WHY WOODWARD'S?

INVESTIGATING THE WOODWARD'S REDEVELOPMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

This research examines Woodward's, a mixed-use, mixed-income development that opened on a heritage site in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside in the spring of 2010. The purpose of this project is to answer the following question: Is Woodward's an example of urban social sustainability. As many of the substantive impacts of the development will only become apparent over the next five to ten years, this research investigates the vision underlying the project and how well it aligns with principles of social sustainability. The conceptual statements that Woodward's makes about neighbourhood transition and the low-income community in the Downtown Eastside are explored using data generated from six in-depth interviews with key respondents. Woven throughout this exploration of Woodward's is a discussion of gentrification and what it means in the context of the Downtown Eastside.

Keywords: Woodward's; Social sustainability; gentrification; mixed-income; inclusion/inclusivity.

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1: INTRODUCTION

Is Woodward's a socially sustainable project? In the spring of 2010, Woodward's re-opened as a mixed-use, mixed-income development in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES). Prior to construction, low-income housing activists contested the future of Woodward's through a physical occupation of the site. During the construction process and following the completion of the building, Woodward's continued to be debated from numerous angles. This research investigates whether Woodward's should be considered a successful attempt to foster social sustainability in the DTES, based upon the informed perspectives of a number of individuals who were directly involved with or have some professional expertise on the project.

Sustainability has become an important goal for Canadian cities as they reconfigure to meet the ecological, social and economic demands of the twenty-first century. Social sustainability, however, is a particularly poignant concern for the DTES. The DTES has long been home to working-class Vancouverites. In the last few decades, however, a dwindling of low-income housing stock elsewhere in the city has made the DTES one of the last bastions of affordable housing in Vancouver (City of Vancouver Planning Department, 2009). Furthermore, worsening drug problems (fueled largely by the introduction of crack cocaine in the late 1980s) and the closing of mental health institutions across the province contributed to a convergence of mental illness, addiction, poverty and homelessness issues in the DTES (see City of Vancouver Planning Department, 2009; Shier, 2002; Blomley & Sommers, 2002; Campbell et al., 2009).

These interrelated issues combined to erode the physical and social structures of the DTES and push its residents further to the margins of the social, economic and political fabric of Vancouver.

Despite these obstacles, the low-income community in the DTES has also demonstrated a resiliency and a vibrancy that contradicts its identity as a damaged neighbourhood. This community spirit is demonstrated through the day-to-day determination of a group of poor and marginalized people to protect the DTES as a low-income haven and live the best lives they can while facing multiple obstacles. That determination is aided by a number of non-profits and community-based organizations; Portland Hotel Society, Downtown Eastside Residents' Association, InSite, Building Opportunities with Business, Carnegie Community Centre, United We Can, BladeRunners and the RayCam Community Centre are some of the organizations that figure prominently in the DTES equation.

Ultimately, the DTES is a neighbourhood that deals with a number of unique, interrelated challenges while providing a necessary home for a resilient, often marginalized, low-income community that includes a significant proportion of Vancouver's homeless, mentally-ill and addicted populations. Yet the DTES is also a neighbourhood ripe for gentrification. Situated on the eastern edge of the downtown core, the neighbourhood demonstrates a number of characteristics that make it attractive for redevelopment, including an appealing built environment that showcases Vancouver's urban history, a concentration of artistic and cultural activities and a large number of restaurants and retail spaces. Ultimately, the DTES shows great potential for both investment and lifestyle, meaning that it is attractive to developers, business owners and

middle-class urbanites (see Ley, 1996; Smith, 2006 and; Derksen & Smith, 2002). For business owners, the neighbourhood shows promise as an up-and-coming boutique shopping, dining and recreational district, making it an attractive area for new or expanding commercial outlets. Middle-class urbanites are attracted to both the appealing urban aesthetic and that same growing cultural and commercial activity. Consider also the proximity to the downtown core and the DTES exudes the promise of an alluring urban lifestyle.

The challenge that currently faces the DTES is how to deal with this convergence of interests and interested parties in a limited amount of urban space. More specifically, the challenge is to deal with this convergence in a way that promotes social sustainability, a concept that will be explained in depth in the conceptual framework. Woodward's, as a large, publicly-owned, symbolically-charged piece of urban space on the western edge of the DTES, will have important impacts on the future of the DTES. This research examines how well Woodward's incorporates social sustainability into that future. Prior to delving into the particularities of this research, however, it is necessary to briefly explore the history of Woodward's.

2: HISTORY OF WOODWARD'S AND THE DOWNTOWN EASTSIDE

In 1903, the Woodward's department store opened on the corner of Abbott Street and Hastings Street in what was then a bustling retail district along Hastings Street. Ninety years later the store closed its doors for the final time. The closure represented a significant symbolic marker in the continuing history of the Downtown Eastside (DTES) in Vancouver. For much of the 20th century, Woodward's was an important part of Vancouver's commercial retail activity, patronized by Vancouverites of all backgrounds and standings (see Shier, 2002; Blomley & Sommers, 2002). In addition, Woodward's played an important role in sustaining the low-income community that inhabited the DTES, providing inexpensive goods and services; particularly famous was $1.49 day every Tuesday on the 'food floor' (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). Even more importantly, Woodward's provided a significant community amenity as a place where people, particularly people from the low-income community, could congregate and interact in a tolerant, accepting environment (Blomley & Sommers, 2002; Shier, 2002). The closure of Woodward's dealt a significant blow to the low-income community; even more ominously, it foreshadowed change for the DTES as debates over the future of the site heated up.

In 1995, Fama Holdings purchased the site with the intent of developing a mixed-use project that included market condominiums and retail space (City of Vancouver,

"The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). Fama was granted preliminary approval from the City's Development Permit Board and, in 1996, accepted a proposal that Woodward's receive a heritage designation in exchange for relaxed zoning regulations (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). At the same time, the Woodward's site received an allocation of 200 units of social housing from the provincial government (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). Ultimately, Fama proved unable to create a suitable development and pulled out of the project. The Woodward's social housing allocation was subsequently transferred off-site into two 100-unit social housing developments - the Lore Krill Co-ops (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm).[1]

In 2001, the province purchased the site for $22 million, hoping to construct a mixed-use housing development that would include social housing, substantial commercial space and SFU's School for the Contemporary Arts; in order to follow through on the project, the provincial government began entertaining the possibility of private developer partners (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). In 2002, however, activists occupied the Woodward's site in protest. Susan Pell describes Woodsquat, as the occupation became known, as

[1] The Lore Krill Co-ops are non-profit housing co-ops that include both subsidized and market-rate units. The housing co-operative model works by having residents by member shares in the building – a collective ownership model. As the Lore Krill Co-ops are non-profit initiatives, they generate no profits. In a sense, they can be considered smaller scale mixed-income developments that employ a different model of affordable housing. It is worth noting that Gregory Henriquez was also the architect for this development and was awarded both a Lieutenant-Governor's medal in 2003 and a Governor-General's medal in 2004 for the design.

> a claim by the poor, homeless, and socially marginalized inhabitants of the neighbourhood to the right to participate in decision-making processes that impact their everyday lives in the present and for the future (2008, p. 145).

Certainly, Woodsquat should be recognized as a politically and ideologically charged act to reclaim a symbolic piece of urban space. This type of demonstration needs to be understood as an attempt to attract the attention of both the Vancouver public and municipal and provincial governments to an exacerbating housing crisis that centred in the DTES. In addition, it should be recognized as an act through which marginalized urbanites exercised their right to the city. Undoubtedly, Woodsquat helped generate an impetus for action. Without Woodsquat, it might have been difficult to garner the political will to develop social housing on such valuable land. Ultimately, my research suggests that Woodsquat played an extremely important role as a catalyst for action.[2]

Eventually, the province's search for a private developer partner proved fruitless and, in 2003, the Woodward's site was sold to the City of Vancouver for $5 million (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). The unofficial story behind this transaction is that there was a tacit agreement between Jim Green, then a City Councilor, and the provincial government whereby the province would sell the land at a considerable discount ($17 million) and Jim Green would not oppose the Olympic Bid that was underway at the time. Needless to say, the Olympic Bid was approved and the City of Vancouver gained possession of Woodward's in what many saw as a back-room deal.

Throughout 2003, the City conducted an extensive community consultation process (see the Community Consultation web page,

[2] Tom Laviolette, Nathan Edelson, Gregory Henriquez and Jim Green all pointed out the importance of Woodsquat to the eventual creation of the current incarnation of Woodward's.

http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/ideas.htm), which ultimately resulted in the creation of a set of Guiding Principles[3]. Those Guiding Principles were delivered to private developers who were interested in becoming partners with the City on the redevelopment of Woodward's. In 2004, City Council selected Westbank Projects (with Henriquez Partners as the architects) to be their partner (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm). A few months later, Portland Hotel Society and Affordable Housing Society were selected as non-profit partners to run the social housing included in the development (City of Vancouver, "The Story of Woodward's," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/story.htm).[4]

In 2010, Woodward's re-opened as a mixed-use, mixed-income development. The new incarnation includes 536 units of market condominiums, 125 single-occupancy social housing units, 75 family-occupancy social housing units, a daycare facility, SFU's School of Contemporary Arts, non-profit and federal office space and, finally, a number of retail outlets such as London Drugs and Nester's Market. Both public and highly-publicized, the new Woodward's is supposed to demonstrate urban sustainable development from economic, ecological and social standpoints and furthermore act as a crucial element in the effort to revitalize the Downtown Eastside (DTES). This study critically examines why key individuals involved in the redevelopment created this specific vision for Woodward's and, more broadly, how they see it contributing to the whole neighbourhood. More specifically, I answer the following question: can Woodward's be considered an example of urban social sustainability?

[3] See Appendix 2.

[4] A detailed timeline of the Woodward's redevelopment process can be found in Appendix 2.

In the most important ways, a study of Woodward's is also a study of the DTES. Generally recognized as Vancouver's and perhaps Canada's most infamous neighbourhood, the DTES should also be recognized as a unique and multifaceted urban community, a neighbourhood that has undergone a number of transitions but continues to play an important part in Vancouver's identity. Throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century, the DTES housed a bustling commercial district that was very much a prominent part of Vancouver's downtown. Indeed, as the oldest part of the city, what is now known as Gastown literally was the downtown heart of the city. Theatres, restaurants, bars and retail outlets crowded along Cordova St. In addition to being the commercial hub of the city, the DTES also housed Chinatown and Japantown and the turmoil that surrounded both of those communities in the early half of the century. Larry Campell, Neil Boyd and Lori Culbert point out that a tradition of union activism in the neighbourhood dates back to the 1930s (2009; also see Sommers & Blomley, 2002). In many ways, then, the DTES was a bustling centre of the city, juxtaposing social, cultural and economic activity with a somewhat rough-and-tumble characteristic.

Following the depression of the 1930s, however, the DTES began a transition from an urban, working-class neighbourhood to a skid road, a phenomenon that Campbell et al. suggest was not uncommon in North American cities in the 1940 and 50s (2009). Immediately after WWII, the neighbourhood housed much of the City's morally-questionable nightlife, helping to solidify its identity as an edgy urban neighbourhood (Sommers & Blomley, 2002). A 1965 Vancouver City Hall report, entitled *Downtown Eastside*, indicated that the neighbourhood had become home to primarily single, uneducated men (Campbell et al., 2009). A disproportionate degree of alcoholism and

unemployment contributed to the notion that the DTES was a transient neighbourhood that acted as home to various types of deviance. That being said, the area also remained home to a resilient, low-income community that was able to rally together to stop a highway project from bulldozing homes in Strathcona and essentially destroying the DTES (Campbell et al., 2009). In 1973, the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA) was formed under the leadership of Bruce Eriksen and Libby Davies with the intention of protecting the neighbourhood and working to improve living conditions in the DTES (Campbell et al., 2009).

Throughout the 1970s and 80s, the neighbourhood continued to experience increased hardships and further disinvestment. Campbell et al. point out that the increased potency of drugs, the increasing use of injection drugs and the increasing crime that came with an entrenched drug market figured prominently in the drastic decline of the DTES (2009). Reid Shier describes how drugs came to dominate the DTES in the 1980 and 90s:

> Injection drugs use had been escalating since the late 1980s as cocaine became increasingly popular, but the cost of coke was still prohibitive. Crack offered the first affordable, economical, and addictive alternative. Like shoppers on their way to the suburbs, users paraded to Hastings, and spawned a thriving market. Cars troll the street, and cruise past police officers who have long given up hope of stopping the trade. For the police, success is measured in how well the drugs are kept corralled on Hastings between Cambie and Main, where they can expect the fewest complaints. Arrests are infrequent, and when they occur they are counterproductive, and result in pinch-hitting teams deployed onto the streets to make up for lost productivity. Like a hydra, direct enforcement paradoxically crowds the streets with the incarcerated dealers multiplying replacements (2002).

The 1993 withdrawal of federal funding for social housing (see Hulchanski, 2007) combined with the closing of Vancouver's only long-term psychiatric hospital, Riverview, to further exacerbate the situation (Campbell et al. 2009; City of Vancouver Planning Department, 2009;). By the late 1990s, the DTES had become home to an

extreme concentration of mentally-ill, addicted and homeless populations. In addition, much of Vancouver's social housing remained in the area, meaning that low-income Vancouverites, employed or unemployed, with or without addictions and/or mental illnesses remained as well. The resulting situation in the DTES entailed a conflation of the distinct, though inter-related issues of poverty, homelessness, mental-illness and addiction within a particular piece of Vancouver's urban geography. That accumulation made these problems more visible, while simultaneously exacerbating them. Ultimately, the DTES embodied a difficult duality as a home to a population facing multiple, often-overlapping obstacles: on the one hand the concentration of these particular issues enhanced the marginalization of struggling DTES residents; on the other hand, the DTES provided one of the only havens where poor and possibly mentally-ill, addicted and/or homeless Vancouverites could actually survive.

Jeff Sommers and Nick Blomley suggest that the continually-perpetuated negative perceptions of the neighbourhood have actually contributed greatly to the hardships faced by those who continue to occupy it. According to Sommers and Blomley, a "rhetoric of pathology" constructed a negative DTES social identity in three key ways. First, the neighbourhood came to be seen as the actual source of the problems that it faced (2002); ironically the deplorable conditions in which low-income DTES residents lived came to be seen as the product of social dysfunction rather than a contributor to it. More simply put, it's their own fault. Second, the DTES was described as a social entity that could literally infect the rest of the city (Sommers & Blomley, 2002); this type of thinking became best-known through broken-windows theory policies. Broken windows theory, developed by James Q. Wilson and George R. Kelling suggests that minor deviance and

petty crime lead to more serious deviance and violent crime. The analogy is that a building or car with a broken window will experience further vandalism because the minor disrepair (deviance) invites greater disrepair (deviance) (1996). This theory was famously adopted by Rudy Guiliani while he was mayor of New York City and used to justify extremely harsh policing of quality-of-life offences - graffiti, panhandling, etc. (see Adams, 2006). And third, the decline of the DTES became associated with an assumed lack of morality on the part of the residents, isolating them from the rest of Vancouver and effectively removing their citizenship rights (Sommers & Blomley, 2002). By "citizenship rights," Sommers & Blomley refer to the ability to be recognized as community members who have a right to participate in socio-political processes. In particular, they suggest that negative public perceptions of the DTES and those who reside within it fundamentally exclude them from having a say in what happens to their neighbourhood and, potentially, their homes.

Ultimately, then, the current situation in the DTES in many ways embodies the challenge of urban social sustainability. The long-standing neighbourhood houses a disproportionate number of low-income Vancouverites - the 2006 census revealed that 64% of DTES were classified as low-income, compared to 27% in Vancouver in general (City of Vancouver Planning Department, 2009). Similarly, unemployment rates are disproportionately higher in the DTES as compared to the rest of Vancouver (City of Vancouver Planning Department, 2009). Furthermore, the neighbourhood deals with a disproportionate degree of mental illness, addiction and crime. In spite of these hardships, the neighbourhood has remained a neighbourhood in the truest of senses - it is a home to

a resilient community of predominantly poor and low-income people, many of whom face some very particular challenges.

Increasingly, however, the DTES has become populated by new, middle-class residents, likely because of the neighbourhood's proximity to the Central Business District and its heritage architecture combined with a changing middle-class aesthetic (see Ley, 1996) . In addition, as reconfigure to deal with the challenges posed by climate change, calls for densification may contribute to a changing demographic in Vancouver's core. Cities are dynamic and Vancouver is no exception; the DTES is certainly experiencing some transitions, though Ley and and Dobson suggest that gentrification has not occurred in the DTES to the degree that one might expect; furthermore, they suggest that the neighbourhood's unique history and characteristics are precisely why it has managed to remain so resilient against encroaching gentrification (2008).

As of now, the future of the neighbourhood is unclear. Woodward's will no doubt play a significant role in determining what the DTES will be in years to come. As a large, publicly-owned site on a historically-charged, central piece of land in the DTES, the statement Woodward's makes is both a symbolic and a material signpost that points in the direction that the DTES is headed. Richard Stren and Mario Polese suggest that "the manner in which the modern city is organized and managed as a social entity is both a response to local circumstances and a statement - often to be understood in a national context - of important objectives on behalf of the society as a whole" (2000, p. 11). Woodward's, then, represents an opportunity for Vancouver to demonstrate the kind of value it places on housing and the kind of commitment it is willing to make to its poorest and most marginalized residents. The manner in which that space is developed will

reflect how far the city of Vancouver is willing to go to ensure that the low-income community has a place in the city and specifically in the DTES.

Therefore, Woodward's needs to be understood as a microcosm of city management, a local response to a local situation that makes a statement about how the City intends to manage and (re)develop the DTES. Indeed, depending on its success, it may become a template for future (re)development in the DTES. I return then to my research question: does Woodward's represent an example of urban social sustainability?

3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Social Sustainability

In order to evaluate Woodward's success in fostering social sustainability, I must first develop a clear understanding of what I mean by social sustainability. Sustainability is a concept with an untold number of contested definitions. Social sustainability, in particular, can be even more difficult to define. Here, I attempt to develop a framework for social sustainability in an urban setting, one that can be used to evaluate how well the underlying vision of Woodward's represents the values of social sustainability.

Louella Mathias provides a starting point with her definition of social sustainability "as a place where people live, work and prosper, and where the long-term well-being of a city and its citizens is addressed" (2005, p. 1). She then attempts to analyze how local governments and private corporations can collaborate in order better to achieve local sustainability goals. While this definition does provide a means of understanding sustainability in an urban context, it reflects a very broad, fairly unsophisticated understanding of how sustainability and, in particular, social sustainability can be achieved. Mathias does suggest that local governments make use of a sustainability matrix that will help envision the broad goals of sustainability through more tangible indicators; within the matrix, sustainability goals are approached through the categories of 'live, work, play' (2005).

Mathias' framework provides a jumping-off point in that she designed it to provide a practical understanding of what sustainability means in an urban setting.

Unfortunately, the goals of 'live, work and prosper' and the 'live, work, play' categories fail to provide any real understanding of what we're trying to achieve when we set urban sustainability goals. Instead, social sustainability becomes relegated to a vague, naive-sounding notion of a happy community where gainfully employed, middle-class urbanites are able to balance their recreational activities, their home lives and their respective occupations. Ultimately, the framework provides little value in any attempt to envision a socially-sustainable urban future, particularly when attempting to deal with the unique, entrenched issues in the DTES and the question of how to deal with opposing interests together in constrained urban space.

Merril Cooper provides a somewhat more comprehensive definition of social sustainability:

> Social sustainability assumes a certain level of equality among all residents, and growth that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society. It implies that diverse groups and cultural practices are integrated in a just and equitable fashion, and this is reflected in all aspects of economic, social, political, and cultural life in the city. These assumptions and implications reflect a social inclusion framework or strategy for change toward fairness and equity for all members of society, in all aspects of life. (2006, p. 11).

According to Cooper's definition, then, social sustainability boils down to ensuring some degree of equity by promoting social inclusion through local practice and legislation. Applied in terms of urban planning and development, social sustainability thus requires that all urban residents be included as part of the urban fabric, meaning that they have a right to live in and occupy urban space and to access basic urban services such as housing, health care and a form of public transportation. Cooper further defines social inclusion as " the capacity and willingness of our society to keep all groups within reach of what we expect as a society - the social commitment and investments necessary to

ensure that all people are close to (within reach of) our common aspirations, common life and its common wealth" (2006, p. 11). A socially sustainable urban community ensures that the needs of all of its members are addressed to some degree. Yet to what degree those needs need to be addressed remains unclear. As a starting point, any social sustainability framework needs to provide a minimum standard of living that includes a safe and sanitary place to live and at least a subsistence level of food and clothing. Beyond that, the above framework suggests that there need to be some sort of programming to ensure that people have an ability to achieve some common conceptions of the 'good life'. Cooper's framework emphasizes social inclusion but still provides a fairly vague understanding of what social sustainability means practically and, further, how we can manipulate cities to promote it.

In terms of the DTES, a low-income neighbourhood experiencing an influx of middle-class residents and facing a potential, perhaps imminent, 'revitalization' initiative, the challenge of achieving social sustainability means a few key things. First, protecting the right of the low-income and more vulnerable populations to continue to live in the area has to be recognized as an essential piece of the social sustainability puzzle. The DTES has provided a home for people who have few resources and even fewer options; in many ways, the DTES has to be recognized as the last haven for people who cannot live anywhere else in the city. To transform the neighbourhood to the extent that the low-income community is displaced would fundamentally be socially unsustainable.

Furthermore, the low-income community possesses a right to occupy urban space. The DTES has long been one of the only spaces where poor Vancouverites could assert that right and, as such, it must be recognized that they should continue to be able to do so.

A socially sustainable DTES would allow, even help, poor DTES residents to continue to make that assertion. The statements made by Woodward's, then, set the tone for how much commitment the City of Vancouver shows to fostering a socially sustainable, socially inclusive neighbourhood.

Stren and Polese emphasize that social sustainability must be engaged in on a specifically local basis, "even though the broader forces conditioning the dynamic of urban change incorporated complex elements from larger and more [socially] inclusive systems" (2000, p. 33). So although the particular situations of given cities - the unique challenges and opportunities they face - often derive from extra-local forces, the road to social sustainability necessitates increased attention to local policies and institutions that foster social sustainability. Accordingly, Stren and Polese's articulate their central premise as follows:

> For the management of a city to be successful (all other factor being equal), its policies need to be conducive to 'social sustainability.' Social sustainability for a city is defined as *development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for* all *segments of the population* (2000, pp. 15-16; emphasis in original text).

Clearly, this definition dovetails with Cooper's idea of social sustainability, emphasizing the importance of social inclusion, justice and equity to the sustainable city. Stren and Polese, however, make explicit reference to the need to reduce disparities between members of the urban population, suggesting that there are very real, material aspects to social sustainability. They elaborate:

> Social sustainability is strongly reflected in the degree to which inequalities and social discontinuity are reduced. And, as international research has revealed, not only do socially sustainable policies reduce urban decay and violence, but they

> may also serve to distinguish between cities that can effectively respond to globalizing trends and those that cannot.
> To achieve social sustainability, cities must reduce both the level of exclusion of marginal and/or disadvantaged groups, and the degree of social and spatial fragmentation that both encourages and reflects this exclusionary pattern. Social sustainability, in this respect, may be seen as the polar opposite of exclusion, both in territorial and social terms. *Urban policies conducive to social sustainability must, among other things, seek to bring people together, to weave the various parts of the city into a cohesive whole, and to increase accessibility (spatial and otherwise) to public services and employment, within the framework, ideally, of a local governance structure which is democratic, efficient, and equitable.* This is all about building durable urban 'bridges,' as we have said, capable of standing the test of time (2000, p. 36; emphasis in original text).

Here, Stren and Polese provide a comprehensive and specific definition of what social sustainability means to cities. More than a vague encouragement of civil society, diversity, tolerance and inclusion, urban social sustainability means actively reaching out and improving the lives of marginalized urbanites and addressing the social, cultural and political urban regimes that works to exclude those populations. Furthermore, urban centres must develop policies and institutions that ensure the accessibility to the basic urban functions and public services that underpin urban life - in particular, health, housing, transportation, employment - while promoting a democratic governance structure that reflects the needs and desires of all local constituents, including those who may lack social, political and economic capital. For the DTES, a neighbourhood dealing with some urban revitalization/gentrification processes and with a low-income population facing potential displacement, social sustainability in the DTES requires that the growing socio-economic disparity in the neighbourhood be managed in a way that recognizes the right of the existing low-income and marginalized populations to remain in a neighbourhood that continues to support and reflect them as valid urban citizens. In order to be recognized as a step towards social sustainability, then, Woodward's has to reflect

the notion that low-income, socially-assisted residents have the right to remain equally valid residents of the DTES and, furthermore, must demonstrate the genuine intention of reducing social and spatial disparity. That intention does not necessarily refer to making sure that all income groups become friends with each other, but rather that low-income groups are recognized as citizens to the same degree that condo-dwellers are, as will be discussed further in a following section.

The City of Vancouver also provides a useful understanding of social sustainability, one worth exploring given that the Woodward's redevelopment was from the beginning a City project. According to the City of Vancouver,

> For a community to function and be sustainable, the basic needs of its residents must be met. A socially sustainable community must have the ability to maintain and build on its own resources and have the resiliency to prevent and/or address problems in the future.
> There are two types or levels of resources in the community that are available to build social sustainability (and, indeed, economic and environmental sustainability) - individual or human capacity, and social or community capacity. Individual or human capacity refers to the attributes and resources that individuals can contribute to their own well-being and to the well-being of the community as a whole. Such resources include education, skills, health, values and leadership. Social or community capacity is defined as the relationships, networks and norms that facilitate collective action taken to improve upon quality of life and to ensure that such improvements are sustainable. To be effective and sustainable, both these individual and community resources need to be developed and used within the context of four guiding principles - equity, social inclusion and interaction, security, and adaptability (City of Vancouver Policy Report - Social Development, 2005, p. 3).

The City, then conceptualizes social sustainability as encompassing three levels: (1) meeting the basic needs of residents, including housing and a minimum standard of income; (2) building individual capacity; and (3) building social/community capacity. This framework aligns well with the conceptual framework advanced earlier and further suggests the practical steps necessary for cities to actually work towards social

sustainability. Importantly, the basic material needs of residents are addressed as a prerequisite for achieving any kind of social sustainability; all urbanites must have access to safe and secure housing and an income that can sustain them at a basic level, first and foremost. Following that, social sustainability then requires that cities cater to the needs of the individual by providing opportunities to develop their 'human capacity,' which ultimately refers to their ability to contribute to their own well-being. Finally, recognizing that cities are social networks above all else, the fostering of social/community capacity suggests that social sustainability demands that an equitable, inclusive local governance regime is employed and supported. Ultimately, the City's definition of social sustainability represents a comprehensive and well thought-out attempt to construct a practical and applicable framework. In addition, it reveals what the City of Vancouver views as being within the realm of their responsibility and within their reach practically. As such, it provides a valuable framework for evaluating Woodward's.

3.2 Practical Importance of Housing

Making use of this framework, I investigated how well Woodward's embodies socially sustainable principles. Put another way, I worked to uncover what kind of statement Woodward's makes about social sustainability and the DTES. With that in mind, we must recognize that the opportunity for Woodward's to make a statement about social sustainability ties in closely with the kind of statements it advances about (social) housing in the DTES. Indeed, the provision of housing has to be recognized as one of the most crucial elements of social sustainability. According to the framework just described, the provision of safe and secure housing represents the first prerequisite to achieving social sustainability. In a recent report to the Canadian Policy Research Network, Tom

Carter and Chesya Polevychok emphasize that housing policy plays such a crucial role in effective social policy that the two policy sectors should no longer be considered separate; rather housing should be viewed as social policy (2004). Their research indicates that safe and affordable housing has positive effects on both individual and community well-being (Carter & Polevychok, 2004). Furthermore, they suggest that the provision of housing plays an important role in facilitating access to other social and economic support services (Carter & Polevychok, 2004). Overall, Carter & Polevychok conclude that the provision of affordable and adequate shelter must be a cornerstone of good social policy. Certainly, the same can be said about the contribution housing can make to the creation and maintenance of a socially sustainable community.

The history of housing policy in the DTES has fluctuated fairly drastically over the last few decades. Following World War II, social housing was largely funded by the federal government, with cities and provinces acting as allocative and administrative bodies for federal funds (see Hulchanski, 2007). In 1993, however, that federal funding was largely withdrawn and responsibility for both funding and providing social housing devolved almost completely to provincial and municipal governments (City of Vancouver, 2005). Although BC was one of only two provinces to maintain a housing program (the other being Quebec), a lack of funding meant little was done to construct or maintain social housing resulting in an overall deterioration and overcrowding of the social housing stock (See Hulchanski, 2007; City of Vancouver, 2005; 2009).

Recently, housing policy has returned to the local agenda in a fairly prominent way. Likely fueled by increasing homelessness, a dwindling and deteriorating non-market housing stock and public demonstrations such as Woodsquat, the non-market housing

stock in the DTES has begun to garner increasing attention from both non-profit actors and local governments. In May 2008, the City of Vancouver created the Social Development Department, a conglomeration of other social service departments into a single vehicle through which to deliver social services. Social planning, housing policy, drug policy and non-market operations were all brought under the umbrella of the Social Development Department in the hopes of creating a more coordinated strategy of social development.

Under the auspices of the Social Development Department, the City of Vancouver engaged in a number of initiatives that related specifically to the provision of non-market housing, particularly in the DTES. An Innovative Housing Initiative suggested that creative models of housing provision would benefit from partnership models that included both private developers as well as senior levels of government; Woodward's was highlighted as an example of innovative housing development.

In 2005, the City of Vancouver engaged in community consultation processes in the DTES in order to draft a new Housing Plan for the DTES. The Housing Plan has two primary goals: first, to maintain at least 10,000 units of low-income housing in the DTES and; second, to improve the quality of that housing stock over time (2005). In particular, deteriorating SROs are to be replaced at a 1-1 conversion rate with new, self-contained units (i.e. units that have private washrooms and cooking facilities). The primary means by which the low-income housing stock has been secured has been the purchase of 25 SRO hotels (2 by the City of Vancouver and 23 by the Province of BC); all of these SROs have been upgraded with public funds and are currently being run by non-profits. Simultaneously, however, the Housing Plan encourages the development of affordable

market housing[5] in the DTES and projects that the amount of market housing in the neighbourhood will double by 2015, ultimately accounting for one-third of the total housing stock (2005).

In the Fall of 2010, however, the Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP) released a report, entitled *Pushed Out: Escalating Rents in the Downtown Eastside*, that suggests the Housing Plan for the DTES has failed to adequately protect the low-income housing stock in the neighbourhood. CCAP conducted a rent survey of DTES SROs and their report suggests that, in spite of the joint actions of the City and the Province, SRO rents have inflated beyond the means of DTES residents who receive welfare payments, resulting in a net loss in what can actually be considered social housing in the DTES (2010). The report points to the very real concern that low-income residents get 'priced-out' of the DTES as the neighbourhood undergoes continued revitalization and experiences increasing pressures of gentrification.

Clearly, housing provision is a crucial aspect of social policy and, furthermore, a key to the development of a socially sustainable urbanism in Vancouver. More specifically, the future of the DTES hinges in large part on the future of its housing stock and how well it will be able to provide a home for the low-income urbanites who have long occupied the neighbourhood. Social sustainability in the DTES requires that the low-income community is provided with safe and sanitary housing. Woodward's, as a key housing initiative, needs to be recognized as both an opportunity to contribute to that low-income housing stock and an indicator of whether the DTES will continue to be home for the low-income community.

[5] Affordable market will be encouraged by an emphasis on affordable rental, owner-occupied and live/work units.

3.3 Conceptual Importance of Housing

In addition to the practical importance of housing to social sustainability, I would argue that the provision (or lack thereof) of housing has a conceptual role to play in the development of a socially sustainable urban community. The degree to which housing is provided, the type of housing provided and the manner in which it is provided all reflect a conceptual statement about the right to housing and the right to be part of the city. As housing plays an integral role in urban social sustainability, the statement that a project, community or city makes about housing necessarily holds implications for the degree to which it can be called socially sustainable. As laid out in the framework described earlier, urban social sustainability demands that the basic needs - including housing - of all residents be met. Put another way, everybody has a right to housing, regardless of their social, economic, political or cultural capital. Yet in Canada, 95% of housing is distributed through the private market, meaning that the location, quality and security of one's accommodations are directly tied to one's financial capital (Hulchanski, 2007). Such commodification of urban space, and housing in particular, seems to directly oppose social sustainability principles.

Mark Purcell suggests that in order to challenge the increasing commodification of urban space, we must assert a right to the city, thus re-imagining urban space as inhabited rather than commodified (2008). Put another way, we could conceive of it as a struggle between the exchange value and the use value of the city. The use value of urban space refers to the value it has in performing one or a number of urban functions - providing housing, space for commerce, public meeting space, recreational space, etc.

The value thus derives from what it can provide to its users and need not be expressed in monetary terms. The exchange value refers to the monetary value urban space fetches on the market, through rental or purchase. If the exchange value predominates over the use value, then urban space is socially produced in a way that maximizes financial value, with little or no concern about what kind of use value it may hold. Organizing urban land in this manner will result in a commodified urban landscape that fails to recognize that space is inhabited by real people who need to use that urban space to go about their daily lives. Social sustainability requires that we privilege the use value over the exchange value, thus ensuring that we use urban space to first and foremost to account for the needs urban citizens (i.e. through the provision of safe, affordable housing).

The origins of the right to the city derive from Henri Lefebvre, who first developed the concept while examining French cities in the 1960s. Lefebvre perceived of cities as *ouvres* - inherently social, collective works to which all citizens participate (Mitchell, 2003). Accordingly, all citizens possess an unassailable right to the city, a right to inhabit urban space. Conceptually, then, the right to the city clearly aligns with a social sustainability agenda: cities must first meet the basic needs of their residents; following that, they foster both individual and social capacity or, put another way, they enable both individuals and communities to participate in and contribute to their own well-being and the well-being of the city as a whole.

Mitchell extends the right to the city to an explicit demand for the provision of housing, contending that the right to the city, perhaps more than anything else, implies a right to housing as an integral part of the right to occupy urban space:

> The right to inhabit implies a *right* to housing: a place to sleep, a place to urinate and defecate without asking someone else's permission, a place to relax, a place from which to venture forth. Simply guaranteeing the right to housing may not be sufficient to guaranteeing a right to the city, but it is a necessary step toward guaranteeing that right (2003, p. 19).

Housing becomes particularly important in an era of continually shrinking public urban space, where the increasing policing, regulation, privatization and pseudo-privatization (see Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006) of public space have made it extremely difficult to survive if one does not have access to housing. Ultimately, then, housing needs to be recognized as an essential aspect of urban social sustainability, with both material and ideological importance. Thus the statement made about housing through the multi-faceted mechanisms of housing provision in turn makes a statement about the importance of social sustainability in a given city. This research investigates the kind of statements Woodward's makes about the provision of housing and, consequently, what that means about its success as an ostensibly socially sustainable urban project.

3.4 Social Mix and Mixed-Income Developments

One of the statements is already known to us: an important part of the Woodward's redevelopment is the inclusion of both social housing units and market condominium units on the same site. Indeed, the project has to be recognized as a housing development first and a mixed-use development second. Furthermore, as a city-owned site that was redeveloped with an agenda promoting social sustainability, the inclusion of social housing was an important - perhaps the most important - requirement of the new development (see 'Guiding Principles for the Woodward's Project', City of Vancouver website, http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/guiding.htm). Without doubt, the

provision of 200 units of social housing should be recognized as a good thing and a valuable step in the direction of social sustainability. But questions remain regarding what kind of efficacy mixed-income housing developments have in terms of promoting social sustainability principles. Politicians, planners and even academics seem to assume fairly uncritically that promoting mixed-income communities and housing developments equates to increased social cohesion, inclusion and, ultimately, sustainability. The underlying assumption suggests that spatial proximity is equivalent to social proximity

Unfortunately, social research seems to reveal little evidence that the two go hand-in-hand. Indeed, when considering the disparity of political and economic capital that exists between the various groups of Woodward's residents, one has to wonder whether the interests of the low-income group will be subordinate to those of the condo-dwellers, especially outside of the boundaries of Woodward's. Put another way, will the surrounding neighbourhood simply adapt to reflect the spending power and desires of the new, wealthier residents? It certainly seems possible that commercial spaces will become occupied predominantly by retail and service businesses that cater exclusively to a middle- or upper-class consumer. Similarly, public spaces (perhaps at the behest of those businesses) may start to be regulated (by private security, police, business owners, etc.) in ways that passively or actively excludes poor residents.

In 1997, Jill Khadduri and Marge Martin published a study for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) examining the success of mixed-income housing initiatives in the US. The increasing concentration of urban poverty in the United States was a primary motivator for the research, something that Khadduri and Martin attribute to increasing income disparity and the failure of the private housing market to

adequately provide affordable housing (1997). They suggest that there are several key policy drivers that generate political interest in mixed-income housing developments: ensuring positive role models for (poor) children, the better maintenance and management of subsidized housing, generating community support for publicly-funded projects, providing affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families who are not poor and, finally, finding economically efficient ways to provide social housing (Khadduri & Martin, 1997).

Some of these assumptions are unqualified at best and fairly controversial; in particular, the assumption that poor children will benefit from living next to wealthier, employed neighbours who supposedly embody mainstream values has weak academic support at best (see Khadduri & Martin, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990). Some of the other drivers, however, certainly make sense in the context of Vancouver and with particular regard to Woodward's: the sale of market units in Woodward's offsets the cost of the social housing, helping to generate community support for an economically-efficient social housing project. Similarly, two of Khadduri and Martin's findings have direct relevance to Woodward's and the DTES: first, their research indicated that mixed-income developments in the United States occur overwhelmingly in high-poverty census tracts. In other words, mixed-income projects happen in poor neighbourhoods, meaning that they bring wealthier families into more impoverished areas rather than the other way around. This finding may seem unsurprising to some, but it reveals an important aspect of the underlying ideology of most mixed-income developments: wealthy people are brought into poor neighbourhoods in the hopes that they can somehow improve or fix the neighbourhood. Yet in the context of a dwindling or deteriorating social housing stock

where looming gentrification can potentially spell the displacement of poor urbanites and the eventual loss of low-income neighbourhoods, does this strategy necessarily make sense?

The second of Khadduri and Martin's relevant finding speaks directly to that question, suggesting that mixed-income projects can actually work to exclude poor residents, often through rental structures that make the housing unaffordable for low-income urbanites or just more accessible (and attractive) to wealthier residents (1997). Ultimately, this research further reinforces the importance of developing conscientious housing strategies and emphasizes the gap in social research on mixed-income developments: do they really improve the living situations of poor people or do they simply pave the way for the gentrification of low-income neighbourhoods?

Alastair Smith attempted to address this question in 2002, when he revisited the topic of mixed-income housing in the United States, with a particular focus on HOPE VI, HUD's $4.5 billion, 10 year program dedicated to the demolition and redevelopment of deteriorating public-housing projects into mixed-income developments. Smith highlights three main motivations for the increasing preference for mixed-income developments: one, alleviating concentrations of poverty; two, the production of high-quality social housing developments and; three, addressing the current shortage of affordable housing units by constructing new ones (2002). His findings suggest that mixed-income housing developments have mixed results when it comes to achieving these three goals.

Similar to Khadduri and Martin, Smith found little evidence that spatial proximity led to social proximity; mixed-income developments did not directly generate cohesive, socially-inclusive communities (2002). Furthermore, Smith also found some evidence

that lowest-income urbanites - particularly families - who had the greatest need for affordable housing were often excluded from mixed-income developments, often because they remained too expensive (2002). On a positive note, Smith's findings did indicate that mixed-income developments helped to create higher-quality social housing, though he credited the necessity of market pressures to provide both resources and incentives to maintaining that quality (2002). Mixed-income developments had some success in reducing community objections to social housing and generated some political support (Smith, 2002). Ultimately, Smith suggests that mixed-income developments produced mixed-results in terms of achieving the goals they laid out. Although they did provide some quality housing, the research suggests that this type of initiative may provide fewer units of affordable housing to less needy people.

Furthermore, mixed-income developments entail their own set of challenges, the most distressing being the potential for extremely low-income urbanites to be priced out of developments (Smith, 2002). So while Smith allows that mixed-income units may have a role in alleviating poverty, he also suggests that funds may be more effectively allocated to addressing the needs of low-income communities from the ground up, including constructing new units of social housing (2002). Simply put, providing funds for much-needed housing and social services directly may represent a better strategy than importing wealthier residents into poor neighbourhoods in the hopes of a neighbourhood revitalization.

The experiences of American cities cannot necessarily be directly applied to the Canadian context. Certainly, a different political system, a different social, political and economic history and a very different racial-ethnic dynamic make the American urban

experience a unique beast. Certainly, Vancouver, a relatively small city on the west coast of Canada needs to be understood as different than New York, Chicago or Los Angeles. Even more specifically, the DTES needs to be understood as a unique neighbourhood with a contextually specific set of challenges. Yet there are parallels in that gentrification and neighbourhood transition as broad processes have occurred in numerous American cities (see Smith, 1996; 2002; 2002; Wyly & Hammel, 1999 and; Freeman, 1996). Furthermore, the thinking that underpins these mixed-income developments parallels the hopes espoused as part of the Woodward's redevelopment - the hope of simultaneously sparking revitalization and providing social housing.

As such, the American examples hold some relevance to Woodward's - the existing research suggest very little likelihood that Woodward's will turn into a cohesive community of low- and middle-income residents. Furthermore, who is actually housed in the social housing units? On the other hand, the quality of those units certainly exceeds that of much of the existing social housing stock in the DTES. In addition, the inclusion of 40% social housing on a prominent site demonstrates to some degree that low-income residents have a right to live in and occupy space in the DTES. Ultimately, the existing research provides a valuable critical lens with which we can evaluate specific projects. Highlighting the successes and failures - or perhaps the nuances - of other mixed-income projects points out some of the potential opportunities and limitations of such initiatives. Yet, as Smith contends, different populations require different solutions (2002); Woodward's has to be recognized as an attempt to address the issues specific to Vancouver and the DTES, and should be evaluated within that specific context. This research highlights how the vision underlying Woodward's fits into the local context of a

neighbourhood dealing with a lack of affordable housing, a long-standing low-income identity, a concentration of social services, neighbourhood transition, an influx of middle-class residents and services and potential gentrification.

Elvin Wyly offers an alternative perspective on the interaction between private market gentrification and mixed-income development. In his research on the same HOPE VI program in Chicago, Wyly contends that "gentrification mediates the balance between alternative strategies to reinvent distressed public housing: Private market gentrification is a necessary, although by no means sufficient, condition for market-rate development and income mixing" (1999, p. 725). This contention provides an interesting, and perhaps more nuanced, perspective on neighbourhood transition, low-income housing policy and gentrification. Past attempts at providing social housing have been criticized for contributing to the dramatic concentration of poverty, as with the massive Cabrini-Green housing project in Chicago (see Wyly, 1999). Disinvestment will only exacerbate the problems of concentrated poverty. Yet whole-scale redevelopment - or as it is often euphemised, 'restoration' - seems to simply displace the poor and, ultimately, displace the problem without creating any meaningful solutions. Wyly suggests that private market gentrification actually plays a role in laying the foundation for mixed-income communities and mixed-income developments that have the potential for bridging the gap between the 'islands of decay' that exist within 'seas of renewal' (1999). As Wyly describes this process: " Gentrification tightens local housing markets, enabling the integration of the publicly owned, affordable, and market-rate housing that is at the heart of HUD's reinvention" (2002, p. 745).

Accordingly, then, the success of Woodward's depends on how well gentrification has settled in the surrounding DTES neighbourhood, providing a foundation that will allow for the integration of the new, incoming middle-class residents and thus the appropriate social milieu for a mixed-income development. This theory provides an at once hopeful and frightening picture of neighbourhood transition in the DTES. On the one hand, the transitions the neighbourhood has undergone in recent years can be seen as the important groundwork that has laid the foundations for the mixed-income Woodward's - paving stones on the bridge between the impoverished and the middle-class in a new DTES community. On the other hand, if private market gentrification is a requirement for the implementation of mixed-income housing development, it seems to reinforce the notion that the neighbourhood is on it's way to becoming a wholly-gentrified, middle-class neighbourhood. Heather Smith's recent study of the DTES indicates that Victory Square and Gastown, the sub-areas of the DTES that directly neighbour both Woodward's and the Central Business District, have indeed undergone neighbourhood upgrading while the eastern parts of the DTES have undergone simultaneous downgrading, resulting in intra-neighbourhood polarisation (2002). The western edge of the DTES, close to Vancouver's core also possesses the heritage characteristics that make the urban landscape and appealing investment. As that investment occurred, poor, marginalized DTES residents and the entrenched social services that support them were forced to move eastwards, creating a spatially-connected, dual identity in the DTES (Smith, 2002).

All of this academic work supports the notion that Woodward's will act as a key to the future of the DTES. The question remains whether that will be a more or less

socially sustainable future. The answer to that question will become clear in time, yet we can make some preliminary judgements about what kind of future Woodward's was intended to contribute to, what kind of statement it makes about the future of the neighbourhood from a conceptual standpoint. Certainly, many hope that it will be a catalyst for revitalization, that it can promote revitalization without displacement. My research provides an understanding of how well those ideals and the principles of social sustainability were truly incorporated in the vision and subsequent design and administration of Woodward's.

3.5 Multiple Marginalizations

A final avenue of research needs to be referenced, although I have not explored it here. As described earlier, the DTES houses a number of distinct yet interrelated issues: poverty, homelessness, mental illness and addiction are all concentrated in the DTES and many people in the neighbourhood face more than one and sometime all of these obstacles simultaneously. Without doubt, these different marginalizations are intricately related, particularly in terms of how they become entwined within particular parcels of the urban landscape. In the preceding sections, I have briefly outlined the current situation in the DTES and a short history of how that situation arose. Yet the particular issues of mental health and addiction and how they relate to urban poverty in the DTES is not the focus of this research. Rather, I explore how Woodward's fits into the DTES, with particular reference to the issue of housing provision and, ultimately, whether it embodies socially sustainable principles. Without question, for the DTES to properly promote social sustainability, the issues of mental health and addiction (and their relationships to

poverty and homelessness) need to be addressed in a substantive manner[6]. This research, however, focuses solely on Woodward's and its relationship to the DTES.

As a mixed-income development, Woodward's provides social housing but does not include any supportive housing or any extra space for mental health or addiction services. Simply put, social housing refers to housing for urbanites who cannot afford to pay market rent. As such, their rent is determined by their ability to pay rather than going market rates. Non-market family housing is social housing that caters specifically to families. In Vancouver, social housing is run by either BC Housing or non-profit organizations that provide subsidized rents. Furthermore, this social housing stock has traditionally been augmented by privately-owned Single Room Occupancy (SRO) hotels that provide individual rooms at reduced rates. In spite of the Single Room Accomodation By-Law, these SROs have almost all deteriorated into slum dwellings as private landlords had little incentive to maintain them. Since 2007, however, the City of Vancouver and the Province of BC have purchased 25 SROs in Vancouver, which are now run by non-profits and rent at welfare rates – a promising upgrade to affordable housing in Vancouver.

Supportive housing is also affordable housing but with an additional mandate. According to the City of Vancouver, social housing links tenants to support staff that helps enable them to stabilize their lives and build community connections. More specifically, supportive housing aims to house people with mental illness and/or addiction including low-barrier housing for people who may struggle with these issues but do not yet receive treatment. As the DTES contains a concentration of people struggling with

[6] See the City of Vancouver's Four Pillar Drug Strategy for more on Vancouver's approach to addiction: http://vancouver.ca/fourpillars/index.htm

mental illness and addiction, supportive housing will be crucial to the future of the neighbourhood, particularly if that future is to embrace social sustainability.

4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Data Collection

My data collection strategy consisted of conducting in-depth interviews with a number of informed candidates. In his manual of qualitative interview methodology, Herbert Rubin explains that interviewees should be experienced and knowledgeable about the topic of study (2005). Furthermore, he contends that they should provide a variety of perspectives on the topic (2005). These three goals acted as my criteria for selecting candidates.

To that end, my interviewees were selected due to their direct involvement in the Woodward's, ensuring that they were both experienced and knowledgeable about the Woodward's, its goals and the underlying vision. Furthermore, the interviewees were selected to represent the diverse group of involved parties: Jim Green, who at once plays the role of community activist and developer[7]; Gregory Henriquez, the lead architect; Bob Rennie, the marketing director; Nathan Edelson, the city planner in charge of the DTES at the time; and Tom Laviolette, a director of the non-profit housing provider Portland Hotel Society. Finally, I also interviewed Douglas King, a lawyer with Pivot Legal Society who has worked extensively on Pivot's housing campaign (as well as with

[7] This apparent contradiction is explained in the Appendices - see Interviewee Bios.

DERA) in order to gain the perspective of an informed observer who was not directly engaged with Woodward's.[8]

Mitchell Duneier engaged in a similar subjective strategy in his ethnographic study of sidewalk vendors in New York City's Greenwich Village. Duneier observed the dynamics of sidewalk vending, then approached and got to know one of the key figures, who enabled his further entry into the world of sidewalk vending. Thus, he knew that his interviewees were knowledgeable and experienced simply because of their direct involvement in the activity he was investigating. Duneier spoke to other vendors, but also other involved parties, including local politicians, businesses and police officers who were not necessarily directly involved in vending, but had some perspective on how the activity and the people engaged in it were affecting sidewalk life. Using his interviewees as gatekeepers and his personal observations to identify the key players in this particular social arena, Duneier was able to collect a data set that related directly to one particular activity that he was studying. My investigation of Woodward's employs the same strategy: collecting data on a very specific project by conducting interviews with people who have a relevant perspective due to their involvement in the project itself or an organization that deals in the same professional and geographical arena.

The goal of the selection process was to speak with people who were directly involved with the actual Woodward's planning and development process and/or some of the related issues. The one exception was Douglas King, a lawyer with Pivot Legal Society who works on their housing campaign. I wanted to interview one person who was not directly involved with Woodward's but was nonetheless intimately involved with

[8] Detailed biographies appear in the appendix.

housing provision in the DTES. I emerged from the interviews with a variety of informed perspectives on the Woodward's redevelopment process; my job then was to analyze critically that data and paint a picture of the degree to which the Woodward's vision embodies and works towards the principles of social sustainability I laid out in my conceptual framework. I conducted six interviews in total - two from the public sector (Edelson, Green), two from the private sector (Henriquez, Rennie) and two from the non-profit and service provider arena (Laviolette, King).

I did not intend this research to be representative or exhaustive and I faced significant constraints in terms of time and resources. The six interviews I conducted provide a rich, albeit small, data set that reflects the relevant perspectives of people who have some professional involvement in the field of social sustainability and housing. One apparent gap may be that I did not interview low-income residents who live in social housing. Without question, the perspective of these people is relevant and important. With this particular piece of research, however, I am interested in the public and private sector figures who are actively involved in the provision of housing, directly involved in envisioning Woodward's and/or professionally concerned with social sustainability and the future of the DTES.

I want to be explicit about the fact that all of the interviewees – with the exception of King – were both personally and professionally involved in the development of the current incarnation of Woodward's and the vision that underpins it. As such, they have to be recognized as stakeholders in the project who, to some degree, are necessarily invested its success. Certainly all of the respondents brought their own personal and professional perspectives to bear on Woodward's. Yet they also shared the commonality of being

proponents of the project. From a methodological perspective, this selection strategy generates a data set that will be likely to view Woodward's favourably. The goal of this research, however, is to investigate the thought process that resulted in the construction of Woodward's as it stands today. Many interested parties advanced proposals about what Woodward's should become; my interviewees where the people who were ultimately successful in realizing their vision for the site, despite varied opposition. Put more simply, I set out to examine why my interviewees created this particular vision, why they thought the new Woodward's was the appropriate development for the site given the very specific context of the DTES and all of its incumbent issues. Therefore, the propensity for the interviewees to have generally positive outlooks on the development is acceptable. This type of first-level investigation provides essential groundwork for further research, particularly research that incorporates more critical, outside perspectives. Certainly, outspoken critics such as Wendy Pedersen and Jean Swanson – members of the Carnegie Community Action Project – would provide valuable criticism in future research. This project will allow that research to compare those more critical perspectives with the purported vision of the redevelopment's key actors.

The interviewees are not anonymous in the final study. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, all of my interviewees with the exception of one were directly involved in the development. As such, being transparent about the respondent's identity is essential so that we can recognize that they speak subjectively about something that they have some stake in. Ultimately, revealing their identities allowed a more nuanced understanding of how the Woodward's redevelopment is viewed from various socio-

political positions. Furthermore, given the public nature of Woodward's, and its prominence in public discourse, I envisioned no adverse effects deriving from respondent's identities being known. As part of the process of acquiring informed consent, I explained to potential interviewees that they would not be anonymous in the final report and that parts of their interview might be quoted. I did not obtain permission from the employers or other organizations to which the respondents belong. My goal was to investigate the personal perspectives of particular individuals with regards to Woodward's; as such, I was not asking them to speak on behalf of their company or organization, nor did I expect their responses to be indicative of their employers' positions. Included in the consent form was a statement highlighting the potential risk to the respondents' reputations.

The data generated from the interviews revolves entirely around understanding how various respondents view Woodward's: What do they see as the motivations for the redevelopment? How do they feel it will impact Vancouver and the DTES? What sort of statement does it make about housing and urban sustainability in Vancouver? The goal is to develop a multi-faceted picture of what Woodward's means to my respondents, then compare that with the prominent literature about urban social sustainability. Ultimately, the data was used to create a comprehensive picture of how well Woodward's embodies socially sustainable principles.

The interviews were open-ended and so varied in length, although the average time was about an hour. My goal with the actual interviews was to investigate how the respondents perceive Woodward's, with particular attention to how it relates to social sustainability. While I had some guiding questions to structure the interview, I ensured

the interviews were as open-ended as possible, allowing the respondents to reveal their own perspectives. I wanted to avoid leading the respondents towards certain types of responses or to comment on particular issues that they may not find relevant to Woodward's. Ultimately, I worked to ensure that my data reflects their personal opinions on Woodward's rather than their comments on my personal opinions on Woodward's.

The interview methodology for this study was approved by the Research Ethics Board at Simon Fraser University. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The transcriptions will be kept on an external hard drive in a locked cabinet for ten years and then eliminated. As this study aims to set the groundwork for further research, retaining the data for ten years helps enable further study.

4.2 Data Analysis

My data analysis strategy consists of a thorough examination of the transcribed interview data. My goal was to highlight themes common to multiple respondents, contrasting perspectives, and ultimately to make explicit what the respondents reveal about the political-ideological meaning of Woodward's as it relates to urban social sustainability. In order to undertake such a thorough analysis of rich, qualitative data, I coded the interview transcripts.

Rupin's manual on qualitative research describes coding as the most thorough method of analyzing qualitative interview data. Rupin suggests that qualitative interviews consist of data units, which vary in size but can be identified as cohesive discussions of a particular concept, topic, occurrence, etc (2005). The researcher's job is to identify these data units, which are then collected according to broader themes. Those themes, and their subordinate data units, are then critically examined using the researcher's conceptual

framework. In his investigation of gentrification in a number of New York neighbourhoods, Lance Freeman employs qualitative interviews as his primary means of collecting data. He follows Rupin's advice, coding his interview transcripts and then grouping them according to his three key themes: "residents' perceptions of the changes under way in their neighbourhoods, their meaning and interpretation of these changes, and social interactions between indigenous residents and the gentry and the implications thereof" (Freeman, 1996, p. 211). Considering that I am engaging in a very similar methodology in order to investigate a similar set of social issues, I employed a similar coding strategy. My interview transcripts were coded into individual data units that fit into a number of key themes that relate to the issues I am investigating: the value of mixed-income housing developments, the socio-ideological Woodward's 'statement,' the vision Woodward's projects for the future of the DTES, Woodward's relationship to gentrification and Woodward's relationship to social sustainability.

A final note before delving into the findings: my goal with this research was to collect the perspectives of a small number of individuals who were directly involved with the Woodward's redevelopment, or, in the case of Douglas King, was an informed observer who works professionally on social housing advocacy in the DTES. The data collected is not presented as pure fact and should not be read as such. My intention was to investigate how various ideal-typical perspectives perceived Woodward's as it relates to social sustainability and the DTES. As such, the data can only be considered representative of those perspectives; all of them should be considered valid as all the respondents have professional expertise relevant to the issues and five out of the six were directly involved in the creation of the current incarnation of Woodward's. Accordingly,

my analysis is similarly constrained in that it simply examines the collected data and critically examines using the conceptual framework I have developed. Rather than challenging the opinions of the interviewees, I have analyzed what that reveals about their particular perspective on Woodward's and, ultimately, whether it portrays Woodward's as a socially sustainable project. It is my hope that the work of future researchers will compare substantive indicators of housing provision and social sustainability in the DTES to my examination of the underlying vision and generate an evaluation of how well that vision was realized.

Finally, there remains a question about the validity of my interviewees responses. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the responses cannot be construed as simple facts. Indeed, much of the data revolves around the conceptual statements that Woodward's makes with regards to housing provision and the DTES and, furthermore, what kind of vision that entails for the future of the neighbourhood. In that most of the data is subjective opinion, then, the validity of the data is not at issue. Simply put, the data reflects personal, biased perspectives rather than definitive conclusions and so the validity of my respondents opinions does not detract from my critical analysis. I contrasted statements that referred to specific aspects of Woodward's or historical events, with all available information to highlight any discrepancies or false testimonies.

5: FINDINGS

5.1 Woodward's Role in the Downtown Eastside

> Woodward's was one of the flagship initiatives for the area, and we wanted something that was the scale - it was an important building, it had been fought over.

The above statement was made by Nathan Edelson, a former Senior Planner for the City of Vancouver who oversaw the DTES during the planning, visioning and bid processes that led to the current incarnation of Woodward's. The statement bears no explanation, but simply highlights the importance of Woodward's to the DTES. The symbolic significance of the Woodward's site has not diminished since its heyday reign over the Hastings Commercial District. Historically, it symbolized a vibrant, albeit edgy neighbourhood that in turn supported a resilient, if generally low-income community. Today it symbolizes a struggle over the future of the DTES and represents a blurring of the traditional boundaries that distinguished the DTES from the rest of downtown Vancouver.

Indeed, the very public occupation of Woodward's by low-income activists and homeless DTES residents was both a tangible symbol of the contestation over the site as well as an important factor in deciding it's future. Edelson explains that Woodsquat "really highlighted the issue and drew city-wide attention to that building and the condition that people were facing." Gregory Henriquez, Managing Partner of Henriquez Partners Architects and the architect who designed the current incarnation of Woodward's, reiterates the importance of Woodsquat in drawing attention to the housing

issue in Vancouver and, more specifically, in the DTES: " . . . the Woodward's building was being inhabited by what was called the WoodSquat and, for the first time, I think, in the history of Vancouver, real attention was put to bear on the DTES". Woodsquat lasted three months and ended shortly after Larry Campbell was elected mayor with the squatters being relocated to temporary housing in the Dominion Hotel that was run by Portland Hotel Society (Sullivan, 2002). Woodsquat, then, drew the attention of both the City of Vancouver and the Vancouver public, imbuing the Woodward's site with symbolic meaning and establishing it as a locus for the ideological debate over housing provision and a tangible piece of geography that promised to have some sort of impact on the DTES.[9]

Why Woodward's, though? Clearly, the Woodward's department store retained a sort of historical symbolism in the DTES. But what else specifically about the Woodward's site made it so important to so many people, to housing activists and developers alike? Both the relevant literature and my own primary research suggest that much of it has to do with the location and the size of the Woodward's site. David Ley identified six primary attributes that coincide with gentrification: location of the neighbourhood in terms of its proximity to the central business district and other forms of leisure and cultural activities; socio-economic status, as gentrification seems to spread outwards from established middle-class areas; the presence of some environmental amenity, such as a park or waterfront; the Arts, as a noticeable presence in the neighbourhood; distinctive architectural styles and; a population that includes adults living outside of nuclear families (Ley, 1996). The DTES embodies all of these characteristics. Woodward's, as a large, heritage site on the edge of the DTES closest to

[9] For a reference list of media articles covering Woodsquat, see http://woodsquat.wordpress.com/media/

the Central Business District that is adjacent to a public park, possesses many of the same characteristics - a microcosm of the neighbourhood that is a particularly attractive target for redevelopment.

Yet as a large, publicly-owned site in a long-standing low-income neighbourhood with a history of activism, a concentration of poverty and an insufficient and decaying affordable housing stock, Woodward's held just as much potential as an important contribution of some much-needed social housing in the DTES. In every way, then, Woodward's represented a crossroads that would impact the future of the DTES. Henriquez emphasized how Woodward's sits on the border between Vancouver's downtown core and the DTES, simultaneously recognizing the controversial nature of Woodward's as a potential border-crossing: "[Woodward's is]really in the heart of the juncture between downtown and the DTES, so it's a bridge in terms of linking the DTES with the rest of Vancouver. You can look at that as a good thing or a bad thing, depending on your perspective."

Edelson demonstrates a similar understanding of Woodward's as a contested piece of urban space and highlights its role as an indicator of the future of the DTES:

> Because the building's in a very central location for Hastings St. and for Gastown and … because the city was involved and because it had symbolic importance for the entire community, we wanted to make sure that it had a mix of incomes in it. That was a very high priority in any of the City's consideration of proposals. We were concerned that if it was 100% market housing, and even to some degree if it was 100% social housing, that it would continue to be fought over, whereas if it was a mix of housing it was something that could point the way toward the future for the neighbourhood.

As a harbinger of change, then, Woodward's can also be understood as a statement about the future of the neighbourhood. So what statements does it actually make?

5.2 The Woodward's Statements

My interviews revealed that Woodward's makes a number of important statements about the DTES. First, Woodward's makes a definitive statement that the neighbourhood is going to change. Second, the development makes a statement that, although the DTES will change, it will remain a home to the long-standing, low-income community, both symbolically and practically. Finally, Jim Green voiced an alternative perspective that interprets Woodward's as a statement that illustrates the adaptability and resiliency of the low-income community in the DTES. These three statements represent important interpretations of what Woodward's says about the DTES and its fate in the coming years. None can be considered as definitive truths that indicate the exact practical consequences of Woodward's in the DTES. Rather, they reveal a number of interpretations of what the development says about the neighbourhood. While those interpretations derive in part from the respective personal experiences, perspectives and biases of the respondents and, as such, shouldn't be considered representative, they also reveal the hopes and concerns of a number of individuals who have had some - often significant - degree of involvement in the Woodward's redevelopment and/or actively involved in the current and future situation in the DTES.

The first key statement Woodward's makes is that the DTES is going to change. Undoubtedly, cities should be understood as dynamic entities and urban space is continuously socially constructed and reconstructed. Woodward's, however, makes a definitive statement that the fabric of the DTES will be altered over the next five, ten, fifteen years. Douglas King, a lawyer with Pivot Legal Society who works on their housing campaigns, articulates how Woodward's indicates impending change for the

DTES: “I think it’s a statement that the way that the neighbourhood has been for, I don’t know, probably the past ten years at least, is going to change, whether you like it or not.” Furthermore, King emphasizes Woodward’s role as a catalyst for change in the DTES: “Woodward’s is the first thing that really indicates that in the next ten or fifteen years this neighbourhood is going to be really different.” The construction of the new incarnation of Woodward’s, then, acts as both a declaration of change as well as the first step.

Nathan Edelson offers a similar emphasis of Woodward’s role as a harbinger of the redevelopment of the DTES, describing it as one of the “flagship initiatives” of the City’s DTES Housing Plan, a plan which pushes for the revitalization of the neighbourhood while promising at least a one-to-one replacement of decrepit SRO and an overall increase of affordable housing (City of Vancouver, 2005). Evidently, then, the data strongly suggest that the DTES will undergo some significant transitions in the coming years. Neighbourhood revitalization is an explicit goal of the City’s, although the City contends that ‘revitalization without displacement’ is a practical and achievable goal. Furthermore, Woodward’s is a deliberate piece of the puzzle, a catalyst for change and an anchor for further investment. The successful sale of the Woodward’s private-market units demonstrates to the rest of Vancouver that the DTES is safe for both commercial and home-owner investment. Edelson reiterates this notion, explaining his expectation “that the main economic impacts of Woodward’s would be to kind of solidify everything. It would become an anchor for everything to the west of Woodward’s in Victory Square because you have a very healthy downtown and it’ll stabilize investment to the west.” So while Woodward’s may not instantaneously transform the DTES, it does

make a statement that the traditional distinction between the Central Business District and the DTES will diminish to some extent.[10]

Bob Rennie, owner of Rennie Marketing Systems, was responsible for marketing the condominiums and he certainly felt that Woodward's made a statement about change in the DTES:

> "I think the DTES is ... the edges are going away a bit and I think there's an emotional attachment to some of those edges. But they weren't sustainable. It's just not sustainable to have people live in cockroach, rape-ridden, mite-infested, scabies-infested environments. So you're only going to change that with a big, broad brush-stroke. You're not going to change it by collecting fifty bucks. And so everybody has to at least place a bet on change."

Here, Rennie describes his feelings about the necessary neighbourhood transitions that he expects will occur in the coming years; he acknowledges that some of the activities, some of the urban landscape, perhaps even some of the people who have occupied the DTES will cease to exist there. Yet he also suggests that these changes represent a primarily positive transition, that the existing living conditions in the DTES were fundamentally unhealthy and unsustainable. Ultimately, he suggests that the extremes of the neighbourhood may drift away but there doesn't have to be major displacement. In addition, he insists upon the importance of a significant change - a "broad brush stroke" - in order to really affect substantial change. Certainly Woodward's can be considered one such brushstroke.

The second Woodward's statement injects an important caveat to the promise of change: that despite the impending transitions - including explicit revitalization efforts - the DTES will remain home to the low-income community that has long occupied the neighbourhood. Nathan Edelson provides a straightforward articulation of this statement:

[10] See Maps 1 and 2 in Appendix 1.

"First of all, there's an absolute commitment to the low-income population." Gregory Henriquez echoed this commitment, albeit from a more pro-development perspective:

> But in terms of a statement that the rest of the city's making with regard to the DTES, it's a positive statement. That we're not giving up on the DTES, we're not ghettoizing it, we're looking at it as something that, a project that needs to be handled with kid gloves and I think the City's doing an exceptional job.

Both of these quotations offer interpretations of a statement that Woodward's makes about the future of the low-income community in the DTES. Both acknowledge the first of the Woodward's statements - that the neighbourhood will change - but here they reveal a recognition that such change could potentially displace the existing low-income community and further promise that such displacement will not occur. So the statement here entails two parts: first, a cognizance of the potential dangers of displacement if the neighbourhood continues to be redeveloped according to the whims of the private housing market and second, the importance of the DTES as a rare bastion of low-income housing.

Yet, how does Woodward's make that statement from a more substantive level? The conceptual commitment to the low-income community represents an important statement but more substantive follow-through is needed to bring it to fruition. That substantiation comes through the construction of a significant amount of high-quality, social housing. Woodward's includes 200 units of social housing on site. Yet an additional 200 units of social housing were actually allocated to Woodward's prior to the redevelopment plans being finalized. That allocation was transferred to the Lore Krill developments in Gastown and Chinatown meaning that the Woodward's redevelopment process actually involved the construction of 400 units of social housing to the 500 private market units. Jim Green, who was largely responsible for acquiring those social

housing allocations certainly views them all as part of the greater Woodward's project: "So the issue, too, that we have to think about is Woodward's is not 200 units of social housing versus 500 condominiums. It's 400 units of social housing, Lore Krill." Gregory Henriquez reiterates that ratio, contending that, rather than displacing poor people, Woodward's actually made a significant net contribution to the affordable housing stock in the DTES:

> Yeah, we didn't displace anyone with Woodward's. Woodward's displaced nobody, it actually added net 410 [sic] units of housing altogether. Because there was 200 units before and 200 units on site. I don't know if you know, Lore Krill was actually originally supposed to be Woodward's housing, that allocation.

So the conceptual commitment to keep the DTES a home to low-income residents was backed up by the tangible commitment of approximately 400 new units of social housing - a much more even ratio. Nathan Edelson stresses that the exact ratio itself matters less than the fact a substantial amount of social housing was constructed: "The fact that there was a significant amount was what was important, the exact balance is secondary." Tom Laviolette, one of the directors of the Portland Hotel Society[11], puts similar emphasis on the tangible importance of simply constructing new units of non-market housing: "we've got the housing, it's contributing that way." Furthermore, Laviolette suggests that the non-profit office space in Woodward's enhances that commitment to ensuring the DTES remains a viable living space for poor people: "The non-profit office spaces and the societies, the non-profit societies going in there will be patronized by some of the low-income residents."[12]

[11] Recall that Portland Hotel Society is the non-profit housing provider that was selected to manage the singles, non-market housing at Woodward's.
[12] See Table 2 in appendix 2 for a comprehensive list of the non-profit tenants of the Woodward's office space.

Bob Rennie reveals how he insisted that the social housing be viewed as permanent housing, thus underscoring the statement that the DTES will continue to house the low-income community: " I talked the City into changing the word 'interim' and 'bridge' housing into 'immediate housing'. Because I believe 'interim' and 'bridge' sounds like shelters, but I believe 'immediate housing' sounds like permanent housing."

Douglas King emphasizes the importance of the housing being run by a Portland Hotel Society, as it demonstrates a recognition of the local, grassroots organizations that have been built from within the DTES and have an intimate knowledge of the low-income community: "And I think one of the most positive elements of Woodward's is the fact that the social housing is being run by the Portland, which is an organization that has a really good pulse on what the housing needs of the neighbourhood are."

Finally, Bob Rennie describes his interpretation of what Woodward's is trying to say: "I just really felt that you had to understand that the less fortunate weren't going away but we're all going to live together." Rennie recognizes that there will be new residents in the DTES, people of a socio-economic standing that was not commonly found in the neighbourhood ten years ago, but also that the low-income community will remain an integral part of the DTES. He suggests Woodward's is an embodiment of a new neighbourhood character, one that explicitly emphasizes greater socio-economic diversity.

So although Woodward's promises that the DTES will undergo some significant transitions, it also makes a statement that the low-income community that has long lived there will continue to have a home in the neighbourhood. The construction of a substantial amount of permanent, locally-run social housing acts as a practical symbol of

that commitment, ensuring that affordable housing will exist in the DTES for years to come. Clearly, the future will involve a blurring of the socio-economic demographic distinctions that traditionally separated the DTES from the rest of downtown Vancouver, although Woodward's makes a protective statement about the low-income community. Yet Woodward's also foreshadows a blurring of traditional boundaries between housing providers. More specifically, it suggests that non-market housing, at least in the DTES, will be increasingly provided through mixed-income developments and public-private partnerships. Indeed, according to Jim Green, "Woodward's is the template for the world."

The final statement Woodward's makes differs somewhat from the other two, primarily because it reverses the direction of the statement. Both of the other statements seem to derive from outside of the DTES. Put another way, the other statements are statements about the DTES and the low-income community from public, private and non-profit actors. All of those actors have some expertise and all provide valuable perspectives; all are involved in the DTES and/or the development of Woodward's. Yet the fact remains that the long-standing, low-income community in the DTES come off as people acted upon rather than as valid actors themselves. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Jim Green, the former director of the Downtown Eastside Resident's Association, was the only one of my respondents who really challenged this notion. According to Green, the current incarnation of Woodward's derives directly from the low-income community in the DTES; indeed, he suggests that it couldn't exist without them. The following statements articulate Green's perspective on Woodward's:

> The height of the building, I think, is a huge tribute to the DTES [...] this community should be so proud of the work that they did here to make this happen...
>
> ... this is pride and look what we can do! We did this, poor people did this. Without a nickel. Without no support, opposition from every level of government …
>
> If it wasn't for DTESers, Woodward's would not be standing here. It would have been gone, been 400 units of condos.

Clearly, Green feels that Woodward's is what it is today because of the hard work done by the poor community in the DTES. He does not suggest that nothing would exist on the site; rather, Green explains that the low-income community deserves credit for helping to create an innovative model of inclusive housing, a model that (as mentioned above) Green feels is a "template for the world." So instead of being a symbol of encroaching gentrification, Woodward's is a demonstration of the low-income community's ability to build their own neighbourhood from the ground up. From this perspective, the private market units are simply a necessary addition to make the development work financially, an addition that simply needs to be adapted to. The statement, then, is that Woodward's is a mixed-use, social housing development that has included some condominiums rather than the other way around. The social housing becomes the predominating aspect of the development. According to this perspective, the Woodward's statement is that the low-income community in the DTES is a resilient one that can and will adapt to the necessity of condominiums and the subsequent influx of middle-class Vancouverites. Green put this notion simply, explaining that Woodward's is "born of the people, supported by the people."

Gregory Henriquez touched on this idea as well:

> the big statement ... one of the statements is that we're empowering the community to be, to take a leadership role in it's own future by doing those community meetings and we created a community advisory committee, which had all the different groups who weren't getting along in the DTES as part of my advisory group during the design. So it's an inclusionary process, which is really a big statement.

Henriquez emphasizes the role that the low-income community had in the design process of Woodward's, echoing Green's sentiments that they can actively influence the future of the neighbourhood. Yet Henriquez departs from Green in that he doesn't see Woodward's as a statement that was born of the DTES. Rather, Henriquez still articulates Woodward's as making an inclusionary statement to the low-income community in the DTES, allowing them to be a part of the urban redevelopment process.

Ultimately, Woodward's foreshadows significant change in the DTES; in the near future, the DTES will undergo a series of transitions that will likely affect both the built environment and the demographic make-up of the neighbourhood. Yet Woodward's also states that the low-income community that has long occupied the DTES will not be displaced and, furthermore, the DTES will remain a viable home for that community. The construction of a substantial number of high-quality social housing units underpins the conceptual commitment to the low-income community, making a significant contribution to the long-term affordable housing stock in the DTES. Finally, an alternative perspective interprets Woodward's as a statement made by the low-income community in the DTES, a demonstration of their resilience and resourcefulness and proud symbol of the stake they continue to claim in the neighbourhood. The following section interprets how these visions entail an overall vision for the DTES.

5.3 The Woodward's Vision – A Mixed-Income Development in a Mixed-Income Neighbourhood

The preceding section details the statements that Woodward's makes about the DTES. This section aims to uncover how the respondents expect those statements to come to life in the neighbourhood. Put more simply, what kind of vision does Woodward's promote for the DTES?

First, Woodward's entails a vision of a diverse, inclusive though disparate neighbourhood. The DTES will become home to a broader socio-economic range and the hope lies in the promotion of tolerance and understanding between groups, not the creation of a utopian or completely egalitarian community. Second, the Woodward's vision promotes an integration of market and non-market housing, a notion that necessitates an increase in pragmatic collaboration on the parts of non-profit housing providers, local governments and private market developers. Third, the Woodward's vision of the DTES requires continued social activism to ensure the promotion of inclusive ideals, the provision of essential services for the low-income community that will prevent the ultimate marginalization and exclusion of poor people from public space in the DTES. A final aspect of this section, voiced primarily by Douglas King, points out a gap in the Woodward's vision: a lack of recognition that social housing and supportive housing are distinct creatures and there is a specific need for both in the DTES.

The first aspect of the Woodward's vision entails the development of an inclusive, mixed-income community. Nathan Edelson again provides a valuable starting point for uncovering this idea when he describes his vision for the DTES:

> 'Revitalization without displacement'. Not meaning that no individuals would be displaced because we just didn't have the ability to ensure that, but that as a

> community, there would be a strong low-income community at the end of the day. We identified a number of strategic projects to help in the revitalization of the area, but doing it in a way that was trying to achieve an inclusive community.

Edelson's vision basically describes the City's Housing Plan for the DTES, including the key statement, 'revitalization without displacement,' and emphasizes the notion of an inclusive community as being the way forward for the DTES. Edelson goes on to describe how, with Woodward's, "the notion was to create a building that had a mix of housing for different kinds of people; even within the social housing there could be some housing for family and some housing for low-income singles." Again, it's clear that the Woodward's vision entails diverse groups of people coming together, both within Woodward's and within the DTES.

Gregory Henriquez reiterates the importance of inclusivity to the DTES:

> Well, our vision really is inspired by those Guiding Principles in the sense that we believe that inclusivity is really the key to making the world a better place on every level. And so if there's some way in which the rich and the poor, the people who have and have-nots, can live together in harmony, there's hope for humanity.

Although Henriquez may be criticized for being idealistic, this statement makes clear the centrality of inclusive ideals to both the design of Woodward's and the vision it entails for the surrounding neighbourhood. Henriquez further suggests that attempting to build diverse, inclusive communities, even if disparity remains, is preferable to segregation by socio-economic status: "And so I think that to be included is better than being excluded. So, if there's some way in which everyone can feel like that they have a little piece of the pie, right, maybe they don't have as much someone else, but they have a piece of it." Ultimately, Henriquez' vision contends that constructing a mixed-income community will bring us closer to social sustainability as it at least ensures that people who may otherwise be marginalized are included - in this case, through the provision of housing

and a voice in the design process. This notion is interesting when compared with the mixed-income developments discussed in the literature review in which planners hoped that low-income residents' proximity to middle-class neighbours would somehow increase the social, cultural and economic capital of the poorer group. With Woodward's, Henriquez suggests a more practical goal, that just being included in both the process and then in the final development represents a worthwhile and preferable outcome.

Bob Rennie similarly recognizes that this type of planning for social inclusion is admittedly experimental but also an important progression from the status quo: "These are all experiments because there is no real precedent. But I think it's better to try and get a stick poked in your eye while you're doing it than not to try. Or we're all just going to sit here." Rennie's statement highlights an important point about imperfect nature of socially engineering dynamic urban space; although it's likely that flaws will come to light and some unforeseen problems will emerge with the new Woodward's design, the attempt to socially produce urban space that incorporates inclusive, socially sustainable principles holds importance in and of itself. Without question, the tangible results matter but an attempt at inclusivity certainly represents an important first step towards socially sustainable results. When one considers that the most likely alternative would have been a completely private-market development, it certainly seems that it's better to try to create inclusive housing than not to.

Yet the Woodward's vision of social mix entails an important caveat, one that reveals a practical recognition of the limitations of what it may be able to achieve. As the literature review revealed, there is little evidence that spatial proximity leads to social proximity; yet there seems to be an inherent acceptance of that in the Woodward's vision,

a suggestion that socio-economically distinct groups need only be good neighbours, not good friends. Gregory Henriquez describes how this notion comes through in his vision for Wodward's: "I'm not expecting social proximity, I'm expecting social tolerance." Henriquez never expected that condo-owners and residents of social housing would necessarily develop strong personal relationships; he does expect, however, that they can live in proximity to each other without conflict. Furthermore, he suggests that such a simple notion of inclusion represents an important step towards the creation of healthy, sustainable urban communities:

> There's a difference between, you know, going out to a movie together and actually being able to sit on the same bench and shop in the same stores. You have to realize you're dealing with people who traditionally would be in totally different neighbourhoods to a large extent, right? And so what the expectations that you might have for neighbours in a single family housing neighbourhood, where they might invite you over for dinner or something, isn't what we're expecting. We're expecting tolerance and an understanding that each of us are all human, and we look into the face of another and we see ourselves. And that tolerance is all ... is really a big step.

Bob Rennie shares a similar contention that distinct groups can live next to each other but will not necessarily create strong interpersonal relationships:

> I think everybody meets in the courtyard fine. I think everybody meets in JJ Bean perfectly. I think in Nester's it's fine. But there's the other side you got to look at it. Whether you live in Shauhgnessy or whether you live in Surrey, you don't necessarily spend a lot of time in your neighbours backyard. We all want our own dignity and our own private lives and I don't believe somebody coming home with a Holt Renfrew bag necessarily wants to be in the elevator with somebody who's just piecing their life together. And I think the person piecing their life together really doesn't want to put up with that asshole with the Holt Renfrew bag. So, there's just ... I just think its common sense. You just give everybody their pride and there is a little bit of no one knows what goes on behind closed doors. But we all step out and we're quite equal.

Ultimately, Rennie suggests that real socio-economic distinctions exists between the residents of the different buildings and that hiding those distinctions does little to

improve anybody's situation. Rather, recognizing those distinctions and catering to the specific needs of each group will help to enable everybody to be on equal footing in public space despite having potentially very different private needs.

Facilitating the integration of distinct socio-economic groups in the DTES will entail a second type of integration that will see greater collaboration between organizations that have traditionally often been on opposite sides in the creation of new and innovative models of housing provision that promote mixed-income community development. More specifically, private developers will become increasingly involved in the provision of social housing through public-private partnership developments and the implementation of inclusionary zoning policies.

Gregory Henriquez describes how the Woodward's design process embodied this collaborative model of development:

> I think part of the success of our bid is that we were the team that kind of took the guiding principles the most seriously and we were the ones that I think were best suited to execute those guiding principles. Part of that reason for that was that we made the Portland Hotel Society, or PHS Community Services, part of - Mark Townsend and Liz and Dan and Tom - all part of our team during the competition. So our competition team really included a developer, a community partner with the Portland Hotel Society advising us what to do and me as the architect.

Henriquez paints a hopeful picture of what future development teams might look like; indeed, he emphasized the importance of an inclusive foundation to creating a socially sustainable development. Yet he certainly raises an interesting point - the notion that the diverse make-up of his team provided the necessary expertise and range of perspectives that allowed them to address what had been identified as the key issues. Ultimately, he suggests that their success in winning the bid directly derived from their ability to embody the Guiding Principles.

Douglas King suggests that the inclusion of an experienced non-profit organization - Portland Hotel Society - was an essential aspect of Woodward's that generated credibility for the developers and provided the necessary skill set to address the needs of the low-income community in the DTES: "And I think one of the most positive elements of Woodward's is the fact that the social housing is being run by the Portland, which is an organization that has a really good pulse on what the housing needs of the neighbourhood are." King, then, reveals a similar encouraging perspective of collaborative development, suggesting that, as long as private market developers/architects/organizations/etc. partner with knowledgeable and experienced non-profit organizations, there is opportunity for positive results. He also describes why he feels that inclusion of Portland Hotel Society was so essential to Woodward's being accepted by the low-income community: "Because you don't feel like it's an outside force necessarily, I thought that was really important to making people in general accept Woodward's coming into the neighbourhood is the fact that they brought along the Portland. And that was a really important element to it." Portland Hotel Society, then, brings both expertise and credibility to the table, acting in a sense as an intermediary between the existing locals and the incoming developer.

Balancing the hopeful ideals of collaborative urban (re)development were more pragmatic notions of somewhat reluctant collaborative efforts being the best of a bad situation, a way to construct affordable housing with limited resources and to prevent developments that may lead to wholesale gentrification of the neighbourhood. Tom Laviolette describes how Portland Hotel Society takes a practical approach to housing provision:

> So we're, as a housing provider, as a community development organization ... we're not willing to just draw our line in the sand and say we're not going to do anything until the Feds are involved. So, we've been trying to be pragmatic about it.

He goes on to reveal how that pragmatic approach underpinned their approach to partnership with Henriquez and Westbank and, ultimately, their involvement in Woodward's as it stands today:

> Maybe it could have been done differently, but it was the best we could do at the time. It was a pragmatic approach, it was a mitigated approach to try and extract benefits and space out of a major development. I mean this place sat vacant for eight years, I mean, it was big struggles.

Clearly, Laviolette feels that the collaborative model of urban (re)development represents a necessary, if not always preferable, means of securing low-income housing when faced with limited resources. Furthermore, his statements reveal an imperative to be involved, to extract as much value out of a space that would ultimately become something. It was better to have some social housing than none at all and better to have an experienced and capable organization like Portland Hotel Society run it than an organization with no background in social housing provision.

Ultimately, collaboration often involves some degree of compromise. With Woodward's, that sense of compromise seems exaggerated, a pervasive notion that something was going to be built on this site and that development could go in many different directions, serving many different interests. The bid that was selected involved the collaboration - whether idealistic or pragmatic - of a number of partners who felt that working towards compromise ensured that everyone's interests would be recognized to a greater or lesser degree. None guaranteed that Woodward's would turn out perfectly, but all felt being involved was better than the alternative. Gregory Henriquez describes the

pragmatic idealism that seemed to be the necessary characteristic for all of the partners to work towards compromise: "I think that we had a philosophy in that we were going to dream the possible dream and this was the possible dream and it's still ... I'm very proud of it."

The first two aspects of the Woodward's vision revolve around housing provision and the attempt to create an inclusive community with a range of incomes. Furthermore, the vision suggests that the DTES housing stock will increasingly be the product of collaborative efforts between public, private and non-profit organizations. Yet the vision of a healthy, mixed-income community also involves some plan for the provision of other essential urban services. Woodward's, for its part, provides space for some of those services. As a part of the overall Woodward's vision, some of the interviewees further emphasized the necessity of actively programming those spaces in a way that promoted tolerance, inclusion and, ultimately, social sustainability.

Gregory Henriquez articulates this notion that the Woodward's space has to be programmed in a way that contributes to inclusive community ideals:

> And then you have the programming that needs to take place over the next number of years to make it really a, an inclusive part of the DTES. And so that isn't just the physical part, that's actually making sure that W2, an organization that's moving in there, actually has events that are linked to people in the neighbourhood so they feel that Woodward's is their space. It's making sure that the daycare units that are going to be on the, that still need to be finished on the top of the heritage building actually go to poor families in the neighbourhood which there's funding in place for that now [...] And making sure that SFU, as a good community partner, making sure that for all their events, tickets are sent to Carnegie so that people in the neighbourhood actually can go there as well.

Henriquez strongly emphasizes that creating physical space, even with socially sustainable principles in mind, can only go so far. Certainly providing good quality

permanent housing is a huge step towards securing the low-income community in the DTES. It will be an ongoing, active process, however, to ensure that Woodward's continues tangibly to promote inclusive community ideals through the programming of the public space and the conscientious inclusion of particular partners. Henriquez reiterates the importance of continued activism:

> The physical thing is just part of it. The rest of it has to do with the operation of the organizations and institutions in a way that really fosters these ideals. And that's something that the architect can't do, it's something that we can only hope for.

Nathan Edelson similarly stresses the importance of selecting community partners who will continue to embody the socially sustainable principles that underpinned the Guiding Principles of the project from day one:

> It's a major public investment to help in the revitalization of the neighbourhood. But certainly the community services and SFU have come in on the terms that they will contribute to the vitality and inclusiveness of the entire neighbourhood.

The Woodward's vision, then, attempts to ensure that the low-income, often marginalized residents of the DTES will continue to have access to certain necessary services and, furthermore, that the more universal services will also embrace the Woodward's ideals. Jim Green contends that the office space designated for non-profit and City staff represents a significant progression in social planning in Vancouver:

> So, having all these different uses coming together and having the City taking office space in it, my God, bringing the people that actually deal with the DTES to the DTES, it's revolutionary.

Ultimately, Woodward's has provided the space necessary for this type of activism and programming to take place, the avenues of opportunity, if you will. The non-profits selected to occupy the spaces certainly espouse tolerant and inclusive ideals. [13]

[13] See Table 2 for a list of the non-profit office tenants.

Furthermore, Green and Edelson alluded to future cultural activities in those spaces that promote tolerance, understanding and inclusivity, although there is little evidence of this at the time of writing. Gregory Henriquez describes his opinions on the importance of planning the space in a socially sustainable way, above and beyond all else; fundamentally, Henriquez suggests that the way we use spaces is ultimately more important than the design of those spaces[14]:

> Most planners have this philosophy that somehow you set the form and then you program it afterwards, right? In reality, there is no content without program. There is no meaning without program [...] Form alone is meaningless.

Woodward's, then, promotes a vision of the DTES as an inclusive, mixed-income community. Within that community, Woodward's acts as both a microcosmic model of the surrounding neighbourhood, an inclusive, mixed-income development within an inclusive, mixed-income community. In addition, Woodward's acts as a model of collaborative and innovative urban (re)development where a cross-sectoral group of partners comes together to address their varied and sometimes disparate needs. Included in that vision, however, is a recognition that to truly encourage inclusive, socially sustainable ideals and, ultimately, to retain the DTES as a home for the low-income community, there must be continuous programming of public space and careful selection of partners that respects the needs of poor DTES residents.

Although Green, Henriquez, Edelson and Laviolette all made vague reference to the importance of programming the public space in Woodward's in a manner that promotes inclusivity, tolerance and, ultimately, social sustainability, they all failed to elaborate on how and when that type of programming would take place. Indeed, there

[14] This suggestion becomes particularly poignant when we consider that it is an architect (in this case, the architect) who is making it.

was no clear indication of what that programming actually referred to. So although a number of the interviewees emphasized the importance of said programming, they all alluded to the notion that it fell within the realm of someone else's responsibility. Edelson goes so far as to point out this apparent gap in the allocation of responsibility:

> I think that this is a good time to have a community developer in the building, working at least half-time, bringing different groups together and stimulating conversation. I would wish that the City would either provide that or get Westbank to provide it. Because there's lots of creative things that could happen, or a big mess that could happen as well. It's not written yet.

Clearly, the programming of the public space will have important impacts on the future of Woodward's and its ability to generate positive impacts for the low-income community in the DTES; as such, that programming must be addressed sooner rather than later.[15]

Yet there is a final aspect of the Woodward's vision that requires examination, although it emerged primarily from one interview. Nevertheless, it reveals an important piece that seems missing from the idea of the DTES that Woodward's promotes: the distinction between social and supportive housing. Nathan Edelson provides an initial description of this distinction:

> The other thing is that a lot of the social housing - this wasn't historically true, but it is now - you need health and social service supports for a lot of the people living there. You were saying before, it's not just enough to have the housing, you need supportive housing. It has to ... and in fairness, historically the neighbourhood wasn't filled with people with addictions and mental health issues. There was a mix of people. There were people with alcohol issues, heroin, that kind of thing. But starting with the NDP and exacerbated by the Liberals, the closing of the various mental institutions. Well, people who were in mental institutions, not that it was necessarily the best solution for them, but it certainly was recognized that they needed health care. To just turn them over, to just put

[15] It is worth noting that the W2 Community Media Arts centre has opened and may adopt a role as an organizer of that public space, although it still remains to be seen.

> them on the street, or even to put them in an apartment, a small …an SRO room, still, they need the health supports if they're going to manage in the community.

Here, Edelson reveals that the DTES houses two distinct, although often overlapping issues: an impoverished population and an overconcentration of mental illness and/or severe addiction. Often, these problems go hand-in-hand, resulting in multiple marginalizations and, consequently, multiple barriers to providing appropriate housing. Yet they must still be recognized as distinct issues - certainly not all poor people deal with mental health or addiction issues.

Douglas King describes the distinction in greater detail:

> Yeah, I mean I think it's tricky because the DTES is so unique in, I think maybe, how poor it is. And it's a lot easier to kind of bridge a gap between working poor or maybe under housed and [...] a lot of the people in the DTES, which you just have a really hard time practically seeing how they could live and operate in the same kind of complex or same units as, you know, your normal person would be described as. And really what the big difference is has a lot to do with drug use, obviously. If you're an active user compared to a non-active user, it's a huge difference in lifestyle and [...] health and mental health as well. And those are really difficult bridges [...] I think. And so I think a lot of the time we focus on income but really it's more of a health thing that needs to be [bridged]. And a lot of the people in the DTES, [...] they need supportive housing because they're not well. [...] They might be in a similar income class but they don't have the same demands and the same needs.

Ultimately, King suggests that two distinct kinds of people exist within the broader umbrella of the low-income community in the DTES; poor people (including working and non-working poor) whose primary difficulty is a lack of resources; and poor people who also deal with a mental illness and/or an addiction. King further describes that these two groups entail a different set of needs and, often, a different type of housing:

> I think probably the biggest priority is getting supportive housing, um, for the people that need it. And that's really separate from kind of this grand vision of how you want to mix development and housing and gentrification in the neighbourhood. It's more of a health issue I think. And there's a certain amount of people that are in pretty dire need of supportive housing. They're not really

> having enough. And that doesn't necessarily have to happen, obviously, in the DTES.

Ultimately, King suggests there needs to be a provision of two distinct types of housing, social housing and supportive housing. He does, however, contend that social housing can thrive in mixed-income developments:

> Social housing is more providing [...] a better standard of housing for people with a low income. And that to me is more what Woodward's is about, providing social housing. Which is really also very valuable in this city as well, there's a huge need for both, but I think sometimes the two get mixed together and there needs to be a pretty big distinction between the two. Social housing, I think, can be pretty integrated with other kinds of just normal market housing. Supportive housing is the difficult thing to integrate with something else.

According to King, then, the Woodward's vision of a mixed-income development within a mixed-income community is not flawed in and of itself; rather, it fails to account for the fairly significant mentally-ill and addicted population in the DTES. Certainly, the particular obstacles faced by that population need to be addressed if the DTES is to move towards social sustainability.

Yet we might also recognize that Woodward's is one development - albeit a symbolically and physically significant one - in the DTES. As such, it should not be expected to deal with every incumbent issue, nor does it prevent supportive housing from being constructed elsewhere in the DTES or, as King would propose, elsewhere in the city. Furthermore, Tanya Fink, a UBC researcher who conducted qualitative interviews with early residents of both the social housing and private-market units in Woodward's, found that some SRO residents who had previously struggled with addiction in other social housing found Woodward's a supportive environment for getting clean (2010).

Ultimately, Woodward's must be recognized as development that includes social housing, not supportive housing. The social housing may be of high quality and the Portland Hotel Society staff may be experienced in dealing with mental illness and addiction, but the non-market units are designed primarily for poor people, not people with severe mental illness and/or addiction. An overarching vision for the DTES requires the provision of supportive housing as well as social housing (see the Revised Supportive Housing Strategy for Vancouver Coastal Health's Mental Health & Addictions Supportive Housing Framework, 2007). Woodward's does not account for supportive housing in its vision and, consequently, does nothing to address the issues of mental health and addiction in the DTES. Perhaps, as King suggests, supportive housing does not fit within the mixed-income development framework and so was deliberately removed from the discussion. Nevertheless, we must recognize the importance of dealing with the mentally-ill and addicted populations to social sustainability in the DTES - if supportive housing is excluded from Woodward's, the need remains to build it somewhere else.

5.4 Woodward's, Gentrification and the Inevitability of Change

The preceding sections examine the statements that Woodward's make about the DTES and further explore the vision of the DTES that those statements entail. The statements include a promise of change but also a subsequent commitment to the low-income community. Finally, an alternative statement contends that Woodward's was a product of the low-income community in the DTES and should be recognized as an example of what they can accomplish and a symbol of their resilience.

Those statements entail a vision of Woodward's as a mixed-income development within a neighbourhood that would ultimately become home to an inclusive, mixed-

income community - the slogan, 'revitalization without displacement,' was created to describe the vision for the DTES. Increasingly collaborative partnerships would lead the way forward in the (re)development of the neighbourhood. Some suggested a missing link in that vision, whereby supportive housing became subordinate to social housing.

So far, then, we have a thorough investigation of Woodward's as a set of statements about the DTES and a vision for how those statements will play out. Both of these examinations relate directly to the issue of gentrification in the DTES, a topic that is at once politically and ideologically controversial, constantly discussed and often stubbornly difficult to understand. Here, I will contribute a small piece to that discussion.

First, one clear answer emerged from the findings: gentrification is happening in the DTES. Tom Laviolette explained that gentrification was seen coming from a long way off:

> I understand. I'm a planner… I've been to different cities. I understand the processes of gentrification. I've read the books, I've done papers on it, I know what's going on in other cities and I knew it was going to happen here. I knew this neighbourhood would not stay the way it is.

Certainly, gentrification did not take anybody in the DTES by surprise. Henriquez provides a similarly blunt perspective on the inevitability of gentrification: "Gentrification was coming to the DTES no matter what." Henriquez suggests that processes of gentrification had already gained momentum and would have happened with or without Woodward's, although Woodward's no doubt had an impact on the manner in which, and how quickly, those processes transformed the DTES. Laviolette elaborates on this notion:

> Like we were always very clear when I was at [Carnegie Community Action Project], gentrification was coming to the DTES, it will. It can't, it's impossible,

> with Vancouver having such a high livability, sort of world-class status with the international investment and with people moving here, the success, the great success of the False Creek and the megaprojects in downtown south, that ultimately the eyes would turn onto the DTES. And then there was build-out. Downtown south got built out, less developable land left. All the easy developable lands were done. Rising property values in the downtown area. And then people and the media and all that sort of figured it out that, you know what, the DTES isn't as bad as everyone thought it was, you know.

It seems clear that gentrification is certainly occurring in the DTES. Indeed, Laviolette's description of the motivating factors certainly marries well to the literature on gentrification explored earlier, particularly in terms of the indicators of gentrification and the increasing commodification of urban space.

Yet what does it really mean if gentrification is coming to the DTES? Although all of the interviewees clearly felt that such was the case, there was greater ambivalence about what it meant for the DTES. More specifically, although there was a recognition of the dangers of gentrification, there was a sense that it did not have to negatively impact the low-income community in the DTES. King points out, "I think a lot of people out there are just anti any kind of gentrifying force. I don't necessarily see it that way." This perspective suggests that the processes of gentrification do not necessarily represent a problem; rather, the consequences of those processes are what need to be examined.

The question, then, becomes what does gentrification mean for the DTES? Certainly, gentrification means an influx of wealthier residents and increased private investment. Woodward's perfectly exemplifies this aspect of the gentrification process. Nathan Edelson explicitly contends that Woodward's will act as a catalyst for further investment: "it makes it safer for others to invest in market housing because it's

demonstrated there is a market or an interest in being there." Edelson goes on to describe that Woodward's should also be recognized as an investment in the DTES:

> But it also is providing needed commercial services, community services, office space, SFU's School of Contemporary Arts. It's a major public investment to help in the revitalization of the neighbourhood. But certainly the community services and SFU have come in on the terms that they will contribute to the vitality and inclusiveness of the entire neighbourhood.

Here, Edelson suggests that Woodward's will provide some necessary neighbourhood services, including ones that may benefit the low-income community. As discussed earlier, a careful selection of retail, commercial and non-profit partners hinged on the recognition of inclusive community ideals. As Bob Rennie explained, "we needed a grocery store." Yet deliberate revitalization efforts in the DTES certainly contribute to its impending gentrification; indeed, one could consider them almost synonymous.

Yet there have been significant attempts to balance out the revitalization efforts that further the gentrification process. As described in the preceding section, Tom Laviolette views Woodward's as mitigated gentrification, a pragmatic attempt to extract value out of what may have otherwise been a step towards wholesale gentrification. As he explains, "Folks don't understand. This was going to happen here. It was going to be an all condo project. It was going to be a tech hub at one point." Laviolette goes on to elaborate that an empty site served no one:

> No one was happy with a vacant building. People wanted something [...]. No one was happy with retail storefronts being all vacant and nothing happening. So, in that regard, we've done something. It's done. And many people are happy with it and some aren't, many aren't. It's kind of a split thing. And so again, to me it's a mitigated attempt. We've extracted something out of this.

Again, Laviolette suggests that, from a social housing perspective, the current incarnation of Woodward's delivers value to the DTES and, importantly, represents a significantly better development than many of the likely alternatives.

Throughout the DTES, there are clear attempts to extract value from gentrification processes while mitigating the negative impacts; in particular, there is a great deal being done to protect and significantly improve the low-income housing stock in the neighbourhood. Nathan Edelson explains, "You know, we just added another thousand units of social housing to the area, plus all those SROs that are purchased that are now secure [...], that's a huge public investment." Investing in the low-income housing stock must be recognized as an important step in mitigating the potential negative impacts of gentrification. Simply put, the construction of safe and secure low-income housing literally provides space for the low-income community to remain in the neighbourhood; new construction, in particular, guarantees that that housing will exist for the foreseen future. Jim Green describes how this notion is being applied to the DTES:

> [BC Minister of Housing and Social Development] Rich Coleman, who is, who was at least, anti-housing, bought 22 hotels down here. I mean, that guarantees those for perpetuity, that those will be for low-income people. So there's a lot of protections here. And in perceiving the possible future and not letting it go sideways.

In addition to securing the low-income housing stock, Nathan Edelson explains that the City's DTES Housing Plan has plans to increase the affordable renting stock, ensuring that a range of different people can live in the neighbourhood:

> The Housing Plan, and that's what's being worked on now, is trying to change, trying to make adjustments, particularly in one portion of the neighbourhood, to really in effect require affordable rental housing as well. Because that middle tier is very important. So it's not just a neighbourhood of the very rich and the very poor, that it has a mix of incomes in it.

So clear attempts have been made to ensure that the low-income community will continue to have a place in the neighbourhood. Considering the amount of renovation and new construction of social housing, life for the low-income community living in social housing may significantly improve as the low-income housing stock becomes of a higher quality. Bob Rennie certainly feels that as long as the low-income housing stock is secured (or improved), then gentrification need not be a cause of concern: "[We were] never worrying that this was going to become Yaletown because the non-market's legislated and we're in place." He further contends, "it's not unsafe to have condos next to you." Ultimately, Rennie does not foresee a great deal of negative consequences of gentrification for the low-income community. He paints a picture of a gentrified DTES:

> And I pointed to Bill's Confectionary and I said, 'we're going to sit here four or five years from now and Bill's going to have a new awning and he's going to have clean windows and he's going to sell more bottled water'. And they said, 'we don't want that'. And I said, 'I don't give a shit what you want. He has children to feed. He needs to be sustainable. And if selling water to tourists that feel comfortable here is wrong to you, you can't stop it. You can't let this go downhill until he goes broke and closes and boards it up. And I'm not telling you you're getting a 7-eleven and a Gap; he's going to have a new awning. And I think it's that sort of dialogue that we all need. And the other reason it won't gentrify is there isn't big superblocks down here where you can put in a Gap and a Pottery Barn.

Rennie may have a point that gentrification may have somewhat more benign effects than it is often accused of. Yet his description certainly seems fairly reductionist; we must recognize the real danger of the low-income community - even with a secure housing stock - losing some of their essential support systems as retail outlets begin to cater to a new, wealthier clientele. Douglas King articulates this danger:

> You see people getting priced out of the neighbourhood. And it's not necessarily for rent, but just everything. People live in this neighbourhood, if they need to, on an amazingly subsistence lifestyle. On very, very little income. And part of that

> has to do with access to really cheap food, or free food, and really cheap, kind of, goods. Which often are kind of pushed back and forth between people, for one reason or another.

King further elaborates his concerns about the DTES reconfiguring to reflect the needs and desires of the incoming, middle-class residents:

> People would find it harder to live in the DTES. I mean there's a whole structure set up in the DTES that's basically designed to make it so that you can live as easily as possible on $200 a month, which is how much you get from your welfare cheque.

Edelson echoes this notion, emphasizing the need to secure support services for the low-income community:

> [Nester's] is more expensive than the low-income people can use. There's some products they can get obviously, but I think more of them still go to Army and Navy. And there's a need for food security for the low-income community throughout the DTES as well as another significant supermarket, but that's at a lower cost than Nester's, on East Hastings.

Clearly, some persistent and very real dangers of gentrification remain. Without doubt, securing the low-income housing stock is an important first step - perhaps the most important first step - to ensuring the poor people can continue to live in the DTES. If the surrounding neighbourhood, however, transforms to reflect the capital of the new, wealthier residents and, in doing so, eradicates the essential support services and retail spaces that the low-income community rely on to sustain themselves, then the securing of social housing loses a great deal of its value. The DTES needs to retain space for those essential services in order to be considered a socially sustainable neighbourhood. Tom Laviolette describes how Portland Hotel Society actively works to secure retail space:

> And then also our big thing we're trying to do is trying to secure public realm through the retail [...] Because we don't just want islands of social housing within a gentrified space, where people don't feel comfortable, they can't go to the park or there's security guards everywhere.

Essentially, the DTES needs to remain a livable place for poor people rather than just a place where poor people live. Laviolette did reveal that Portland Hotel Society runs the security at Woodward's - an interesting detail that hopefully will prevent the public space in Woodward's from being regulated in a way that marginalizes low-income residents.

Gentrification is absolutely happening in the DTES. Yet there have been some significant steps to mitigate the negative consequences (namely displacement) of gentrification processes while extracting as much value out of the influx of investment as possible - primarily as new and improved social housing. That being said, a real danger remains that the DTES may shift to reflect the economic and cultural capital of the newly-arrived, wealthier residents and thus cease to provide the essential services and support systems relied upon by the long-standing, lower-income community. Continuing efforts must be made to ensure that the DTES remains a livable neighbourhood for poor residents. Ultimately, the impacts of gentrification on the DTES seem unsure, although we can expect they will be transformative to a greater or lesser degree. This ambivalence does lead us to one clear conclusion, however: that conscientious urban and social planning and continued activism that embraces socially sustainable ideals will ultimately determine how well the DTES will be able to manage the gentrification processes to promote positive initiatives and reduce negative impacts. Douglas King describes the tension between advocating for change and simultaneously worrying about it:

> I mean it's interesting. There's always, I think, kind of a difficult question in the neighbourhood, which is, you've got people that they're afraid of change in the neighbourhood because they assume it's going to be bad. But at the same time, basically [you] spend all of your work and your time advocating for change. [...] You want it to be positive change, but you don't really know what that positive change is. And Woodward's has been really interesting because it certainly has made the change.

A final notion to consider in this examination of gentrification in the DTES is the idea of the conscientious condo-dweller. Throughout the interviews, there were many more or less vague mentions of the idea that people who bought or rented in Woodward's did so knowing what they were buying into and doing so consciously. Henriquez explains, "I think everyone's aware of what it was. I don't think anyone bought in not knowing what it was." Bob Rennie, however, in marketing the private-market units, aimed explicitly at a trendy, socially-aware consumer. He explains, "I wanted to attract a guy with a bicycle helmet and a backpack, not a guy with, sort of, the latest, I don't know, Bentley, whatever that word is. I didn't need that demographic. I threw them away." To that end, Rennie marketed Woodward's as an 'Intellectual Property,' which he describes as follows: "I believe that you had to understand that the future [...] is socially sustainable. That the fortunate can live with the less fortunate." Essentially, Rennie attempted to market the Woodward's vision of the neighbourhood to the private-market consumers, to get them to buy into the idea of the DTES as a socially sustainable, mixed-income neighbourhood. To that end, he developed the slogan, 'Be Bold or Move to Suburbia,' which portrays an urban edginess. Rennie put it another way: "I dare you to live here."

The idea of the conscientious condo-dweller certainly represents a hopeful ideal of urban (re)development, and no doubt those condo-dwellers exist, especially as Portland Hotel Society staff and City staff were offered pre-sale opportunities in Woodward's. There is a danger, however, of stereotyping the middle-class consumer as entirely without a social conscience in an effort to protect more marginalized urbanites. Ultimately, relying on incoming condo-dwellers to have embraced socially sustainable

ideals does not adequately protect the low-income community from the potential danger of displacement. Actively planning for a socially sustainable neighbourhood remains a necessity, although it is a hopeful - and altogether possible - notion that those plans may find a supportive audience in the private-market residents.[16]

[16] Tanya Fink's qualitative research on the residents of Woodward's provides some insight into the perspectives of the condo-dwellers. See *Hopes and Expectations for Woodward's: Community Perspectives,* UBC, 2010.

6: CONCLUSIONS – A STEP TOWARDS SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY?

The preceding sections all build towards the original research question of this project: does Woodward's ultimately represent a step in the direction of social sustainability? To answer this question, we must return to the definition of social sustainability laid out in the conceptual framework. Social sustainability involves three levels: (1) meeting the basic needs of residents, including housing and sufficient income; (2) building individual capacity; and (3) building social/community capacity. Four basic principles underpin these three aspects of social sustainability: equity, social inclusion and interaction, security, and adaptability. How well does Woodward's fulfill this framework?

6.1 Meeting Basic Needs

This first aspect of the framework represents Woodward's greatest contribution to social sustainability. Everything else aside, the whole Woodward's process (if including all of its social housing allocation) has been responsible for the construction of 400 new units of high-quality social housing. Moreover, in the sense that those units were constructed as permanent housing, they make a commitment that there will be space for the low-income community in perpetuity.

It is important to emphasize this very practical aspect of social sustainability and recognize the value that it brings to the DTES. The construction of these units makes a promise that 400+ low-income Vancouverites will be able to live safely and securely and,

importantly, be able to remain in the DTES - a neighbourhood that has long supported the low-income community. In addition, however, these new units represent a substantial improvement in the material quality of life for the poor people who occupy them. Although it is important to safeguard existing low-income housing, we must recognize that much of it exists in states of deplorable disrepair and insecurity. In essence, many of the existing SROs provide extremely unpleasant places to live; they certainly do not provide homes. Woodward's addresses the quality-of-life issue in a very meaningful, very tangible way. This aspect was emphasized in almost every one of the interviews.

Bob Rennie was quoted earlier contending that the existing social housing situation was fundamentally untenable as the predominance of units were both unsanitary and unsafe[17]. He then further reiterates the importance of having a safe place to live:

> I just think all we're looking for in life is to be safe. Sort of three sentences, but that's all we want. So we've given people a safe place.

Gregory Henriquez similarly emphasizes the improvement in the standard of living that Woodward's makes:

> But I think if you go visit the people in the singles non-market housing, they're ecstatic. [...] They're ecstatic. The people living there have the nicest housing that has probably been created for that type of housing in Vancouver ever, right?

Nathan Edelson echoes this notion:

> And the people in the social housing are thrilled to be there. It's a wonderful improvement in the quality of their lives.

Douglas King's interaction with low-income residents of Woodward's confirms these statements:

[17] 5.2, pp. 41

> I mean one thing that I find is really positive about Woodward's is the people that I know who are in Woodward's, in the social housing part of it, they're quite happy with it.

Tom Laviolette provides us with a first-hand account of life in the social housing aspect in Woodward's:

> So I think, you know, it's very good quality housing and we've got 125 folks that are very happy to be in there. And then Affordable's got another sixty or so that are pretty happy, fifty subsidized units, forty-five subsidized units and they're all pretty happy to be in there.

Finally, Jim Green recounts a meeting with Mark Townsend of the Portland Hotel Society where the desirability of the Woodward's units became apparent:

> Mark said, '[...] I've got 125 units in Woodward's for people in this neighbourhood. I have 5,500 applicants.'[18]

Clearly, then, the construction of a substantial amount of high-quality units makes a significant improvement in the lives of poor people in the DTES and an admirable contribution towards meeting the basic needs of the low-income community in the DTES.[19] To that end, Woodward's deserves recognition as achieving the first part of the social sustainability framework.

[18] This conversation also highlights the need for more social housing in the DTES; nevertheless, it reveals that Woodward's was certainly seen by the low-income community as an extremely desirable place to live.
[19] Tanya Fink's research demonstrates the positive experience of living in Woodward's social housing in great deal. See *Hopes and Expectations for Woodward's: Community Perspectives,* UBC, 2010

6.2 Building Individual Capacity

The second aspect of the social sustainability framework can be understood as fostering an individual's capacity to contribute to their own well-being. How well Woodward's fulfills this part of the framework is less clear. Indeed, as a (mixed-use) housing development, Woodward's has to be recognized as having some limitations in building individual capacity. That being said, Woodward's makes a very public statement that the DTES, although it will undergo change, will remain a home to the low-income community that has long lived there. Such a commitment fosters individual capacity in that it asserts the right for low-income residents to remain a part of the community. In essence, it asserts their right to the city. That assertion helps to build individual capacity in that it provides a validation of poor peoples' right to build their lives in the DTES and influence the future of the neighbourhood. From an alternative perspective, it reasserts citizenship rights for the low-income community in the face of impending gentrification, particularly if we embrace Jim Green's notion that Woodward's should be recognized as a statement by the low-income community, a demonstration of what they can accomplish and a symbol of their resilience. Ultimately, Woodward's should be recognized as an effort to build individual capacity through urban design.

Yet more work is required to build upon that foundation. As discussed in preceding sections, the programming of the public space in Woodward's, community-based activism and the securing of public space that directly serves the needs of the low-income community will play essential roles in fostering low-income individual's ability to contribute to their own well-being.

6.3 Building Community Capacity

The final aspect of the sustainability should be understood as building networks and governance systems that allow a community to contribute to its own well-being in an inclusive manner. Woodward's certainly attempts to promote this aspect of social sustainability where possible. The extensive community consultation process that resulted in the Guiding Principles and the inclusionary design process led by Gregory Henriquez make impressive steps towards including diverse voices in the Woodward's vision, particularly those voices that are often excluded and/or marginalized.

The collaborative framework employed in the development of Woodward's also represents a potential for building community capacity. Bringing a diverse group of stakeholders from both the public and private sectors together to envision futures for the DTES certainly makes an attempt to create a more socially sustainable future. Traditionally, stakeholders may have competed vehemently over the future of the neighbourhood resulting in the subordination of one's interests to another - often meaning a subordination of social sustainability initiatives - or, as we saw with Woodward's, a stalemate that simply prolonged inaction. Bringing those stakeholders to the same table at the very least opens a dialogue. Nathan Edelson describes the importance of finding ways to work together:

> I think it's important for people to try to figure out ways of working together, because if you don't what happens is you put up barriers, the people just become your enemies, or they ally with your enemies. And when I say enemies, I mean people who do really want to stop the, you know, reverse the existing social housing programs and policies, or the support services that are needed for low-income people.

Certainly, urban spaces will continue to be contested as the DTES undergoes further transition. Collaborative models of urban redevelopment may represent a step towards

building relationships, networks and governance structures that reduce conflict and, ultimately, contribute towards the social sustainability of the neighbourhood.

Finally, the ability of Woodward's to build community capacity also depends on the future programming of the public space, ongoing community activism and building community amenities that serve the needs of everybody who lives in the DTES, regardless of their financial capabilities. Thus, Woodward's initial attempts to build community capacity should be commended, but with a caveat that more work is required.

6.4 A Step Toward Social Sustainability

Overall, then, Woodward's has addressed all three aspects of the social sustainability framework, to a greater or lesser extent. Woodward's makes a substantial contribution towards meeting the basic needs of the low-income community in the DTES. This aspect of social sustainability needs to be recognized as the first element that must be addressed. Social sustainability, at its most fundamental level is about the well-being of people; certainly the first means of contributing to a person's well-being is to ensure that they have food, clothing and shelter. Indeed, efforts to foster individual and community capacity mean little if one cannot meet those basic needs. Again, Woodward's makes an important contribution towards meeting the basic needs of the low-income community by providing some much-needed social housing.

Efforts have certainly been made towards building both individual and human capacity, although ongoing work is required to ensure that these aspects of social sustainability are adequately addressed. Ultimately, Woodward's should be recognized as making a thorough attempt to construct an inclusive housing development that

incorporates socially sustainable ideals. Without doubt, problems with the model will surface in the coming years. The material impacts Woodward's has on the DTES will also become apparent.

Certainly, there are some very real concerns about Woodward's and what it might mean for the future of the DTES. The first and altogether possible danger is that, as the DTES continues to undergo gentrification processes, the low-income community gets priced out of the neighbourhood. Even if affordable, non-market housing is provided, the surrounding retail and commercial spaces in the neighbourhood may shift to reflect the economic and social capital of the newer, wealthier residents – indeed, this is already happening to some extent. If efforts are not made to secure parts of the public realm for shops and services that cater to the specific needs of the low-income community, then they may find that, although they have housing, the neighbourhood has become un-livable.

A second, related concern is that new or upgraded social housing – Woodward's in particular – may actually exclude the poorest members of the low-income community. The CCAP report referenced earlier in this project suggests that SRO rents in the DTES have increased almost across the board, meaning that there has been a net loss of low-income housing units since 2008 despite a significant amount of new construction. Certainly, the CCAP report makes an important point in that social housing loses a great deal of its value if it charges rents that exceed welfare payments.

A close examination of the Woodward's dream, then, has to recognize an admirable attempt to write social sustainability into the urban landscape of the DTES while simultaneously being wary of the potential dangers of displacement that remain for

the low-income community in the DTES. Ultimately, Woodward's has affected the DTES in meaningful ways but it is not the final word. More than anything, it should be recognized as a small step in the right direction. The DTES will more than likely continue to gentrify but the future remains malleable. I remain hopeful that conscientious planning and design can adopt principles of social sustainability to harness the benefits of gentrification processes while ensuring that the DTES remains livable for low-income Vancouverites. The key will be whether we decide to make planning for social sustainability a priority.

I will leave this discussion with a hopeful statement by Jim Green about the legacy of Woodward's and the future of the DTES:

> I'm very proud of the legacy of Woodward's [...]. And, you know, I think we're going to ... I think the people of this community are smart enough and dedicated enough to make sure that we can keep building social housing in this community, given whatever tools we have to use to do it.

7: FINAL THOUGHTS

7.1 The Intersection of Social and Ecological Sustainability

The focus of this research project has been to examine what kind of contribution, if any, Woodward's makes to urban social sustainability within the specific context of the DTES. Yet urban sustainability should rightly be understood as an attempt to address ecological, social and economic needs in a sustainable manner. To that end, we must recognize that there is a very real ecological imperative to densify our urban cores, an imperative that carries consequences for the future of our urban neighbourhoods. Social sustainability requires that we carefully manage the denser, mixed-income neighbourhoods that ecological sustainability demands. Bob Rennie touches on how ecological sustainability priorities work as catalysts of gentrification:

> Because you can't say we're going to have office towers, you want fewer cars in town but I haven't provided a place for people to live so that they can work in those office towers. So, I said since 2000, this city has to move east. It really wasn't a brilliant statement since it has nowhere else to go. So I've been on that bandwagon for a long time.

Dovetailing on Rennie's statement, Gregory Henriquez contends that Woodward's represents a successful attempt to marry sustainability agendas:

> And so this is the type of density that actually makes sense in terms of environmental issues as well. So there's lots of different levels at which this works. It works from an environmental and density level. It works from a social and inclusivity level. It works from a sort of symbolic level about saving a cultural icon which is the Woodward's store.

Considering its density, Woodward's makes a contribution towards a more ecological urban system. As discussed in the previous section, Woodward's should be recognized as an attempt to promote socially sustainable principles through socially-aware planning and architecture. Such marriages of the distinct sustainability initiatives will be necessary if cities are to successfully reconfigure to the meet the sustainability challenges of the 21st century. Yet Woodward's true innovation derives from its genuine attempt to incorporate socially sustainable ideals, even if that attempt falls short at times. We know how to build denser urban cores and ecologically-benign transit systems (even if the political will sometimes prevents us from doing so). Building socially sustainable communities remains a less exact science.

7.2 A Clarification of Agendas

Throughout this study of gentrification, neighbourhood transition and displacement, a previously unnoticed distinction emerged through my research and data collection: the distinction between working to save a poor neighbourhood and working to save the poor people who live in that neighbourhood. Often critics of gentrification criticize changes in the character of the neighbourhood or bemoan developments that alter the aesthetics of the existing urban landscape. The notion is that the neighbourhood itself must be preserved. Undoubtedly, there are many valid reasons for such arguments to be made. Indeed, as my research has demonstrated, social values can be written into the urban landscape. Often, however, the protests seem to value the neighbourhood more than the people who live in it, begging the question, what is sustainable about saving a neighbourhood if it is filled with people suffering?

Rather, should not the imperative be to improve the lives of the poor people who struggle to live within that neighbourhood? By no means am I providing a rationale for displacing those poor people under the guise of a better life elsewhere. Quite to the contrary, I am suggesting that existing neighbourhood conditions that are active obstacles to the quality of life for poor people should be recognized as such. From there, steps should be taken to address those neighbourhood aspects that prevent people from contributing to their own well-being and the well-being of their community; put another way, we should find a way to eliminate those impediments to social sustainability. Organizations like the Portland Hotel Society and BladeRunners have actively been working to achieve this goal in the DTES and should be commended and recognized as models of ground-up social sustainability.

Protecting certain aspects of the built urban landscape - including the character or aesthetic of a neighbourhood - may be important steps in protecting the poor people who live there. Let us remember, however, that neighbourhoods matter because, first and foremost, they house people.

7.3 Directions for Future Research

This study has provided a starting point for in-depth research on Woodward's and the DTES, with particular reference to urban social sustainability, housing provision and gentrification. My hope is that other researchers will take up where this discussion leaves off. In particular, further qualitative research that explored the more critical perspectives on Woodward's would provide a valuable complement to this investigation of how Woodward's proponents articulate their vision. In particular, other DTES housing

activists – particularly Wendy Pedersen and Jean Swanson from CCAP – would likely paint a significantly different picture of Woodward's and how it fits into the DTES.

A second avenue for future research would be to conduct qualitative research among the DTES residents who literally experience the shift in the social, political and economic fabric of the DTES as it continues to undergo gentrification. In essence, this would be a reproduction of the qualitative work Lance Freeman undertook in gentrifying neighbourhoods in New York, interviewing both 'native' residents and new-comers. His work provided a more nuanced understanding of what gentrification actually meant to the people who lived through it. Similar research in the DTES would provide rich data on what gentrification means in the DTES, helping us to develop tools for socially sustainable urbanism and contributing to a broader literature on gentrification in Canadian cities.

Finally, statistical research that illustrated how the DTES is changing in terms of neighbourhood demographics, cost-of-living increases and the stock of market and non-market housing would provide a valuable complement to qualitative investigations of gentrification and housing in the DTES. A quantitative accounting of how the housing stock is shifting would provide a concrete background to a qualitative understanding of how the socio-cultural and economic fabric of the DTES is changing.

Qualitative research on how gentrification processes are affecting residents of the DTES should be undertaken immediately, as the neighbourhood has changed rapidly over the past few years. Furthermore, my research suggests the DTES will continue to undergo transitions in the immediate future. As such, qualitative investigations into how people

are currently experiencing those changes can and should be carried out now and then followed up in 3-5 years.

Quantitative examinations of the housing stock should be undertaken at intervals, though there may be some variance in how long those intervals can be. For purely academic purposes, a housing inventory in three years would likely provide an interesting and thorough account of neighbourhood transition. If, however, wish to use robust academic work as a foundation for community activism and policy progression, then housing inventories should be conducted every year, allowing local actors the opportunity to manage those changes and the consequences they entail for DTES residents.

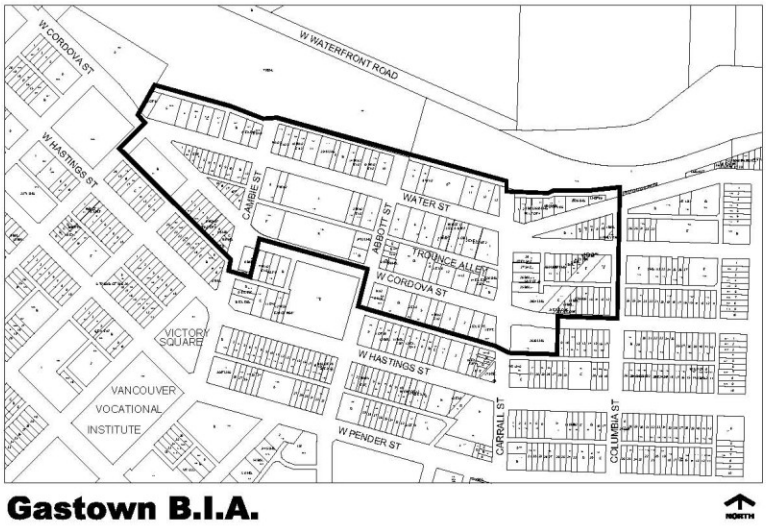
APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Maps

Map 1 – Downtown Eastside Neighbourhoods

Taken from City of Vancouver Planning Department. *10 Years of Downtown Eastside Revitalization: A Backgrounder.* March 2009.

Map 2: Woodward's Site on the Border of Gastown



Note - Woodward's occupies the large open lot on the southwest corner of Abbott and Cordova, just outside of the boundary of Gastown.

Taken from City of Vancouver,
http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/cityplans/bia/pdf/maps/Gastown_BIA.pdf

Appendix 2 – Woodward's Data

Table 1: Woodward's Guiding Principles

The Woodward's project must:

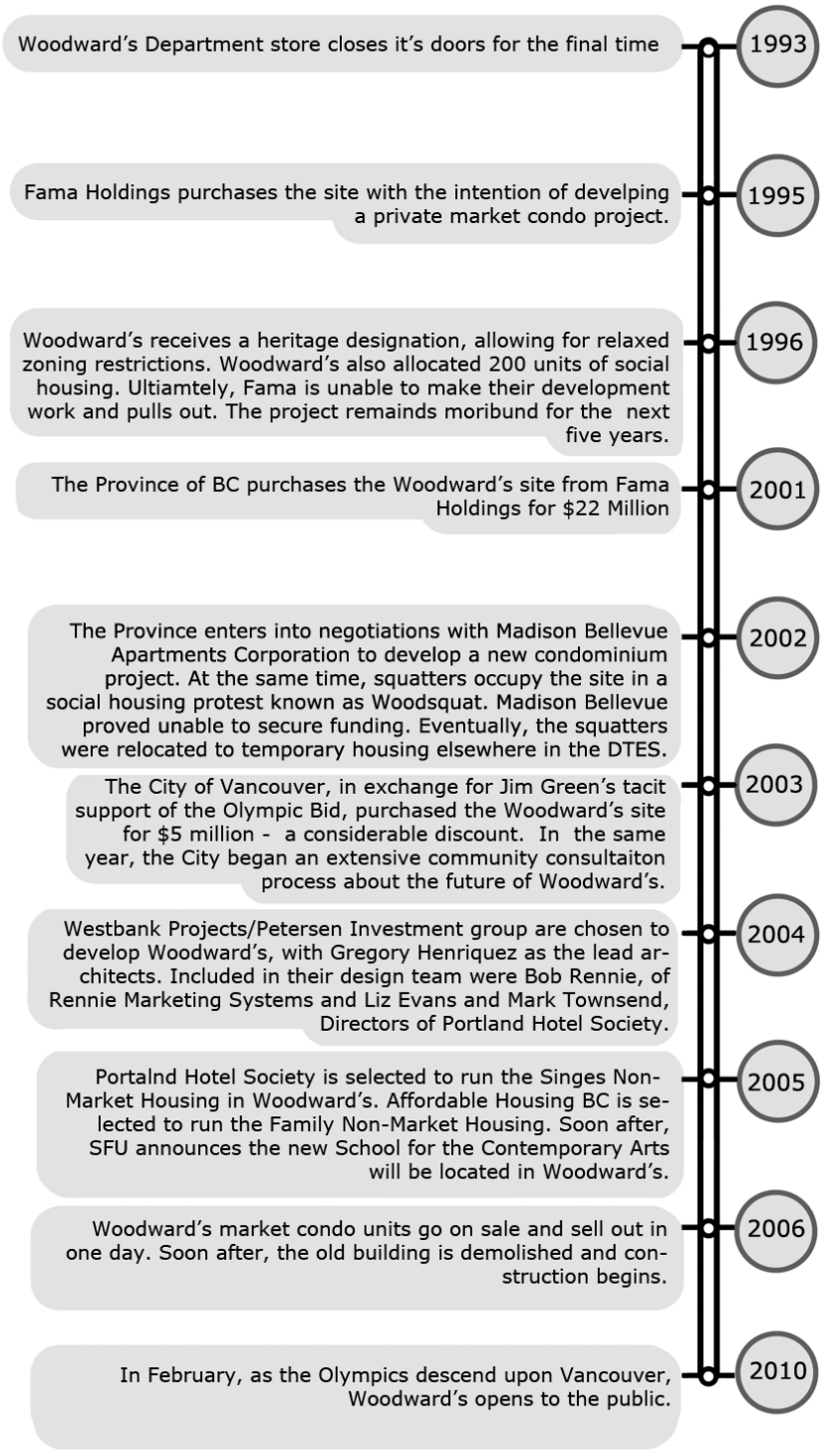
•be financially viable and self-sustaining
•be developed in a timely manner
•include at least 100 units of non-market housing
•be open and inclusive
•be an urban revitalization catalyst
•maintain and enhance the existing community
•incorporate the talents, visions and desires of the Downtown Eastside community
•incorporate the talents and ideas of people throughout the city
•provide employment opportunities for local residents in both the construction and operation of the new building
•provide opportunities and create synergies for local owners and businesses
•incorporate user group involvement in the design process
•celebrate the symbolism of the historic building (e.g., the lighted "W", the façade, Christmas displays, etc.)
•be environmentally sustainable
•create a lively street front (with animation at grade)
•not be a "black box" (e.g. accommodate and encourage pedestrian circulation, etc.)
•provide appropriate parking
•be accessible
•take advantage of heritage opportunities
•respond to local, physical context.

Take from City of Vancouver website, "Woodward's: A New Beginning," http://vancouver.ca/bps/realestate/woodwards/guiding.htm.

Table 2: Woodward's Uses

Woodward's Uses	
Residential	• 500 units private-market condominium housing • 125 units singles non-market housing • 75 units family non-market housing
Commercial	• Nester's Market • London Drugs Pharmacy • JJ Bean Coffee • The Charles Gastropub • Dental Office
Non-Profit Office	• EMBERS – Eastside Movement for Business and Economic Renewal Society • BC Social Venture Partners • Community Arts Council of Vancouver • Powell Street Festival Society • The Geist Foundation • Urban Ink Production Society • Vancouver Community Network • Theatre Terrific Society • Minerva Foundation for BC Women
Community/Public	• SFU School for Contemporary Arts • Daycare facility (still in progress at time of writing) • Public atrium with basketball court • W2 Community Media Arts Centre

Table 3: Woodward's Redevelopment Timeline



Appendix 3 – Interviewee Biographies

Nathan Edelson

Nathan Edelson is currently a partner in 42nd Street Consulting, an urban planning consultancy company that focuses on socially-inclusive planning. Prior to founding his own company, Edelson worked as a Planner with the City of Vancouver for 25 years. For thirteen of those years (1995-2008), he was the Senior Planner in charge of the Downtown Eastside where he worked extensively on enforcement issues relating to the illicit drug trade and SRO hotel maintenance. He helped author the City's Housing Plan for the Downtown Eastside and chaired the Economic Revitalization Plan Task Team in addition to participating in a number of other initiatives in the neighbourhood.

Edelson was also responsible for coordinating the City's response to expressions of interest concerning the Woodward's site. Later, he helped run the community consultation process with Mike Flanagan. As such, Edelson has an intimate knowledge of the issues incumbent to the Downtown Eastside, particularly housing provision. Furthermore, he was intimately involved in the Woodward's process, at both the community consultation and proposal process.

Gregory Henriquez

Gregory Henriquez is the managing partner of Henriquez Architects. An award-winning architect, Henriquez specializes in socially inclusive and ethical architecture, a philosophy he describes in his book *Towards an Ethical Architecture*. Henriquez was awarded the Governor General's Medal in Architecture for the Lore Krill Housing Co-operative in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (an off-site social housing development allocated to Woodward's).

Henriquez was also the lead architect who designed the current incarnation of Woodward's. In collaboration with Portland Hotel Society and Westbank Developments, Henriquez authored the bid that was selected by the City of Vancouver for the Woodward's site.

Douglas King

Douglas King is a lawyer with Pivot Legal Society, a non-profit legal advocacy organization in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Pivot's mandate is to strategically approach social change through legislation, addressing the root causes that contribute to the marginalization of certain groups of the urban population. King joined Pivot in 2008, after working with the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association, another group in the Downtown Eastside that advocates for human and housing rights. At Pivot, he heads both the policing and housing advocacy campaigns.

Bob Rennie

Bob Rennie is the Owner and Director of Rennie marketing systems, a company that specializes in marketing condominium developments in Vancouver's downtown core. Rennie has enjoyed great success over the last decade and is often referred to as Vancouver's 'Condo King'. Rennie was engaged to market the private-market units of the Woodward's development. His involvement began early, however, and he helped to design the interior of the market units after being a part of the community consultation processes that provided the project's Guiding Principles.

Bob Rennie is a somewhat controversial figure in Vancouver due to his outspoken views and his involvement in neighbourhood transition. He has been criticized for unashamedly selling gentrification and simultaneously commended for his contribution to urban revitalization and even the development of social housing.

Tom Laviolette

Tom Laviolette is one of the Directors of the Portland Hotel Society, a non-profit organization that provides social and supportive housing in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Portland Hotel Society has an impressive legacy as a grassroots organization that has grown into one of the most effective providers of housing for Vancouver's poor, marginalized and mentally-ill and/or addicted population. Furthermore, Portland Hotel Society was involved with the successful bid for the Woodward's site along with Henriquez Partners Architects and Westbank Developments. Portland Hotel Society is also responsible for running the Singles Non-Market housing in Woodward's as well as the security for the whole development.

Laviolette spends most of his time at Portland Hotel Society working on securing new spaces and developing new projects. Prior to his time with the organization, Laviolette worked with the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association and the now-defunct Downtown Granville Tenants' Association on housing relocation, tenancy rights and housing advocacy.

Jim Green

Jim Green has been an activist in the Downtown Eastside for many years and is colloquially referred to as the 'Mayor of the Downtown Eastside'. The bulk of his work has revolved around affordable and social housing provision, albeit in a variety of capacities. The one-time Director of the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association has since worked in a variety of provincial government positions, including the CEO of BC Community Financial Services Corporation, Executive Director of the Social Alternatives Unit in the Ministry of Community Development, Cooperatives & Volunteers and Community Development Coordinator in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Recreation and Housing. Furthermore, Green has worked extensively with the municipal government, as the co-chair of the Creative City Task Force and chair of the Social and

Economic Development Committee of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Finally, despite two unsuccessful runs for Mayor of Vancouver, Green served on Vancouver City Council from 2002-2005.

Although he emphasizes the collaborative design process of Woodward's, Green was the first and ultimate motivating force behind the redevelopment of Woodward's; he started speculating about its future before the department store had even shut down. With his long history of community activism, Green envisioned Woodward's as a community asset that would contribute to the health of the Downtown Eastside. Without Green, Woodward's, in its current incarnation, would not exist today.

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