

Gentrification, renters and resistance in Metrotown

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the effects of “S” zoning in the Metrotown Town Centre of Burnaby, specifically the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. The introduction of “S”- zoning by the City of Burnaby in 2010 led to a period of rapid capital investment in the predominantly rental neighbourhood of Maywood/Central Park East. Subsequent rental unit loss led to renter organization and resistance. This thesis utilizes a mixed methods approach to examine the effects of “S” zoning through the use of statistical data as well as 15 interviews with neighbourhood residents and community activists. The findings of this thesis indicate that the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood experienced the majority of rental unit loss in the City of Burnaby between 2010 and 2022. Furthermore, subsequent improvements to renter protections have not slowed the pace of capital investment. This thesis identifies areas of further research and consideration for municipalities undergoing rapid development.

Keywords: transit-oriented development; Burnaby; gentrification and displacement; class monopoly rent; zoning; SkyTrain

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the courageous citizens and activists of Metrotown who refused to become a footnote in the history of Burnaby, and who through collective action improved their own material conditions, and the material conditions of those who will follow them.

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I am grateful to participate in a community of learning on the traditional, unceded territories of the səłilwətaʔt (Tseil-Waututh), kwikwəłəm (Kwikwetlem), Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish) and xʷməθkʷəyəm (Musqueam) Nations who have lived here since time immemorial.

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List of Acronyms

AAD	Alliance Against Displacement
ACORN	Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
BCA	Burnaby Citizen's Association
BIP	Business Investor Program
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CT	Census Tract
FAR	Floor-to-Area-Ratio
GVRD	Greater Vancouver Regional District
HNWI	High Net Worth Individual
LICO-AT	Low-Income Cut Off, After Tax
LRT	Light Rapid Transit
MRA	Metrotown Residents Association
NDP	New Democratic Party
RM	Multiple Family Residential District
RUZP	Rental Use Zoning Policy
SFH	Single Family Home
TAP	Tenant Assistance Program
TOA	Transit-Oriented Area
TOD	Transit-Oriented development

Glossary

“S” zoning	A zoning density bonus introduced by the City of Burnaby in 2010 which granted developers an increased Floor to Area Ratio in exchange for provision of a community amenity or cash in lieu within a designated Town Centre.
Capital Lacunae	The monetary vacuum or lacuna created when properties are re-zoned to a higher density.
Class Monopoly Rent	A term introduced by David Harvey which describes the class interest shared by property owners.
Community Benefit Bonus Reserve	A fund maintained by the City of Burnaby comprised of cash contributions paid by developers in exchange for increased density approval.
Demoviction	The practice of evicting tenants from a building so that it can be demolished, usually for redevelopment (Zell & McCullough, 2020).
Displacement	A situation in which incumbent residents have fewer options within, are forced out of, or cannot move into neighbourhoods (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019, p. 48).
Floor to Area Ratio (FAR)	The ratio of a building’s total gross floor area to the size of the building lot. The higher the ratio, the higher the density permitted and thus the higher the potential value of the lot.
Gentrification	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” (Clarke, 2005, p. 263).
Grube-Cavers	A measure of gentrification that uses the following indicators: average monthly rent, proportion of people in professional occupations, percentage of owner occupied buildings, average family income and the number of degrees per capita.
Multiple Family Residential District (RM)	The zoning label used in Burnaby to designate the amount of housing density permitted in a particular neighbourhood.
Renoviction	The eviction of tenants resulting from a renovation of their apartment or building (Zell & McCullough, 2020).
Steinmetz-Wood	A measure of gentrification that uses the following indicators: proportion of adults aged 30-44, proportion of low-income households, average monthly rent,

percentage of owner occupied buildings, average family income and the number of degrees per capita.

Stop Demovictions
Burnaby Campaign

A grassroots campaign made up of community activists opposed to gentrification and displacement in Burnaby.

Town Centre

Four areas of heightened housing and amenity density within the City of Burnaby.

Transit-Oriented Area
(TOA)

In British Columbia, areas within an 800m radius of SkyTrain stations and bus hubs zoned for higher housing density.

Transit-Oriented
Development (TOD)

A system of urban planning that emphasizes mixed-use, multi-story, dense housing projects situated around transit hubs.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The Metrotown area of the City of Burnaby has experienced a period of rapid growth and change between 2010 and 2022. A shift in municipal zoning laws in 2010 in concert with adherence to long-term city and regional plans have led to the demolition of many older residential apartment buildings and commercial properties and their replacement with towers of condominiums. Since 1977, the area has been envisioned as the natural downtown of Burnaby and as such is home to various civic amenities such as shopping, parks, recreational facilities, and easy access to the SkyTrain system (City of Burnaby, 1977, 2017a). From the 1960s to present day, the housing types in the area have included many three-story, walk-up apartment buildings whose rent was affordable in comparison to regional averages. These rental units, located in the Central Park East and Maywood neighbourhoods, were home to many newcomers and lower income residents (Jones & Ley, 2016). However, the long-term plan for the area has always involved the eventual retirement of these apartment units and their replacement with high rises (City of Burnaby, 1977). The rapid change that the area has experienced between 2010 and 2022 has resulted in a disproportionately large loss of rental units, acts of civil disobedience by residents afraid of losing their homes and the implementation of new comprehensive renter protections by the City of Burnaby after the establishment of a rental task force by a newly elected mayor and council (City of Burnaby, 2019).

The change in the area is the result of a myriad of variables converging simultaneously. First, since 1976, the Central Park/Metrotown area has been designated a Regional Town Centre by the Greater Vancouver Regional District Board (Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) (Metro Vancouver, 1976). Second, since 1977 the City of Burnaby's long-term planning for the area has imagined a dense, urban transit-oriented downtown core (City of Burnaby, 1977). Third, in accordance with regional and municipal long-term planning the City of Burnaby implemented spot zoning in 2010 and then effectively up zoned the entire area in 2017 (City of Burnaby, 2010, 2017b). Finally, the older apartment buildings in the area are reaching the end of their service lives. In essence, regional and municipal long-range plans converged with aging rental housing

stock and a development-friendly city council to bring about rapid densification to the area. This densification has largely taken the form of luxury condominiums, which have replaced older, three-story rental buildings.

The City of Burnaby has large swathes of single-family home (SFH) neighbourhoods interspersed with islands of density. Burnaby has designated four “Town Centres” in each of its four quadrants for extensive development and densification under the official city plan (City of Burnaby, 2014). These areas are often home to older low-rise apartment buildings predominantly inhabited by renters. The exclusionary zoning policies of the City of Burnaby, in which single family homes can only be replaced by single family homes, have created an environment of artificially induced housing scarcity. Density and development can only move forward in areas designated by the city. When a city increases the allowable density of an area (as the City of Burnaby did with “S” zoning in 2010) this creates a favourable environment for investment capital to flow into that area (City of Burnaby, 2010). The “opening of floodgates” is a metaphor that has emerged on more than one occasion over the course of researching this thesis. With the discretionary powers of zoning at their disposal, Burnaby City Council created a hospitable locale for investment capital to agglomerate. The catalyst of a zoning change combined with existing municipal and regional planning policies on Transit-Oriented-Development (TOD) to drastically change the form and demographics of the Maywood/Central Park East neighborhoods (City of Burnaby 2010, 2014, 2017a).

The dominant form of urban design at present is characterized by sprawl and hypermobility and informed by the sociological underpinnings of automobility (Schiller and Kenworthy, 2017; Urry, 2004). Transit-Oriented-Development (TOD), along with “smart growth” and “new urbanism” emerged as a response to sprawl and hypermobility (Schiller & Kenworthy 2017). TOD emphasizes mixed-use, multi-story, dense housing projects situated around transit hubs. TOD has been presented as one possible solution for many of the issues facing cities that have been designed around the automobile. These issues include but are not limited to traffic congestion, urban sprawl, greenhouse gas emissions, car collisions, and pedestrian fatalities (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; ITDB, 2017; Tumlin, 2012). Proponents of TOD envision population centers clustered around transit hubs with public transit existing as the primary mobility modality with ample infrastructure devoted to walking and biking. TOD as a planning paradigm attempts to address many of the issues caused by the automobility/hypermobility style of

urban design. By empathizing dense, walkable neighbourhoods and reducing sprawl, TOD creates urban environments that are better for people, better for the biosphere and more pleasing to the senses (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; ITDB, 2017).

This thesis will proceed with the normative stance that TOD in general is a net benefit to humanity and that housing is a human right. However, TOD does not exist within a theoretical vacuum; it is practiced within a global economic system. The logic and internal processes of the dominant economic system and the local context dictate how TOD unfolds on the ground (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Rayle, 2015).

Metro Vancouver exists at a nexus of global capital streams and the flow of capital into the region has shaped the urban environment substantively over the past thirty years (Ley, 2017). These capital flows are powerful, yet amoral. They are amoral in the sense that capital, and subsequently the development, follows the path of least resistance in search of the highest return on investment. If a municipality creates a favourable environment for developers, capital is likely to flow into an area (Ley, 2017). The transformation of rental housing into investment vehicles has resulted in many negative outcomes in Metro Vancouver while simultaneously generating considerable wealth for investors. The cost of housing has increased substantively over the past twenty years and in many neighbourhoods the internal logic of neoliberalism has led to the loss of rental units (Gordon, 2020; Jones, 2020; Kalman-Lamb, 2017; Ley & Jones, 2016). These phenomena may have been slower to reach the City of Burnaby, but the city introduced a series of planning policy changes which opened the “floodgates” of capital (Jones & Ley, 2016).

In 2010, Burnaby introduced “S”-zoning or the “Supplementary Community Benefit Bonus Density Policy”, a density bonus for developers who were willing to make additional community amenity contributions or cash payments in lieu. (City of Burnaby, 2010). This policy was an amendment to an existing policy, the Community Benefit Bonus, that has existed since 1997 (City of Burnaby, 1997).

The “S” zoning bonus was limited to the four designated “Town Centres”. One of the centres, Metrotown, has a large concentration of older rental housing in the form of older 3 story walk-ups. As the city gradually allowed spot rezonings and finally rezoned the entire area in 2017, the sites of these older rental buildings became exponentially

more valuable as the sites of future condo towers (City of Burnaby, 2017; Foth, 2010; Smith & Gihring, 2006). The invariable logic of gentrification meant that hundreds of rental units were lost as older, cheaper rentals gave way to new high rises full of condominiums, some of which may exist purely as speculative instruments (Dorfmann, 2015; Gordon, 2020; Moos and Skaburskis, 2010). It has been suggested that as older buildings were demolished, inhabitants of the neighbourhood may have experienced displacement, possibly further away from the SkyTrain and thus transit accessibility. Initially, there was no plan in place to protect the homes of renters (Jones and Ley 2016). Moreover, working class renters are more likely to be dependent upon public transit systems than more affluent residents (Rayle, 2015).

The cost of housing and access to housing has become one of the essential problems of Canadian cities the early 21st century. Canadian urban centres have experienced rapid increases in housing costs, combined with restrictive zoning and lack of investment in forms of non-market housing. These aggravating factors have led to shortages in affordable housing (Kalman-Lamb, 2017; Macdonald & Tranjan, 2023). This crisis is overshadowed by the existential crisis that is climate change (International Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2018). Even as cities guided by TOD principles seek to ameliorate some aspects of climate change by building better cities and reducing automobile dependency, they may be exacerbating inequitable tendencies within the housing market. In the absence of purposeful regulation, market forces may displace lower-income renters and entire communities (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Dawkins and Moeckel, 2016; Devries, 2016).

The study of TOD and displacement in the Metrotown area can make a valuable contribution to the literature as planners and councils seek to circumvent some of the inherent contradictions and inequitable outcomes of the housing market.

1.2. Research Question

The regional and municipal long-range plans for Metrotown are broadly informed by the tenets of Transit-oriented development (TOD), a system of urban design principles which emphasizes mixed-income equitable urban communities (City of Burnaby, 2017; GRVD, 2020; ITDB, 2017). However, the adoption of TOD principles at the regional and municipal level may inadvertently initiate or exacerbate tendencies

towards gentrification and displacement at the neighbourhood level (Foth, 2010; Padeiro et al, 2019). In order to examine this phenomenon in the Metrotown context I have posed the research question:

How did the introduction of “S” zoning inform the experiences of the inhabitants of the Metrotown/Central Park East neighbourhoods of Burnaby between 2010 and 2022?

The main research question has been divided into two additional sub-questions:

- 1) *How does the data available through the City of Burnaby, Statistics Canada and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation describe the changes to housing and resident demographics in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood following the introduction of “S” zoning?*
- 2) *What were the housing and community experiences of residents of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood following the introduction of “S” zoning?*

The findings addressing the first sub-question are found in Chapter 4, while the findings addressing the second sub-question are found in Chapter 5.

1.3. Background

The Maywood and Central Park East neighbourhoods are residential communities located in the south of the City of Burnaby, which is part of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, in the Lower Mainland of the province of British Columbia, Canada. These neighbourhoods are located on the traditional, unceded territories of the səliilwətaʔt (Tsleil-Waututh), kwikwəłəm (Kwikwetlem), Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish) and xʷməθkʷəyəm (Musqueam) Nations who have lived there since time immemorial.

As settlers from all over the world began to populate the area, forests gave way to agricultural communities and in 1891, Burnaby was incorporated as a town. Even prior to the incorporation of Burnaby in 1891, the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company began building an interurban rail line connecting Vancouver and New Westminster. The Central Park Line, as it was eventually called, would at 23 km in

length eventually become Canada's longest rail transit line, and ran through the area that would eventually become the Maywood and Central Park East neighbourhoods (Mackie, 2021). The interurban rail lines served the growing metropolitan area until the post- WWII shift towards highways and personal automobiles struck a death knell for the interurban tram lines in 1955. The land the former lines occupied stayed in the hands of the entity that would become the BC Hydro and Power Company and this tract would eventually become the SkyTrain Expo Line.

As the city of Burnaby grew in size and population, professionals in the relatively new field of urban planning sought to limit sprawl and untrammled growth. The city formulated long term plans informed by the notion of designated urban cores. One of these cores, Metrotown, was the subject of its own distinct vision laid out in the 1977 Metrotown Plan produced by the City of Burnaby. The Metrotown Plan identified the current neighbourhoods and future plans for the area. These plans included a dense urban core with shopping and amenities located close to BC Hydro land which would eventually house the Expo Line. The Maywood neighbourhood is described in the plan as follows: "The low-rise apartment concentration in this area offers a relatively economical form of accommodation to its occupants as well as providing a substantial population base to help support the commercial and entertainment facilities envisaged for the Metrotown centre." and "The portion of this area will slowly redevelop from low-rise apartments to higher density RM4 and RM5 type apartments. Central Park East is also identified as an area of future development potential due to its proximity to the future LRT (City of Burnaby, 1977, p. 36). Furthermore, the eventual Expo line is predicted as follows:

Ideally, what is required is an efficient system of mass movement into and out of Metrotown. The GVRD, in considering regional movement solutions, shares this sentiment and has proposed a Light Rapid Transit (LRT) System to serve the region. While the details and timing of the system are not clear, it has been proposed that the LRT alignment will ultimately traverse the Metrotown site within the existing BC Hydro right of way. In the planning of this service, it is imperative that the transit stations within Metrotown be conveniently sited with due recognition to the locations of various land uses and areas of high activity.

Ergo, the identification of areas of development were identified by Burnaby city planners in the 1977 plan. The long-term planning for the Metrotown region envisioned denser neighbourhoods zoned to RM4 or RM5, clustered around an LRT line to be built

upon the former interurban tramway lines which had ceased operation in 1958 (Pabillano, 2009).

This long-term vision came at least partially to fruition in 1986 with the construction of the SkyTrain Expo line. Notably, the transit adjacent neighbourhoods did not experience rapid development at this time. In particular, the low-rise apartment buildings in Maywood were not torn down and replaced with denser forms despite the advent of the SkyTrain.

In 2011, the city of Burnaby introduced “S”- zoning, a developmental policy framework that allowed developers an increased density bonus in exchange for contributing to a Community Benefit Bonus Reserve. Between 2016 and 2022 overall contributions to the Community Benefit Bonus Reserve totalled \$966,601,114 CAD (City of Burnaby, 2022, 2020a, 2018). The contribution for 2022 was \$250,677,570 CAD and made up 25.34% of city revenue (City of Burnaby, 2022). The City of Burnaby does not provide a public accounting of how much “S” zoning contributes to the Community Benefit Bonus Reserve.

The combination of aging rental stock, long range planning at the city level emphasizing density along the SkyTrain corridor and a need for new housing led to an increase in redevelopment applications in Maywood and Central Park East. Between the inception of “S” zoning in 2011 and Dec 2019 when new renter protections were introduced, 1476 rental units were demolished or scheduled for demolition in Maywood/Central Park East according to Burnaby Public Hearing minutes (City of Burnaby, n.d.).

The inhabitants of the Maywood and Central Park East neighbourhoods, concerned about the loss of rental units and the rapid pace of development, began to organize with assistance of groups like ACORN BC, Alliance Against Displacement (AAD) and the Metrotown Residents Association (MRA), who combined to work on the Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign (Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign, 2016). These groups will be described in greater detail in Section 5.6. Activist work involved distributing pamphlets, phone campaigns, mainstreeting, speaking at public hearing at city hall, letter-writing and eventually escalated to the occupation of buildings slated for demolition and disruption of city hall hearings. The issue became a central issue in the

Burnaby municipal election of 2018 and may have contributed to the defeat of the long-serving mayor, Derek Corrigan (Jones, 2022). The incoming mayor of Burnaby, Mike Hurley, who had campaigned on housing affordability, convened a task force comprised of city councillors, developers, renters and activists with a mandate to provide policy recommendations to council. In July 2019, the task force submitted a final report of 18 recommendations, all of which were adopted by council (Burnaby, 2019) The adoption and implementation of these recommendations has led to the development of a comprehensive system of renter protections in Burnaby; the updated Tenant Assistance Policy (TAP) and the Rental Use Zoning Policy (RUZP) (City of Burnaby 2019, 2020b).

Nominally, the organizing efforts of the residents of Maywood and Central Park East were successful, as Burnaby now has a comparatively robust framework of renter protections. (Vancouver Tenants Union, n.d.). Furthermore, these new regulations have not slowed the pace of development as an additional 752 rental units have been slated for demolition as 20 redevelopment applications have been submitted to the city of Burnaby between December 2019 and December 2022 (City of Burnaby, n.d.). This would seem to indicate that the additional measures designed to better protect renters are not an insurmountable barrier to investment.

Interview respondents who were eligible for, and took advantage of, the Tenant Assistance Policy have indicated that they are mostly satisfied with their experiences under the new renter protections. Ultimately, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate the effectiveness of the new renter protections in Burnaby. Moreover, the new policies are simply too recent at the time of writing to be able to evaluate their longitudinal effectiveness.

This chapter has provided contextual background for the chapters that will follow. The next chapter will describe the conceptual framework that will undergird the thesis. This framework will examine capitalization of the urban environment, drawing heavily upon the work of David Harvey; displacement and gentrification as unintended consequences of Transit-Oriented-Development; and finally, the lived experiences of people who have experienced gentrification and displacement. Chapter 3 will outline the methods used in this thesis. Chapter 4 will examine the data compiled on the area of study by the City of Burnaby, the Canada Mortgage Housing Corporation and Statistics Canada. Chapter 5 will explore the testimonies of current and past residents of the

Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhoods and explore the political context surrounding their experiences. Chapter 6 will conclude and make recommendations for future policy and research.

Chapter 2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Overview

I have identified and expanded on the three bodies of research that have informed my research. First, my thesis is informed by a Marxist critique of the global financialization of urban spaces. Essentially, capitalism always eventually enters a crisis phase of over-accumulation. To forestall the crisis, the surplus capital must be invested into the built environment in to continue to generate a surplus (Harvey, 1973). In Metro Vancouver this has taken the form of financialization of the housing supply. Housing has become an investment vehicle rather than a place for people to actually live (Foth, 2010). Local housing costs and incomes have decoupled completely as global capital has poured into the region since Expo 86. This change in the local housing market is the result of all three levels of government creating a favourable environment for investment (Gordon, 2020; Ley, 2017). As investment has moved into areas that have previously experienced under-investment, such as the lower-income rental corridor along the Expo SkyTrain line, gentrification has occurred (Foth, 2010; Jones & Ley, 2016). This literature is relevant to the research question because this convergence of factors has led to the loss of rental units in the Central Park East/Maywood neighbourhoods in the Metrotown area in the City of Burnaby. The data demonstrating the quantifiable change in the area of study will be examined in Chapter 4. Essentially, the area is an observable example of the larger macroeconomic trends.

The second body of research examined is the intersection between TOD and gentrification and displacement. Researchers have written extensively about this topic. To date, there does not appear to be direct causal relationship between TOD and gentrification. Rather, gentrification and displacement may occur when certain conditions are met. These conditions are proximity to transit lines, local zoning favourable to density, local planning initiatives emphasizing density, and areas of housing which have experienced divestment and are thus ripe for investment i.e., capital accumulation in the built environment (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Padeiro et al, 2019; Rayle, 2015). To be clear, TOD is vastly preferable to urban sprawl/automobility that has characterised so much of urban design in North America since the Second World War. The automobile suburb is neither environmentally sustainable nor hospitable to civic life (Urry, 2004;

Scheller and Urry, 2000). However, gentrification and displacement may be an unintended consequence of TOD. Renters and lower-income residents of neighbourhoods can often become “collateral damage”. This phenomenon has already been noted in Metro Vancouver (DeVries, 2016; Foth, 2010), Burnaby (Jones & Ley 2016) and Coquitlam (Jones, 2022). My thesis has attempted to build upon the work already done by scholars on this topic within a local context.

The third body of literature that informs my thesis is the lived experiences of those who have either experienced gentrification and displacement first-hand or those who live with the ever-present threat of displacement looming over their lives. The lived experiences of people subjected to gentrification and displacement are an important component in understanding the phenomenon. In taking a purely quantitative approach, human distress and suffering are not captured. Moreover, quantitative analysis will not convey subtleties such as people who might have left the Lower Mainland entirely or people who experience hidden homelessness by living with friends or relatives (Newman & Wyley, 2006).

Qualitative analysis allows the exploration of gentrification and displacement through the eyes of those who are experiencing it. The lived experiences of the displaced can provide a window into complex feelings of place-loss that can occur as people are forced to leave their homes (Atkinson, 2015). This body of literature is applicable to this thesis and fills a gap in chronicling the stories of those who have been displaced or may yet be displaced from the Metrotown area.

2.2. Urban Capital Accumulation

The first body of literature which informs this thesis is the disruptive effects of global capital flows into Metro Vancouver in general, and the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood of Burnaby specifically. Put succinctly; the last two bodies, TOD gentrification and lived experiences are the effect or the “what” of the observable phenomenon, whereas urban capital accumulation represents the “why” or the cause. It has been suggested that the need for capital to be reinvested into the built environment is ultimately the catalyst for all gentrification and displacement (Harvey, 1973; Smith, 2006).

A convergence of conditions has made Metro Vancouver a destination of choice for global capital (Gordon, 2020; Kalman-Lamb, 2017; Ley, 2017; Moos & Skaburskis, 2010; Stein, 2019). First, the federal and provincial governments, facing economic recession in the early 1980s, courted global capital with the use of the Business Investor Program (BIP). The program had existed since 1978, but in 1986 it was adjusted with the addition of the investor stream. Under this stream, High Net Worth Individuals (HNWIs) would loan funds to a provincial government for a period of 5 years in exchange for citizenship. Vancouver was the most popular destination, initially by Hong Kong HNWIs fearful of the Chinese-Hong Kong reunification until the late 1990's and later dominated by HNWIs from Mainland China. Although investment in real estate was not a requirement of the program, real estate is a preferred asset of HNWIs (Ley 2017). Second, large-scale public transit systems were established in advance of Expo 86 and the 2010 Winter Olympics. The transit corridors, along with regional planning initiatives that emphasized density in accordance with TOD principles, created favourable investment opportunities (Foth, 2010; Jones & Ley, 2016). Vancouver's global-city aspirations led to three distinct periods of significant investment in transit infrastructure. The first was the construction of the Expo line from 1983-85, the second was the Millennium Line from 1999 to 2001 (Perl et al, 2020). The final major project was the construction of the Canada Line in advance of the 2010 Winter Olympics. Vancouver has invested more money into transit infrastructure than automobility throughout its history making it unique among North American cities. Furthermore, in addition to the developmental transit corridors identified by Foth, Jones and Ley, considerable urban development continues to occur beyond the limits of the existing transit system (Perl et al, 2020). Essentially, Vancouver's transit mega-projects have created corridors for potential capital investment. That investment has not followed automatically, but rather emerges later once other conditions are in place. In the case of Maywood/Central Park East, the development of the Expo Line in 1987 did not immediately lead to development and displacement. It took nearly 30 years, along with changes to local zoning as well as a period of global investment in the built form, for the confluence of factors that would lead to gentrification and displacement in Maywood/Central Park East.

Through an examination of the synthesis of TOD displacement and capital accumulation in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood I have attempted to

partially fill an existing gap in the literature identified by Revington (2015, p. 159)

According to Revington:

Our understanding of the social equity impacts of transportation systems is not complete without considering the ways in which land use changes – including gentrification – brought about by the transportation system affect social equity. Likewise, our understanding of how changes in the transportation system – which alter accessibility and mobility across the urban system – play into the gentrification process remains incomplete. Such an endeavor requires moving beyond the neoclassical economic framework that dominates the transportation and land use literature. The small body of work that does engage with the conjectured relationship between transit and gentrification remains rooted primarily within this perspective, ignoring conceptualizations of gentrification as a manifestation of class struggle. Likewise, the mobilities literature has not given adequate attention to the links between capital and gentrification.

Essentially, as global capital seeks places to invest, locales that enable rapid densification by enacting favourable zoning laws may be subject to injections of global capital which may have a destabilizing effect. This phenomena has occurred and continues to occur globally, in locales as diverse as Harlem, Brooklyn, Mumbai and Seoul (Harvey, 2012; Smith, 2006). Structures are demolished and replaced because capital must be reinvested, and the built environment is an attractive vehicle for investment capital. Areas that have previously experienced periods of disinvestment, such as the Maywood neighbourhood in Burnaby, are vulnerable to “creative destruction” as massive amounts of investment capital reshape the topography of the area. Anderson (2014, p. 21) suggests a re-examination of Marxist rent theories as tools of analysis with which to study gentrification and displacement. Anderson writes:

I suggest that revived interest in Marxian rent theory, in general, and class monopoly rent, in particular, represents a potentially fruitful point of departure toward building our knowledge of the functioning and evolving character of the contemporary neo-liberal city. And as the pursuit of class monopoly rent – emboldened by the neoliberal ethos – also (re)produces spaces of urban poverty and invariably drives capitalist economies into crisis, a deeper examination of this concept could also be mobilized toward undermining neoliberal hegemony by revealing the ways in which this ideological system necessarily exacerbates the very problems it denigrates and seeks to resolve – at least rhetorically.

Harvey (1974) introduced “class monopoly rent” as a useful concept with which to examine the process of capital accumulation within the neoliberal context. Essentially, property owners, and by extension real estate developers, landlords and financial

institutions belong to a class which can exercise monopoly power over its shared means of capital accumulation. Although these actors may be in competition with each other on an individual level, on a macro level they are united by their collective motivation to exert monopoly power over their productive assets. Harvey (1974, p.241) writes:

Class-monopoly rents arise because there exists a class of owners of "resource units"--the land and the relatively permanent improvements incorporated in it--who are willing to release the units under their command only if they receive a positive return above some arbitrary level (Marx, 1967 edn., Chapter 45). As a class these owners have the power always to achieve some minimum rate of return. The key concept here is *class power*.

"Monopoly" in this sense refers to the ability to the property-owning class to collectively act to maximize the return on their investment (Anderson, 2014; Harvey, 1982). "Rent" here is used in the classical sense of the ability to generate wealth by way of ownership of a performing asset. I suggest that in our current milieu, a gulf separates those who own even a modest condo, which hypothetically will increase in value over time, and those who must pay rent, earned by selling their labour. As described by Wylie et al (2012, p. 253):

Owners enjoy a collective power in the marketplace by virtue of the fact that they are not renters. Owners' rights are codified in law and backed up by state protection, and, if necessary, armed police force: owners' protection is by no means absolute or unconditional, but it is much more than the security given to renters.

The decoupling of the housing markets from incomes along with the financialization of housing has intensified the divisions between owners and renters (Gordon, 2020; Kalman-Lamb, 2017). Thus, the humblest of property owner has more in common with gargantuan international investment firms than with the tenant class. As neighbourhoods and communities are transformed by the "creative destruction" of the market, the displacement of vulnerable members of the renting class often becomes a seemingly inescapable reality.

In Central Park East and Maywood this phenomenon may be observed in the replacement of rental units with condos and commercial properties. I have attempted to demonstrate this transformation utilizing CMHC and Canadian Census of Population data charting changing housing costs, housing types and incomes in the Central Park East/Maywood area in a later section. Ostensibly, the people who are moving into the

neighbourhood occupy an entirely different income bracket than those who are being pushed out, given the average cost of a new condo unit in the area. Therefore, once individuals are property owners, they have a common class interest in the appreciation of their assets. The previous, renting inhabitants would have a class interest in rents staying low. The neighbourhood has historically experienced divestment and neglect as building owners, knowing that lucrative sales were on the horizon, have only performed essential maintenance (Jones & Ley, 2016).

As Harvey (2012, p.23), explains, capitalists are driven by the coercive laws of competition to re-invest surplus value.

Let us look more closely at what capitalists do. They begin the day with a certain amount of money and end the day with more of it (as profit). The next day they have to decide what to do with the surplus money they gained the day before. They face a Faustian dilemma: reinvest to get even more money or consume their surplus away in pleasures. The coercive laws of competition force them to reinvest, because if one does not reinvest then another surely will. For a capitalist to remain a capitalist, some surplus must be reinvested to make even more surplus.

Furthermore, according to Harvey (1982, p.251), the built environment or urban sphere has evolved under capitalism to absorb surplus value as a means of generating profit via accumulation/property appreciation.

The formation of land and property markets has an extremely important impact upon the circulation of capital through the built environment in general. A rate of return on money capital can be had by investing in old property as well as in the production of new. Idle money capital can just as easily be lent out as property as it can in money form. Since a part of the use value of a property depends upon its relative location, money capitalists can even invest in the land and in the future rent it can command. Since rent is regarded as a portion of surplus value appropriated by landowners, money capital is now being invested in appropriation rather than in production. As a theoretical proposition this appears quite irrational. The material relevance is, however, that all aspects of production and use of the built environment are brought within the orbit of the circulation of capital. If things were not so, then capital could not establish itself (replete with all its contradictions) in the physical landscape in a manner generally supportive of accumulation – the built environment that capital requires for production, exchange and consumption could not be influenced in the interests of capital.

Urbanization has become inextricably intertwined with capital accumulation. Harvey has described this as “capital switching”. Harvey argues that in times of capitalist

accumulation crises (which invariably occur) capital can be diverted into the built environment as a way of ameliorating the worst effects of economic downturn (Harvey, 1978). Due to the length, size and scope of urban developments, the financial sector and the state are involved in the process of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1978, p.203).

Harvey writes:

A general condition for the flow of capital into the secondary circuit is, therefore, the existence of a functioning capital market and, perhaps, a state willing to finance and guarantee long-term, large-scale projects with respect to the creation of the built environment. At times of overaccumulation, a switch of flows from the primary to the secondary circuit can be accomplished only if the various manifestations of overaccumulation can be transformed into money capital which can move freely and unhindered into these forms of investment. This switch of resources cannot be accomplished without a money supply and credit system which creates "fictional capital" in advance of actual production and consumption. This applies as much to the consumption fund (hence the importance of consumer credit, housing mortgages, municipal debt) as it does to fixed capital.

Essentially, the financialization of the urban sphere functions as a "hedge" against economic downturns. The notion of Metro Vancouver operating as a "hedge city" has been posited by Andy Yan (Dorfmann, 2015). In Metro Vancouver, the hedge city dynamic has occurred via capital flight from China as HNWI seek to protect their assets from a possible crackdown by the Chinese state by investing in real estate. Furthermore, wealthy Chinese HNWIs may ensconce their families in Metro Vancouver while continuing to work in China. Thus, real estate serves two functions for HNWIs; a speculative investment as well as housing for their families as they establish themselves in Canada. (Dorfmann, 2015; Gordon, 2020).

Indeed, if one were to take a macro level view of the Canadian economy, one would see an economy based in large part upon the over-accumulation of capital into the built environment (Kalman-Lamb, 2017; Walks, 2013). This tendency to "hedge" within the urban environment may be explained by sclerotic growth and deindustrialization in the rest of the global economy (Benanav, 2020, 2023).

In Burnaby these forces are observable as high-rises and commercial projects replace the aging rental housing stock in the Central Park East/Maywood area. The system of international capital flows, much like nature, abhor a vacuum. In other words, locales that create the right conditions for investment, through bylaws, zoning, or other

means, attract capital accumulation in the built environment. Metro Vancouver and Maywood in particular, may possess characteristics that have rendered capital accumulation a foregone conclusion. These characteristics are favourable local zoning conditions in the form of the “S” zoning density bonus; municipal and regional plans emphasizing density around existing transit lines and until 2018, a mayor and council following existing municipal and regional longitudinal plans (City of Burnaby, 2017; GRVD, 2020).

This process of capital accumulation in the built environment has, despite the implementation of disincentives in the form of taxation, continued unabated to the present (Gordon, 2020; Kalman-Lamb, 2017). The imposition of taxes on foreign purchases of housing does not address purchases by proxy or opaque business organizations designed to circumvent regulation nor are currently taxation levels high enough to discourage investment (Gordon, 2020). The Central Park East/Maywood area, given its proximity to the SkyTrain and other amenities became a likely repository of global capital due to zoning bylaw changes within the City of Burnaby (DeVries, 2016; Foth, 2010; Jones & Ley, 2016; Jones, 2020).

To conclude, capital must be reinvested to generate a surplus, as other areas of the economy experience slowdown, capital can be switched into the built environment. Municipalities that make themselves amenable to investment through zoning, such as the City of Burnaby, experience development in areas of previous disinvestment, such as the Central Park East/Maywood area. As these areas gentrify and the demographics shift from renters to owners/investors, renters and lower-income residents may be displaced to locales further away from transit and other amenities.

2.3. TOD Gentrification/Displacement

Transit-Oriented-Development (TOD) has evolved to be the modern city’s answer to unchecked sprawl and the myriad deficiencies of the automobile suburb. A hallmark of the New Urbanism, TOD has become the antithesis of the rampant automobility and hypermobility of the 20th and 21st century (Rayle 2015). At its essence, TOD envisions dense communities, businesses, and amenities within walking or biking distance of train stations. The ideal is mixed-use, mixed income neighbourhoods with equitable access to rapid transit (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy[ITDP], 2022). TOD

principles constitute workable, functional solutions to the myriad issues facing cities and their inhabitants. Properly implemented, the guiding principles of TOD have the potential to reimagine and rebuild cities in a manner which emphasizes beauty, equity, walkability, and the environment. Given that TOD has become a popular aspirational planning philosophy in response to sprawl and automobility according to Chapple and Loukaitou-Sideris (2019), it is crucial to explore the contradictions which emerge as circumstances unfold under the aegis of the “real-estate state” (Stein 2020). The policies and ideals of TOD are present in Metrotown in part because the long-range plan for the area had always envisioned an eventual rail system and increased density (City of Burnaby 1977). Furthermore, the current regional and municipal plans emphasize increased density clustered around the SkyTrain lines (City of Burnaby, 2017; GVRD, 2020). Underscoring my research is an examination of the essential contradiction of TOD gentrification and displacement. Namely, that the people pushed away from transit may be those most likely to be dependent on it (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris 2019; Foth, 2010). Expressed in a different way: for the new inhabitants of older transit adjacent neighbourhoods experiencing development, transit may be a “nice-to-have” rather than a “need-to-have”.

As interest in TOD has become more prevalent, researchers have observed that under certain conditions TOD may result in the displacement of residents as the natural logic of the capitalist housing market comes to fruition. These conditions may include local zoning or taxation frameworks, and/or proximity to existing amenities such as parks and recreational facilities and pockets of urban disinvestment. Cities where this phenomenon has been studied include San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Minneapolis, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Padeiro et al, 2019; Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Rayle, 2015). Displacement is defined as “a situation in which incumbent residents have fewer options within, are forced out of, or cannot move into neighbourhoods” (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019, p. 48). I suggest that this definition applies to the renters of the Central Park East/Maywood neighbourhood. Gentrification is defined as “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” (Clarke, 2005, p. 263). I would suggest that this definition of gentrification best fits with my first theme of capital accumulation in the built form.

A finding which is relevant to the research question (one which is correlated across the TOD gentrification literature) is the lack of a direct causal relationship between TOD initiatives and displacement/gentrification (Padeiro et al, 2019; Rayle, 2015). TOD gentrification tends to occur only within a specific contextual framework when other conditions are present. It may take years to occur, if at all (Padeiro et al, 2019; Rayle, 2015). The Central Park East/Maywood area is demonstrative of this specificity. The Expo SkyTrain line was completed in 1986 yet concerns about gentrification and displacement did not start to emerge until 2011 (Jones, 2020; Jones & Ley, 2016). The introduction of “S” zoning by the City of Burnaby was the catalyst that acted as the final component to the TOD formula comprised of existing regional and municipal plans, aging housing and elected leadership amenable to development. It would appear that the necessary conditions for gentrification and displacement have occurred and are continuing to occur in the Metrotown area.

Local conditions and municipal planning priorities are crucial components in the development of TOD gentrification and displacement. If local situations are ripe for up-zoning and/or gentrification then capital will flow into an area, which may or may not result in the displacement of the original inhabitants over time (Chapple and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Dawkins and Moeckal 2016; Padeiro et al, 2019; Revington 2016). Given the number of rental units lost in the Metrotown area from 2010 to the present (notwithstanding the new rental protections which came into force in 2019) and the activism which sprung up in the wake of said loss, it would seem as though gentrification and displacement are occurring (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d; Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign, 2017).

2.4. Lived Experiences of the Displaced

The final body of literature informing this thesis is the lived experiences of the displaced. There are common narratives and emotions which emerge such as anger, fear, anxiety, and helplessness (Atkinson 2015). Comparing and contrasting the lived experiences of other displaced people has helped to identify findings within the respondent interviews.

There are often inherent difficulties in locating the displaced (Atkinson, 2015; Wyly & Newman, 2006). Those displaced by gentrification are often of lower socio-

economic status and in the Canadian context may often belong to immigrant and /or refugee communities where the first language is neither English nor French (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Jones, 2020; Jones & Ley, 2016). Moreover, they are more likely to be dependent upon transit than higher income gentrifiers (Rayle, 2015). As a result of this it is difficult to trace where displaced populations have gone. Despite these difficulties, the lived experiences of displaced respondents as well as those living in the shadow of eventual displacement have informed the qualitative analysis of this thesis.

While attempting to define and identify gentrification there may be a tendency to overlook the real people and communities that are often pulled apart by the forces of capital. For example, access to amenities, goods and services is a major component in the life of an individual. If one is isolated from work, shopping, parks, and recreational facilities due to being displaced further away from the tapestry of urban life then the quality of one's life is vastly reduced. This is relevant to the research question and to Metrotown because in many ways Central Park East and Maywood are already dense, livable neighbourhoods. They are close to shopping, parks, schools and the public library. In previous research, residents indicated how much they liked it there and how hesitant they were to leave (Jones & Ley 2016). This perspective was confirmed by the testimonies of respondents. The top three reasons for living in the area were: SkyTrain, Metrotown Mall and Central Park. Furthermore, as anyone who has moved under duress (or even without) can testify, moving can be a harrowing, traumatic experience (Cooper et al, 2020; Watt, 2018).

As previously discussed, gentrification and displacement do not have direct causal links to TOD. It is seldom a question of A leads to B. Rather, there are a myriad of complex factors at play, and one method of understanding these factors is through the words of people who have already been displaced, or who are living in the shadow of the threat of displacement. Being displaced or feeling one's neighbourhood changing irrevocably, can be a traumatic experience that cannot be captured via cartography and/or census data (Atkinson, 2015; Slater, 2006). Watt (2018, p.74) identifies this feeling as "displacement anxiety" and writes:

... displacement anxiety refers to the subjective response to the threat of immanent direct displacement — the feeling that potential displacees have once they have either been told their home will be demolished, or when they are given notice to quit. such displacement anxiety generates a

profound sense of ontological insecurity as people literally do not “know their place.”

Moreover, taken one step further, the loss of place is indicative of the loss of spatial relationships between people, shops, and public spaces (Davidson 2009). Suffice to say, the subjective nature of human feelings such as anger, loss, alienation, and resignation cannot be fully captured with a “numbers in/numbers out” perspective of gentrification and displacement. The words of those affected may help in forming a complete picture of the human cost of gentrification/displacement. This holistic perspective is corroborated by multiple researchers working in locations such as London (Watt, 2018), Sydney (Atkinson, 2014) and New York (Wyly & Newman 2006).

Gentrification and displacement cannot be viewed as a “snapshot in time”. Rather, an appropriate span of time must be examined to obtain an effective perspective. This span of time is likely to be generational in scale in order to capture changing demographics and historical trends (Wyly & Newman 2006; Young & Doucette, 2021). Essentially, the perspectives of inhabitants prior to displacement, during and afterwards are of equal relevance and should be weighted accordingly (Atkinson 2015) By examining the lived experiences of those displaced or those expecting to be displaced from the Metrotown area some identifiable findings and narratives have emerged and have formed part of the analysis.

This chapter has examined the conceptual framework that underpins this thesis. Furthermore, it has positioned the three bodies of research; urbanization of urban capital, TOD gentrification and the lived experiences of renters within the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. The next chapter will describe the methodology used in the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data.

Chapter 3. Methods

My methodological framework involved a mix of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative research was used to document the lived experiences of respondents. Quantitative research was utilized to explore socio-economic indicators in the area of study in order to establish a background upon which qualitative data could be contextualized. Furthermore, municipal archival data was used in conjunction with statistical data to create a more comprehensive quantitative analysis. I drew inspiration from the work of Newman and Wyly (2006, p. 25) and their use of statistical analysis in combination with participant interviews to examine renter resistance to displacement.

We undertook a mixed-method evaluation of displacement in New York City to draw on the partial and selective strengths of: extensive, quantitative measurement of secondary datasets; and, intensive, qualitative understanding of the multifaceted experiences of residents, community organizers and other individuals living and working in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Table 3.1 describes the methods of data collection used in this thesis and their contribution.

Table 3.1 Methods of Data Collection

Method	Type of data collected	Contribution to Thesis
Burnaby Municipal Archival Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redevelopment approvals over time • Rental units slated for demolition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal records of unit/loss gain in area of study
Statistical data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statistics Canada data • CMHC data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grube-Cavers/Steinmetz-Wood Indicators

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Census tract comparison
Mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addresses of respondents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tracking respondent displacement
Participant Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative, lived experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative, thick descriptions
Informant Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative, lived experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of activism

3.1. Positionality Statement

My family lived adjacent to the area of study for a number of years and I was able to observe the scale and pace of development from my apartment. As a person who has experienced precarious housing and employment in the Metro Vancouver area, I identified with the renters of the Maywood/Central Park East neighborhoods. Moreover, as a person who has been involved in a successful union organizing drive, I further empathized with the activists and organizers of the Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign. I identify as a white, settler, cisgendered male of middle-age. I have been involved in labour organizing and progressive spaces and identify politically as a Marxist. I grew up on a large, rural, family-owned property and as an adult have been a lifelong renter. I now have the privilege of living in a housing co-op. My lived experiences as a renter and a worker shaped my interpretation of the qualitative data in this thesis. As a researcher, my sympathies lay with renters and activists rather than developers and Burnaby City Hall.

3.2. Sample and Recruitment

The sample consisted of 15 current or former residents of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood recruited to describe how “S” zoning and changes in the neighbourhood had affected their lives. In addition to the interview respondents, two key informant interviews were conducted with activists who participated in community organizing but did not reside in the area of study.

Residents were recruited through the mailing list of ACORN, social media (Facebook) and Craigslist postings, as well as, flyer distribution at rental housing sites and local shops and food venues. The key informants were recruited through personal connections in organized labour circles.

3.3. Interviewing

Fourteen of the interviews were conducted via Zoom. One interview was conducted over the phone as per the interview participant’s request. The interviews were approximately one hour in length (see attached interview script) and were transcribed using Otter.ai, online transcription software. I utilized the in-depth interview study as my primary means of data gathering as per Babbie and Benaquisto (2010). Furthermore, my interviewing followed the complete interviewing process outlined by Steinar Kvale (1996).

Kvale describes seven steps to completing data collection via qualitative interviews. First, thematizing-by identifying the purpose of my interviews and the topics I wished to discuss. Second, designing- by composing a series of interview questions that would cover my main themes while also serving as a “jumping off point. Third, interviewing- conducting the interviews. Fourth, transcribing- the process of transferring audio recordings to written text- was assisted by Otter.ai, a transcribing program. Fifth, analyzing and identifying common themes across the breadth of interviews. Sixth, verification-through corroboration across multiple interviews as well as comparison or validation through information from public records. Finally, reporting the findings.

As per Kendall (2008, p. 143), I felt that qualitative interviews were the best tool for telling the stories of the people of Maywood/Central Park East:

Interview quotes are compelling. They represent real people expressing opinions about their day-to-day lives. As readers of research reports, we can better empathize with research respondents through these quotes than through aggregate numerical data. In addition, interview quotes give us the feeling of “being there,” of observing the research as it unfolds. In a primarily qualitative research report, these aspects are part of a rich description of the lives and worldviews of the participants. In a good qualitative research report, we are given enough information to evaluate whether the analysis makes sense and to get a sense of the context of the interview quotes within the lives of the respondents.

3.4. Coding

After the interviews had been transcribed, the audio files were deleted along with any identifying information. The transcriptions were read once immediately after individual interview and then again as a group. While reading through transcriptions the second time, I made notes and comments to myself in margins using open coding to identify the common themes that emerged from the participant narratives. Open coding is defined by Babbie and Benaquisto (2010, p.394) as:

The process of closely examining the raw data (such as interviews, fieldnotes, and art) in the initial stages of a qualitative data analysis with the aim of identifying, labelling and classifying as many ideas, concepts and themes as the research can without concern for how these ideas or concepts are related or how they will be used.

I did not have any predetermined codes or themes and as such my coding analysis emerged inductively through engagement with the data as per Robson (2011).

Next, I constructed a spreadsheet with each participant’s answers to the interview questions laid out in aggregate and utilized axial coding as per Robson (2011) to identify the relationships between findings that emerged from the interviews. Axial coding is described by Robson (2011, p 490) as “linking together the categories developed through the process of open coding.” The main findings were then tied back into aspects of the conceptual framework.

I tallied those interview questions that were binary answers and again used open coding and then axial coding to identify the significant themes and their relationship to each other.

3.5. Respondent Movement

While interviewing the participants, I asked those who had moved to identify both their original and new addresses. The reason for this was two-fold: to identify where participants lived and where they had moved to. I then created a map using Google Maps with multiple layers. The first layer identified original addresses and the second layer identified new addresses. I then measured the distance to the closest SkyTrain stations to both the old and the new address. I then aggregated the data to calculate the mean average distance from a SkyTrain Stations among interview participants to gauge whether displacement was affecting SkyTrain access.

3.6. Archival Data

To trace rental unit loss within the neighbourhoods of study I used the Burnaby City Hall Website as well as the Burnaby City Archives. I went back through the Public Hearing minutes from January 2011, when “S” zoning implementation began, until December 2022, and noted every address within the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhoods. I then accessed either the Public Hearing minutes, or failing that, the actual approved developer plans to track unit loss/gain in the areas of study. I went through the Public Hearing month by month chronologically and noted the addresses slated for development and the units lost/gained for each address. I identified the types of units being demolished or built (rental, strata, single family homes) and tallied them accordingly to give aggregate sums over the period of study.

3.7. Statistical Data

Using CMHC datasets I compiled statistical data on the area of study as well as data on Burnaby as whole to use as a comparison. In addition to Burnaby as a whole I also gathered data on a nearby census tract (South Slope, CT 0221.04) that had not experienced any change in zoning for comparative purposes. I utilized the Grube-Cavers measure of indicators of gentrification in census tracts. These indicators are average monthly rent, percentage of owner-occupied buildings, average family income and the number of degrees per capita. I omitted one of the indicators of the Grube-Cavers measure-proportion of individuals with professional occupations-as the data needed to measure this indicator was not clear from the literature. In place of this indicator, two

indicators from the Steinmetz-Wood measure were examined. The additional two indicators are: proportion of adults aged 30-44 and proportion of low-income households. The use of the Steinmetz -Wood indicators is appropriate as the Steinmetz-Wood is derived from Grube-Cavers (Steinmetz-Wood et al, 2017). As 2021 is the last year that data is available across all categories, all dollar amounts have been adjusted for inflation to 2021 values using the Bank of Canada Inflation Calculator. Dollar amounts have been rounded to the nearest dollar (Bank of Canada, n.d.).

According to the Grube-Cavers measure, a census tract is considered to have gentrified if all of the indicators have increased greater than the average change for the indicators in the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) for the same year. Furthermore, a census tract must have been deemed gentrifiable (lower than CMA average incomes and degrees per capita) in the census year preceding the period of analysis (Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015; Firth et al, 2021). The purpose of the Grube-Cavers measure is to identify gentrifying census tracts in Canadian cities in relation to urban rapid rail transit. As such the measure is designed to winnow out census tracts that have not been deemed gentrifiable. As I am only studying three census tracts (CT 227.01, CT 227.02 and CT 228.03) I did not screen them. Moreover, I have adapted the measure to look at the trends in the indicators from Census of Population data from 2006 to 2021 as well as comparing the most recent 2016-2021 period.

In addition to the to the indicators of Grube-Cavers and Steinmetz-Wood measures, I have I also examined rental unit loss and transportation modes using CMHC and Statistics Canada data to compare the three census tracts that make up the Maywood/Central Park neighbourhood, a nearby Burnaby census tract, and the City of Burnaby overall.

The rationale was that changes in the area of study could be compared to a nearby area that had not experienced up-zoning as a site-specific comparison while using the whole of Burnaby as a baseline.

3.8. Limitations

Attempting to study the displaced is a well-known challenge in gentrification studies (Chapple & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2019; Wyly & Newman, 2005). Consequently, the

most successful recruitment method, the posters, were visible to respondents who still lived within the area of study. Of the four respondents who moved out of the area of study, two were recruited via snowballing and two were recruited via the mass email. In other words, most of my respondents came from within the area of study because that is where the posters were. A larger study that did targeted postering or recruitment in additional locations may have yielded more diverse results.

The use of measures like Grube-Cavers and Steinmetz-Wood may be too restrictive in evaluating gentrification, as in their original usage, all indicators must be positive in order for a tract to be considered to be gentrifying. Furthermore, examining data at the census tract level may not accurately reflect the reason for a change in an indicator, education levels for example, nor capture community-specific contexts such as local history, geography and demographics (Firth et al, 2021).

3.9. Ethical Considerations

This study has obtained human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Ethics Approval and has been classified as minimal risk. There were no potential risks or harms associated with the study. Respondents gave consent verbally at the outset of the interview and were emailed the consent form (Appendix D) All respondents gave verbal consent at the beginning of interviews. All interviews save one were conducted via Zoom and recorded. The lone interview not conducted via Zoom was conducted via phone. Respondents were reminded at the outset of the interview that they could withdraw consent up to two months post interview. The data collected from respondents was scrubbed of identifying characteristics after transcription and the audio files were deleted. The anonymized transcripts are stored on SFU One Drive and will be kept for three years after library submission in the event that the researcher may do further work with the data. Respondents were mailed gift cards for participation and the spreadsheet of their names and addresses was deleted after mailing. Upon final submission to the library, one final email will be sent thanking respondents again for their participation and directing them to the finished thesis in SFU Summit.

3.10. Establishing Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research involves the application of the concepts of transferability, credibility, dependability and confirmability. These concepts enable qualitative researchers to apply principles of quantitative rigor to their findings and analysis without filtering them through a quantitative lens. (Given, 2008b).

Credibility refers to the idea of internal consistency with the data and in the case of this thesis is achieved through the recognized positionality/reflexivity of the researcher and through the “thick descriptions” of the respondents. Transferability refers to the degree by which the analysis described in the research may be generally applied to the lived experiences of a reader. This thesis addresses transferability by a thorough description of the “context, processes, participants and researcher/participant relationships’. Dependability refers to the research process itself which should be “explicit and repeatable”. This may be accomplished through the use of analytic memos and in the case of this thesis a data characterization memo was produced after respondent interviews were completed. Finally, confirmability refers to the notion that the research and data are as objective as possible given the acknowledged biases of the researcher. (Morrow, 2005, p. 252).

Triangulation of data refers to both the use of different research methods as well as multiple sources of data. This thesis utilizes both quantitative and qualitative analysis and utilizes respondents, key informants, archival and statistical data as well as peer-reviewed and media sources. The discrete data sources provide differing forms of evidence which support the analysis (Given, 2008a).

Chapter 4. The Numbers Behind the Narrative

4.1. Change in Maywood/Central Park East According to the City of Burnaby

In order to track rental unit loss in the area of study, I used City of Burnaby Public Hearing minutes and reports on the City of Burnaby website from 2015 to 2022 (City of Burnaby, n.d.). Minutes and reports prior to 2015 were accessed online in the City of Burnaby City archives (Heritage Burnaby, n.d.). I read through the minutes and added every address within the area of study to a spreadsheet. I then used the reports to identify the units lost/units gained and unit type (market rental, strata, non-market rental). This data can be found in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Unit Loss/Gain by Type in Maywood/Central Park East, 2011-2022

Year	Old Rental Units (unit loss)	New Condo Units (unit gain)	New Market Rental (unit gain)	New Non-Market Rental (unit gain)	Approved Redevelopment Applications
2011	0	536	4	0	10
2012	24	278	8	0	9
2013	79	163	0	0	2
2014	174	965	0	0	6
2015	0	0	0	0	0
2016	0	0	0	0	0
2017	64	327	0	0	3
2018	333	1587	0	92	14
2019	0	0	241	89	2
2020	75	405	0	52	2
2021	349	1910	143	430	10
2022	329	538	751	558	8
total	1427	6709	1147	1221	66

From August 2011 until December 2022, 66 addresses located within the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood have had development applications submitted to the City of Burnaby. Of the 66, one was a heritage property which was relocated and turned into four market rate rental units, 16 were single family homes, four were vacant lots, one was a previously vacated apartment building, one was commercial

and two were strata. The remaining 41 addresses were multi-unit rental buildings. These 41 buildings contained 1476 rental units. A map of these locations is represented by Figure 4.1 (Google, n.d.) as follows.

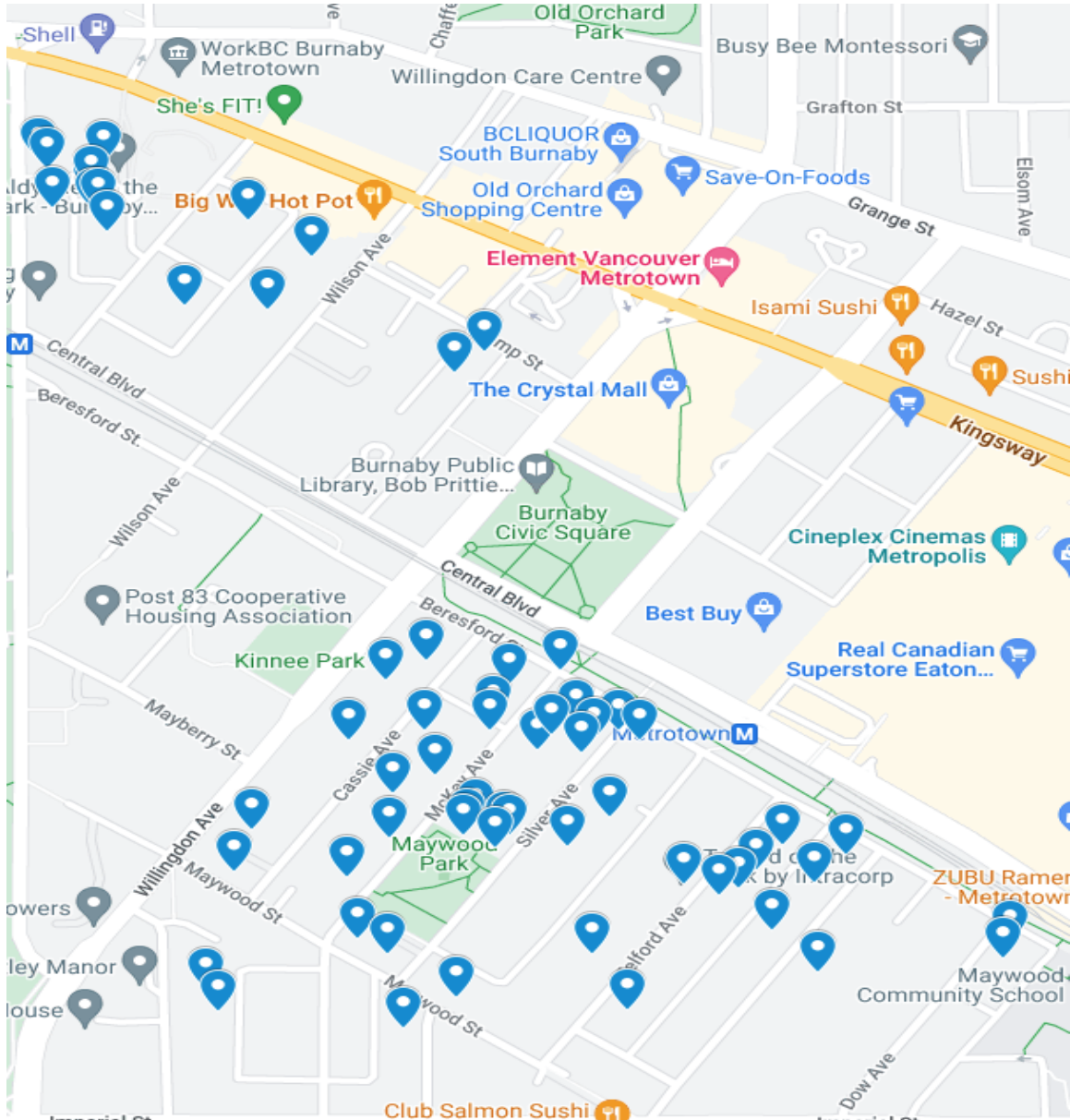


Figure 4.1. Rezoning Application Locations within Area of Study, 2011-2022
Map data ©2024 Google

It is important to note that when reviewing redevelopment applications, I tallied the units lost within the month and year of the application being approved, not necessarily when the actual units were demolished. This same methodology applies for the new units. The reasoning for this was twofold: First, it's simply easier to count units

lost/gained annually using this method instead of trying to follow the construction schedule of each individual redevelopment application. Second, tallying this has produced a clear picture of approvals year over year.

I tallied the number of planned units lost or gained in the Maywood/Central Park East from August 2011 until Dec 2022 as demonstrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Tally of Units Lost/Gained, 2011-2022

Unit type	Numbers
new non-market	1211
new market rental	1147
new strata	6709
total new units	9077
minus old units	1476
net gain in total units	7601

Therefore, according to publicly available data on the City of Burnaby’s website the neighbourhood of Maywood/Central Park East has lost (or is slated to lose) 1476 older rental units. However, these units have been replaced (or will be replaced) by 1211 new non-market rental units in addition to 1147 new market rental units for a total of 2358 potential new rental units.

Since the new rental protections came into force in Dec. 2019 until Dec. 2022, 22 applications were approved, comprising 752 total units. These units must be replaced 1:1 by the developers and either incorporated into the new market strata development or amalgamated into their own standalone rental buildings (City of Burnaby, 2020b). The new non-market rentals are made up of the units' developers are mandated to replace as well as additional non-market rentals built in order to maximize floor-to-area-ratio (FAR) density bonuses.

Of particular interest is the effect that the new renter protections may have had on the rate of development. 2,853 strata units have been permitted since the new rental protections took effect. Moreover, virtually all the new rental builds have come in the wake of the new regulations. This suggests that the new regulations have not slowed the pace of development in the area. Since the new rental policy took effect, the tally of built or planned rental units are 894 market and 1040 non-market. This trend can be observed in Figure 4.2 (City of Burnaby, n.d.; Heritage Burnaby, n.d.). There is a clear

transition from a singular type of new development-strata or condo units-to an almost balanced blend of strata, market and non-market rental units. This shift in unit type would seem to stem from the adoption of new tenant protection policy in 2019. Although a reduction in planned units is seen in 2020, by 2021 and 2022 the number of planned units has surged to higher levels than were present before any renter protections were in place. This data seems to stand in stark contrast to the narrative of inevitability which emanated from Burnaby City Hall from 2011 to 2019. Rather than stifling development with new regulations, after a period of adjustment the implementation of the new regulatory framework would seem to have facilitated even more development. Taken a step further the evidence would also suggest that gentrification and displacement are not inevitable outcomes of TOD. Instead of the false binary between development and ossification, equitable TOD is possible under policies that attempt to ameliorate displacement and gentrification.

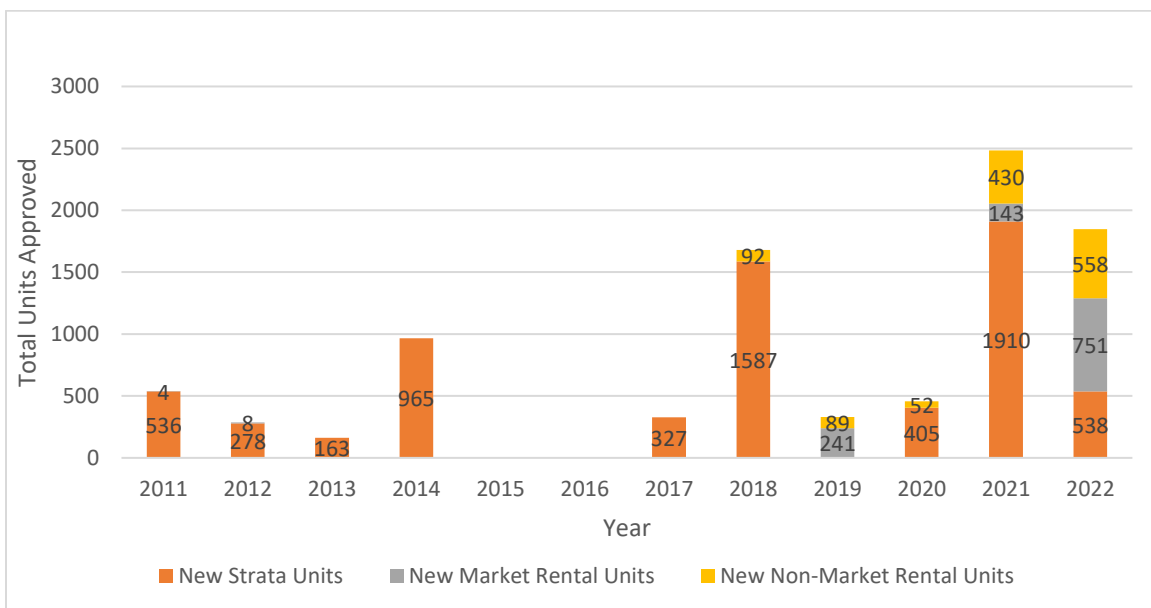


Figure 4.2. Total New Units per Year by Unit Type Maywood/Central Park East, 2011-2021

Source: City of Burnaby, Heritage Burnaby

The continued pace of development would seem to indicate that enhanced renter protections can exist along with capital agglomeration in the built environment, at least for a while. This data is demonstrated in different forms, with Figure 4.3 showing older unit loss over time and Figure 4.4 showing redevelopment approvals by year (City of Burnaby, n.d.; Heritage Burnaby, n.d.). Again, the lull can be seen in 2019-2020 (which

may be partially attributed to the Covid-19 pandemic) and again the resurgence in 2021-2022. This may also be seen as equilibrium, disruption, adaptation, new equilibrium. There appears to be conspicuous gap in 2015-2016 when no new redevelopment approvals were issued. I have not identified a clear reason for this. There could be a few options. First, Burnaby city archives may not be accurate. This is obviously a disturbing possibility as this whole section of the research may be unreliable. Second, projects may have simply been happening in other parts of the city during those years. Third, just because approvals were not in the public record does not preclude planning sessions and consultations with city staff. Finally, the municipal election of 2014 may have caused a backlog that was not resolved until 2017-2018.

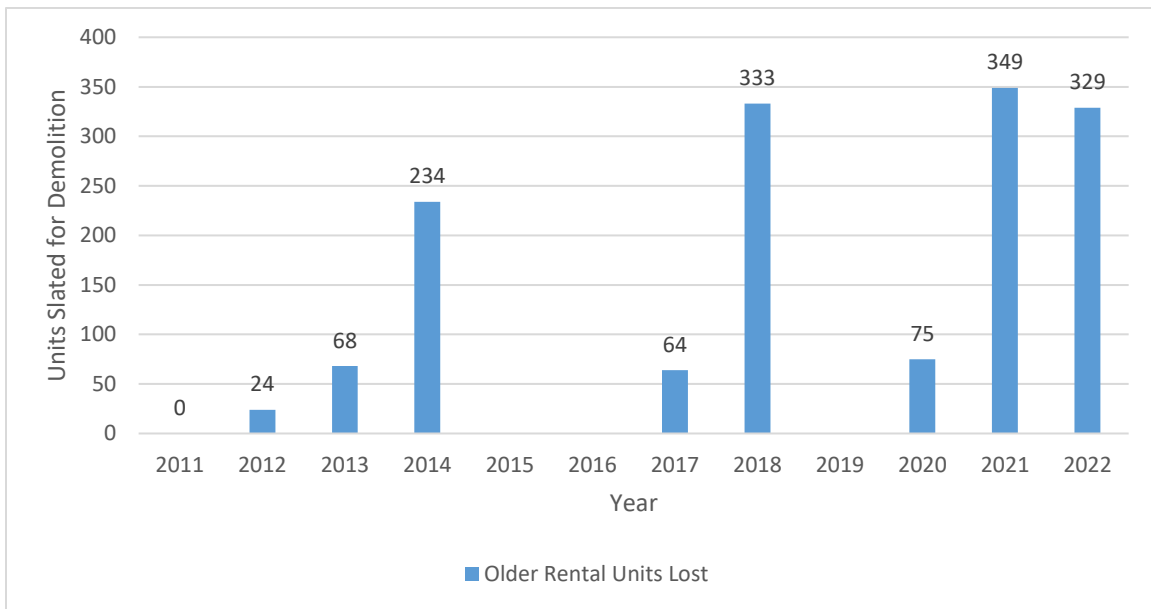


Figure 4.3. Older Rental Units Slated for Demolition by Year in Maywood/Central Park East, 2011-2022

Source: City of Burnaby, Heritage Burnaby

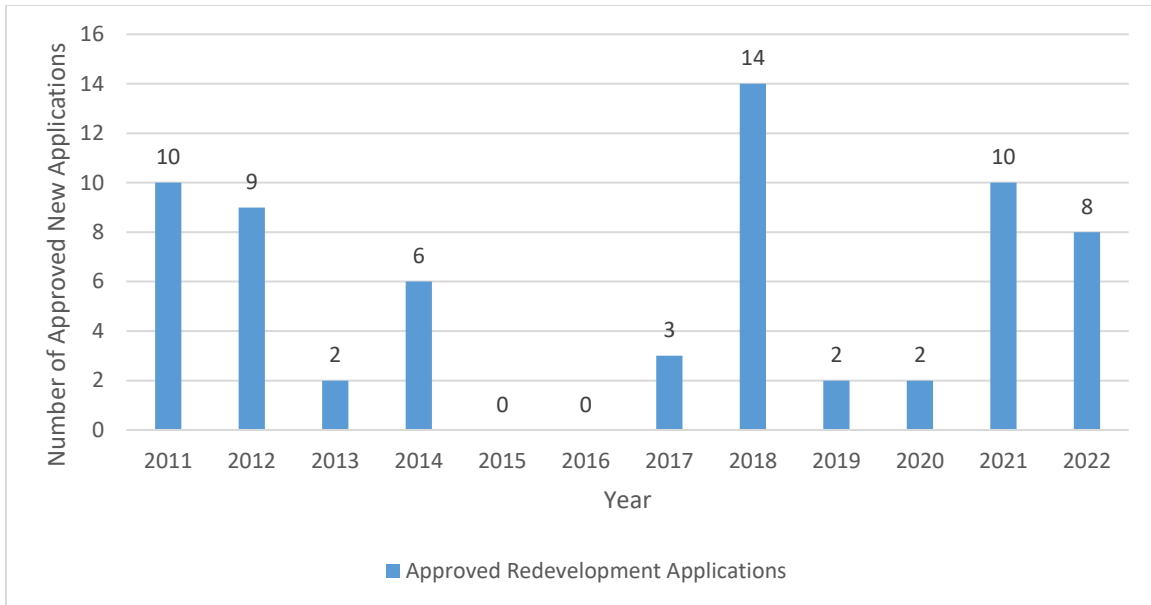


Figure 4.4. Approved Redevelopment Applications by Year in Maywood/Central Park East, 2011-2022

Source: City of Burnaby, Heritage Burnaby

4.2. The Numbers According to Federal Agencies

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) as well as Statistics Canada data was also examined to generate a more comprehensive picture of housing data in the area of study. All statistical data in this section has been drawn from the Canada Mortgage Housing Corporation (CMHC) Housing Market Information Portal, the Canadian Census of Population 2006 to 2021 and the National Household Survey of 2011.

The Grube-Cavers measure was adapted to illuminate the following indicators of gentrification in the area of study: average monthly rent, percentage of owner-occupied buildings, average family income and the number of degrees per capita. Additionally, two indicators of the Steinmetz-Wood measure- percentage of the population aged 20-34, and percentage of the population considered to be low income- were examined.

To isolate CMHC data in the area of study I had to combine census tracts. CMHC collects rental data nationally in all urban areas with a population of 10,000 or more. Conveniently, the data for the CMHC Rental Market Survey is available online

back to 2010. In order to examine the data in the geographic area that corresponds to the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood as closely as possible I combined three separate census tracts. I examined the data for each separate tract as well as aggregating the data. I also examined the Census Subdivision data for Burnaby in order to establish a baseline for development at the city level. Finally, I examined the data of a census tract adjacent to the area of study for the purposes of comparison. This additional census tract is zoned almost exclusively for single-family homes. The reason for examining Burnaby was to ascertain whether the city was experiencing redevelopments at the same rate, scale and scope as the area of study. Comparing the additional census tract is useful in gauging the effects that exclusionary zoning may have had on the rate, scale and scope of redevelopments in a census tract only slightly further away from the SkyTrain line than the area of study.

The specific area of study does not exist as a standalone census tract. Luckily, the borders of the three census tracts overlay almost exactly with the area of study. The three census tracts are 0228.03 which roughly encompasses Central Park East although with the addition of the residential area between Chaffey, Grange and Kingsway. This additional area is commercial and older residential towers and has not had any observable redevelopments, so its inclusion does not distort the unit counts in the area of study. The borders of this census tract are Grange Street, Central Boulevard, Kingsway and Willingdon Avenue. The next census tract is 0227.02 which encompasses Central Park and the western part of Maywood as well as the southern part of Central Park East. This census tract is bordered by Boundary Road, Imperial Street, McKay Avenue, Central Boulevard and Kingsway. The third census tract is 0227.01 which encompasses the eastern part of Maywood. The borders of this census tract are McKay Avenue, Imperial Street and Central Avenue. Taken together the three census tracts make up the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood.

In addition to information about dwellings in the area of study, CMHC also records mean and median rents by census tracts in addition to household income. This proved useful in examining whether gentrification is occurring in the area of study. CMHC tracks unit starts and finishes by year within geographic areas via the Starts and Completions Market Absorption Survey. They also tally the number of actual units and unit types via the annual Rental Market Survey, conducted during the first two weeks of October. The surveys are conducted via phone and site visits with owners, managers

and site supervisors. CMHC state on their website that, “CMHC does not publish a statistic if its reliability is too low or if publication of a statistic would violate confidentiality rules” (CMHC, 2024). Thus, CMHC data may be used with a high degree of confidence in its veracity.

4.2.1. Rental Units

It may be useful to examine the total number of rental units in the respective census tracts over time. Figure 4.5 illustrates the total number of rental units in each census tract per year from 2010 until 2022 (CMHC 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d).

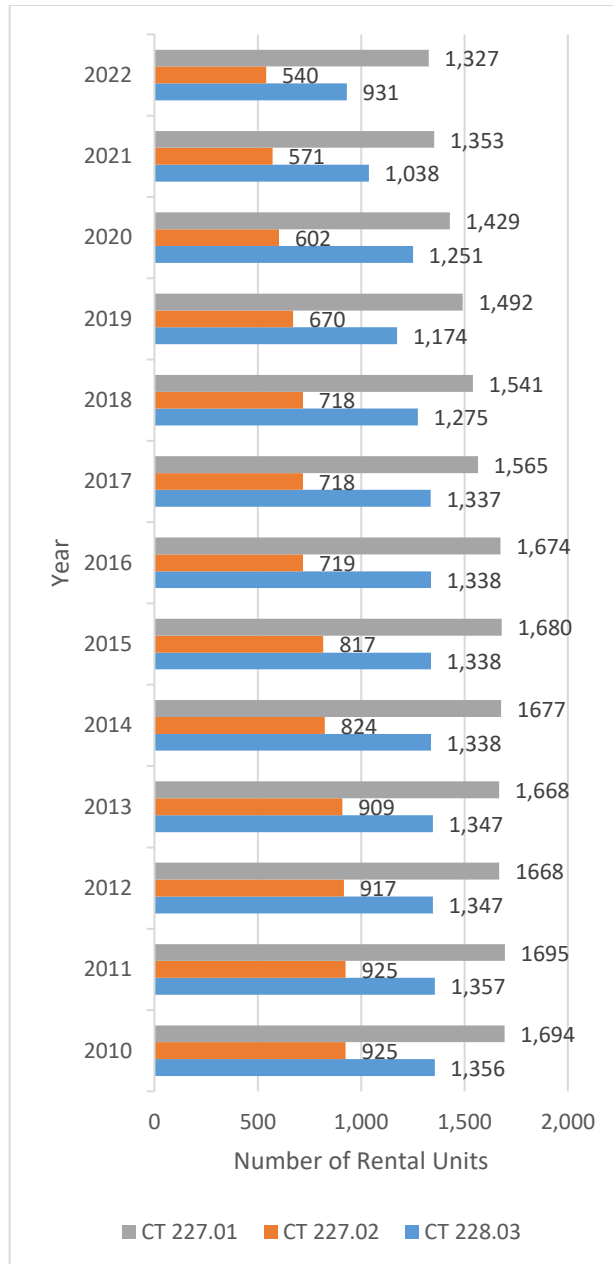


Figure 4.5. Rental Units by Census Tract, 2010-2022

Source: CMHC

Over the 12-year period tract 228.03 goes from 1356 units to 931, a 31.34% decrease. Tract 227.02 goes from 925 to 540, a 41.62% decrease. Finally, tract 227.01 goes from 1694 to 1327, a 21.66% decrease. Using this method, it is possible to state that the Eastern part of Maywood has experienced the least rental unit loss, followed by Central Park East, with Western Maywood experiencing the highest rate of rental unit loss. These numbers correlate spatially with the addresses of redevelopment

applications gathered from Burnaby City archives. The Western edge of Maywood consists of Cassie and McKay Avenues, which between them have twelve redevelopment applications. This can be observed in Figure 4.1. Additionally, there were two redevelopment applications on part of Willingdon Avenue that passes through Maywood. When the census tracts are aggregated together into a single neighbourhood the total number of rental units drops from 3975 to 2798, a 29.6% decrease (CMHC 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d). This is illustrated in Figure 4.6.

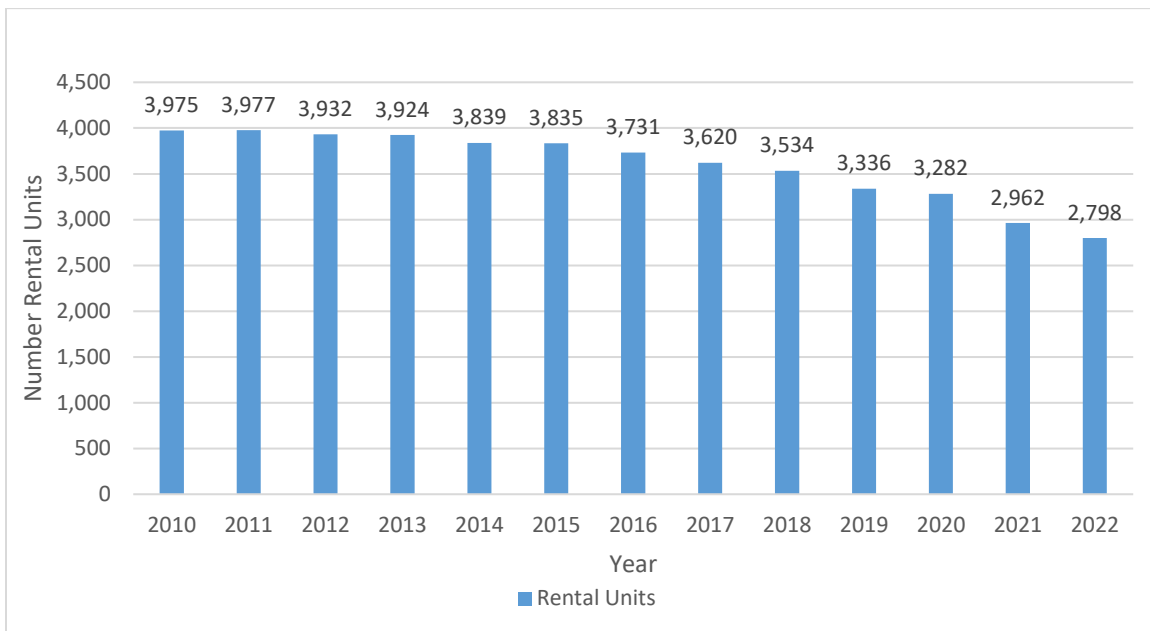


Figure 4.6. Rental Units by Year in Maywood/Central Park East, 2010-2022
Source: CMHC

The city of Burnaby from 2010 to 2022 went from 12,745 rental units to 11,352 or a 10.99% decrease. Ergo, the Maywood /Central Park East neighbourhood has experienced rental unit loss at almost three times the percentage of units lost in the city according to CMHC data. Further to this point, the number of rental units in Burnaby has decreased by 1,393 units between 2010 and 2022 and the loss in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood accounts for 1,177 of those losses. In other words, losses in the area of study account for 84.49% of overall rental unit loss in the city of Burnaby from 2010 to 2022. For additional perspective, Burnaby encompasses 22,105 acres, whereas the area of study encompasses 168.78 acres. If only residential areas of Burnaby are tallied, they equal 9,040 acres. Therefore, an area that accounts for 1.87%

of Burnaby's residential area has been the site of 84.49% of overall rental unit loss (City of Burnaby, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2021e).

Using two separate methods of calculating unit loss has led to two distinct figures: 1,177 units according to CMHC data and 1,476 units according to City of Burnaby redevelopment applications. CMHC data is acquired via site visits to confirm new unit starts. As City of Burnaby data is derived from municipal archival data, is not an official municipal tally of new unit starts and was aggregated by a single researcher, it is likely that the CMHC data represents the most accurate number.

4.2.2. Percentage of Owner-occupied Buildings

One of the indicators utilized by the Grube-Cavers measure to examine whether gentrification has occurred is comparing the percentage of owner-occupied buildings within a census tract to the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). If the percentage of owner-occupied building within the census tract has increased by a greater percentage than the CMA then the census tract is considered to be gentrifying. For this section, Census Tracts 229.03, 227.02 and 227.01 will be compared to the CMA of Vancouver. This data is represented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Percentage of Owner-occupied Buildings by Census Tract, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	32.1	45.6	9	65
2011	38.3	48.5	9.2	65.4
2016	33.6	53.9	23.9	63.7
2021	38.6	58.8	23.2	62.1

Note: data taken from Canadian Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021 and National Household Survey of 2011

When observing the data it can be observed that for the CMA the percentage of owner-occupied buildings rose by .4% from 2006 to 2011, then falling by 1.7% between 2011 and 2016 and finally decreasing a further 1.6% to 62.1% in 2021. In other words, in 2021, 62.1% of buildings in the Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver were occupied by their respective owners. Because the percentage of owners has decreased in the CMA, if the percentage has increased in the census tracts, then they would be considered to be gentrifying. From 2016 and 2021 Census Tracts 228.03 and 227.02

have experienced increases in the percentage of owner occupation by 5% and 4.9% respectively. The percentage of owners in CT 227.01 has decreased by .7%. Therefore, CT 227.01 is not gentrifying according to the Grube-Cavers measure as the measure does not describe how to compare decreases in percentage. However, 227.01 has decreased at a lower percentage than the CMA. If 227.01 is set aside, then the remaining two CTs are gentrifying according to the Grube-Cavers Measure. Moreover, if the data from previous census years is examined for CT 227.01 there was a noticeable increase between 2011 and 2016. In 2016 the number of owner-occupied dwellings in CT 227.01 increased from 9.2% to 23.9%, an increase of 14.7%. This is the largest single increase in the charted data. Furthermore, CT 228.03 experienced a decrease percentage in owner occupation from 38.3% to 33.6% between 2011 to 2016 before rebounding to 38.6% in 2021. Given these fluctuations it may be helpful to examine the overall percentage change from 2006 to 2021. Using this method, the CMA has decreased from 65% to 62.1%, a 2.9% decrease. By comparison, CT 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 have increased by 6.5%, 13.2% and 14.2% respectively. Consequently, according to this indicator of the Grube-Cavers measure, the Census Tracts that make up Maywood/Central Park East are gentrifying.

4.2.3. Average Monthly Rent

An examination of mean average monthly rent may also prove useful. Again, when the data is viewed by census tract it becomes easier to pinpoint rents have changed the most. Adjusted for inflation, Tract 228.03 has seen average rent increase from \$1,299 to \$1,971 per month, a 51.7% increase. Tract 227.02 has increased from \$1,056 to \$1,110, a 4.2% increase. Finally, Tract 227.01 has gone from \$1,057 to \$1,147, an 8.5% increase (CMHC, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2023d). It is unclear why rent increased at a significantly higher rate in tract 228.03. The changes in rent by census tract is represented by Figure 4.7.

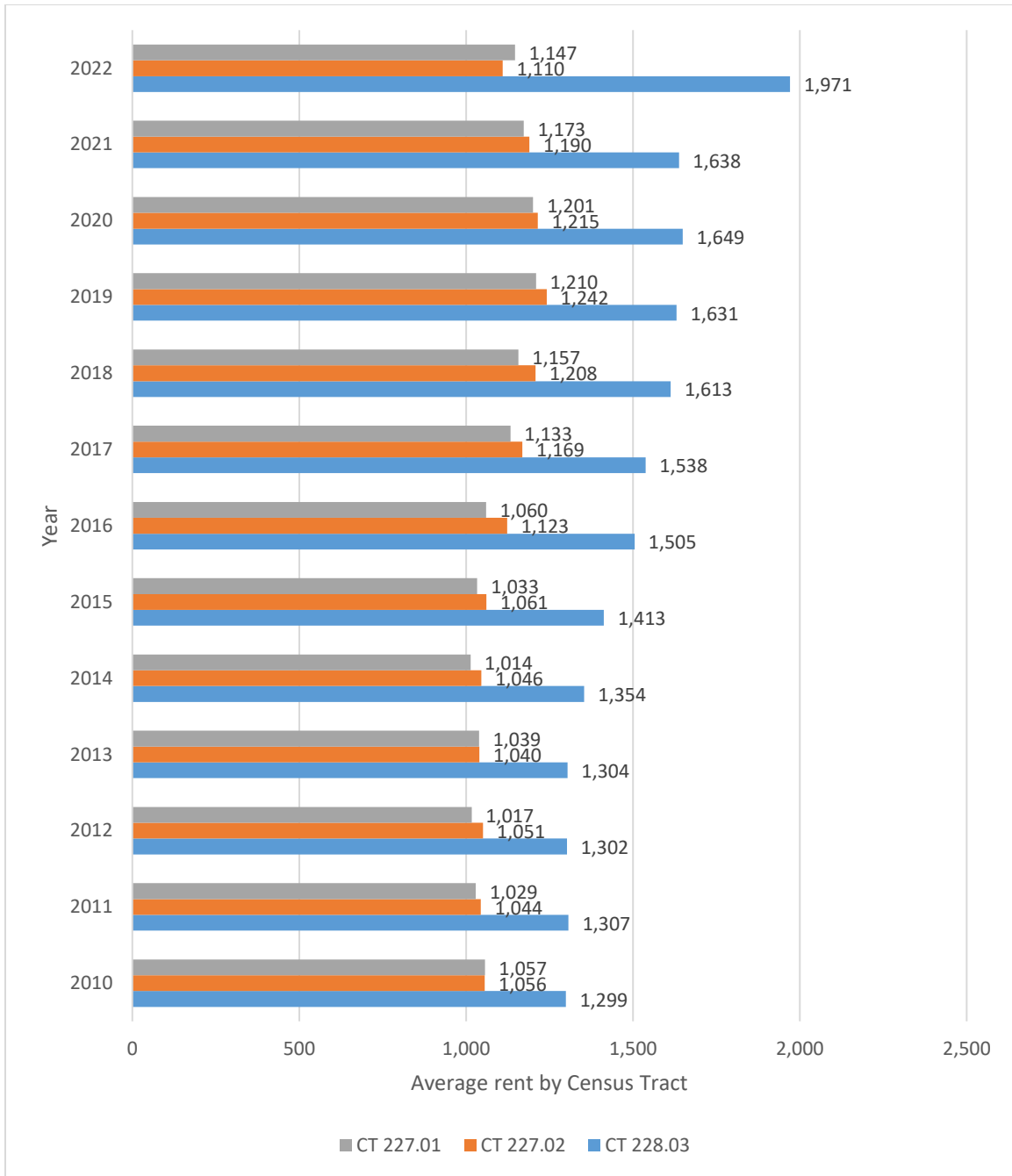


Figure 4.7. Average Rent by Census Tract, 2010-2022

Source: CMHC

The change in rent over time in the combined census tracts is represented by Figure 4.7. The average rent in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood went from \$1137 in 2010 to \$1409 in 2022, a 23.9% increase. This data can be observed in Figure 4.8. Interestingly, the average rents for the City of Burnaby as whole (represented by the Burnaby Census Subdivision) have increased at a higher rate than the

Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. From 2010 to 2022 the average rent in the city of Burnaby increased from \$1,122 to \$1,425, a 27% increase. Although the neighbourhood of Maywood has experienced a significant increase in average rent from 2010 to 2022, the percentage of increase is actually lower than that of the city overall.

Average monthly rent is one of the indicators in the Grube-Cavers measure. To add more robust analysis, median rent was used for this section. The data can be seen in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4. Median Rent by Census Tract and Vancouver CMA, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	\$1,185	\$987	\$954	\$1,054
2011	\$1,207	\$1,014	\$1,009	\$1,148
2016	\$1,392	\$1,074	\$1,040	\$1,254
2021	\$1,620	\$1,280	\$1,250	\$1,500

Note: data taken from Canadian Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021 and National Household Survey of 2011.

When percentage is calculated, and inflation taken into account, between 2006 and 2021 CTs 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 have experienced median rent increases of 36.7%, 29.7% and 31% respectively. The Vancouver CMA over the same period has experienced an 42% increase in median monthly rent. If observed over the period from 2006 to 2021 the percentage increase in median monthly rents of the Census Tracts is lower than the increase in the CMA. Ergo, according to the Grube-Cavers measure, Maywood/Central Park East is not gentrifying. However, if the period from 2016 to 2021 is observed then the median rent increased in the Vancouver CMA by 19.6% and in CTs 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 by 16.3%, 19.1% and 20.1% respectively. In other words, if the most recent census indicators are examined then only CT227.01 is gentrifying according to the Grube-Cavers measure.

Observing the change in rent over time in the area of study using two distinct methods of comparison do not indicate that rents in Maywood/Central Park East are increasing faster than the City of Burnaby or the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area (with the exception of CT227.01 between 2016 and 2021). A possible explanation for this may be that renovations are not the primary mode of gentrification and displacement in the area of study. With renovations, an older rental building may be purchased and renovated in the hopes of charging higher rents. The primary method of

capital accumulation is increasing the rent. In contrast, development in the area of study has involved the demolition of older rental buildings and their replacement with condos. Rents in the area have increased, but to a lesser extent than Burnaby or the CMA. Capital accumulation is not occurring via jacking up of rents. Rather, the data indicates a shift from older rental buildings to strata towers. It is possible that capital accumulation via renovations is occurring in CT 228.03, thus accounting for the disproportionate increase in average rent in that census tract. This is an area where further research is warranted.

4.2.4. New Unit Starts

Given that rent increases and unit loss alone may not indicate that the area of study is experiencing gentrification, it is useful to examine additional quantitative metrics. CMHC tracks actual unit starts by intended market. With this information it may be easier to demonstrate the changing demographics in the area of study. Figure 4.9 represents a comparison of two intended markets in the area of study; strata units (condos) which are units built for owners and/or investors and purpose-built rentals. Here the effects of Burnaby's Tenant Protection Policy can clearly be seen. From 2010 until 2019 there are no rental units started. In 2019 there are no units built of any kind. Then in 2020, 822 strata units are started along with 125 rental units. In 2022, the proportion of strata to rental units has inverted, with more rentals than strata units having been started.

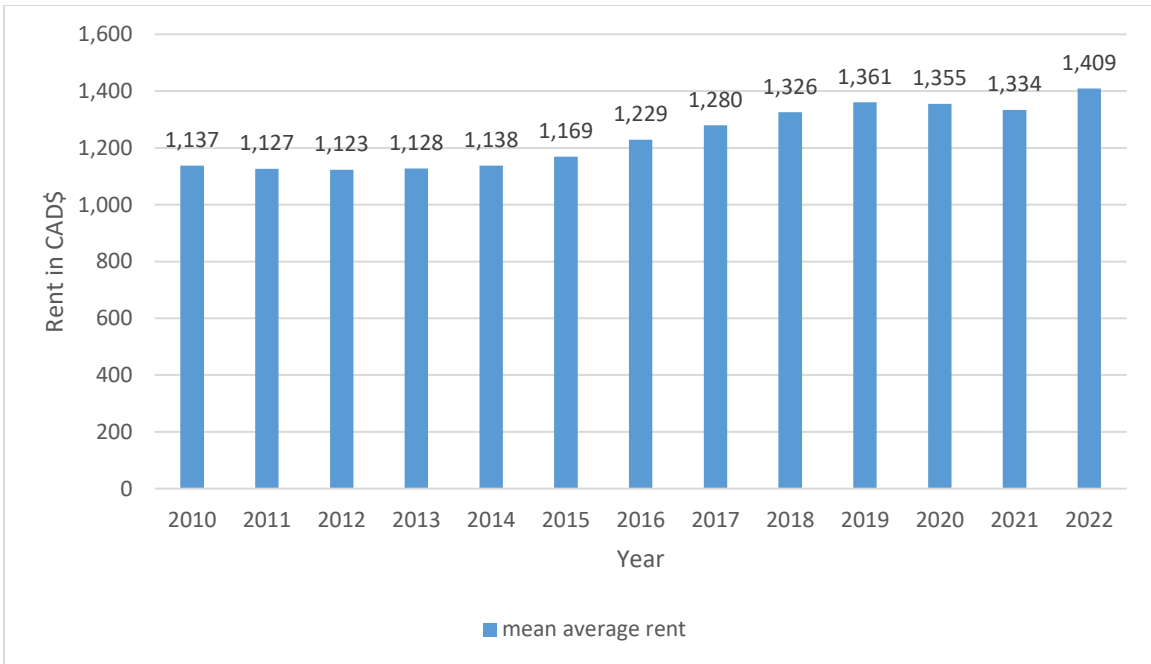


Figure 4.8. Mean Average Rent by Year in Maywood/Central Park East, 2010-2022

Source: CMHC

When comparing the area to Burnaby as a whole and looking at new units starts (condos and rentals) 4,391 new rental units have been started in Burnaby between 2010 and 2022. At the same time 26,482 condos have been started. Therefore, new rentals account for 14.22% of apartment style units built in Burnaby between 2010 and 2022.

If we examine the percentage of total new condo units started in Burnaby that in the area of study some data emerges that may seem counterintuitive. This data is illustrated in Table 4.5.

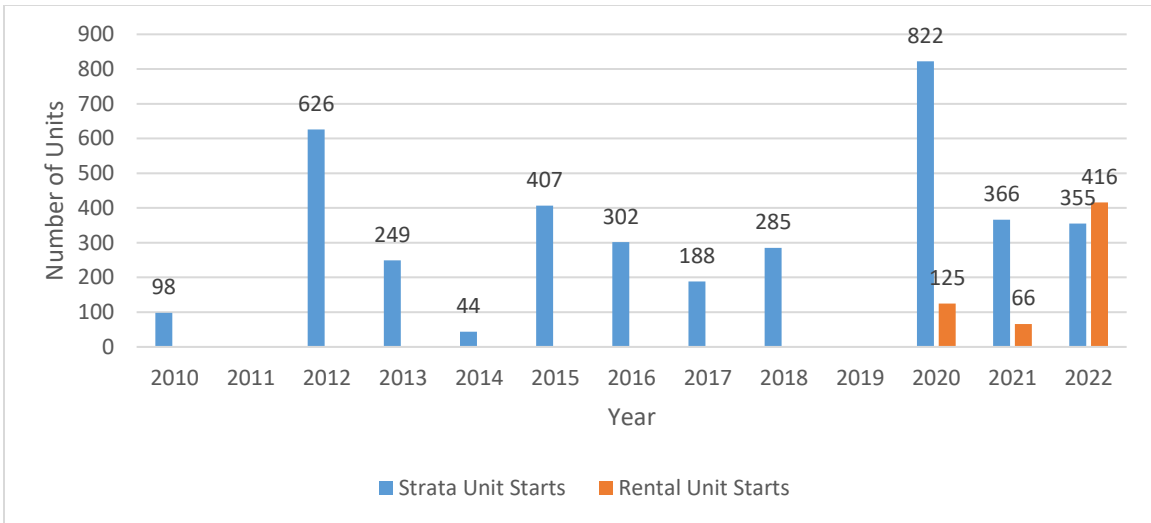


Figure 4.9. Unit Starts by Intended Market by Year in Maywood/Central Park East, 2010-2022

Source: CMHC

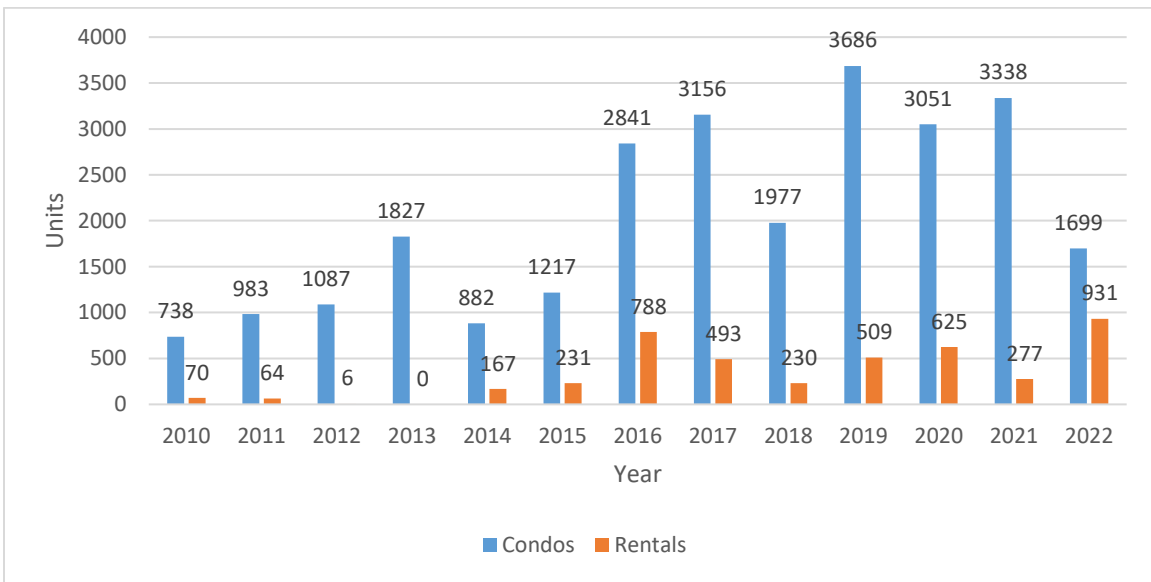


Figure 4.10. Unit Starts by Housing Type by Year in Burnaby, 2010-2022

Source: CMHC

In Table 4.5 it can be observed that although a significant number of new condo starts have occurred in Maywood/Central Park East, the area of study does not make up a majority of condo starts over time. Some years are quite low with the largest percentage occurring in 2012 with 57.06% of all new condo starts in the city. This demonstrates that although the area of study is significant zone of development in the city, new unit construction is also occurring in other parts of the city simultaneously.

However, many of these new developments may be occurring on previous commercially zoned land (as the case with developments in the Brentwood area) and as such have not resulted in loss of older rentals with an accompanying pushback from residents and subsequent media and academic attention.

Table 4.5. New Condo Starts in Maywood/Central Park East as a Percentage of New Condo Starts in Burnaby, 2010-2022

Year	Burnaby	Maywood/Central Park East	% of total
2010	738	98	13.28
2011	983	0	0
2012	1087	626	57.06
2013	1827	249	13.63
2014	882	44	4.99
2015	1217	407	33.44
2016	2841	302	10.63
2017	3156	188	5.96
2018	1977	285	14.42
2019	3686	0	0
2020	3051	822	26.94
2021	3338	366	10.96
2022	1699	355	21.54

Source: CMHC

It may also be useful to compare unit starts in another census tract which is also somewhat geographically close to the SkyTrain line. The census tract 0221.04 South Slope is located directly south of Maywood, on the other side of Imperial Street. Census tract 0221.04 South Slope is bordered by Imperial Street, Patterson Avenue, Rumble Avenue, Royal Oak Avenue and Beresford Street. 0221.04 South Slope is almost entirely zoned for single family homes. As such, it provides a useful area of comparison for the area of study and Burnaby as a whole.

Census tract 0221.04 is 1.29 square kilometers and is larger than the 0.683 square kilometers of the previously examined three census tracts that were combined to make up Maywood/Central Park East. As shown in Figure 5.5 the total number of new build starts in this census tract from 2010 to 2022 was 541. 151 of the total 248 rental units built stem from a single year: 2017. Given how much of an outlier this year is it is likely a single large project related to senior's housing surrounding David Gray Park, the

only part of the census tract along with Royal Oak Avenue from Rumble to Beresford which is zoned for Comprehensive Development. 224 of the new builds are single family homes replacing single family homes. When these numbers are contrasted the total number of new starts by build in Maywood/Central Park West over the same time period the results are somewhat striking.

Table 4.6. Historical Starts by Unit Type in Census Tract 0221.04 South Slope, 2010-2022

Year	Homeowner	Rental	Condo	All
2010	30	0	0	30
2011	19	0	0	19
2012	19	0	0	19
2013	18	0	0	18
2014	30	7	42	79
2015	14	8	0	22
2016	18	11	23	52
2017	18	151	0	169
2018	15	3	4	22
2019	10	6	0	16
2020	12	8	0	20
2021	11	7	0	18
2022	10	47	0	57
total	224	248	69	541

Source: CMHC

In Table 4.7, the Homeowner column has been omitted because there were no single-family home builds within the area of study. The table data indicates that the three combined census tracts of Maywood/Central Park East which is roughly half the size of South Slope has had 4251 new build starts as compared to 541 in South Slope. In other words, South Slope has had just 12.73% of the number of new starts as Maywood/Central Park East, even though it is almost twice the size. What might account for this disparity? Although South Slope is residential and thus slightly further from amenities, I would suggest that exclusionary zoning may be the reason why South Slope has not experienced the same sort of redevelopment and change as Maywood/ Central Park East. South Slope was not up zoned as an entire neighbourhood as Maywood was.

Furthermore, increased density in South Slope has never been part of Burnaby’s long-range planning. Subsequently, the single-family homeowners of South Slope have not experienced the same cacophonous daily chaos and upheaval as the vulnerable renters of Maywood. They are protected by exclusionary zoning.

Table 4.7. Unit Starts by Type in Maywood/Central Park East, 2010-2022

Year	Condo	Rental	All
2010	98	0	0
2011	0	0	0
2012	626	0	626
2013	249	0	249
2014	44	0	44
2015	407	0	407
2016	302	0	302
2017	188	0	188
2018	285	0	285
2019	0	0	0
2020	822	125	947
2021	366	66	432
2022	355	416	771
totals	3742	607	4251

Source: CMHC

4.2.5. Change in Household Income

It may be useful to compare income data as well as housing costs across Maywood/Central Park East, South Slope and Burnaby as a whole. To start, let us use the city of Burnaby as our baseline for examining household income. For purposes of comparison, it may be useful to separate households into owners and renters. In Table 4.8 we can see CMHC data adapted from Canadian Census of Population years 2006-2021. It may be useful to use the census subdivision of the City of Burnaby as a baseline with which to compare the census tracts that make up Maywood/ Central Park East. Furthermore, it may also be informative to compare the South Slope census tract to Burnaby overall as well as Maywood /Central Park East.

Table 4.8. Burnaby Household Income Comparison between Owners and Renters, 2006-2021

	Owners		Renters	
	Mean Household Income After taxes	Median Household income after taxes	Mean Household Income After taxes	Median Household income after taxes
2006	\$98,302	\$82,930	\$57,840	\$50,700
2011	\$86,749	\$73,505	\$52,737	\$44,365
2016	\$91,841	\$77,430	\$54,109	\$45,828
2021	\$102,200	\$86,000	\$68,000	\$59,200

Source: CMHC

When comparing the mean and median incomes of owners in Burnaby as compared to renters, there is a clear disparity with owning households earning significantly more. This can be observed in Table 4.8.

When comparing the individual census tracts that make up Maywood/Central Park East income drops moving west to east across the census tracts. This can be observed in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Maywood/Central Park East Owners Household After Tax Income by Census Tract, 2006-2021

	Household Income owners mean after taxes 228.03	Household Income owners mean after taxes 227.02	Household Income owners mean after taxes 227.01
2006	\$53,752	\$59,699	\$41,650
2011	\$52,954	\$61,051	\$52,611
2016	\$62,094	\$60,877	\$49,912
2021	\$72,600	\$70,000	\$60,700

Source: CMHC

This same trend is not observed among renters in three census tracts in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10. Maywood/Central Park East Renters Household After Tax Income by Census Tract, 2010-2021

	Household Income renters mean after taxes 228.03	Household Income renters mean after taxes 227.02	Household Income renters mean after taxes 227.01
2006	\$45,804	\$44,332	\$37,883
2011	\$47,940	\$42,056	\$44,346
2016	\$53,034	\$54,664	\$46,840
2021	\$60,450	\$63,600	\$56,000

Source: CMHC

When the census tracts are aggregated in Table 4.11, owners in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood have a higher average income than renters but not by an amount that might be expected from an invasion of Jaguar drivers into the neighbourhood. Moreover, mean income of owners in the neighbourhood increased by 31% between 2006 and 2021. The mean incomes of renters increased by 40% over the same period. It is unclear why mean income of renters has increased more than owners. This is an area where further study is warranted.

Table 4.11. Maywood/Central Park East Owners and Renters Household Mean After Tax Income, 2006-2021

	Household Income owners mean after taxes	Household Income renters mean after taxes
2006	\$51,700	\$42,673
2011	\$55,539	\$44,781
2016	\$57,627	\$51,512
2021	\$67,767	\$60,017

Source: CMHC

When examining our comparison census tract of South Slope in Table 4.12 there is a noticeably larger gap between owner and renter mean and median average incomes. This is to be expected in a census tract made up predominantly of single-family homes. With the average value of a detached house in South Slope being \$1,668,731 in 2016, there are significant financial barriers to homeownership in South Slope (CMHC, 2023d).

By comparison the average value of a high-rise apartment in census tract 227.01 was \$599,202 (CMHC, 2023a). A lower number, to be sure, but still perhaps out of reach for households with a mean income of \$60,017.

Table 4.12. Census Tract 0221.04 South Slope Mean and Median Household Incomes for Owners and Renters, 2006-2021

	Owners		Renters	
	Mean Household Income After Taxes Owners	Median Household Income After Taxes Owners	Mean Household Income After Taxes Renters	Median Household Income After Taxes Renters
2006	\$90,570	\$82,732	\$55,521	\$46,090
2011	\$87,395.	\$74,888	\$60,687	\$44,784
2016	\$96,174	\$75,065	\$63,919	\$49,529
2021	\$112,000	\$97,000	\$70,000	\$54,800

Source: CMHC

Average family income is one of the indicators examined in the Grube-Cavers measure. Although the Grube-Cavers measure does not specify median or mean average, median family income will be used as median family income is a data point in the 2006 Census of Population whereby mean average was not tracked until the next census year, in 2011. A census family is defined as follows:

Census family refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status, with at least one child living in the same dwelling (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

This data, adjusted for inflation, can be observed in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13. Median Family Income by Census Tract, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	\$49,427	\$67,493	\$37,095	\$83,526
2011	\$50,447	\$56,961	\$50,195	\$94,974
2016	\$63,494	\$68,516	\$56,876	\$101,865
2021	\$88,000	\$85,000	\$76,000	\$113,000

Source: Canadian Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021

If the change in median family income over time is greater than the CMA median, then the tracts are considered to be gentrifying according to the Grube-Cavers measure. The percentage change, adjusted for inflation, in median income for the Vancouver CMA from 2006 to 2021 is 35.3%. The percentage change for CT 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 are respectively 78%, 25.9% and 104.8% for the same time period. If this indicator is observed over this time period the CT 227.02 would not be classified as gentrifying although CT 228.03 and CT 227.01 have experienced a substantive increase in median family incomes and would meet the Grube-Cavers criteria. However, if the observation period is narrowed to the change between 2016 and 2021 the Vancouver CMA percentage change is 10.9% while the three CTs are 24%, 36.9% and 33.6%. Therefore, if this indicator is used to examine the change in median family incomes from 2016 to 2021, median incomes have risen by a higher percentage than the CMA.

It would appear to be difficult to gauge changing demographics in the area of study by merely comparing the incomes of owners and renters. However, according to CMHC and Statistics Canada data median incomes are increasing substantively. Average family income has increased by a higher percentage than the CMA, and are therefore gentrifying, according to the Grube-Cavers measure.

4.2.6. Modes of Transportation for Commuting

Given that interview participants all stated the importance of the SkyTrain and for the majority it was their primary method of transportation, it would make sense to examine the change in transit use over time in the area of study. This was done by extracting census data from the Canadian Census of Population from 2006 to 2021. The three census tracts that make up Maywood/Central Park East were again tallied individually and then averaged to give a picture of the aggregated data. Maywood/Central Park East was then compared to South Slope Census Tract and Burnaby as a whole. This is presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14. Commuting Mode by Census Year in Maywood Central Park East, South Slope and Burnaby, 2006-2021

Maywood/Central Park East		South Slope		Burnaby	
%Car (passenger and driver}	%Transit	%Car (passenger and driver}	%Transit	%Car (passenger and driver}	%Transit

2006	44.6	44.3	73	21.4	68.7	25.03
2011	41.2	47.2	63.96	28.24	65.43	28.13
2016	41.5	47.5	60.3	30.6	63.9	29.4
2021	49.4	37.1	62.9	27.6	71	21.5

Source: Canadian Census of Population 2006,2011,2016, 2021

Some trends emerge from the data. First, transit use is down overall in Burnaby and car use is up. Second, somewhat surprisingly, in the comparison census tract of South Slope car use has decreased over time while transit use has increased. Finally, when we examine Maywood/Central Park East, the inverse has occurred: the use of automobiles as the primary method of commuting has increased over time while transit use has decreased. The decline in transit use and rise in automobile dependency would seem to indicate that at least one of the primary rationales for TOD is not being realized. Although anecdotal descriptions of luxury cars permeating the Maywood/Central Park East cannot be verified, respondent descriptions combined with decreasing transit use for commuting, when taken together may be indicative of a larger trend. At the very least it would appear that perhaps those who can afford to live in the new condos can also afford cars and are using them to commute to work.

Furthermore, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is also concerning that despite the emphasis Burnaby has placed upon TOD density with the four Town Centres, overall transit use has declined. However, this decline is almost certainly due to the global Covid-19 pandemic as public transit use declined nationally from 2020 onward. Nationally, as of 2022 transit use had not yet returned to pre-pandemic levels (Statistics Canada, 2022). Given the magnitude of societal change wrought by Covid-19 a proper evaluation of its effects on public transit in Burnaby will have to wait until the 2026 Census.

4.2.7. Number of Degrees Per Capita

The number of degrees per capita is an indicator the Grube-Cavers measure. Educational levels often have a direct relationship with income levels (Simard-Duplain & St-Denis, 2020). As the level of education increases there is often (but certainly not always) a corresponding increase in compensation. Examining educational levels in the area of study may help to corroborate some of the qualitative data that indicated a new, wealthier demographic moving into the neighbourhood (Couture & Handbury, 2023).

However, upon actual examination of the labour force in the area of study and education levels something unexpected emerged. This is observed in Figure 4.15.

Table 4.15. Percentage of Labour Force Aged 15+ with Bachelor Degree of Higher in Maywood/Central Park East, 2011-2021

Census year	2011	2021
Total pop. aged 15+ years in labour force	7,550	9110
University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor level or above	4285	4700
percentage of labour force population aged 15+ with bachelor's degree or above	56.78%	51.67%

Source: Canadian Census of Population 2011, 2021

Although the overall population aged 15 or older in the labour force has increased the actual percentage of the population with bachelor's degree or higher has decreased.

If the Grube-Cavers measure is utilized here a more comprehensive view of the data emerges. This data is shown in Table. 4.16.

Table 4.16. Number of University certificates, diplomas or degrees per capita, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	0.3603	0.3079	0.3594	0.204
2011	0.2983	0.301	0.3324	0.2306
2016	0.3679	0.2904	0.3289	0.2563
2021	0.4512	0.5563	0.4223	0.2979

Source: Canadian Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021

If the change in number of degrees is examined from 2006 to 2021 then the Vancouver CMA has increased by 0.0939. For Census Tracts 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 the number of degrees per capita have increased by 0.0909, 0.2484 and 0.0629 respectively. Looking at the entire period from 2006 to 2021 only CT 227.02 has increased more than the CMA. However, if the numbers are examined for the period from 2016 to 2021 the CMA increased by 0.0416 while the CT increased by 0.0833, 0.2659 and 0.0934. Therefore, when examining the increases between 2016 and 2021, the three CTs that make up Maywood/Central Park East are gentrifying.

The initial examination of data using straight percentages from 2011 to 2021 does not seem to correlate with interview respondent's perceptions of wealthier newcomers invading the neighbourhood. However, once the finer instrument of the per capita measure from 2016 to 2021 is used, then according to the Grube-Cavers measure, the CTs are gentrifying.

4.2.8. Percentage of the Population Aged 30-44

Percentage of population aged 30-44 is an indicator of the Steinmetz-Wood measure. If the percentage of population of a census tract aged 30-44 is greater than the CMA then the census tract is gentrifying. Although not stated explicitly by Steinmetz Wood et al, young adults have been associated with gentrification and changing demographics in neighbourhoods (Steinmetz-Wood et al, 2017; Moos, 2016). This data is represented in Table 4.17. When examining the percentage change from 2016 to 2021 it can be observed that CT 228.03, 227.01 and 227.01 have increased by 6.1%, 2.9% and 3.2% respectively. In comparison, the Vancouver CMA has increased by 1.14%. According to this indicator of the Steinmetz-Wood measure, the census tracts that make up the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood are gentrifying.

Table 4.17. Percentage of Population Aged 30-44, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	29.6	28.2	37.1	23.3
2011	25.6	23.9	31.8	21.7
2016	23.3	21.3	27.4	21.06
2021	29.4	24.2	30.6	22.2

Source Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021

4.2.9. Percentage of Population Considered Low-income

Percentage of the population considered to be low-income is an indicator of the Steinmetz-Wood measure. The Census of Population characteristic, Low-income cut off, after tax (LICO-AT) is defined by Statistics Canada (2017, para. 1) thusly:

The Low-income cut-offs, after tax refers to an income threshold, defined using 1992 expenditure data, below which economic families or persons not in economic families would likely have devoted a larger share of their after-tax income than average to the necessities of food, shelter and clothing. More specifically, the thresholds represented income levels at

which these families or persons were expected to spend 20 percentage points or more of their after-tax income than average on food, shelter and clothing.

This characteristic was examined for the three census tracts as well as the Vancouver CMA. This data is represented in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18. Percentage of Population LICO-AT, 2006-2021

	228.03	227.02	227.01	CMA
2006	35.5	24.8	42.3	16.5
2011	35.2	32.8	33.0	17.4
2016	27.4	19.6	32.5	13.9
2021	13.5	12.3	17.0	7.7

Source: Canadian Census of Population 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021

When examining the data longitudinally it is clear that all three of the census tracts in 2006 had a higher percentage of the population considered to be low income than the Vancouver CMA. Most notable is CT 227.01 at 42.3% in 2006 compared to 16.5% for the CMA. This data would suggest that a substantial proportion of the population in CT 227.01 were considered low-income in 2006. If the two most recent census years (2016 and 2021) are compared, then we can see a decrease in the low-income population across the board. The decreases for 228.03, 227.02 and 227.01 are 13.9%, 7.3% and 15.5% compared to a 6.2% decrease for the Vancouver CMA. Ergo, according to this indicator of the Steinmetz-Wood measure, the census tracts are gentrifying. Furthermore, although the Vancouver CMA percentage has dropped from 16.5% to 7.7% from 2006 to 2021—a 53.3% reduction—the CTs have decreased further. 228.03 has had a reduction in low-income residents of 61.9%. 227.02 has had a reduction of 62.5% from its peak in 2011. Finally, 227.01 has experienced a reduction in low-income residents of 59.8%. This data suggests incomes have been rising in the area of study since 2006.

4.2.10. Summary of Quantitative Findings

Overall, this chapter has attempted to establish a quantitative background upon which the lived experiences of interview respondents may be projected. The first source examined was the City of Burnaby's records and archival data for the period from 2010

to 2022. This source indicated that the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood experienced a significant period of rental unit loss which occurred in waves over the period of study. The introduction of new rental unit protection policies in 2019 led to a balance of new unit starts, divided between condos, market and non-market rentals. According to the city data, non-market rental units scheduled to be built will almost replace the number units lost between 2010 and 2022.

The next sections examined federal data from both CMHC and Statistics Canada. The Grube-Cavers and Steinmetz-Wood measures were utilized to determine whether the three census tracts that make up the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhoods were gentrifying. Of the indicators that make up the Grube-Cavers measure—percentage of owner-occupied buildings, average family income, average monthly rent, number of degrees per capita—three of them (owner-occupied buildings, income and degrees per capita) suggest that the census tracts are gentrifying. The remaining indicator—average monthly rent—does not suggest that gentrification is occurring in the area of study.

Two indicators from the Steinmetz-Wood measure were used to examine the census tracts—percentage of the population aged 30-44 and percentage of the population classified as low-income. The three census tracts have a higher percentage of the population aged 30-44 than the Vancouver CMA. Additionally, the percentage of the population considered low-income in the three census tracts is decreasing at a faster rate than the Vancouver CMA. Therefore, the populations of the three census tracts are getting somewhat younger and wealthier. A summary of the combined Grube-Cavers/Steinmetz-Wood measures may be observed in Table 19.

Table 4.19. Summary of Grube-Cavers/Steinmetz-Wood measures

Indicator	Gentrification Occurring
Percentage of owner-occupied buildings	yes
Average family income	yes
Average monthly rent	no
Degrees per capita	yes

percentage of the population aged 30-44	yes
percentage of the population classified as low-income	yes

When unit loss and new unit starts are tallied using CMHC data, the number of older units lost over the 2010 to 2022 period is less than the total arrived at using municipal data. When compared to the City of Burnaby overall, an overwhelming majority of rental unit loss has occurred in the area of study. CMHC data also indicates that the introduction of new rental unit policies by Burnaby in 2019 has resulted in significant increase in rental units being built. However, there has been an 29.6% decrease in rental units overall.

When looking at incomes, there is a clear sizable difference between renters and owners, with owners having higher incomes. When looking at the increase in incomes over time, there has been a substantial increase. If using the Grube-Cavers measure to examine change in median incomes, then the census tracts are gentrifying.

Public transit use in the area of study has decreased over time and automobile use has increased. However, these resulted are tempered by the effects on public transit globally by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Overall, this quantitative examination of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood has described an area undergoing a period of transition, with a significant loss of older rental units being replaced by condo towers. Public transportation use is down and there are multiple indicators of gentrification. The next chapter will examine the lived experiences of present and former residents of the neighbourhood and attempt to contextualize them alongside the quantitative data presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5. Lived Experiences of Respondents

5.1. Overview

To this point this thesis has examined indicators of gentrification through the use of quantitative methods; the Grube-Cavers and Steinmetz-Wood measures and other indicators supported by City of Burnaby, CMHC and Statistics Canada data. This was done in order to provide context to the narrative finding that will be presented in this chapter. The research question seeks to examine how the introduction of “S”-zoning by the City of Burnaby has affected the lives of the inhabitants of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. This question can only be answered through the narratives of respondents. As Kendall (2008) notes, qualitative interviews can give the reader a sense of “being there” as well conceptualizing any quantitative data. Interviews and lived experiences place human faces and stories onto columns of numbers.

5.2. The Neighbourhood

Throughout the remainder of the thesis respondents will be identified by the designation R1 to R13 to protect their anonymity. Activists will be designated as A1 and A2. Furthermore, for the next section on housing, respondents will be clustered into groups according to housing status and history as seen in Tables 6.2 and 6.3, located in Appendix E. Additional details on respondent data may also be found in Appendix E.

Although demographic information was not part of the interview, the participants encompassed an assortment of backgrounds and ages. The time they lived in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood ranged from one year to 22 years with a mean average of 12.8 years.

The main words or themes used by respondents to describe the neighbourhoods were: working class (five instances), immigrant (four instances), family (four instances) and affordable (two instances). The area was described as being a pleasant, walkable neighbourhood with green lawns and shady trees and foliage (two instances). R6, who has lived in the area since 2001, indicated that in their experience the community has been a sought-after rental location, particularly for new immigrants to Canada and the Lower Mainland. R6 stated:

And it's like, you know, and I've seen that even just walking through this area down for me would up to Imperial and down Telford Avenue all along there is like you'll see a sign go up and it'll be gone down the same day. That's how quickly it gets snapped up because the vacancy rate is so tight. Where I am, a majority of the people that are on this side are all new immigrants.

The area was also described as having many children and possessing a real “sense of community” by R8 and R9. The community was described as being a place for BIPOC people: First Nations, Latino, South Asians, and Filipinos by R9.

When asked to describe the positive attributes of the area 12 out of 13 respondents emphasized the importance of proximity to the SkyTrain Expo Line. The other attributes that were mentioned the most were the ability to shop at Metrotown (10 instances), one of the largest shopping centers in the Lower mainland and the proximity to Central Park, a large urban park with walking trails, ponds, a Pitch and Putt and playgrounds (nine instances). The main branch of the Burnaby library is also in the area and was highly regarded by participants (three instances).

When participants were asked to describe negative aspects, an interesting phenomenon emerged: respondents started to describe the pace of change in the area or an aspect of it (noise, dust from construction, road closures) as a negative aspect. The question had to be rephrased to emphasize any negative aspects of the neighbourhood that were not associated with new developments. With these new parameters in place, five respondents indicated that petty crime was sometimes a problem. Traffic and noise from nearby Kingsway, a major arterial, were indicated by six respondents. Two respondents claimed that there were no negative aspects to the neighbourhood at all prior to development/demovictions.

5.2.1. Perceived Inevitability of Change

Of the nine respondents (Group D) still living in the neighbourhood, six indicated that they planned to stay regardless of the changes happening in the area. The three remaining participants stated that they could not see a future for themselves in the area and that “the writing was on the wall”. This narrative of the “inevitability of change” has emerged throughout this thesis. Participants felt as though rapid change and development were inexorable. The theme was present during the conceptual framework and also emerged from the participant interviews. As stated by respondents:

Because we're all gonna get kicked out. We know we're gonna get kicked out. The whole place is rezoned. It's the writing's on the wall, right? It's been published that we're being rezoned. Everything is getting demolished every which way all around us. And all of us are just desperately glomming on to the potential that the person that owns our building will be a holdout(R8).

Yeah, but then again with time comes change, right? Everything grows old and has to get renewed again eventually. So, I understand the process. I understand how nature works. It's just bizarre. When you've been here for so long, you're used to things a certain way. And you are you're being told that hey, this is coming and everything's gonna change(R5).

Of the thirteen respondents, nine had experienced at least one move due to demoviction and one respondent, R12, had to move because of renoviction. Demoviction is defined by CMHC as, "The practice of evicting tenants from a building so that it can be demolished, usually for redevelopment." Renoviction is defined by CMHC as "the eviction of tenants resulting from a renovation of their apartment or building" (Zell & McCullough, 2020). Together the ten respondents who have experienced displacement make up Group B.

The remaining three participants, R5, R6, R8, all felt as though having to move was inevitable, as it would only be a matter of time before their buildings were bought and demolished. These three individuals make up Group A. One of the respondents, R6, described the situation in their building as being constantly in flux. The owner would insinuate that the building was being sold and some tenants, newcomers in particular, would become anxious and leave. The owner would then rent out the newly vacated units at higher rents. One respondent, R3, described the area as being in "controlled decline" in the sense that some buildings had only the bare minimum of maintenance being done to them.

The building was, you could tell that the landlords were not that interested in putting any money into it, it was just sort of like a controlled decline until they could sell or redevelop, right? You got the feeling this is just, you know, "managed slumlordery" it was they didn't want to have it bad enough to affect the ability to rent it out for decent value. But they didn't want to invest anything into the building(R3).

5.2.2. Perceptions of Tenant Assistance Policy

Of the ten participants who had been either demovicted or renovicted (Group B), four of them were under the City of Burnaby's Tenant Assistance Policy (TAP) (Group B1), which was first introduced in 2019. All four participants reported a generally positive experience under the new rental protections. They described their interactions with designated developer liaisons to be generally respectful and informative. One respondent (R2) thought that the relocation and rent top-up had placed his family in an overall net positive position. He stated that their new unit was superior to the one they had been displaced from.

So, I have no problem. Moving out of there. I mean, I really moved three blocks, the move was not too bad at all, I didn't have to do too much. And spend, you know, we got to move in fee, which we just kind of almost put in our pocket, because I just paid really my family to help me. So in ways that kind of helped...I get a view, I got a washer and dryer in the house, I get a manager that, he's a great manager... families in here. Lots of families, I've met a lot of good people in here. And just as an overall big-time upgrade. I mean, just having, you know, it's nice to be able to have a newer place to live (R2).

R7 also expressed positive feeling about their experience under TAP, "This is the best place I've lived in because it's new. I'm the first person who's lived here.' They were also optimistic about the future because of their faith, "I know God's in control, and I've got a really good connection there and I've had a lot of things go wrong and got through it. I feel safer in a storm with Him with me."

These positive experiences stemming from displacement are discussed by Kearns and Mason (2013), whereby relocation can often be experienced as a form of personal growth and development provided certain conditions are met. In their findings, respondents who had been given the most choice over where and how displacement occurred reported the most satisfaction in the outcomes. Burnaby residents who are covered under TAP are given options and are thus involved in the process of relocation. The outcome is not merely dictated to them (City of Burnaby, 2023).

The other respondent from Group B1 was less optimistic about the future. They (R4) wished that the amount of rent top-up, which is dictated by CMHC (Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation) data was more up to date. They also expressed

some mental health issues in the form of anxiety and depression about having to move despite being under TAP.

Like, I'm starting to get a little bit worried now, because this move was only supposed to be for a year. Okay. And it's coming up to the one-year mark. Okay. So, it's affecting me more now. Because I cringe every time, I go to my mailbox every day (R4).

The remaining respondent from Group B1 stated that they (R9) liked their current living arrangement and wished they didn't have to move.

Group A did feel as though they were protected somewhat by the existence of TAP in Burnaby. According to R5, "That's why, when I read the policy, I actually had a big, warm feeling inside that I felt that hey, my city's protecting me. This is the first time I'm ever reading something of this in history."

Despite the existence of TAP, the theme of negative mental health outcomes arose in a few contexts over the course of the interviews and will be addressed in a dedicated section.

Six of those displaced had moved prior to 2019 and the implementation of the most recent protections did not apply to them (Group B2). Two respondents had their moves paid for by their landlords. Another was paid three months' rent to vacate. Prior to the implementation of the current, amended TAP an earlier version had been introduced in 2015 designed by staff and council which stipulated three months' rent must be paid for evictions due to redevelopment. Clearly, given the backlash against demovictions, the 2015 Tenant Assistance Policy was deemed insufficient by tenants (City of Burnaby, 2015).

Displaced residents of Maywood/Central Park East were merely collateral damage to the process of capital accumulation until the establishment of more robust renter protections in 2019. Following implementation of 2019 TAP and RUZP policies, speculator-investors have obligations to the inhabitants of the buildings they have purchased. However, enforcement is always a key factor in any sort of regulatory framework. Aside from the data gathered from respondents, it is outside the scope of this thesis to evaluate the effectiveness of the 2019 TAP and RUZP policies. This is an area where further research is warranted.

5.3. Neighbourhood in Transition

When asked about perceived changes in the neighbourhood, respondents described: displays of wealth (seven instances), changing racial demographics (six instances) followed by change in the built form (five instances) and rising crime (three instances) and visible homelessness (three instances). Some residents were hesitant to identify the perceived demographic shift for fear of sounding racist. Others had no such qualms. Seven respondents used the term “Asians” when asked about changes in the neighbourhood. One tenant described going to a developer sales center open house:

When I went to the sales center it was busy! I expected it to be busy as it was the first day they emailed everybody. So, I expected it to be busy. But I walked in there by myself. There probably would have been about 35 to 40 people in there when I got there... So, I will say I was only African American, black person, there. There was a Caucasian couple...and the rest of the 35 people were all of Asian descent. I don't have an issue with that, but I don't got that type of money (R4).

One respondent described the perceived shift in class and race while finishing high school in the neighbourhood.

Oh, my God. Yeah. It was such a huge change. Like, it was crazy. I went from being able to relate to my peers. Oh, you know like, “My mom, we didn't have enough food for dinner, if you want to come to my house.” Like sharing and understanding each other. And then now it's just like, “Oh, yeah, my parents took me on a vacation to Paris for summer.” And I was like, what? Yeah. So it's very different... Yeah, I think it was weird, because East Asian people, they would look down on us a lot (R9).

The following statements were made in response to questions about perceived change in the neighbourhood.

You know, younger, younger and richer... Well, at the risk of sounding mildly racist, I have noticed, so a lot of Asians, right. I don't know if it's from China, Japan, probably not Japan. I'm guessing China (R12).

These descriptions are somewhat surprising given both Burnaby and the Metrotown area historically have large populations identifying ethnically as Chinese (Nan, 1999; Zhou, 2019). Moreover, the respondent who perhaps had the most negative perception of immigration, R13, had a Chinese surname.

Seven respondents noted what they felt to be more outwards displays of wealth in the neighbourhood.

I'm seeing a lot more affluence...the stratification is real, my friend. (R8).

You know, I see Burnaby Metrotown's shifting more to mid-high class, from lower class and middle class, I see it shifting more to high class and pushing down the little guys, I see it, you know, scaring away all the little guys pushing away all the, you know, people that are less fortunate. Yeah, it's there. It's real (R5).

5.3.1. Vehicular Wealth

The concrete examples of new wealth in the neighbourhood given by respondents were vehicular in nature (5 instances). Respondents noted the increase in luxury automobiles in the neighbourhood. As R12 stated, "Man, you would not believe. Like, both two weeks ago, some dude left his Jaguar parked on our on our street in front of our building! A fucking Jaguar!"

R9 described past attitudes in the area regarding ostentatious displays of vehicular wealth: "Yeah, one thing for example. When I was younger you never saw, super-expensive cars right? And if you did, you knew that car was gonna get keyed, it was gonna get destroyed in like, one day! But now I look outside, and there's expensive cars. And I'm like, how did this not get keyed yet?"

Rich folks you mean? Yeah, yeah. I've seen that a lot. There are a lot of Teslas. Yeah, they're like Lambos. (R10).

More rich people, I guess because I see lots of nice cars(R11).

And like I say all the fancy cars it's, I just, I just go, some of these things I tell you! Range Rovers, Discoveries and that Jaguar! I couldn't believe it! Mercedes, Audis, BMWs! (R12)

These anecdotal descriptions of a noticeable uptick in luxury automobiles would seem to indicate that at least some of the new neighbors are not dependent upon transit. Although owning a luxury automobile does not preclude transit use, it may be inferred that the proximity to the SkyTrain matters less to the new inhabitants.

Research by Pollack et al (2010) has shown that higher-income families are more likely to own and drive personal automobiles and that when these families move

into gentrifying neighborhoods close to mass transit, transit use can decrease. Within a specifically Canadian context, work done by Danyluk and Ley (2007) has shown that residents of gentrified neighbourhoods are less likely to use public transit. In contrast, ten of the interview respondents stated that the SkyTrain was their main mode of transport, and all respondents used the SkyTrain to some extent. Four of the participants, stated that they or their household owned personal vehicles. Furthermore, 11 respondents stated that the proximity to the SkyTrain was a major factor in their decision to move into the Maywood/Central Park East.

Luxury automobiles may be a sign of changing class dynamics within the area of study however given the small sample size, evidence remains anecdotal (Guan et al, 2022; Atliant, 2022). However, when the anecdotal descriptions of luxury automobiles is combined with the decrease in transit use described in the previous chapter a narrative of increased automobile usage begins to emerge. Moreover, as Urry (2004) states, automobiles are “the major item of *individual consumption* after housing which provides status to its owner/user through its sign values (such as speed, security, safety, sexual desire, career success, freedom, family, masculinity).” A more comprehensive analysis, beyond the scope of this thesis, would need to be conducted to address the topic with certainty.

5.3.2. Crime and Homelessness

Respondents felt that crime and homelessness had increased in the neighbourhood since redevelopment began. When asked to clarify what “crime” meant, respondents R1 and R2 defined it as the theft of items, vehicle break-ins and drug use.

However, a few respondents did describe mugging and other assaults.

I mean, even now, it's a thing but like, there is crime that happens. Like growing up like my place got robbed multiple times, even in broad daylight. Someone stole my bike off my balcony. So yeah, and my bike got stolen like three times and our place, our apartment got broken into twice. Or maybe even more times. My mom has been robbed, in person robbed. Someone ran up to her and grabbed her purse (R9).

For many respondents, the presence of towers and demographic change in the area were somehow linked, although they were unable to articulate how.

Yes, I knew the managers around the neighbourhood, from other buildings who would look after each other. We knew who belonged in the area and who didn't. And it was pretty good. I would say, you know, managers would communicate and try to keep crime down and any problems, you know, it was it was a good community, I would say...crime increased when all the construction started (R1).

Thus, for respondents, the increases in homelessness and crime are connected in some way with the displacement of residents and a change in the built form of the neighbourhood. One participant, R1, who was also a former building manager in the area, outlined how people who lost their units would often try to stay in the area, either by sleeping rough in the park or living out of a vehicle.

There was a guy living in a truck with a camper van. He only moved two blocks from where he was renting and parked near the park. I guess to be close to the building. If you go to our building, the one on Maywood, it has a carport, an unfenced carport, and there, one of the corners, the back of the building. There was a lot of people that would go by pushing carts and had backpacks and they would spend the night there. I would go talk to them. I said (don't) start any fires and for the most part 95% of them were okay. But yeah, it's something I noticed that it increased, there was a lot of a lot more movement in the area from homeless people or it increased quite a bit (after construction started in the area) (R1).

The very real possibility of displacement resulting in homelessness is noted by Atkinson, along with a desire to remain close to familiar locales (Atkinson, 2000).

Establishing that demovictions have directly led to increased homelessness and criminality is beyond the scope of this thesis. This is an area for future research. However, as Atkinson (2000) notes, the dissolution of established communities, increase in vacant properties and precariously housed individuals can lead residents to feel as though crime and criminality are increasing. The lived experience and observations of residents describe the transformation of a stable community into a transitory state filled with construction sites and a perceived increase in homelessness and criminal activity. The increased rate of demolitions and developments are reinforced by the statistical data.

5.3.3. Ontological Insecurity

The pace and scale of change in the area figured prominently in the emergent theme of mental health among the respondents. Five of the participants indicated that

their living situations influenced their mental health. Issues ranged from anxiety and depression related to the uncertainty of the relocation process to full-bore existential dread associated with the destruction of the original built environment. Respondents described the effect that the changes in the area had on them:

You know, seeing all this construction going on around me. It's just... it's daunting. it's scary. It freezes you in your tracks. It scared me to the point I was already dealing with depression on two different fronts. When this got thrown at me, I spiraled into such a heavy depression, that I actually tried to commit suicide at one point, and I was hospitalized for weeks... And this, it takes a real heavy toll on your psyche when you know impending doom like this is coming down on you like this (R5).

A significant cause of stress was the constant noise of construction that permeated the community. A construction zone is an inherently stressful environment due to cranes and other machinery, trucks coming and going, hammering, drilling etc. (Liu et al, 2017;Ng, 2000; Zou et al, 2020). This is in addition to the significant rise in population during the working day. A block that previously may have had a verdant, idyllic quality could rapidly be transformed into a cacophonous construction site. Respondents indicated that it seemed as though their mental health and right to quiet enjoyment of their homes were sacrificed to the demands of ongoing construction.

It's unconscionable. It's a kind of noise torture... It starts at 7am. It goes past six in the summer, it's six days a week. Right? Like there's no tempering of that. I downloaded a decimeter app to measure the amount of noise, and it's 80 decibels on a consistent basis. The comfort, wellbeing and safety of the current residents (are an afterthought). It's not a field in Abbotsford that's being redeveloped. People who live here, live here. We still live here. We still exist here. Why are they giving (them exemptions)? Why? And the response being, you know, well, that's the law (R8).

The analogy of being invaded by a hostile force was brought up on more than one occasion. Respondents painted vivid descriptions and provided profound insights into how the change in the neighbourhood was affecting them.

I mean, a lot of the nature that was around me when I first moved in, and it's not here anymore, of course, because it's all been, it's scared to the other side of Imperial. Like the squirrels, chipmunks, for example... I mean, one plus side of it is the insects that you would normally see in these old buildings such as cockroaches, you see less of those in these zoning areas, because they're scared shitless of all the vibrations and the noises. We actually see them migrate from building to building and I hear from it

from talking to people and neighbors and neighbor's buildings. And we see the progression of the rodents and the insects further and further away from these zoning areas while they're being developed. And it's really interesting to see, but it's also scary at the same time, because it reminds you what's happening deep down to you. It's just a constant reminder of what's happening to you. And every morning at 7am Boom, boom, boom, boom, boom with a jackhammer, right through till eight o'clock at night for the spring and summer. And that is a huge toll on people's mental psyche (R5).

Although all respondents noted the pace and scale of construction in the neighbourhood, some streets have had more projects being built simultaneously and respondents from these areas had the strongest negative perception of construction. R5 and R8 live on streets that have had 8 redevelopment approvals. See Figure 4.1

These findings align with Watt's (2018) description of "displacement anxiety" , whereby people experience "ontological insecurity" as the physical environment changes around them. Although demoviction and displacement may be the ultimate negative consequence of gentrification, Atkinson (2020, p.382) identifies "psychic dislocation and inadequacy in relation to the kinds of conspicuous wealth and more subtle codes of dress, conduct and being that now permeated the neighbourhood." Although respondents explicitly describe the anxiety caused by construction and noise, there may also be an underlying loss of spatial identity as manifestations of capital-luxury cars and condos-spring up throughout the neighbourhood. It is significant to note that although new renter protection policies in Burnaby may have ameliorated the issue of physical displacement, issues of "displacement anxiety" may remain as the social and physical fabric of the area continues to change. As explained by Davidson (2009, p.228), "People can be displaced-unable to (re)construct place, without spatial dislocation, just as much as they can with spatial dislocation."

The existing literature on the relationship between gentrification and negative mental health outcomes does not describe a causal relationship. There is evidence that gentrification may exacerbate existing mental health issues. Furthermore, residents who have lived in an area the longest are the most vulnerable to negative mental health outcomes (Iyanda & Lu, 2021; Tran et al, 2020). Among respondents, those who mentioned mental health during the interview have lived in the neighbourhood between seven and 21 years.

Of the five respondents, two indicated pre-existing mental health issues. R9 shared their experiences:

Honestly, to tell you the truth. I don't have that much knowledge on everything that's happening. I just kind of reset everything. And at one point, I kind of just, like gave up. Because it was just, I don't know, I was a teenager. I've, I had a lot of mental health stuff going on. And it's just like, there was a point where I couldn't join more meetings, because it was too much of a toll (R9).

Overall, respondents described a neighbourhood filled with ongoing construction along with some visible displays of wealth. The rapid pace of construction and change may be exacerbating existing mental health issues in some respondents.

5.4. Movement of Displaced Renters

Of the 13 participants, 10 experienced a demoviction or a renoviction at least once (Group B). Of these 10, six are still in the Maywood/ Central Park East neighbourhood (Group C1) while four moved away entirely (Group C2). Within the area of study, the six participants who moved (Group C1) may be thought of as “internally displaced persons” as they either chose to stay within the neighbourhood, if moved prior to 2019 (Group B2), or were helped under Burnaby’s Tenant Assistance Program (TAP) if moved after introduction of program in 2019 (Group B1). The groupings of respondents may be observed in Table 6.3 in Appendix E.

Of the four participants who left the area (Group C2), their mean average distance to a SkyTrain Station went from 296.5 m to 1.06 km. Interestingly, those participants that reallocated internally (Group C1) often ended up moving closer to SkyTrain Stations. Of the six participants who moved but did not leave the area (Group C1) their mean average distance from a SkyTrain Station went from 247 m to 202.4 m. It would seem as though moving out of the area resulted in increased distances to SkyTrain Stations. However, there is concern that the sample size is not large enough to clearly demonstrate a clear relationship between moving out of the area and moving further away from a SkyTrain Station. It is entirely possible that other displaced tenants may have moved closer to SkyTrain Stations. A larger sample size would be required in order to better establish patterns of displacement.

5.5. Transportation

Of the four respondents who had moved out of the area of study (Group C2), three indicated that they had a longer travel time to work and to essential services. One respondent indicated that their travel times were unchanged. Furthermore, only one respondent (R1), indicated that they felt moving out of the area had resulted in an overall lower quality of life due to longer commute times, lack of community, distance to amenities and in particular the lack of parks.

That area (Maywood), like I said, there are lawns and a lot of trees. It looks like you were living in a park. Here is not the same. It's kind of a hilly area. A lot of hills. So walking is a little bit more straining, like you can't just go for a walk from, like in Burnaby. Central Park is just amazing place to go. There's no parks around here (R1).

Externally displaced respondent's (Group C2) mean average distance to a SkyTrain Station increased from 296.5 m to 1.06 km. Internally displaced respondent's (Group C1) mean average distance from a SkyTrain Station went from 247 m to 202.4 m. Displacement of respondents has not influenced car ownership. For those respondents who have been displaced internally, access to Skytrain is unchanged.

5.6. Activism

I interviewed two activists designated A1 and A2 in addition to the 13 respondents. Their perspectives provide additional context the community response to gentrification. Tenant organizing, and activism began to emerge in 2014-2015 according to A1.

You know it's kind of at the start of, or from, from my perspective, it was the start of the rental housing crisis... Anyways, and then so the ACORN staff at the time between 2014 and 2015, those two years, they got involved with the other group, Social Housing Now, which ended up becoming Red Braid Alliance... So, they met with representatives from that group, because they noticed it too. And then we started the Stop Demovictions Burnaby campaign.

The first mention of the term "demovictions" in the local Burnaby newspaper, Burnaby Now, dates from Sept. 13, 2015, where an ACORN sign can be seen in a picture of a rally against redevelopment (Verenca, 2015).

Organizing centered around three groups who operated under the aegis of the Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign, describing themselves as “a grassroots community organizing project to stop demolitions, evictions, and mass displacement in the Metrotown area of Burnaby” (Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign, 2016).

ACORN is an international tenant advocacy group that seeks incremental change through legislation and stronger rental protections. Founded in the United States in 1970, the group was originally focused on community development and issues of social justice. This work later encompassed housing advocacy and voter registration and notably redevelopment work in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (Beck & Purcell, 2013; Reardon et al, 2009). Work within Canada includes recent collaboration with Canadian Human Rights Commission and the office of the Federal Housing Advocate (ACORN, 2022; August, 2022) ACORN BC is the provincial branch of ACORN Canada. (ACORN, n.d.) Activist 1 (A1) has worked with ACORN BC since 2014.

The second group, now defunct, went through a series of name changes starting with Social Housing Alliance in 2013, changing to Alliance Against Displacement (AAD) in 2015, finally becoming Red Braid Alliance for Decolonial Socialism in 2020 and dissolving in 2022 (Red Braid Alliance for Decolonial Socialism, 2022). As this thesis focuses on activism from 2015 to 2019, the group is referred to as Alliance Against Displacement (AAD). The group espoused a more radical, revolutionary philosophy, describing themselves explicitly as anti-capitalist and anti-colonial (Red Braid Alliance for Decolonial Socialism, 2020).

The third group, Metrotown Residents Association (MRA) are mentioned by *Burnaby Now* and are credited as co-author of the 2016 report released by the Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign (Verenca, 2015; Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign, 2016). The final mention of the MRA in the *Burnaby Now* is Jan 26, 2018 (Verenca, 2018). Their other activity seemed to consist of a blog which ran from 2014 to 2018 (Metrotown Residents Association Blog, 2018). Their spokesperson went on to run unsuccessfully as the Green Party candidate for the Burnaby-Deer Lake provincial riding in the 2016 provincial election (Deutsch, 2016a; Elections BC, 2017).

Together the three groups operated under the collective title of “Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign” (ACORN, 2018; Stop Demovictions Burnaby

Campaign, 2018). This alliance of residents and community activists undertook various actions spanning from letter-writing, mainstreeting with leaflets, door knocking as well as occupying vacant buildings and disrupting bylaw hearings at Burnaby City Hall (Deutsch 2016b, 2016c; Verenca, 2015, 2017a, 2017b).

The groups operated together from 2015 until an amicable split in 2017. AAD continued to operate as Stop Demovictions Burnaby and continued to agitate and criticize the new mayor, stating that developers should have no place on the newly formed task force and decrying the lack of renters. A prominent member of ACORN was appointed to the task force (Gawly, 2019).

Perceived indifference to gentrification and displacement from City Hall prompted many respondents to get involved in civic affairs. Of the respondents, six (46%) were involved in some form of activism ranging from attending a single community meeting (R6, R9) to door knocking and phone calls (R3, R7, R12, R13).

Well, I went to the meetings on a regular basis for when they needed somebody. We did a march, we did more than one march, but the one march, we marched all the way into the Burnaby Library And someone said to me, would you be willing to speak, and I did, and it felt good to be a part of it. I was speaking up for my neighbors at this time...then in August, a little bit later, on our block on Wilson Avenue there was another thing I did with ACORN with (Activist 1). We did some petitioning on the street (R7).

The ongoing development in the community evidently influenced inhabitants as of the 13 respondents only two (15%) had any prior community activism experience and only four (31%) had any previous experience with political organizing. Of the respondents with previous activism or political experience, none were party insiders or seasoned campaigners. Six (46%) of the respondents were involved in a range of activism work with Stop Demovictions Burnaby and provided essential context and insights into why they decided to resist what they saw happening to their communities as well as to what degree their efforts had been successful.

Although the two activists, A1 and A2, were active in the labour/activist sphere, the remainder of the respondents had little previous political engagement. Respondents who participated in activist work were motivated by a singular issue. Furthermore, apart from one respondent, R12, after the election of Mike Hurley and the establishment of the Tenants Assistance Policy (TAP), respondents ceased political activities. Thus, activism

was not a gateway to participation in electoral politics. Respondents did not report previous political activity. They were galvanized by the threat to their material conditions, mobilized to address the threat via direct action and eventual electoral change and policy development, then retreated from activism.

Recruitment of volunteers came through door knocking, mainstreeting (whereby activists occupy a table or booth in a public space and attempt to engage with passersby) and leafleting of neighbourhoods. Some leaflets could still be found in Spring of 2023 as I canvased the area of study looking for interview subjects. From 2015-2019 a campaign of door knocking, letter writing, marching, and mainstreeting eventually moved to occupations of buildings slated to be demolished, occupations of municipal offices and city council chamber itself (Merali, 2017).

Respondent's motivation for getting involved varied but several themes emerged from the interviews. First, a sense that demovictions were deeply immoral.

In the words of a respondent:

So, it just seemed objectively immoral, for people to just be booted out. Because somebody didn't feel like they wanted to maintain a building, instead they wanted to put up a high rise or just a medium rise that was more expensive, so they could profit here. You know, the sense is, the housing that we relied on for our lives for health, to raise our families, was someone else's commodity, someone else's plaything. And they were more than happy at a moment's notice to hurt people for a buck. And that's just, it's wrong. Okay, there is no other way to put it (R5).

There was a perception among respondents that the municipal councillors and staff were distant, heartless functionaries who enacted policies and made decisions without consulting or considering the actual inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The notion of displacement occurring as a natural consequence of an evolving municipal housing market is underscored by descriptions of city councillors presiding sedately over decisions that would have major repercussions on the lives of renters. Respondents and activists described their experiences of attending City of Burnaby bylaw hearings thusly:

Like the time they could give a shit, right? They thought that they were infallible. In my opinion. I sat there and I says, "Listen, you know, you in this room and every other level of government for the past 20 or 30 years, has basically forgotten that not everybody can afford to buy a place." Yeah. I said to him, I says, "And through your policies, you're basically kicking out a lot of people. And, you know, someday these developers might be coming

up to somebody you love. I said that to their faces and (Mayor) Corrigan's looking at his laptop, and they're all like, you know, looking somewhere else (R12)."

Interactions with either elected officials or City of Burnaby seemed to galvanize respondents as the responses to their concerns and frustrations were met with indifference at best and outright hostility and open contempt at worst. According to A1:

I guess it was probably September 2016. Like the city was doing these, like, quote "consultations about the Metrotown plan". You could ask the city to come, and they do a presentation for you. Under the guise of consulting so that they could say they've consulted the whole city. There's probably 80 people jammed into a room at Neighbourhood House on Beresford. I've never seen so many reporters at a very big event before. There was like, I don't know, 15 or 20 reporters outside. The city wouldn't allow them in which we thought like, "Well, why?" Okay, so they're out in the hallway, because the city staff were like, "Hey, we didn't know the media was going to be here!"

Essentially this is a secret meeting! So, they, while they were doing the meeting, they gave the whole plan we've already briefed ourselves. This group of 80 people, most of us had been to (our) pre-meeting, talking about our critical analysis of the plan. And what it means, which is like, you're all potentially going to be demovicted. Just a matter of time, they're saying in all their bullshit that this is going to be an inclusive neighbourhood, and blah, blah, blah...and the first thing that the city planner, or the manager or whatever, said,

"Okay, are there any questions?" And then someone puts up their hand. He said, and it really summed up everything, "Okay, where do you want your homeless camp? You want in at City Hall or do you want it to be in Central Park?"

And then it just went downhill from there(A1).

The fears from respondents about displacement is borne out in the statistical analysis. From 2010 to 2016, 254 rental units had been taken off the market. Moreover from 2017, when the new Metrotown plan was instituted, until 2020, when the new TAP protections came into force, an additional 449 suites were removed from the rental market. In other words, residents and activists were prescient in their skepticism of assurances from city staff.

Ostensibly, TOD is a net benefit, however it can be utilized as an ideological smokescreen for displacement. The city of Burnaby's report on community consultation regarding the upgraded Metrotown plan in 2017 speaks to concerns about affordable

housing and a willingness to work with senior levels of government but fail to address the topic of displacement. Burnaby's narrative vision for the new Metrotown is "exciting, inclusive and sustainable, supported by a comprehensive transportation network that promotes a more walkable, healthier and active community" (City of Burnaby, 2017b). However, the 2017 Metrotown Plan describes an anodyne, bloodless transformation of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood (City of Burnaby 2017a). Notably absent from the municipal literature is the anxiety, fear and resentment of renters who were displaced from their homes. Respondents who were forced to leave their homes or who anticipate having to leave their homes do not share the City of Burnaby's perspective of an "exciting, inclusive and sustainable" Metrotown.

Personal animosity towards the previous mayor of Burnaby played a significant role in the motivation of activists. Derek Corrigan was mayor of Burnaby for 16 years (Jones, 2022) and his party, the Burnaby Citizen's Association (BCA) had defeated their electoral opponents for decades (Smith, 2017). Moreover, the BCA were seen as a "farm team" for the provincial NDP and had strong ties with the provincial labour movement via the New West and District Labour Council (Cheung, 2018; Gawley, 2018b).

And, you know, Council is, the NDP sees the council as like...the BCA is the farm team for the NDP (A1).

However, Corrigan's public statements and demeanor were perceived as arrogant and offensive to many respondents who were determined to see him replaced. Their words are illustrative:

I literally laughed in Corrigan's face, at least twice. He told me I had a chip on my shoulder because I thought (his arguments) were abjectly absurd. He told me that it was really important for the environment to do this densification around SkyTrain stations. And I laughed. I said, "Well, if you push all the poor people away from the SkyTrain, what are they gonna do, they're gonna buy a beater that leaks oil and guzzles gas, they're gonna move out way, way away from where they need to go. So, they're going to travel way more kilometers. And anybody who can afford to buy a \$500,000 -600,000 condo is driving their hybrid to work in the city. They're not taking the SkyTrain. We were very motivated to get rid of him. Because he had quite the mannerisms. He was perhaps a bit overbearing and arrogant in his demeanor at times (R3).

This quote in particular would seem to indicate that the former mayor had internalized some of the positive aspects of TOD, namely environmental concerns, while overlooking the more human-centered, equity implications.

Derek Corrigan's expressed deterministic beliefs regarding the inalterable nature of the neoliberal housing market that would seem to be at odds with his long history within NDP/organized labour circles. In his own words

I think it's unfair to put the burden on me of individuals who are affected by moving out of places where they've been evicted ... Is that my fault? ... [W]e want to make life fair. But life isn't fair ... and the reality is that ... people make a lot of choices in their life about where they're going to go, what they're going to do ... Some people desperately want to go to school and get a higher education. [T]here is adversity in the world ... and all of us have to face it. It's one of the things that all of us have to deal with ... And nobody ... in our society, is entitled to anything (Jones, 2022).

Corrigan's position seemed to indicate that lower income and working-class citizens of Burnaby could not reasonably expect the municipality to consider their material conditions in any meaningful way when designing and enacting housing policies. Even though Burnaby was a provincial NDP stronghold, and the strong connections between the NDP, the BCA and organized labour, these nominally leftist organizations were unable to articulate a coherent response to the narrative of capital-driven development (Jones & Ley, 2016; Jones, 2022).

The two activists interviewed both had personal experience with the former mayor through NDP and Burnaby Citizens Association political spaces which made up much of the political ecosystem in Burnaby. They offered perspectives which corroborated the reputation of the former mayor as being strong-willed and not particularly collaborative in his approach to governance.

And then there's the cult of personality of Derek Corrigan...who's a real charismatic character, who was quite a bully, right? And people were terrified of him. They go from being terrified to like, he's great. And so, on council...after meeting with some of the councilors, it was, like, you know, you can tell they're terrified of him. And there's a lot of weak people on council just because of the way the NDP/BCA recruits. It's based on more of compliance and being a team player (A1).

The belief that no one is entitled to a home in general and certainly not via the auspices of Burnaby City Council is present in another interview conducted with an

unnamed “member of the Burnaby NDP”. Although their position is not clearly identified, their tone and references indicate that they were present at council deliberations. It would appear that the refrain of “no one is entitled to a home” may have become a de facto city motto, at least for a while. (Jones & Ley, 2016)

Despite the best efforts of activists, organizers and community members, Burnaby City Council voted to adopt the updated Metrotown Plan. This would set the stage for the next phase of civic activism in Burnaby (City of Burnaby, 2017a; Merali, 2017).

According to A1, in the aftermath of the passing of the Metrotown Plan, a schism emerged between the groups which made up Stop Demovictions Now. The leadership of AAD decided to abandon “bourgeois politics” and attempts to influence elected officials. ACORN, in contrast decided to continue with many of their previous tactics as well as endorsing a mayoral candidate, Mike Hurley, who ran as an independent. It is unclear what happened to the MRA and which side of the schism they aligned with.

This is where they (AAD) started using language like, “This proves bourgeois politics is a waste of time, so we’re not going to City Hall anymore.

That’s when I just basically, said, “ACORN is going a different route. We’re right. This is all about City Hall.”

My thinking was we’re not going to have a revolution and painting buildings and having marches isn’t going to do anything. Going to City Hall and further embarrassing the politicians was the way to go and maybe getting some of them de-elected (A1).

Two respondents and the two interviewed activists went on to volunteer with Mike Hurley’s successful mayoral campaign. Hurley, a former fireman, had largely decided to run to address the concerns of the community regarding displacement (Cheung, 2018).

Interestingly, Corrigan and the BCA’s traditional bulwarks of organized labour were waffling on their usual campaign endorsements. In the words of A2:

And so we, as the executive, were pretty clear that we weren’t interested in endorsing anyone who has supported these displacements. And we definitely supported Hurley because he had taken the position...he had explicitly said he did not want to see these things continue and would try to

put in place protections. And so, you know, we were pretty solidly behind Hurley on that (A2).

Another factor which may have contributed to Corrigan's defeat was the *Local Elections Campaign Financing Act, 2017*, which banned campaign contributions from organizations, corporations and unions in the 2018 General Local Elections in British Columbia. In other words, in addition to distancing themselves from Corrigan ideologically, labour unions were (perhaps conveniently) prohibited from financially supporting Corrigan and the BCA to the same degree they had in previous elections (Elections BC, 2017b; McKenna, 2013).

Notably, although Hurley was successful in unseating Derek Corrigan, with the exception of a single councillor, the BCA council were returned to power (Smith, 2018).
From A2:

I think the piece that was interesting was Corrigan, was kind of the one that people distance themselves from, he was a really easy "bad guy." I think, part of it was people didn't want to throw out the entire BCA. They wanted to get rid of the ringleader, who they viewed as kind of the problem. The sense that I got from people was that it's not the system that's broken. It's this negative influence of the right person, which we know, after the fact that wasn't entirely true, because there were other bad actors (A2).

Clearly, there was a perception among respondents that Burnaby had a personality problem rather than a policy problem. It seems likely that the personality and beliefs of the mayor did, in fact limit the scope and range of policy options available to the City of Burnaby. Moreover, prior to the election, perhaps sensing that the issue of renter protection could be decisive, there was some movement from mayor and council away from their previous position. However, this was perceived as self-serving by activists (Gawley, 2018a; Martin, 2018).

Upon assuming the role as mayor, Hurley established the Mayor's Task Force on Community Housing (City of Burnaby 2019). The task force was "comprised of 5 members of council and a diverse group of stakeholders including representatives of housing advocates, unions, co-operative housing organizations, developers and builders." The Task Force had a mandate to "provide recommendations to Burnaby City Council on innovative policies, directions and specific initiatives to increase the supply, diversity and affordability of housing in Burnaby." The task force met 10 times over a 6-

month span of 2019 and produced 18 recommendations that were approved and adopted by Burnaby City Council (City of Burnaby, 2019). The two activists interviewed had also been on the Task Force and they shared some insight into their perception of how it functioned:

It was a pretty big, dynamic group, and sometimes very trying, in terms of the divergence of views of what the problem is, and what the solutions are. And then they also did a lot of really good public, kind of community consultations. And those were really impactful in terms of getting residents in Burnaby to actually come out and talk about what they wanted to see (A2).

Despite the perception that the parties in the room were coming from radically differing positions, the Task Force was able to produce 18 coherent recommendations for housing policies in Burnaby. Of interest was the willingness of developer representatives to work with the city on a new regulatory framework. The amenability of the private sector to operating within an enhanced regulatory environment contrast with earlier concerns from city hall that attempts to rein in the market might open the city up to lawsuits. The idea that the city may be sued emerged from A1's conversations with city officials.

In February 2016, we met with councilors, at the ACORN office, to ask them about demovictions. I took over the meeting on the ACORN side, and I pressed them, and I was like, "Why are you doing this?"

And a councilor said, "Because we have to, we have no choice in it."

"Well, what do you mean? So with the public hearing, you have votes, you can say yes or no, you get to approve it."

And the councilors were both basically saying that they had to. And then I kept pressuring him. "Well, what do you mean? So, these votes are useless? Like why do you even have them? If you have to vote?"

It's absurd. And then I just kept pressuring them to where finally I said, "Why are you afraid of voting no? Because if you vote no, you'll be heroes, right? And who cares? The only victim is a developer not making millions of dollars on a project and everyone stays in their home and you guys will be heroes."

And then a councilor finally blurted out because they were frustrated, they said, "Well, we're afraid of lawsuits from developers" (A1).

Furthermore, the idea that recalcitrance on the part of council may open the city up to lawsuits seemed to emerge from Burnaby city staff.

And what we were hearing, when we would meet with these counselors, or when, you know, we would hear from people who talk to them, who, you know, had some level of trust is they would say, “Oh, well, like the city staff are telling us that we can't say no. And we're being told that legally, we could be like, sued or like whatever, like it could cost a bunch of money if we were to say no to these developments” (A2).

The notion that council was helpless to act in the face of market and developer demands is echoed by the words of a “member of the municipal NDP”.

There's no easy equation and I can tell you, we went through a study early on in regard to Metrotown, looking at ways we could try to stimulate the re-creation of that amount of [rental] housing that existed, by the new development density that we brought in. Impossible. Every consultant we had said, “Can't do it, can't do it, can't do it.”

The numbers don't work. And you can't get that rental housing built because rental housing is just not marketable...So what we're doing is accepting the inevitable, which is that you can't have this low a density around a SkyTrain station in the middle of an urban centre (Jones and Ley, 2016, p. 18).

Given the pugnacious nature of Derek Corrigan and an easily cowed council combined with staff concerned about potential litigation it does not seem unreasonable to posit that these factors combined into the material conditions that led to demovictions and subsequent civil unrest.

Regarding the work of the Task Force, the material conditions of renters were substantively improved by the establishment of a Tenant Assistance Policy (TAP) and the Rental Use Zoning Policy (RUZP). The first and perhaps most significant change is that any rental units lost to development must be replaced on a unit per unit basis. Second, any renters displaced from their units due to development are given right of first refusal of rental units in the new building. These units are then rented out at the previous level of rent. Third, at the developers expense a tenant Relocation Liaison must be hired specifically for the purposes of assisting tenants with the relocation process. Fourth, tenants are presented with unit options for relocation. The developer must either top-up the rent of the temporary suite or pay a lump-sum equivalent to 3 years rent top-up. Finally, the developer is responsible for all moving costs associated with relocation. These policies represent a significant departure from the ways tenant's rights were previously protected in Burnaby (City of Burnaby, 2019, 2020b, 2023). The longitudinal effects of these policies are an area of future research.

On a macro level, the loss of rental units has essentially been halted. Any new development that involves the demolition of purpose-built rentals must replace those units on a one-to-one ratio (City of Burnaby, 2020b). This subject was dealt with in greater detail in the quantitative analysis section.

Regarding the participation of developers in the Mayor's Task Force, the perception of A1 was that additional costs would not impede investment in the area of study. At least according to A1, earlier expressed narratives coming from City Hall regarding the fear of potential lawsuits were overblown. In the words of A1:

Because when I went to the Mayor's Task Force, the only question was how big is the bag of money do we give people to move? There was no concept, when I brought it up at the Mayor's Task Force, of the solution coming from members in the neighbourhood. Even the developers like Mike Bosa were saying, "Oh, we can do that. That's like probably 50 to 100,000 dollars per unit, it's not a problem" (A1).

It would seem as though activism and electoral politics resulted in substantive change to the material conditions of renters in the area of study. When asked about the relative success of organizing and resistance to demovictions and displacement, the replies of respondents were revealing. Of the 13 respondents, 12 were aware of organizing efforts and resistance to displacement. 7 out of 12 thought that organizing had been at least partially successful in accomplishing the goals of the movement. These included renter protections and halting demovictions. Four respondents thought that organizing had not been successful and only one respondent believed that the movement had accomplished all its goals. This data is represented in Table 6.8 located in Appendix E.

Of the six respondents who had volunteered for the Stop Demovictions Burnaby Campaign in some way, one believed that organizing had been successful, two respondents felt they had been partially successful and three felt that the movement had not accomplished its aims. Two of the participants who felt organizing was unsuccessful had not been heavily involved in organizing. The respondents who had been more heavily involved all thought they had been successful to some extent. The participant who thought they had been successful was an activist who had perhaps participated more than any other, having gone on to volunteer on both Jean Swanson's campaign in Vancouver and Mike Hurley's mayoral campaign in Burnaby. In other words, the more

heavily a respondent had been involved with the movement the more likely they were to consider their actions to have been successful. This data is represented in Table 6.9. in Appendix E.

The narrative of “inevitability of change” discussed in an earlier section would seem to correlate with the belief expressed by respondents that organizing in the face of demovictions had been only partially successful. The benchmark for success would appear to have been a halt or moratorium on demovictions. Respondents who had volunteered felt that what had been accomplished was likely the extent of what could have been done under existing frameworks. According to R12, “I think it was probably as successful as you know, as it could be. Because there's only so many people that are willing to actually, you know, walk that mile with you” (R12).

R3 felt that landlords would always have the upper hand with incremental changes. When asked if the goals of the campaign had been met, they stated:

Ultimately, no. I feel like in the last five years, the housing crisis has only gotten worse. It always feels like those little wins are, like I said, it's like winning the battle but losing the war. Or ultimately, you get these policy improvements...that leave giant holes for exploitation. Landlords still being able to change the rent as much as they want to between tenants in renovations instead of demovictions. If there's a demoviction prohibition, you know, for the majority of landlords, my understanding is that very high percentage of the rental properties are held by giant corporations who can afford to just wait years. So, you know, a policy change may slow them down a little bit. But ultimately, they're getting there (R3).

The narrative of inevitability which emerged from interview participants dovetails with the narrative of helplessness espoused by a member of municipal leadership. As quoted in Jones and Ley (2016, p.18) and attributed to a “long time member of the municipal NDP”.

We spent a lot of money on consultants and trying to find some magic solution that didn't exist. We worked very hard at it and no matter how many meetings we had, and no matter what we went through, we couldn't find a way... Aside from that, as soon as we got to the point that we were allowing the first high-rise in, *we knew that the floodgates would open*. [emphasis added]

It bears mentioning that beyond a halt to demovictions, respondents were somewhat vague about the specific aims of the campaign. A total moratorium or ban on new development in the Metrotown area was suggested from a few respondents (R7,

R3). This notion, along with other concrete alternative policies are present in reports released between 2017 and 2018 by Stop Demovictions Burnaby and ACORN BC. The proposals from the activist groups, although well-argued and articulate, are clearly aspirational. They are plans and proposals that seem profoundly disconnected from established federal, provincial and municipal business and political norms.

With the understanding that perhaps expectations should have been managed better, respondents shared their experiences on organizing. Both respondents and activists acknowledged the limits to reform while operating under the superstructure of the capitalist/neoliberal/real-estate state. Respondents expressed a what may be thought of as a “mirrored belief” to that of Burnaby councillors and staff; namely that the solutions to the housing crisis would not be found solely at the municipal level, and that senior levels of government must intervene at some point. Respondents were often quite erudite upon this point and when reflecting on organizing:

So it to a certain extent, it felt as if a large part of the activism was a Sisyphean task, you know, you roll the ball, the boulder up the hill, right, and you just keep rolling it up the hill, it almost feels like the official channels. And the proper way of doing things is like a runaway ramp intended to steal the energy, you know, of people who are outraged by injustice in society in a non-effective method. Now, what an effective method would be to achieve change? Ultimately, you know, I don't know, I don't have the recommendation or the answers, but it certainly in some respects, feels like the official recognized channels of holding signs, and you know, writing letters and sitting down with officials sometimes feels like it's there to a fig leaf to make us feel like, “I did my part” (R3).

Captured in respondent narratives is the sense that the protections they were able to secure for renters represented the limits of reform with the current housing market. A common refrain with both activists and respondents was that interventions by more senior levels of government were required to remake the housing landscape. In other words, state-funded public housing would be the ultimate solution to the housing crisis. Renter protections, no matter how robust, would always be a stopgap action at best.

The way I describe it is, it's probably the best tenant relocation program in North America, but it's still shit. Because it doesn't address the problem. It's like putting a band aid over your cut wrist. It's the best solution you've got at the moment, but you're still gonna bleed to death (A1).

Ultimately, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate the relative effectiveness of Burnaby's TAP and RUZP. This is an area for future research.

Interestingly, the belief from some activists and respondents that systemic change at higher levels would be required to ultimately fix problems with housing in Burnaby parallels the beliefs of ex-Mayor Derek Corrigan. Corrigan expressed the opinion that public housing was not the responsibility of the City of Burnaby.

The words of Derek Corrigan, as captured by Jones (2022, p. 590):

The federal government makes a commitment to bringing refugees over here. What they don't make a commitment to is providing housing for refugees ... I've told this to the immigration minister, "It's all well and good that you take credit world-wide for being this generous country that brings refugees in. But then you dump them into local municipalities in areas like Vancouver that have too many people already and don't have enough housing to be able to accommodate them. What makes you think that Vancouver is a place to put refugees?..." [B]ut I don't have power over those things ... and yet, you want me to ... feel responsible for the reality of other orders of government doing things that make no sense? ...

In the same interview, Corrigan also used the term "band-aid" to describe Burnaby's then (2017) TAP, echoing A1's description of the updated TAP.

The former mayor made his position on the responsibilities of the levels of government in Canada clear via public columns and interviews. Corrigan's position was that housing was the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments and that he would not be "bullied" into spending the municipal taxpayer's money in areas that were outside the city's bailiwick (Corrigan, 2014; Lee, 2016).

With the exceptions of the statements above suggesting that ultimate solutions would come from beyond the City of Burnaby, respondents did not blame the federal or provincial governments for the situation in Burnaby. Derek Corrigan may have been correct in his interpretation of the division of powers under Confederation. However, respondents saw he and his council as representatives of the state that were threatening, or through inaction, allowing others to threaten their housing status. As previously discussed, Corrigan was perceived by respondents to have power over demovictions, however inaccurate this may have been.

5.6.1. Community Power

In summation, respondents who chose to become involved in activism coalesced around perceived threats to their homes and communities. Through civic engagement and activism led initially by community organizers they engaged the attention of the populace of the city of Burnaby. Their work may have contributed to the unseating of a long-time mayor and the election of a new mayor who was more amenable to the establishment of legislative protections for renters. With the input of the community, including renters and developers, a new protective framework for tenants was co-developed and then adopted without amendments by City Council. Those respondents who have been involved with the new tenant policies report being satisfied with their experiences. Findings would seem to indicate the narrative of a group of concerned citizens mobilizing and organizing to change their material conditions and then achieving both electoral and policy change. In the words of a respondent:

When you start talking to folks that you've never talked to before, and it's kind of like, you realize that we all have something, we all have lots of things in common. And then you realize that you're not alone. And then you realize that all the organizers, for whatever reason that came before you, they realized that too. Like, you know that that adage, there's strength in numbers.

Ostensibly, the saga of activism in Metrotown is a success story. ACORN were proven correct in their assertion that change would come by applying pressure to elected officials. Although this change came via “bourgeois politics”, the material conditions of the renters of Metrotown have improved considerably due to their own agency. Moreover, the preservation of existing rental stock as well as the building of new rentals will be of benefit to future renters. Finally, Metrotown stands as an example to other communities of what can be accomplished in the face of narratives of inevitability.

This chapter has discussed the ways in which respondents felt their neighbourhood has changed. Despite feeling somewhat reassured by the existence of new renter protections, respondents have described feeling that change is inevitable, that crime and homelessness are increasing, along with new visible displays of wealth in the form of luxury cars. Respondents have described excessive noise due to construction and this may be exacerbating feelings of “ontological insecurity” as the neighbourhood changed around them. Finally, the activism in response to gentrification

and displacement and subsequent electoral and policy change were described. The final chapter will conclude and make policy recommendations along with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This study is limited by time, scope and personnel. A more complete version of this thesis would have included the voices and perspectives of representatives of the speculator/developer class as well as municipal officials. Moreover, a more focused targeting of areas outside of the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood may yield a more complete picture of the displaced. 2024 is the fifth anniversary of TAP and RUZP, and one might expect that Burnaby would evaluate the effectiveness of their policies based upon five years of data. Ideally, a team of researchers would interview as many recipients of TAP as possible to gauge where and how the program might be adjusted to best meet the needs of the community. Further areas of study might seek to gather the perspectives of newcomers to the neighbourhood as well as examining the class dynamic at play as the neighbourhood becomes a blend of renters and owners.

The Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood has experienced a period of significant change since 2010. The decision of the city to introduce “S” zoning in 2010 in accordance with long term municipal and regional plans would have major repercussions on both the built form and demographics of the neighbourhood. Exclusionary SFH zoning in most of Burnaby combined with municipal and regional plans for transit-oriented density within regional town centres primed the pump of capital and “S” zoning opened the floodgates. Rezoning of the Maywood/Central Park East under the auspices of TOD principles (density, environmentalism, walkability) had the unintended (although perhaps not unexpected) effect of rental unit loss as older apartment buildings were bought up and demolished when the land value skyrocketed.

An examination of statistical data revealed that the three census tracts that make up the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood experienced a disproportionate level of rental unit loss from the introduction of “S” zoning in 2010 until 2019, when new renter protections were put in place. “S” zoning and the eventual rezoning of the Maywood/Central Park East neighborhoods via the Metrotown Downtown Plan created capital lacunae which were then filled with condominiums until new renter protection policies introduced by the city halted the loss of rental units and encouraged the building of new purpose-built rentals via FAR bonuses. The imposition of new renter and rental unit policies did not deter new investment and after a brief period of adjustment

increased to even higher levels than before, with a new, mandated mixture of condo and rental units. Although a tiny section of Burnaby's residential area, the neighbourhood has experienced a majority of rental unit loss. Although rents have increased over time, they have not increased as much as across the City of Burnaby overall. Though the neighbourhood has experienced the majority of rental unit loss, it has not been the site of the majority of new builds, indicating that new developments have also occurred elsewhere in the city. Overall, the statistical data examined indicates that gentrification is occurring in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood.

Interview respondents described Maywood/Central Park East as a pleasant, affordable, multicultural community close to amenities, notably the SkyTrain. Respondents described the feeling of inevitability and anxiety bordering on existential dread as the constant sound of construction and the fear of having to move wore at them daily. However, some respondents experienced change and displacement positively.

Respondents perceived municipal leadership to be distant and callous. The same municipal leadership felt as though the responsibility for housing lay with more senior levels of government and that they were being unfairly blamed for demovictions and displacement. Respondents who participated in activism felt as though were at least partially successful in achieving their aims. However, activists felt as though the reforms and protections that has been gained were ultimately insufficient and a national plan to address the financialization of housing would be required. Most of the respondents who had experienced displacement remained in the area and those who had been displaced out of the neighbourhood ended up further away from the SkyTrain. Those respondents who were under the new Burnaby tenant protections policy had generally favourable impressions of it.

With help of local activist groups, the neighbourhood organized and through a series of escalating actions drew media and public attention to the plight of displaced renters. Activism may have contributed to electoral change as a long-time mayor was unseated. The new mayor brought together the disparate parts of civil society (city leadership, city staff, activists, and developers), who drafted and implemented new policies which protected both renters and rental units. The area has made a transition from mostly rental to only new condo units being built to a blend of condo and rental units (both market and non-market) as per city policies. At the time of writing, it is

premature to predict what the eventual overall characteristics of the neighbourhood will be. This is an area of future study.

Finally, anecdotal descriptions of luxury car driving invaders notwithstanding, commuting by public transit has decreased in the neighbourhood and in Burnaby overall. However, given the global effect of the Covid-19 pandemic it is difficult to parse out reasons for local decline in transit use.

A combination of factors led to gentrification and displacement in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. Findings would suggest that, in keeping with the literature on the subject, there is not a direct causal relationship between TOD and gentrification. Rather the combination of multiple factors along with a catalyst is required. In the case of the area of study, the SkyTrain arrived in 1986, displacement did not begin to appear until 2010. Why were the conditions not right for gentrification to occur earlier? The answer is “S” zoning, which unlocked the capital lacunae in the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood. The other factors-aging rental stock, proximity to transit, long term municipal and regional planning and global macroeconomics-were not by themselves sufficient to initiate the period of rental unit loss and subsequent gentrification and displacement. However, the introduction of “S”-zoning in 2010 and the adoption of the Metrotown Downtown Plan in 2017 supercharged and synergized existing conditions which on their own may never have produced the outcomes described in this thesis.

I suggest that the Maywood/Central Park East neighbourhood constitutes a capital vacuum in Burnaby. The managed neglect that respondents have described is a form of disinvestment in the structures that make up the neighbourhood. David Harvey (1974) introduced the concept of “class monopoly rent” and it may be useful to examine the cycle of disinvestment and development in Maywood/ Central Park East through this conceptual lens.

In the past, the low-rise apartment buildings in the area were investments based upon the monthly rental income they generated for the owner. Those owners would have had an incentive to at least maintain the building to manage renter turnover. Given the restrictive zoning pre-2010, the incentive to redevelop a building site did not exist given the modest return on investment to be had by replacing a three-story walk-up with

another three-story walk-up. Furthermore, respondents described a pleasant neighbourhood and landlords who valued good tenants and good relationships. In other words, the value of an apartment building was only what a landlord could charge for the future rent of units. In selling a building, an owner was selling the potential value of future rent. Owners had a class interest in charging as much rent as the market (and provincial regulations) would allow while tenants had a class interest in rent staying low. Purchasing a walk-up rental building in pre-2010 Maywood would be akin to buying a small business-an expectation of reasonable profit in exchange for the provision of service. As Harvey (1974, p.242) states:

The rate of return set through the working out of this conflict is best interpreted as a class-monopoly rent even though the landlord usually thinks of it as a rate of return on capital investment. The realization of this rent depends upon the ability of one class-interest group to exercise its power over another class-interest group and thereby to assure for itself a certain minimum rate of return.

In contrast, after the introduction of “S”-zoning in 2010 and the establishment of the new Metrotown plan in 2017, the potential future value of the lots rendered the actual value of the rental buildings insignificant by comparison. Before the introduction of the updated renter protections in 2019, investors in Maywood/Central Park East had no obligations to the tenants they had acquired along with the property. Aging three-story walk-ups now represented R5-sized capital lacunae that had to be filled as soon as operationally possible in order to initiate a return on investment.

I suggest that this process is an example of what Harvey (2012) describes as the accumulation of capital in the built environment, whereby through the process of “S”-zoning, the lacunae of Maywood/Central Park East became repositories for surplus capital. Moreover, the subsequent structures that have filled the capital vacuums also function as instruments for the continuous accumulation of capital via asset appreciation. Profit is generated via the appropriation of land value rather than productive means. Furthermore, the shift in the built form of the neighbourhood from rental units to condominiums is representative of shifting class dynamics. Renters, as a class, have a shared interest in their rents staying low. Condo owners (especially those who own them purely as investments) have a shared interest in the appreciation of their assets. It may be valuable here to recall Harvey’s (1974, p. 253) statement:

The roles of speculator-landlord and speculator-developer are crucial to the dynamics of urbanization and therefore to the maintenance of effective demand; and a structure of sub-markets through which class-monopoly rents can be realized provides the necessary incentive to play these roles with profit. But at the same time the potential to realize these rents provides the possibility for rapid accumulation of capital out of the land and property markets when the occasion demands it.

Given the role played by the speculator/developer in the processes of urbanization and the accumulation of capital in the built form, their participation and input into the shaping of rental policies was a foregone conclusion. Doubly so when taking into consideration the current economic and ideological milieu as well as Burnaby's longstanding plans for density around light rail (City of Burnaby 1977, 2017a).

Harvey (1974) describes how the speculator/investor plays a crucial role in the urbanization of capital, or the accumulation of capital in the built environment. In order to facilitate this, local institutional support is required. First, a reduction in the uncertainty of the investing environment through the manipulation of local zoning laws and the provision of infrastructure. Second, offering favourable tax arrangements to speculator/investors. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine taxation in Burnaby. However, I would suggest that Harvey's first institutional supports, favourable zoning laws and the provision of infrastructure, correspond with "S" zoning and the SkyTrain in Maywood/ Central Park East. Although the two factors were implemented decades apart, they are in keeping with the original Metrotown plan, which envisioned density built around a mass transit system (City of Burnaby 1977).

Harvey (1974) describes two possible outcomes to development and attempts by the speculator-developers to maximize class monopoly rent. In the first scenario, the investor class is able to convince homebuyers/investors to buy in a certain area while gaining control of the political process and regulatory framework. In the second scenario, the buyers do not come, and the political process and regulatory framework remains (relatively) neutral, or at least not skewed in favour of the speculator-developers. Outcomes in Burnaby would seem to suggest a synthesis of these two scenarios. Investment and capital accumulation continue to occur, albeit with increased protections for renters.

An examination of TOD-induced displacement is timely and urgently needed. The government of British Columbia has introduced legislation which up-zones residential

areas within an 800m radius of SkyTrain stations and bus hubs through the creation of Transit-Oriented Areas (TOAs) (Province of British Columbia 2024). This legislation will override obdurate, development-averse municipal zoning bylaws. Ostensibly, this is a very welcome, overdue policy shift given the wasted potential of SkyTrain stations surrounded by SFH neighbourhoods. Moreover, this sort of initiative is entirely in keeping with TOD principles and in theory should remove some of the obstacles to the building of new housing supply in Metro Vancouver. However, there are concerns that lessons have not been learned from the Burnaby example, and that Metrotown 2.0 is on the horizon (DeRosa, 2023). It is worrying that the provincial government has perceived the necessity of overriding municipalities in order to get new housing built but have not absorbed the lessons of Burnaby. The province has clarified that renter and rental unit protections will fall under the bailiwick of each affected municipality, and this seems like a lost opportunity to implement comprehensive, province-wide renter and rental housing protections.

I would suggest, based upon the findings of this thesis, that any neighborhood in municipalities subject to the new provincial legislation are vulnerable to the same gentrification and displacement experienced by the residents of the Maywood/Central Park West. The creation of TOAs en masse will create capital lacunae within the TOAs. Although Maywood/Central Park East may be a unique area with unique circumstances, neighbourhoods that share characteristics with Maywood/Central Park East will be at risk of gentrification and displacement. Older rental buildings and their residents will be vulnerable to displacement as the return on investment increases substantively. In contrast, although single family homes and condominiums within the TOAs may also be theoretically sold or replaced, the capital lacunae and subsequently return on investment would likely be smaller. Furthermore, the relationship between homeowners and developers has a completely different power dynamic than the relationship between renters, landlords and developers. Homeowners and developers are both in possession of assets and although they may be momentarily in competition as buyers and sellers, they are united by their class interests.

The imposition of TOAs by the province of British Columbia upon the municipalities of British Columbia without corresponding protection for vulnerable renters

is perhaps the natural evolution of the conditions that led to the outcomes described in this thesis. Although provincial adoption of an official TOD policy is vastly preferable to untrammelled sprawl, it is concerning that the political and social dynamics that played out in Burnaby have not informed provincial policy makers. As described in this thesis, the path from “S”-zoning implementation to development of TAP and RUZP policies in Burnaby had a tangible human and social cost. For Derek Corrigan, there was a political cost as well. I suggest that in the absence of renter protections, the same phenomena of displacement and gentrification will emerge as capital lacunae are inevitably filled.

Therefore, a substantive recommendation of this thesis is the drafting of expanded provincial renter protection laws. A common theme from both sides of the conflict in Burnaby was that the problem was one for more senior levels of government to solve. Given the division of powers in Canada, the protection of renters falls under the bailiwick of the provinces. The current NDP government of British Columbia, with a legislative majority, is in a unique position to enact meaningful legislation that would positively affect the material conditions of renters in the province. Failing new protections at the provincial level, it would behoove municipalities to heed Burnaby’s examples and to plan accordingly.

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Appendix A. Interview Script

TOD Displacement and Neighbourhood Change in South Burnaby Interview Script

Greetings! My name is Richard Stanley, and I am hoping to speak with you today about your experiences living in South Burnaby. This conversation should only take about 30-60 minutes of your time. Before we begin, I wanted to remind you that you are under no obligation to answer any of the questions and that we can skip questions and revisit them at any time you wish. If at any point you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions we can move on to another one. Also, you can ask to stop the interview for any reason, at any time, with no consequences. I will ask you questions but ultimately you are in control of this interview. The questions are here to assist us.

I want this to be a safe, comfortable experience for you.

Could you confirm that you received a copy of the consent form?

If verbal consent is required: *Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative consequence to yourself. Do you give consent to proceed?*

Did you have any questions about anything before we begin?

And, are you okay with me video-recording this conversation using Zoom?

-
1. How long did you live in the Maywood neighbourhood? Do you still live in the area? If so, where? If not, where have you moved to?
 2. How would you describe the neighbourhood when you lived there?
 3. What were the positive aspects of the neighbourhood?
 4. What were the negative aspects of the neighbourhood?
 5. If you moved away from the area, why did you end up leaving the area?
 6. If you had moved away from the area or moved into another building in the area, did your moving have anything to do with a building being bought and or renovated/demolished?
 7. Were you aware of any of the community organizing that was taking place in the area? Community organizing in this case refers to people planning meetings, collecting signatures for petitions, collecting phone numbers to protest building evictions or demolitions.
 8. Were you active in any of the community groups that were organizing in response to the demolitions in the area? Community organizing in this case refers to people planning meetings, collecting signatures for petitions, collecting phone numbers to protest building evictions or demolitions.

9. Can you describe what the experience of organizing was like?
 10. Had you ever been part of a similar group in the past? Like a union or other community or religious group?
 11. Do you feel that the community organizing was ultimately successful? Why or why not?
 12. Have you ever been active in politics at any level: federal, provincial, or municipal?
 13. Did you vote in the municipal election in Burnaby in 2018?
 14. When you lived in Maywood, what was your main mode of transportation?
 15. Did the proximity to the Skytrain affect your decision to live in the Maywood area?
 16. If you no longer live in the area, is your commute/travel time longer, shorter or the same as when you lived in Maywood?
 17. Do you have a car? If so, did you have a car when you lived in Maywood?
 18. If you had a car when you lived in Maywood, do you use the car more, less or about the same at present?
 19. If you no longer live in the Maywood area, how does your new neighbourhood compare to Maywood? Please identify the positives and negatives.
 20. Do you have anything else you would like to add?
-

Thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me today. Just a final reminder that you can contact me via phone or email if you have any questions about today, have any information that you forgot to add and want to share, or have anything you want me to remove from my notes that you said.

Is it alright if I contact you again in the future to ask any follow up questions I may have?

Appendix B. Online Recruitment Script

Social Media/Email Recruitment Script:

Did you live in South Burnaby/Maywood between 2011 and present day? Have you had to move because your building was sold or demolished? Were you involved in any of the community organizing opposed to demovictions in the Metrotown/Maywood area?

If you answered yes to any of these questions, I would love to speak to you!

I am conducting interviews for a Master's Thesis about community change in South Burnaby over the last 10 years and I am looking for interview subjects.

Interviews would be approx. 1 hour long and will be conducted via Zoom (if you don't have Internet access alternative arrangements can be made.)

All interviews and information discussed will be strictly confidential.

You will receive \$25 gift card of your choice for your participation in this research study

If this is something you would be interested in doing, please contact Richard Stanley at xxx@sfu.ca or (xxx-xxx-xxxx).

(social media disclaimer: please contact me directly-don't post publicly! This is to protect your identity.)

Appendix C. Recruitment Poster

Demo-victed?

Have you moved, or are you planning to, because your building was sold or demolished?

Have you lived in the South Burnaby/Maywood areas between 2011 and present day?

Or were you involved in any of the community organizing opposed to demo-victions in the Metrotown/Maywood area?

If yes, then I would like to invite you to share your experience in a 1-hour long interview over Zoom. If you don't have Internet access, then alternative arrangements can be made.

You will receive a \$25 gift card for your participation in this research study.

All interviews and information discussed will be strictly anonymous.

I am conducting a research study for my Master's thesis about community change in South Burnaby over the last 10 years. If this is something you would be interested in doing, please contact Richard Stanley at xxx@sfu.ca or call [xxx-xxxx](tel:xxx-xxxx)

Appendix D. Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: TOD Displacement and Neighbourhood Change in South Burnaby
Study Number: #30001175

Department or Faculty: Urban Studies

Student Investigator: Richard Stanley xxx

Principal Investigator/Faculty: Anthony Perl xxx

INVITATION AND STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to gather the experiences of people you lived In the Maywood area of Burnaby and experienced displacement due to demolitions in the area. Gathering this information may help towns and cities in the future to learn from this process.

This study is taking place to fill the requirements of a Master's Thesis (Master's in Urban Studies) for a student researcher. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you have self-identified as being a former or current resident of the Maywood neighbourhood or adjacent community in Burnaby. Furthermore, you may have indicated that you were involved in the neighbourhood organizing opposing residential displacement in the area.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to participate, you may still choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences to yourself. To withdraw please contact the student researcher or course instructor.

STUDY PROCEDURES

What will happen in the study?

By agreeing to participate in the study you are agreeing to take part in a one -on-one interview with the student researcher. The interview will take approximately one hour.

If you agree to participate here is how we will do the study:

- We will ask you about the time you lived in the Maywood neighbourhood of Burnaby generally and specifically about any community organizing you may have been a part of.
- The interview should take approximately 1 hour
- Due to Covid concerns, the interview will be conducted via Zoom and video recorded
- The recordings will be transcribed (written out) and then coded to look for differences and similarities in individual experiences
- The data will be stored securely and then destroyed in 2 phases: the video recordings will be transcribed using Otter.ai software and then the videos will be deleted. Then after a period of 3 years, the transcriptions will also be deleted.

- We will have 1 interview session of approximately 60 minutes. In addition to this it may take approximately 15 min to read over and sign the consent form
- As we will be conducting the interview via Zoom due to Covid-19 safety protocols, the interviews will be recorded and stored. The recordings will be destroyed once they have been transcribed and the transcriptions after a period of 3 years has passed.

POTENTIAL RISKS OF THE STUDY

- We do not think there is anything in this study that could harm you or be bad for you. Some of the questions we ask might upset you. An example of one of these questions is: If you moved away from the area, what were the circumstances surrounding your departure? Why did you end up leaving the area?
- Please let the researcher know if you have any concerns.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

- We do not think taking part in this study will help you. However, in the future, others may benefit from what we learn in this study.

PAYMENT

- You will receive \$25 gift card of your choice for your participation in this research study
- Your mailing address will be collected via emailed, stored in a spreadsheet and then destroyed once the cards have been mailed out.

CONFIDENTIALITY

- Your confidentiality will be respected. Information that discloses your identity will not be released without your consent.
- All study data will be stored on Richard Stanley's personal desktop in a secure location and backed up on SFU OneDrive, the transcriptions of the interviews will be stored on Otter.ai's servers in California until transcription is complete after which they will be deleted.
- The Otter.ai servers are located in the US and the audio transcriptions may be stored on them briefly until transcription is complete and then deleted.
- If Interviews are conducted using Zoom, any data you provide may be transmitted and stored in countries outside of Canada. It is important to remember that privacy laws vary in different countries and may not be the same as in Canada.
-
- Please note that liking, sharing, or posting to comments sections on social media or other forums about this study may identify you as a participant. We therefore suggest that if this study was made available to you via a social media site or other online forums, you refrain from posting comments to protect your confidentiality.

STUDY RESULTS

The results of this study will be used to complete course requirements for [URB 697]. Please note that in current best practices in research, electronic data is to be preserved for future use in open access initiatives. Data is normally uploaded to an online repository and these files are stripped of any information that could identify participants (e.g., names, email addresses), to ensure confidentiality.

CONTACT FOR COMPLAINTS OR CONCERNS

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, please contact the Director, SFU Office of Research Ethics, at xxx or xxx-xxxx

Contact for Information about the Study

Richard Stanley-xxx

FUTURE CONTACT

- Do you consent to be contacted with follow up questions?

PARTICIPANT CONSENT

Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative consequence to yourself.

- Your signature (*OR: verbal agreement*) below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.
- Your signature below (*OR: verbal agreement*) indicates that you consent to participate in this study.
- You do not waive any of your legal rights by participating in this study.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date:

Appendix E. Respondent Data Details

Interview questions were organized around 3 categories: Housing, Transportation and Activism. Responses to interview questions are tallied below in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Summary of Participant Data

	Absolute #	% (rounded)
<u>Housing Status</u>		
Still in Maywood	9	70%
Plan to stay	6	46%
Moved away	4	30%
“Demovicted” or “reconvicted” at least once	10	77%
If evicted, under new rental protections	4	40%
<u>Transportation</u>		
SkyTrain main mode (while living in Maywood)	10	77%
car	2	15%
bike	1	8%
SkyTrain main reason for choosing Maywood	11	85%
Moved and now have longer travel time	3	75%
Moved and own car	2	50%
Car ownership (out of all participants)	4	30%
<u>Activism</u>		
Aware of organizing in Maywood	12	92%
Participated in organizing	6	46%
Previous activism	2	15%
Previous political party involvement	4	31%

Table 6.2. Housing Status of Respondents

	Absolute #	% (rounded)
<u>Housing Status</u>		
Still in area of study	9	70%
Plan to stay	6	46%
Moved away	4	30%
Demovicted or reconvicted at least once	10	77%
Under new rental protections	4	31%

Table 6.3. Grouping of Respondents by Housing Status

Group Designation	Respondent Designation(n=13)
Group A: No Displacement	R5, R6, R8 (n=3)
Group B: Displacement	R1, R2, R3, R4, R7, R9, R10, R11, R12, R13 (n=10)
Group B1: Displacement under Tenant Assistance Policy (TAP)	R2, R4, R7, R9 (n=4)
Group B2: Displacement pre-TAP or ineligible	R1, R3, R10, R11, R12, R13 (n=6)
Group C1: Displacement within Area of Study	R2, R4, R7, R9, R10, R11 (n=6)
Group C2: Displacement out of Area of Study	R1, R3, R12, R13 (n=4)
Group D: Still Living in Area of Study Combined Group A and Group C1	R5, R6, R8, R2, R4, R7, R9, R10, R11 (n=9)

Table 6.4. Respondents who mentioned mental health and tenure in neighbourhood

Respondent	Length of Time in Neighbourhood in Years
R4	7
R5	16
R7	20
R8	10
R9	21

The effects of moving “internally” had a negligible effect on participant’s access to transit. This is illustrated in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5. Respondent Distance to Skytrain Stations

Respondent#	Distance to Nearest SkyTrain Station- Original Address	Distance to Nearest SkyTrain Station- New Address
R1*	423 m	1.31 km
R2	315 m	161 m
R3*	141 m	1.21 km
R4	100 m	250 m
R5	233 m	n/a
R6	221 m	n/a
R7	487 m	161 m
R8	221 m	n/a
R9	189 m	165 m
R10	521 m	110 m
R11	110 m	326 m

R12*	378 m	412 m
R13*	244 m	1.33 km

Note. *= moved out of area

Respondent data related to transportation may be observed in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. Respondent Modes of Transportation

<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Absolute #</u>	<u>% (rounded)</u>
SkyTrain main mode (while living in Maywood)	10	77%
car	2	15%
bike	1	8%
SkyTrain main reason for choosing Maywood	11	85%
Moved and now have longer travel time	3	75%
Moved and own car	2	50%
Car ownership (out of all participants)	4	30%

Table 6.7. Respondent Activism

<u>Activism</u>	<u>Absolute #</u>	<u>% (rounded)</u>
Aware of organizing in Maywood	12	92%
Participated in organizing	6	46%
Previous activism	2	15%
Previous political party involvement	4	31%

Table 6.8. Respondent Perceptions Of Organizational Success

<u>Perception of Success</u>	<u>Respondent (n=13)</u>
Successful	R12
Partially Successful	R1, R3, R4, R5, R7, R8, R11
Unsuccessful	R2, R6, R9, R13
No opinion	R10

Table 6.9. Volunteer Perceptions of Organizational Success

Respondent #	Involvement in Volunteering	Perception of Success
R3	heavy involvement	Partially successful
R6	minimal involvement	Unsuccessful
R7	heavy involvement	Partially successful
R9	minimal involvement	Unsuccessful
R12	heavy involvement	Successful
R13	involvement	Unsuccessful