists mostly of small boutique and retail stores, professional services and restaurants with one full service save-on-foods grocery store to service the neighbourhood.

As previously noted, the types of commercial amenities present in a redeveloped neighbourhood can assist in identifying whether gentrification has occurred as a result of the redevelopment. To analyze the change in

amenities, a walkthrough of the commercial portion of Garrison Crossing was completed and an inventory of all the commercial businesses on site was made. Once all the businesses were accounted for, they were organized by type and catalogued by whether these businesses fit into previously identified types associated with gentrification.

In total, there were 33 businesses identified in the area and of that 26 (78.7%) of these businesses were identified as businesses that are markers of gentrification in Gleaser et al (2018), Chapple and Loukaitou-Sideis (2019) and Zeng et al (2022.) Of these businesses 6 (23%) are medical facilities, 5 (19%) are boutiques and specialty food stores and beauty salons (11%), each having 3 stores. In addition, of these 33 businesses only 6 (18%) of them are chain stores.

In addition, 54% of all businesses catalogued fit into what Clark et al described as amenities emphasizing entertainment, aesthetics and consumption with the intention of making neighbourhoods and cities livable and enjoyable spaces for consumers while encouraging the spending of money over earning it (2002).

While having cafes or coffee shops, restaurants and food marts is certainly beneficial for residents, the types and brands of these amenities can provide clues as to who the space is marketed towards. Drawing on Rofe's (2003) discussion on identity reflected in amenities, the chain store brands provide some context as to who the primary intended consumer of the

commercial spaces in Garrison Crossing is. The coffee shop in the area is Waves Coffee House, which, while still a chain brand, is generally considered more “upscale” than Tim Hortons or McDonalds. In addition, this store is intended to be used as space of leisure not convenience. There is no drive-thru available and a plethora of indoor and outdoor seating, its not intended to be a grab and go space.

The next chain store I will discuss is Save-on-Foods, which upon completion was a Cooper’s Foods until 2015 when the name was changed (Chilliwack Progress 2015). Cooper’s Foods during its time ranked as a comparable name to Save-On-Foods, offering more premium brands compared to the cheaper Price Smart name which was also present in Chilliwack until 2015 but in the downtown core where it served a very different consumer than Coopers in Garrison Crossing (Canadian Grocery Retail Guide 2013). In addition, this store was the only Cooper’s Foods in Chilliwack, so it served to bolster the “uniqueness” of Garrison Crossing.

Reflecting further on the commercial operations present in Garrison Crossing, I think of a quote from Ley (2003) describing when upscale English department store opened its first store outside of London in Manchester: “We don’t think Manchester needs us; we know it is Manchester that can help Selfridges” somewhat applies to the redevelopment of this space (p. 2528). This quote is referencing the gentrification that had occurred in Manchester reaching a point where upscale retailers could no longer afford to not acknowledge the growing

upper class of the area. It was not Selfridge that made it upscale rather its presence there only affirms it and by being present in the area, Selfridge itself is able to take on some of that wealthy aesthetic. Garrison Crossing doesn't need upscale commercial operations to be an upper-class neighbourhood, rather these commercial operations are lent some of their own legitimacy by an upscale neighbourhood.

The surrounding area was mostly unchanged during the redevelopment excluding a large addition to an existing strip mall and the redevelopment of a lot on the opposite corner of Vedder Road and Keith Wilson Road from the commercial area in Garrison Crossing.

As historic records of businesses in the surrounding area are unavailable, it is difficult to determine what businesses were present prior to the redevelopment and remain to this day versus which were established following or during the redevelopment. An inventory of the current businesses in the surrounding area shows there is a roughly even split of businesses identified as gentrification indicators and other types. This inventory is attached as Appendix 1.

5.8.2. Aesthetics and Design

Pre-Redevelopment

Pre-redevelopment, the PMQ architecture and urban design was relatively barebone reflecting its utilitarian role as affordable housing for service members. By 2001, housing options were 2-storey single-family dwellings

and duplexes, and 1 and a half storey row houses and single-family dwellings. Speaking from experience, the 2-storey single-family home I lived in on the PMQ in Chilliwack was identical in floor layout and design to one I lived in in Colwood, BC. These dwellings were the housing equivalent of a Model T: basic, did the job they were built for and were built to last. The only difference was they didn't come in black.

From an urban design perspective, the pre-redevelopment site was barebones in amenities and aesthetics but its layout, particularly the central boulevard and woodlots, became central components of the redesigned neighbourhood (Canada Lands Company, 2003). The roads were curbless and narrow which provided a safer pedestrian experience by slowing down vehicle traffic. In combination with the trails and large open greenspaces, these features created informal pedestrian connections throughout the neighbourhood (Canada Lands Company, 2003).

In one interview, it was noted that features like the quirky road layout and existing trees became placemakers for and shaped the development patterns of the redevelopment, tying the redevelopment to past land uses. In addition, two interviewees noted the older pre-car culture layout of the neighbourhood served as the starting point for the redevelopment rather than simply applying New Urbanist principles to the redevelopment. The redevelopment was intended more as a return to pre-car centric, walkable

urban design forms rather than an attempt at true by the book New Urbanism.

These comments and information in the neighbourhood plan show that despite its age and simplicity, the original layout of the PMQ heavily influenced the redevelopments layout.

Post-Redevelopment

The post-redevelopment aesthetics of the neighbourhood is a fusion of the layout and history of the PMQ and the implementation of the design values and goals of the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan.

In the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan, the vision for the neighbourhood reads: “Garrison Crossing will be a unique, diverse, and thriving neighbourhood that complements its surroundings, contributes to the healthy growth of Chilliwack, and builds on the existing heritage of its rich military past.

‘Garrison Crossing will be a model of responsible development that seeks to respect the natural environment, connect to its neighbours, provide for housing choice, and reuse the existing built and natural assets where possible.’

With the benefit of hindsight its easy to see how this vision was applied to the physical space especially in the early phases of the project. Housing types are diverse in both form and density, mature trees were retained

when possible and monuments to the military history of the site dot the landscape.

For the second quote, review of the site showed that they were largely successful in these goals. There is housing choice, buildings were reused and moved to make them fit the overall vision for the neighbourhood and connections to the areas directly north and south have been established.

A walkthrough of Garrison Crossing was completed to fully understand how the neighbourhood reflects this vision in design and aesthetic.

Garrison Crossing today features mostly neo-traditional architectural residential buildings with a bit more variety in styles seen in the commercial areas.

This neo-traditional architecture was mostly unique in Chilliwack until more recent large-scale projects were started which sought to imitate the aesthetics of the development.

Part of this uniqueness comes from the custom architectural and design aesthetics but also another factor, the non-standard road design and utilities compared to roads in Chilliwack. During the interview process, the explanation as to why customized engineering standards were used for



Figure 2 Commercial Buildings in Garrison Crossing. Photo Credit: Author.

this project was that, for this project, an architect was the leading engineer for road standards that an architect would approve of.

Another interviewee noted that despite the consistency of neo-traditional architectural features throughout the project, there was not a particularly strict design guideline in place. Things like colours and even the neo-traditional style were not prescribed, instead they concentrated and prescribed designs more at the urban fabric level. This lack of extremely specific guidelines is something that worked within the scope of the project because CLCs consultants were empowered during the design review process to a point where they could force builders to remedy imperfections or unapproved designs.

As noted, the PMQ's original road layout served as another influence on the overall aesthetic of Garrison Crossing. A GIS analysis of the current layout overlaid with the road map of the PMQ shows how the previous unconventional road pattern (shown in grey), particularly the central boulevard, influenced the current layout (Figure 4). While some overlap has occurred, most of the roads in grey on Figure 3 no longer exist. The curved narrow local roads also provide a sense that the roads are designed to facilitate safer pedestrian use as well as contribute to the unique character of the neighbourhood (Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan).

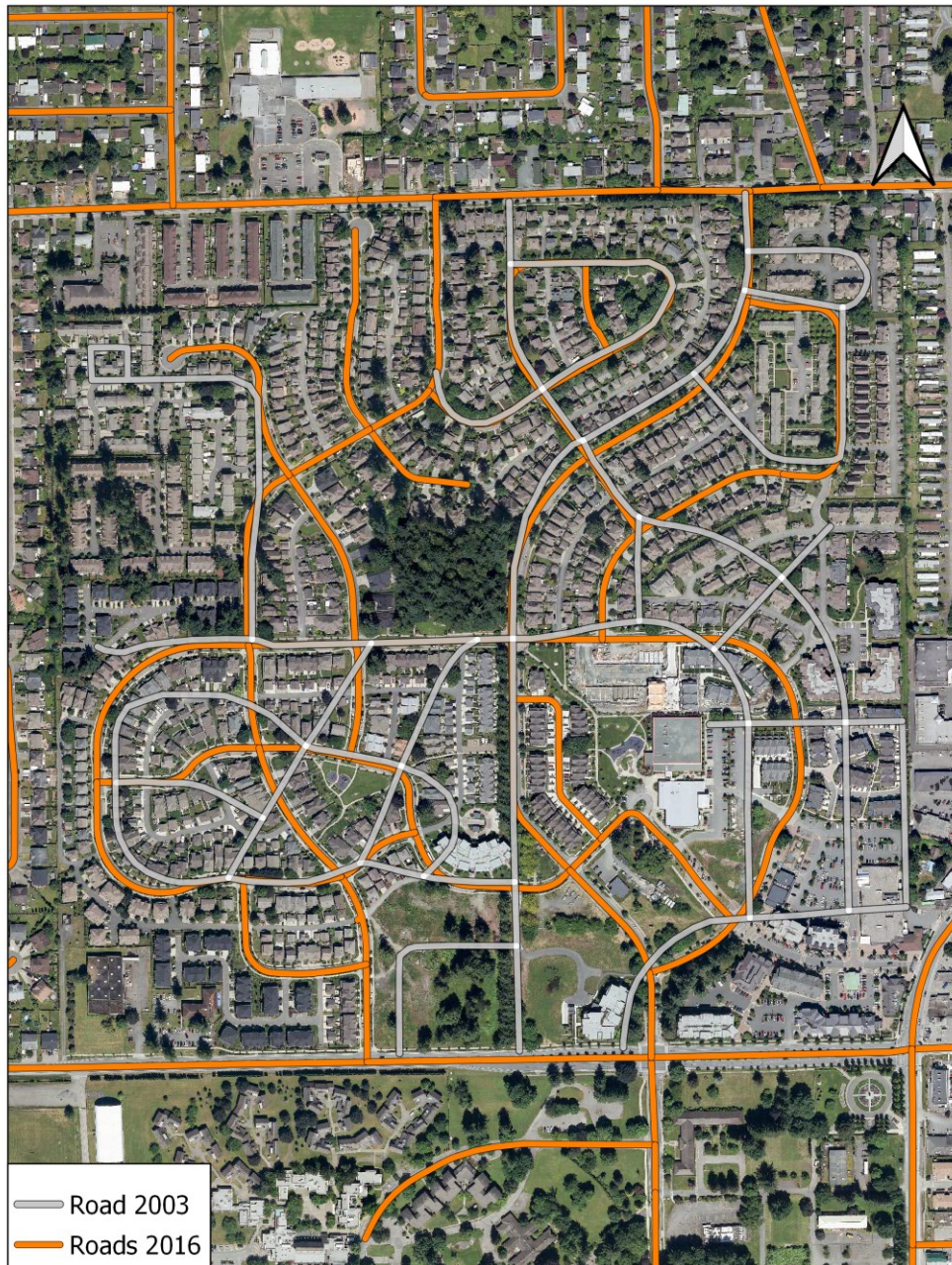


Figure 3 2016 Garrison Crossing Road Layout. Map generated by author.

Garrison Crossing feels like an island of urban and architectural design. The neighbourhood is physically distinct from the rest of the city where most dwellings are relatively cookie cutter from whatever era they were

constructed in. There really is nothing else like Garrison Crossing in the city, even with the recent imitators. This distinctness acts as a form of branding for the neighbourhood. Locally you may understand the geographic location of different neighbourhoods and areas within Chilliwack, however, when you think of Garrison Crossing you imagine the architecture and urban fabric of the space.

5.8.3. Public Services

Parks, Greenspaces and Recreational Areas

QGIS was used to review 2003 and 2021 aerial photos to identify on-site parks, greenspaces and recreation centres. Following identification of a park, it was classified by its principal amenity as either a greenspace (no discernable principal use), woodlot, sports field or playground. Then, a comparison of the 2003 and 2016 data was done to see how much parkland was onsite and what these parks had to offer. For confirmation of current amenities, an in-person walkaround of the development was conducted, and notes were made on what kinds of playground amenities were available at each park.

2003 Parks

The pre-redevelopment site had two large woodlots, six greenspaces, four playgrounds, four sports fields (three baseball diamonds and one soccer field) and the Cheam centre which at the time consisted of a basic swimming pool, gymnasium and weight room. In addition to these, the

Cheam Recreation Centre shared its grounds with three buildings that were abandoned following closure of the base. These recreational and park areas covered approximately 20 ha (32.2%) of the 62-ha site (Canada Lands Company 2003). The site's greenspaces and woodlots also provided connecting pathways throughout the area, which were important as sidewalks were limited in the area.

The playgrounds in the pre-redevelopment site were utilitarian in nature, consisting of very basic play areas with swings, seesaws and slides. A review of the City of Chilliwack's 1983, 1995 and 2000 aerial photos show changes to the parks beginning in 1995 and finishing in 2000. While there is no firm evidence, it's likely these upgrades were already underway by the time the closure of CFB Chilliwack was announced and finalized as it would not have made sense to invest in amenities following the closure knowing that it was going to be redeveloped.

In addition to the on-site parks, less than 1 km south of the study area is the Vedder River recreation area which, in 2003, consisted of a riverside trail and some greenspaces. This area was and still is a popular space for anglers.

2021 Parks

Of all the land use changes that occurred as part of the redevelopment, the change in parks, sports fields and greenspaces is one of the more visually dramatic. The site now features two playgrounds, one woodlot, three greenspaces and the renovated Cheam Centre complete with a splash park.

One of the woodlots was mostly lost with some trees integrated into a two-townhouse development while the other shrunk from about 2 ha to 1 ha. The 1 ha woodlot remains an important provider of trail connections in the neighbourhood and was identified in an interview as a key area to maintain as part of the redevelopment.

The Cheam Recreation Centre and its grounds received major upgrades including a completely new indoor pool area, splash park and playground as well as an enhanced pathway connection to the woodlot.

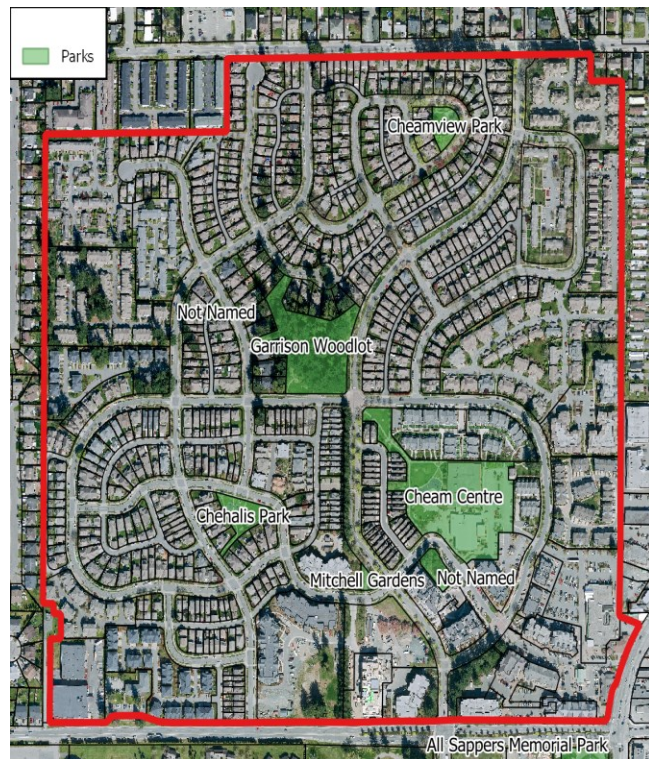


Figure 4 Garrison Crossing's on site parks.
Map generated by author.

For the parks, Cheamview Park stands on part of the footprint of a previous greenspace, while Chehalis Park is in an area that was previously residential.

For the off-site amenities, the Vedder River recreation area has been substantially upgraded since the beginning of the redevelopment. It now features two dog parks, two different play areas for older and younger children and parking for food trucks. In one interview it was emphasized just how important this area was to the redevelopment and its marketing as a complete walkable community.

Overall, the change in parkland amenities from the pre-redevelopment site to the post-redevelopment site involved much of the same intensification of land use seen for other uses. While there is now much less open greenspace in the study area and none of the sports fields persist, the remaining parks have more accessible, variable and newer amenities than the old parks did. In addition, the upgrades to the Cheam Centre and its surrounding area have not only maintained its status as a recreational hub for south Chilliwack but it has enhanced its appeal and recreational opportunities.

While there is some research into how improvements to parks can trigger gentrification, I do not think that that particular reasoning would apply here as the parks are a result of the redevelopment not a separate greening or parks improvement project (Rigolon and Németh 2020). That is not to say

that the attractive, high-quality nature of the parks and recreational spaces do not have an impact on the desirability of the neighbourhood or an associated increase in real estate prices but rather that these spaces didn't trigger the gentrification process.

Schools and Universities

2003 Schools

In 2003, there were no schools on site in the PMQ. However, Watson Elementary was directly north to it and was easily accessible from the neighbourhood via a pedestrian pathway near the woodlot. Other schools in the area included Mount Slesse Middle and Vedder Elementary.

There was no university onsite or in the surrounding area, however, the RCMP had their Pacific Region Training Centre directly south of the neighbourhood in land also owned by the DOD. In addition, there was the World Trade University which was a failed private university that was never actually opened and faded into obscurity around 2008 (Lee 2005, Edmonton Journal 2006, Hutchinson 2008).

2023 Schools

Today, all three previously mentioned schools remain with a new middle high school opening in 2008 and new elementary middle school opening in 2022. The biggest change was the relocation of the Chilliwack University of the Fraser Valley campus to the area south of the study area which formally served as part of CFB Chilliwack.

5.8.4. Accessibility

PMQ

As previously noted, by the time the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan was complete and CFB Chilliwack had closed, several commercial options within the study area were also closed. This limited accessibility to commercial amenities within the study area, however, there was connection to the previously mentioned strip mall to the east of the study area. This connection to the strip mall provided access to all the commercial areas nearby as well, the closer you were to this gate, the easier it was to access amenities off site.

For parks, the relatively central location of the Cheam Recreation Centre made accessing easy regardless of which area in the PMQ you lived. Through use of trails in the woodlot, it was even easy to access the Centre from Waston Elementary to the north. There were abundant green spaces and small parks spread throughout the PMQ so accessibility to these amenities was not restricted by location.

From lived experience as a resident of the PMQ, the neighbourhood itself was extremely easy to navigate primary via informal pathways such as cutting through the vast yards that generally did not feature fences.

Garrison Crossing

From an accessibility perspective, Garrison Crossing formalized the accessibility of the neighbourhood and enhanced it, reforming a “Complete

Community” with easy access to recreational and commercial amenities (Canada Lands Company 2003). Accessibility and connectivity were both emphasized within the study area and with the surrounding area, these features were noted in the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan as a key goal of the redevelopment.

The informal pathways through unfenced backyards are now paved paths between developments allowing easy and quick access to amenities both within and outside of the study area. Sidewalks are now present on every public roadway.

While the past connection to the existing strip mall is no longer available, the site features its own commercial area and access to outside commercial and recreational amenities is still viable and easy due to the ease of traversing Garrison Crossing itself.

5.9. Changes in Land Use

As previously discussed, land uses in the PMQ following closure of CFB Chilliwack were limited to single-family, duplex and row house residential uses, park land and a small commercial area to the south that was leased to unrelated commercial businesses (Canada Lands Company 2003).

Following the redevelopment of the study area, the land uses remained residential, however, there were no longer any purpose-built rentals on the property. In one interview it was noted that secured affordable housing

units were never really discussed as something to be included in the redevelopment, something in hindsight would have been valuable but was not top of mind in the early 2000s. An interviewee noted there was an attempt to include some level of affordable rental options in the form of secondary suites and coach house units. In addition, the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan noted there was a hope some of the existing rowhomes would be retained as rental units but that did not materialize.

Commercial and park land also remained but were substantially intensified and added new forms not previously seen including mixed use commercial and residential buildings and new park amenities like spray parks.

The existing row houses remain on the site in their original location but are now substantially renovated.

New residential land uses include secondary suites, coach houses, strata townhomes, assisted and independent retirement living buildings and condominiums. As noted in interviews some of the pre-existing residential buildings remain on site, however, they have been moved from their original locations and substantially renovated.

Two of the pre-redevelopment commercial buildings remain in the southwest most portion of the study area. As previously noted, the redevelopment added a substantially commercial and mixed-use area at the southeast corner of the study area with

The changes in land use can be described as a revitalization and restarting of commercial operations in the neighbourhood as well as an intensification and upgrading of the residential living area and are consistent with suburban gentrification outcomes identified in Hudalah and Adharina (2019).

Chapter 6. Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan Notes

6.1. Elements of Suburban Gentrification in the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan

The Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan (GCNP) was reviewed to determine if the four elements of suburban gentrification identified in Hudalah and Adharina (2019) were present in the plan. These four elements are physical changes, social changes, displacement and the presence of rent seekers and facilitators.

The actual physical and social changes that have occurred as result of the development have been discussed at length in the metric section, but this discussion is intended to identify how these changes were presented or implied in the GCNP.

The first clue as to how the neighbourhood was going to change physically is found on the land use concept plan (Figure 6). Areas that were once baseball diamonds in the northwest corner of the neighbourhood were slated to become a mix of single and multiple family housing. The simple

addition of multi-family housing beyond the existing row house on its own meant major changes to residential land uses were forthcoming. The southernmost portion of the land that previously held a range of uses including a hospital and dental complex, a warehouse and an administrative building were proposed to become

Land Use Concept



Figure 5 Land Use Concept Map. Source: Canada Lands Company 2003.

mixed use areas (Canada Lands Company, 2003). While this concept plan was not perfectly prescient, it promised dramatic physical changes to the PMQ.

The next element is social changes, which again were discussed in detail previously. Social changes were never explicitly discussed as a part of the GCNP or identified as a goal of the plan but again there were clues that some changes to the neighbourhood's social makeup were going to occur. This took the form of incorporating seniors housing in the neighbourhood plan, and the general diversification of residential land uses to include more affordable housing forms including townhomes and 4 to 5 storey apartments.

The third element is displacement, which like social changes, is not something that was explicitly discussed in the GCNP but rather is mostly contained in the subtext. The only mentions of the existing residents were in section 2.5 which dealt with the GCNP preparation process. This section noted that two open houses were held at the Cheam Centre and that public feedback was generally supportive, reinforced the central theme of retaining and enhancing the neighbourhood's unique character (Canada Lands Company, 2003). This sole mention contrasts with the numerous mentions of how the plan will benefit the new residents of Garrison Crossing. These include the emphasis on providing a range of activities and land uses within convenience distance for new residents,

how the existing site can benefit the future land uses and how specific design choices will benefit new residents (Canada Lands Company 2003).

While information collected during the interview process confirms that there were some allowances for PMQ residents including an opportunity to pre-purchase property within Garrison Crossing or a \$500 voucher to assist with moving within the PMQ itself, the lack of emphasis or acknowledgement of the existing residents shows that the GCNP was purely forward focused.

The final element is the actors involved in the project, or who were the rent seekers and developers. This element is not particularly present within the GCNP. You would not fully understand CLCs motives or goals simply by reviewing the plan. In the acknowledgements that preface the plan, CLC notes that the GCNP is a reflection of their ongoing commitment to respect and enhance the legacy left by the former CFB Chilliwack. This sentiment was reflected in the interviews as it was noted that while there certainly was a profit motive for CLC, they also viewed this project as a legacy building project.

6.2. Emphasis on Heritage

While most of the analysis of the GCNP took place in the previous section, there is some value in elaborating on the emphasis on the heritage of the site.

Throughout the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan there is an emphasis on respecting and acknowledging

the history of the site, in particular the military history.

Part of this acknowledgement was using wayfinding and the legacy walk that includes landmarks detailing the military history of CFB Chilliwack and the PMQ.

Heritage carries a variety of emotions with it: grief, pride, joy, nostalgia to name a few. It also infuses a space with meaning beyond its current uses, something that can be the difference between creating an amusement park esq neighbourhood or something that feels like an actual lived urban space. By highlighting past land uses the neighbourhood takes on a more authentic feel despite the physical changes to the space.



Figure 6 Monument with information about the previous land uses in the study area. Photo captured by author.

Chapter 7. Interview Notes

7.1. Canada Lands Company's Role

During the interview process, it became clearer that while CLC was the owner of the lands their role was more to facilitate the vision of the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan generated by its consultants rather than set the vision for the neighbourhood themselves. This role was evident through the interview process as, other than financial benefits, it was noted the goal of CLC with the site was to generate a sort of legacy for the site and bolster their reputation. CLC did not enter the site and demand a certain aesthetic or design, rather it was a more organic planning and design process.

In addition, CLC operated more like a private corporation than a government ministry and featured an appointed board of directors. While at arm's length, CLC was still influenced by the federal government of the day. CLC had planners and designers on staff, but they worked closely with and often deferred to their consultants on aspects of the project including design and engagement.

A common theme over all the interviews was CLC's commitment to the project. They ensured proper resources were provided to guarantee Garrison Crossing was a success. They also provided resources to their consultants to ensure that pre-redevelopment residents in the early phases had opportunities to remain in the areas in parts of the

development that were to be redeveloped later. As previously noted, CLC empowered their consultants in a way that allowed them to demand changes to buildings. In addition, it was noted in multiple interviews that CLC had the financial flexibility necessary to properly support this project over the long term. There was no resettlement plan for existing residents however there was a relatively long window of opportunity for people to find accommodations elsewhere.

One interviewee noted the federal government changed the levels of support for the project according with changes in government. Early on there was a lot more support for the project as it was originally envisioned but that shifted following a change in government in the mid-2000s which saw more demand for parking and even consideration of high-rise towers in the area.

In addition, CLCs decision to redevelop the PMQ into Garrison Crossing was not without some internal contesting. There was some desire to simply flip the land over to developers, but this plan was resisted by the vice-president of CLC at the time.

To place CLC's role in the development in terms of suburban gentrification as either a rent seeker or facilitator would be inappropriate as they were playing two parts.

7.2. Pre-Redevelopment History

The decision to close the base was not going to be reversed under any circumstances, despite community opposition. This effectively left the City of Chilliwack with no option but to go forward with redevelopment, however, there was a desire at the municipal level to ensure it was a “win” for the city. In addition, while the city was given some opportunities to provide input into the project and had some involvement with pre-development activities like site visits and design charettes, CLC and their group were driving the bus as far as design choices were concerned. These included everything from the neo-traditionalist / new urbanist design to the road standards, streetlights and signs.

There was a concerted effort early in the planning processes to ensure that existing residents were treated with respect. While there was no formal right of first refusal on properties within Garrison Crossing, there was an opportunity for PMQ residents to prepurchase a property in the redevelopment as well as a \$500 moving subsidy for households to move from earlier phase of the project to later phases if they were not able to leave the PMQ at that time. How successful the prepurchase offer was is unknown. No pre-purchase benefit beyond the early access was made available to PMQ residents.

This engagement appeared to be a success overall as residents were glad to hear they were not being immediately forced out of their homes. In

addition, there were nearly no attendees at the public hearing with concerns being limited to ensuring a safe crossing to Watson Elementary School was maintained.

In addition to engaging with residents, CLC and their consultant team worked with former base officers to build up the legacy aspect of the development.

7.3. Canada Lands Company's Goals

As previously noted, CLC was formed in 1995, with a mandate of ensuring the best possible financial return for the federal government on the sale of federal surplus properties and by 1996 had acquired the lands that made up CFB Chilliwack. An interviewee expanded on this mandate noting that while CLC was tasked with generating profit, they were also tasked with doing something the private sector would not necessarily do with the lands. It was noted this extended task was to ensure the CLC's, and by association the federal government's, "brand" would be associated with something high quality that also respected the history of space it was redeveloping. They did not want to be viewed as having taken a bulldozer to the site. This sentiment was repeated by another interviewee who noted the CLC was interested in creating a "legacy" and a "important iconic community that really reflected place and quality". Some ways this goal manifested was in the recognition of the military history of the site through historic landmarking, the neo-traditional architecture, customized

engineering standards, and the retention of older trees on the site.

However, one could be cynical and say that by fulfilling the mandate of making quality, unique and desirable spaces they could better meet their other mandate of generating the best possible return for the government¹.

7.4. Benefits to Chilliwack

It was noted in an interview that while the City of Chilliwack benefited from the base as a large employer, all goods and services used on the base specifically were sourced federally. This meant the economic benefit to the city was limited to whatever economic activities service members were engaging in.

A less tangible economic benefit of Garrison Crossing is that the project offered a physical manifestation of how a mixed-use and mixed density neighbourhood could look and function in a city where that simply did not exist. It provided an example for the city to point to when new denser developments were proposed in traditionally low-density areas and an opportunity to say look, not only did the apartments not ruin the neighbourhood, but they actually have also made it better. Garrison Crossing brought a complete community to a place where it was essentially foreign.

¹ Canada Lands Company <https://www.clc-sic.ca/about>

Chapter 8. Discussion

8.1. Did the PMQ Fit the Profile of a Gentrifiable Space?

As noted in the conceptual framework and methodology, pre-gentrification neighbourhoods have common characteristics including lower income prior to redevelopment compared to the metro area, older housing stock and lower education levels. So, the question becomes do these apply in the PMQ?

In 2001, the PMQ was a solidly middle-class neighbourhood with over 55% of residents earning between \$10,000 and \$49,999 annually. The combined median income was higher in the PMQ than the City of Chilliwack which is likely due to the concentration of middle-income earners. Employment sectors in the PMQ were less diverse than in the City of Chilliwack with a heavy concentration in public administration.

In addition, PMQ residents did have higher overall education levels than the City of Chilliwack including a particularly strong overrepresentation of bachelor's degree holders.

The houses and the development pattern of the study area were extremely dated by the time the redevelopment began. There were conflicting notes regarding the status of the households but overall, they were much closer to the end of their lifespan than the beginning. In addition, the bigger draw

for redevelopment was the land base itself, which the PMQ saw most of the area used for lawns.

While not specifically identified as a hallmark of a to-be-gentrified neighbourhood, households in the PMQ were about twice as likely to be lone parent compared to the City of Chilliwack. This could have been the result of a program set up in the area to provide housing to women fleeing domestic violence.

Overall, the PMQ, other than its age, dated development pattern and underutilized land base, was not an area that seemed overly vulnerable to gentrification. Incomes were comparable to the City of Chilliwack and rates of post-secondary education were higher than the City of Chilliwack.

However, the neighbourhood divestment identified by Freeman as a characteristic of a to-be gentrified neighbourhood was in fact present in the form of the federal government's closure of CFB Chilliwack and its exit from the housing market as a housing provider.

The closure of the base removed the need to continue to invest in the neighbourhood amenities and housing in the PMQ but did not create an environment or necessity for the federal government to redevelop the study area. Redevelopment instead was the result of the federal government's philosophic shift away from housing provision towards market-based approaches.

8.2. Garrison Crossing

Neighbourhood Profile

By 2016, Garrison Crossing was now an upper-class neighbourhood.

Median incomes, which were stagnant in Chilliwack as a whole, increased by 11% compared to the PMQ. Upper income earners of both sexes were more common and more concentrated in the study area.

From 2001, employment sectors greatly diversified however there was now an over concentration in professional employment with a lower concentration of workers in resource and physical labour-intensive work compared to the City of Chilliwack.

Real estate prices in the study area on average outpaced the City of Chilliwack by 17% for detached dwellings and 31% for attached dwellings over the past three years.

Education levels increased overall in both the COC and the study area from 2001 to 2016. Garrison Crossing became vastly more educated at the bachelor level or higher compared to both the COC in 2016 and the PMQ in 2001. While the population of Garrison Crossing increased 421% as a result of the redevelopment, the growth rate of individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher was 730%.

In 2016, Garrison Crossing's household make up more closely resembled Chilliwack's than it did in 2001. The PMQ's rate of single parent households was reduced by about half following the redevelopment likely

as a result of the program for women fleeing domestic violence discontinued over the course of the redevelopment.

For amenity upgrades, Garrison Crossing now features a stable commercial area, upgrade playground and park amenities, a substantially renovated recreation centre and attractive urban landscape. Commercial amenities skew towards uses intended to facilitate the spending of money rather than the generation of it. Residential land uses are now diversified and intensified, and the commercial aspect of the community is established as a space of consumption over production.

Is Garrison Crossing a form a gentrification?

Reflecting on Hackworth's (2002) definition of gentrification as "the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users" and with the benefit of the complete analysis, I believe it is fair to call the result of Garrison Crossing a form of gentrification.

While combined median income in the PMQ in 2001 was higher than the City of Chilliwack, something atypical of areas that are gentrified, Garrison Crossing had an even larger gap compared to the City of Chilliwack in 2016. In addition, this increase occurred during a period where incomes were effectively stagnant in the City of Chilliwack.

Like incomes, postsecondary education rates were higher in the PMQ than the City of Chilliwack. Garrison Crossing, however, has even higher rates

of education and a much higher concentration of individuals with post-secondary education than the PMQ did.

Employment sectors skewed towards the professional and managerial sectors as expected for this type of gentrification. The overconcentration of public administration employees relative to the City of Chilliwack remained but was reduced from the pre-redevelopment area.

As previously noted, the commercial amenities now facilitate what Clark describes as amenities emphasizing entertainment, aesthetics and consumption with the intention of making neighbourhoods and cities livable and enjoyable spaces for consumers while encouraging the spending of money over earning it.

In addition, this move towards a more affluent population was likely no accident. One reason for this move is CLCs mandate to secure the best possible financial return for the federal government with their redevelopment of the land.

This mandate was accomplished firstly through the quality of the built environment. CLC's, their consultants' and the City of Chilliwack's commitment to creating a livable, high-quality neighbourhood with a variety of amenities was key to ensuring that the return on the investment was maximized. Further evidence of this mandate is in the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan which noted the importance of creating value by design.

This commitment facilitated the second way CLC secured a strong financial return for the redevelopment. By creating a high-quality space with quality amenities, CLC could better justify their higher real estate prices.

CLC managed to both benefit from pre-existing amenities, and neighbourhood character but enhanced them in a way to facilitate a much denser community.

In addition, the preconstruction planning of the neighbourhood was effectively the state preparing the site to be gentrified as identified by Smith (2001) and Hackworth (2002). While CLC did not sanitize the study area by using enforcement measures such as the police or bylaw officers as described by Smith and DeFilippis (1999), it effectively achieved the same end result by removing existing residents from the PMQ during the redevelopment and pricing the new residences around 10% higher than comparable buildings in the City of Chilliwack. This action fits into the method of gentrification through demolition identified by Hammel and Wylie in 1996.

Is this a form of third wave gentrification?

The nature of CLC complicates the understanding of Garrison Crossing as a form of third wave gentrification because its dual roles as both rent seeker and facilitator. Under typical circumstances, rent seekers were principally private sector actors while facilitators were state actors. CLC

blends both together by seeking both the best possible return for the property while also facilitating the actions required to do so. This sort of gentrification is not so much state-led as it is directly state beneficiary.

As previously noted, the early years of Garrison Crossings redevelopment fits the period when gentrification was entering into its “third wave”. Below is the list of characteristics of third wave gentrification identified by Smith (2002) with a discussion as to whether these characteristics are present in the redevelopment of Garrison Crossing.

While the redevelopment of the PMQ was made possible by the evolving role of the federal government in housing and closure of the CFB Chilliwack, there was not an explicit partnership between the state (whether it be CLC or the federal government itself) and private capital. Private companies, including the consultant firms and construction companies, certainly had financial benefit by their involvement in the project. These benefits were not the principal goal of the redevelopment. The principal goal was to generate financial benefit for the federal government.

This key difference in relationship means that Garrison Crossing doesn't fit into the standard form of third wave gentrification typical of the period.

While much of the existing literature details how government actors worked to facilitate private financial interest, this project was primarily for the benefit of the federal government via CLC. In addition, the financing of

the redevelopment was done by CLC not global actors but CLC itself was a beneficiary of the financial powers of the federal government.

In addition, while the City of Chilliwack was not the primary state force involved in the Garrison Crossing project, the city actually benefitted from the development in a similar way to how cities typically benefit from gentrification in the form of newer buildings and developments that generate more taxation as well as newer amenities. In addition, the City of Chilliwack does meet the characteristic identified by Smith (2002) as key to third wave gentrification as it a city beyond the urban centre of Vancouver.

Corporate and state actors are now more committed to gentrification efforts.

For this case study and from information gathered during the interview process, it was clear the federal government and CLC were extremely committed to the redevelopment of the PMQ. In addition to CLC, the two primary consulting firms were extremely committed to the project, facilitated both by a desire to create a high-quality space and CLC's ability and willingness to support what they needed to ensure this happened. In one interview it was noted that the firms' staff were able to commit time to reviewing each building from an architectural perspective because of CLC's support. This interviewee also distilled what I think was a powerful motivator for those involved in the project when he noted Garrison Crossing was not a development rather it was a community. The level of

commitment to making Garrison Crossing exceptional was all in from CLC down.

Opposition to gentrification has been sidelined and ignored.

As previously noted, CLC put in work early in the process to get PMQ residents on side with the inevitable redevelopment. In addition, as noted in one interview, the federal government made it very clear to the city that the base closure was not going to be reversed. The closure of the base removed the PMQ's principal reason for being and since the decision was not going to be reversed and the housing was not going to be viable in the long term as affordable rentals, there was little motivation to attempt to stop the redevelopment.

Because no PMQ residents were interviewed as part of this research project, it is difficult to say how they felt about the redevelopment.

While sidelining opposition was not required at a public hearing, any alleys for opposition to the redevelopment was effectively limited due to the pre-public hearing processes, engagement with PMQ residents, the fact most military personal had already moved on and that CFB Chilliwack was not going to re-open.

So how does Garrison Crossing fit into this framework? Imperfectly, mostly because CLC is not a truly private actor but rather a government force effectively behaving in the same way with a clear goal of financial return.

Alternatively, this could signify that the literature on third-wave state-led gentrification is incomplete.

Multi-national developers were not involved in the project with all consultants and builders being Lower Mainland based businesses.

Suburban Gentrification

At this point, its clear the result of the Garrison Crossing project is a gentrified neighbourhood that fits into the third wave of gentrification in important ways – the strong role of the Crown corporation as both rent seeker and a facilitator, its location in suburbanization, limited community engagement pre-development, and various gentrification outcomes as previously discussed.

The last concept to review is the concept of suburban gentrification and the three approaches it takes: the neighbourhood cycle, megaproject and institutional approaches.

From a neighbourhood cycle perspective, it's already been noted that the dwellings in Garrison Crossing were fairly old and most likely reaching the end of their lifespan. While exact data is unavailable, the rent gap between what was being collected and what was possible with the land available was likely massive. From the perspective of the federal government, leaving the site as it was would have simply been untenable given the potential financial gains acquired by redevelopment.

The megaproject approach as described by Hudalah and Adharina (2019) concentrated mostly on large projects in India however there were some similarities to the Garrison Crossing redevelopment. The first is that local impacts resulting from the redevelopment, such as displacement or job loss, were deemed acceptable. Job losses at the local level in Chilliwack because of the base closure were not directly caused by the redevelopment but were necessary to facilitate it. As previously noted in the conceptual framework, Hudalah and Adharina (2019) also note suburban gentrification megaprojects consist of state-facilitated, privately built projects that typically displace existing residents. Garrison Crossing featured these traits as during the site improvement stages residents of the PMQ were forced to leave and private consultants and builders handled most of the sales and development operations.

The final approach is the institutional approach. This approach centers on the norms, interests and behaviours of government institutions and how they contribute to gentrification (Hudalah and Adharina 2019). Looking at government norms, it has already been discussed in this paper how the federal government shifted its priorities not only away from housing provision but also towards lowering government spendings across the board. Garrison Crossing would not exist if the federal government had not closed CFB Chilliwack and it would not have closed the base if it hadn't begun a larger philosophic shift towards neo-liberalism. Displacement occurred twice in this process. The first instance was indirectly associated

with gentrification as military members whose jobs were impacted by the base closure were forced to move when the base closed. However, the second wave of displacement was directly tied to and necessary to facilitate the redevelopment.

For government interest, CLC's mandate with the project was to secure the best possible financial return for the federal government (Canada Lands Company). It becomes clear that gentrifying, as in "the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users", becomes a clear path to achieving their mandate. As a space is made more attractive for more affluent users, which Garrison Crossing was through its architecture, amenities and urban fabric, real estate prices increase in kind.

Like third-wave gentrification, Garrison Crossing is an imperfect match with any one of the three approaches to suburban gentrification but does have features of all three. While the dwelling units in the PMQ were old, they still had some life (Canada Lands Company 2003). However, the state of the dwellings didn't matter considering the closure of the base and effective abandonment of the site by the federal government.

The megaproject approach in which governments work with private interest to build the project matches with the processes seen in Garrison Crossing. The first being that CLC was only a facilitator not a builder. They were more involved in the paperwork side of development leaving the

actual building to private construction companies. Secondly, it involved the large-scale displacement of residents.

For the institutional approach, understanding the policy shifts that were occurring at the federal level was necessary to understand why Garrison Crossing was developed the way it was. The shift into neoliberalism created the conditions necessary to facilitate Garrison Crossing and the mandate of CLC, whether purposefully or not, made gentrification the desirable outcome.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1. Concluding Statement

Garrison Crossing, while not completely fitting into the third wave of gentrification pervasive during the time when the redevelopment began, has numerous characteristics consistent with state-led gentrification efforts and gentrified neighbourhoods including higher incomes, upgraded amenities, higher educational levels and increased professional employment rates.

There are reasons to believe the project result was not accidental. Because CLC's mandate was simply to ensure the best possible financial return for the federal government, CLC was motivated to ensure their demand for higher real estate prices. While this mandate was made more complex by the secondary goal of creating unique spaces and ensuring the form of redevelopment was one the federal government and CLC could point to with pride, these two mandates worked in concert with each other effectively. By creating a desirable and unique space that people wanted to live in, CLC was able to demand higher prices for real estate within the development.

The development of Garrison Crossing is not just reflective of the market-based approaches to housing adopted by the federal government post-1995 but rather a successful attempt by the federal government to benefit from its own changing relationship. At first glance, it may seem

contradictory for a crown corporation to engage in housing development at the same time as the federal government was discontinuing investment in public housing. However, CLC was not interested in providing housing, they were interested in generating capital for the federal government and, in the case of Garrison Crossing, housing development for a more affluent clientele was the means to that end.

While the demographic result of Garrison Crossing is not a reflection of the ideal mixed neighbourhood, the redevelopment is not without its merits. It provides an important space in a suburban city like Chilliwack that is not used to mixed use developments of this kind. In addition, the quality of the urban design is indisputable, it's an attractive, pleasant space to spend time in whether at a park, the commercial spaces or just meandering through the area.

I believe that had better allowances for existing residents to return or some level of non-market housing requirements had been in place during the development, CLC could have had the legacy project they aimed for while also limiting the negative impacts of displacement for the existing PMQ residents.

9.2. Reflections

Overall, I believe my methodology is relatively successful in measuring whether the redevelopment of Garrison Crossing resulted in gentrification.

However, the methodology is not as balanced as I had originally envisioned it would be.

The metric section was the most robust and by far the largest source of evidence for the study while the review of the Garrison Crossing Neighbourhood Plan and the interviews were principally used as secondary sources of information. This is not to say the plan review and interviews were not valuable as they both provided important background information on the motivations of CLC, they just were not as insightful as I originally imagined. This could also have been a problem with the interview process itself. Not having access to CLC representatives or former and current residents may also have limited the usefulness of the interview process as well.

Similar research into other early CLC redevelopment projects including Garrison Woods in Calgary would be beneficial as it would determine whether Garrison Crossing was a one-off as far as its socio-economic make up.

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