

**HIDDEN IMPACTS? EXTERNALITIES OF SOCIAL
CAPITAL CREATION IN VANCOUVER'S DOWNTOWN
EASTSIDE**

by

Kevin Quinlan
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RESEARCH PROJECT

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APPROVAL

Name: Kevin Quinlan
Degree: Master of Urban Studies
Title of Research Project: Hidden impacts? Externalities of social capital creation in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Examining Committee:
Chair: Dr Karen Ferguson

Dr Peter Hall
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor, Urban Studies

Dr Meg Holden
Supervisor
Associate Professor, Urban Studies

Nathan Edelson
External Examiner
Adjunct Professor, School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia

Date Defended/Approved: April 27, 2011

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ABSTRACT

Social capital is a concept that is increasingly used by policy makers to help marginalized populations. A lack of consensus around the definition of social capital has led to its use in a variety of forms without adequate understanding. In particular, the local externalities and broader impacts of social capital and its creation are not well understood.

This paper analyses the local externalities of social capital creation from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Street Market. Using a mixed-method research strategy, qualitative and quantitative data was collected through surveys conducted on market vendors and local businesses to understand how both groups interact with and perceive the Market. The research finds that for the majority of businesses, the Market and its social capital have little to no impact on their operations. As well, businesses that have pre-existing negative opinions of crime in the neighbourhood, as well as limited knowledge of the Market, are more likely to oppose the Market's operation.

Keywords: Downtown Eastside; externalities; poverty; public space, social capital; street markets; Vancouver.

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GLOSSARY

Downtown Eastside	Vancouver neighbourhood that was once the industrial heart of the City; now has a struggling local economy and a diverse population, with many residents facing health, racial and poverty-related barriers.
Externalities	Impacts on a person or group as a result of economic activity generated by another, unrelated person or group.
Public Space	An open, accessible shared area that can be used or purposed by different people for different objectives.
Social Capital	The product of opportunities and resources being accessed through personal relationships and networks.
Street Vending	The selling of new and used goods in public space; often unregulated.

1: INTRODUCTION

The concept of social capital has emerged as a potential guide to revitalizing low-income communities and addressing poverty. A fluid and contested term, social capital is based on the idea that personal relationships are an asset that when utilized can lead to social and material gain. The ability of communities to overcome systemic barriers can rest in the opportunities that social capital brings through the mobilization of personal and organizational networks. The individual, through his or her own networks and relationships, can access opportunities and improve their lot in life.

However, the lack of a clear definition of social capital has led to its use in a variety of different research fields. Social capital has been linked to improved outcomes ranging from higher education, to decreased crime, to local and national economic development.¹ Discussions of social capital focus primarily on its ability to create positive outcomes in society, whether at the micro or macro level, while critiques focus on the ways in which social capital can be used against the social good, and lock people into dependent relationships.

Social capital is still a relatively new concept, and as such has much that is unanswered or unstudied. This research investigates the local externalities of social capital and its creation. Specifically, this paper studies how the creation of

¹ Robert D. Putnam. "Social capital: measurement and consequences." *Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2.1 (2001): 41-51. Print., Stephen Knack and Philip Keefer. "Does social capital have an economic payoff? A cross-country investigation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112.4 (1997): 1251-1288. Print., James S. Coleman. "Social capital in the creation of human capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 95-120. Print.

social capital, through Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Street Market ("the Market"), impacts local businesses. The definition of externality for the purposes of this research will be in the public policy sense of third-party effects, which arise when an uninvolved person or group is affected by the economic activity of others.² For this research, the third-party effects will be the impacts, positive and negative, which are produced by the Market that affect local businesses.

The influence of social capital is spreading, with global institutions like the World Bank publishing papers on using social capital to address poverty.³ Much of contemporary research on poverty focuses on deficits and barriers, but social capital allows for recognizing the assets of a poor community.⁴ Yet, the research tends to be limited to social capital itself – there is little understanding of how social capital can impact those who exist outside of its creation and operation. Social capital is a resource, and similar to physical, financial, or human capital, its creation and exploitation can have externalities. In social capital, policy makers are advocating an idea to help impoverished communities without fully understanding the idea's full impacts and limitations. This creates the potential for unintended consequences for populations already facing a variety of barriers, systemic or otherwise.

On a tangible level, the research in this paper can identify and address potential problems and benefits emerging from the creation of social capital

² James A. Brander. "The normative analysis of government." *Government Policy Toward Business*. 3rd ed. Vancouver: Butterworths, 2000. 37. Print.

³ K. Gardner and D. Lewis. "Development paradigms overturned or business as usual? Development discourse and the white paper on international development." *Critique of Anthropology* 20.1 (2000): 15-29. Print.

⁴ Michael Woolcock. "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes." *ISUMA Canadian Journal of Policy Research* (Spring 2001): 15. Print.

through the operation of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Street Market. The neighbourhood has a history of tension between the 'formal' community, such as licensed businesses and the police, and the 'informal' community of low-income street vendors who operate outside of legally regulated business channels. Street vending entails individuals setting up goods, ranging from clothes to electronics to kitchen supplies, on the sidewalk and selling them – without a business license - to people passing by. The proliferation of illegal street vending in the neighbourhood led to growing conflict between the police and businesses against the vendors, culminating in a 2008 police ticketing crackdown on the vendors that sparked a community backlash.⁵ A local community group started a weekly Street Market, where vendors could sell their goods in a controlled, regulated setting, without fear of being ticketed for vending without a license.

The Market has been in operation since June 2010, running once a week on a closed-down block of Carrall Street at Hastings in the Downtown Eastside. From 12-5 pm every Sunday, approximately 25 vendors, primarily low-income, middle-aged men, sell a variety of goods ranging from electronics to books to clothing to furniture in a licensed, legal setting. Dozens of people come down just to hang out, look at the goods, and chat with the vendors. The Market is operated by the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council, a local community group, and has a special events permit from the Vancouver Park Board. The City and

⁵ Frances Bula. "Downtown Eastside Crackdown Misguided, Groups Say." *The Globe and Mail*, sec. British Columbia: B1. Print. 02/12/2009 2009.

the Vancouver Police Department have given the Market their tacit approval, and work with the organizers to ensure there are no stolen goods present at the Market.

As the Market has been operating for less than a year, it is still timely to identify whether there are hidden issues that could develop into conflicts if not addressed. Given the contentious history between the vendors and businesses, the potential for conflict is high. Asking local businesses about the perceived impacts of the Market could identify problems now, in the early stages of the Market's operation, rather than letting them fester.

There are four parts to this paper. First, the literature on social capital will be reviewed to provide a theoretical context for the research. The research question will be outlined, including a definition of key terms, a history of the DTES Street Market, and the methodology. Data results and analysis will follow, providing details on the survey results, including profiles of vendors and businesses, as well as qualitative and quantitative analysis. The paper will conclude with policy recommendations for the Market based on the analysis and observations, as well as directions for future research.

2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The concept of social capital

Social capital is premised on the idea that personal relationships can lead to social and material gain. This can range from gaining access to information and opportunities to coordinating activities for mutual benefit.⁶ Although widely contested and lacking a single, concise definition, there is growing consensus that social capital is an asset that involves norms and networks used for personal or collective advantage. The debate within social capital literature tends to focus on treating social capital as a stock (networks or institutions) or flow (participation and collective action).⁷ This divide is evident in an array of research that treats social capital as either an independent or dependent variable.

The way in which personal relationships lead to social capital is one aspect of the literature that is contested. Coleman's research on social capital's ability to create human capital provides insight into how relationships can create opportunity and facilitate action. He writes that "like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible."⁸ What separates social capital is that it "inheres

⁶ Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley. "Is it time to disinvest in social capital?" *Journal of Public Policy* 19.2 (May/August 1999) Print., Ann Dale and Lenore Newman. "Social capital: a necessary and sufficient condition for sustainable community development?" *Community Development Journal* 45.1 (2010): 5-21. Print.

⁷ Bill Reimer, et al. "Social Capital as Social Relations: the contribution of normative structures." *Sociological Review* 56.2 (2008): 260. Print.

⁸ Coleman, 98.

in the structure of relations between actors and among actors. It is not lodged in either the actors themselves or in physical implements of production.”⁹ Using an example of the Jewish diamond trading community in New York City, Coleman describes how the trust between the merchants, enhanced through their ethnic and family ties, allows them to conduct transactions in a more efficient and timely manner.¹⁰ This social capital lowers transaction costs between the merchants through the “effective functioning of norms and relations.”¹¹

Social capital cannot be captured or owned by any one individual, says Coleman, because it is created and shared through personal networks and relationships. He identifies three forms of social capital that exist in relationships; these are norms, obligations, and information sharing.¹² Norms can either be internalized or externalized; they include sharing, looking after one another, or following ‘the rules’ of a given environment.¹³ Obligations involve the ongoing process of one actor doing something for another, who is then able to call on that actor in the future to repay the favour.¹⁴ The repetition and commitment to fulfilling debts strengthens relations; the more obligations that exist within a network of different actors, the more social capital there is to draw on.¹⁵ The third form of social capital, information sharing, provides the basis for action and

⁹ Coleman, 98.

¹⁰ Coleman, 98-99.

¹¹ Reimer, et al., 268.

¹² Coleman, 95.

¹³ Coleman, 104-105.

¹⁴ Coleman, 102.

¹⁵ Coleman, 103.

capitalizing on opportunity.¹⁶ The sharing or gathering of information through social relations is a form of social capital that can only be incurred through the interactions and relations within a network.

At the core of Coleman's research is the concept that personal relationships facilitate achievement when they contain social capital. However, he does not distinguish between the resources that are available and the relationships that are used to acquire them, which leads to a circular argument.¹⁷ Coleman's work blurs the line between social capital and networks, leaving questions regarding how social capital is actually created and consumed.

Putnam argues that social capital does not simply provide small personal benefits, but can accumulate and create positive returns for society as a whole. Similar to Coleman, he tends to treat social capital as homogenous and inherently good; it is "the features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives."¹⁸ His theory is premised on the idea that societies with high levels of civic engagement, which create interpersonal networks, are more likely to experience increased economic, political, and social development.¹⁹ One of the most important ways this happens is through the norm of generalized reciprocity, which "refers to a continuing relationship of exchange that is at any time

¹⁶ Coleman, 104.

¹⁷ Alejandro Portes. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 5. Print.

¹⁸ Robert D. Putnam. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *PS* 28.4 (1995): 664-665. Print.

¹⁹ Blake Poland and Sarah E. L. Wakefield. "Family, friend or foe? Critical reflections on the relevance and role of social capital in health promotion and community development." *Social Science & Medicine* 60 (2005): 2821. Print.

unrequited or imbalanced, but that involves mutual expectations that a benefit granted now should be repaid in the future.”²⁰ The expectation of reciprocity between members of a network lowers transaction costs for participants, whether acting individually or collectively.

Through his studies of civic engagement in Italy, Putnam draws correlations with broader social and economic trends; his research identifies key components of social capital and argues their establishment is “a precondition for economic development as well as for effective government.”²¹ However, Putnam’s research is based on the idea that societies inherit the stock of social capital they possess; that it is determined by history and not easily shaped or influenced.²² His work focuses on the fact that social capital exists, and not on its creation.

Both Coleman and Putnam use social capital as an independent variable, with Coleman treating it as networks and relations, and Putnam viewing social capital as norms and trust that are independent of their contemporary, localized context. In both theories, social capital creates benefits when utilized, with Coleman and Putnam making arguments that it leads to benefits ranging from better school enrolment figures (Coleman) to civic engagement (Putnam).²³ At the core of their work is the use of networks, norms, and trust to facilitate

²⁰ Robert D. Putnam, R. Leonardi, and R. Y. Nanetti. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (1993): 172. Print.

²¹ Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 36.

²² Anirudh Krishna. "How does social capital grow? A seven-year study of villages in India." *The Journal of Politics* 69.4 (November 2007): 941. Print.

²³ Coleman., Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti.

cooperation.²⁴ However, their research supports a circular argument in that social capital exists because of social capital – it is not clear from their research precisely how resources and networks produce social capital.

Using social capital as a dependent variable allows for greater social context to be included when analyzing the effects of personal relationships. Foley and Edwards argue that the concept of social capital is most effective when it is used as a dependent variable; that is, as a product of the networks that people have access to.²⁵ The social context that norms, values, and networks exist in cannot be ignored, and a discussion of social capital needs to reflect the environment from which it is generated.²⁶ In this way, their work is similar to Coleman's view of social capital being created and existing through personal networks. However, the difference is that Foley and Edwards take it one step further: social capital doesn't exist as personal networks – it is not simply norms or information sharing - so much as it is created and mobilized by these networks. Social capital is a fluid concept that is context-specific, and treating it as an independent variable, particularly involving aggregate data at the state or national level (as Putnam does) ignores its subtleties.

Access to social resources is not brokered equally, say Foley and Edwards, which is why the conversion of resources into social capital requires both the perception that a resource exists, as well as some kind of social

²⁴ Daniel P. Aldrich. "The externalities of strong social capital: post-tsunami recovery in Southeast India." *Journal of Civil Society* Forthcoming (April 2011): 4. Print.

²⁵ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 146.

²⁶ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 146.

relationship that brokers access.²⁷ This brokerage can take the form of informal networks, voluntary associations, religious institutions, or even communities and national social movements.²⁸ In this sense, the networks are not the social capital, but rather what produces it. At its most basic level, social capital is defined as access to networks plus resources.²⁹ This differs from Coleman or Putnam, who view social capital as the resource itself, waiting to be used for other opportunities. Lin succinctly defines social capital, using the same concept as Foley and Edwards, as “resources that can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the networks.”³⁰ This definition connects to the research question by providing a theoretical framework for identifying social capital. The ability for vendors to access opportunity through their Market relationships establishes the creation and existence of social capital from the Market.

For personal networks to facilitate access to resources, the coordination of behaviour is required. At a basic level, it is essential that people have reasonable expectations regarding what others will do given different demands placed on them. Reimer et al. identify four different types of normative structures that guide behaviour in social relations: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal relations.³¹ Market relations are created and built through the buying and selling of goods and services; bureaucratic relations are impersonal and formal, and involve public institutions; associate relations are based on shared interests such

²⁷ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 146.

²⁸ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 146.

²⁹ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 166.

³⁰ N. Lin. "A network theory of social capital." *The Handbook of Social Capital*. Eds. Dario Castiglione, Jan W. van Deth, and Guglielmo Wolleb. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 51. Print.

³¹ Reimer, et al.

as clubs (a la Putnam); communal relations are based on a strong sense of shared personal identity.³² These norms shape the networks that social capital is accessed through and provide a platform for understanding its context. Reimer et al.'s four normative structures operate fluidly and can happen simultaneously, allowing for a nuanced perspective that helps understand the creation of social capital. They provide specific examples of how Putnam's principle of generalized reciprocity operates in different contexts. If social capital is fundamentally about personal relationships and networks, studying how these networks operate is crucial for understanding its creation.

Woolcock and Narayan argue that there are two different forms of social capital – 'bridging' and 'bonding' – that use different opportunities for individuals to leverage their networks and access resources.³³ Bonding social capital is created through networks and opportunities between individuals of the same community, and allows for collective action problems to be overcome, while bridging social capital enables individuals to connect with outside networks containing different resources.³⁴ A third type – linking social capital – is composed of networks of people who develop relationships that interact across different "power or authority gradients."³⁵ The concept of linking capital makes the distinction within bridging social capital between individuals with more-or-less

³² Reimer, et al.

³³ Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan. "Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy." *The World Bank Research Observer* 15.2 (2000): 225-49. Print.

³⁴ Dale and Newman, 9.

³⁵ S. Szreter and M. Woolcock. "Health by association? Social capital, social theory, and the political economy of public health." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 33.4 (2004): 655. Print.

equal social status, and those of unequal status accessing power.³⁶ The capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions is a key function of linking social capital.³⁷ Elliott and Harvey even introduce a spatial element to the debate, using a case study of Hurricane Katrina to demonstrate how bonding networks that existed in and outside of New Orleans were more effective than localized bonding, in which all members of a network were disrupted.³⁸ Through a variety of connections and relationships, bonding, bridging and linking social capital all provide ways for people to improve their means by accessing resources through their personal networks.

In the simplest terms, bonding social capital allows for people to ‘get by,’ while bridging – and by extension, linking - social capital enables the opportunity to ‘get ahead.’³⁹ The research on bonding, bridging, and linking capital provides a greater level of detail for analyzing the social capital in the Market. Identifying the specific types of social capital and treating it as heterogeneous enhances the credibility for establishing the existence of social capital, and allows for greater understanding of the relationships at play in the Market.

Studying the causes and factors that lead to social capital creation provides new opportunities for looking at urban and rural poverty alleviation. Dale and Lenore, in a case study of the Vancouver social enterprise United We Can, show how bridging and linking social capital enabled low-income individuals in

³⁶ Aldrich, 6.

³⁷ Woolcock, 13.

³⁸ James Elliott, Timothy Haney, and Petrice Sams-Abiodun. "Limits to social capital: Comparing network assistance in two New Orleans Neighbourhoods devastated by Hurricane Katrina." *The Sociological Quarterly* 51 (2010): 629. Print.

³⁹ Dale and Newman.

the Downtown Eastside to 'get ahead' by leveraging their networks into a social enterprise.⁴⁰ By forming a non-profit organization based on existing bonding networks, the members of United We Can used bridging and linking capital to secure changes in government regulations that resulted in new market opportunities they could capitalize on.⁴¹ Woolcock and Narayan discuss how the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh successfully enabled poor women in rural villages to start or expand a small business, by providing loans with no material collateral but simply based on their membership in a small, interconnected peer group.⁴² This is an example of bonding social capital enabling access to resources not otherwise available. Dhesi, studying the Dhesian Khana village in India, tracks how the recruitment and training of youth to join the village council led to expanded networks between young and old, greater social cohesion, and mobilized support for new development.⁴³ This bonding social capital led to new investment and development, and created a diversified economy that shifted away from declining agriculture firms to more prosperous manufacturing and service sectors.⁴⁴ These studies identify and analyze relationships in a local context, and in the process produce a fuller understanding of how social capital is created and exerts itself.

Social capital acknowledges the opportunities and resources that low-income populations have access to. Instead of focussing on deficiencies – lack of

⁴⁰ Dale and Newman.

⁴¹ Dale and Newman, 12-13.

⁴² Woolcock and Narayan, 232.

⁴³ Autar S. Dhesi. "Social capital and community development." *Community Development Journal* 35.3 (July 2000): 210-211. Print.

⁴⁴ Dhesi, 211.

financial capital, lack of infrastructure – it provides a new way of thinking about how communities can strengthen and grow. By recognizing and emphasizing the personal resources that people have access to, social capital expands the scope of possible policy solutions for assisting low-income communities. It also enables more participation and inclusion of low-income populations in the growth and direction of their own communities, without relying on traditional methods of assistance from private businesses or top-down government programs.

2.2 The downsides of social capital

Yet social capital should not be examined as an exclusively positive resource. An analysis of the Downtown Eastside Street Market's social capital requires an objective view of the relationships and forces at play. The same forces that enable people to act collectively and benefit from their relationships can also create negative outcomes.⁴⁵ Portes identifies four negative consequences of social capital: the exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms.⁴⁶ Tight social networks can undermine business initiatives, as "friends and family beseech initially successful entrepreneurs for support;" in industries with strong social ties, "newcomers often find themselves unable to compete, no matter how good their skills and qualifications," because they lack the insider knowledge and awareness of potential opportunities.⁴⁷ These aspects are

⁴⁵ Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt. "The Downside of Social Capital." *The American Prospect* May-June (1996): 19. Print.

⁴⁶ Portes.

⁴⁷ Portes and Landolt, 19.

important to identify, according to Portes, so as to “avoid the trap” of portraying community networks as inherently positive.⁴⁸

Portes and Landolt warn that embracing social capital without fully understanding what makes it useful can lead to wasted resources and efforts: “it is not the lack of social capital, but the lack of objective economic resources – beginning with decent jobs – that underlies the plight of impoverished urban groups.”⁴⁹ Their work connects with that of Foley and Edwards – that the ability to access resources is what turns relationships into potential sources of social capital. Without such a distinction, social capital is merely “the intellectual exercise of dressing up common knowledge in fancy language.”⁵⁰ Relationships and networks alone do not constitute social capital.

Another potential downside of social capital is the creation of dependency. Social capital, when existing in socially and economically impoverished environments, can foster relationships where individuals become dependent and exploited. This concept is important because the Street Market is comprised of vendors who are primarily low-income residents of the Downtown Eastside. For people who are very poor, they often lack the power and resources to “determine the terms of their engagement” in social relationships.⁵¹ Cleaver identifies three factors that constrain the poor’s ability to benefit from social capital: physical disabilities; weak and fragile personal relationships; and the inability to articulate

⁴⁸ Portes, 16.

⁴⁹ Portes and Landolt, 21.

⁵⁰ Portes and Landolt, 21.

⁵¹ Frances Cleaver. "The Inequality of Social Capital and the Reproduction of Chronic Poverty." *World Development* 33.6 (2005): 895. Print.

a voice for their own needs.⁵² These factors put the poor at a disadvantage when utilizing networks, leaving them vulnerable to existing power structures and exploitation.⁵³ In a case study in rural Tanzania, Cleaver found that for most poor families, it took an enormous amount of effort to maintain and engage in social networks, as their primary focus was on survival.⁵⁴ Those who were able to engage in personal networks, such as bartering with neighbours, “were closer to clientele arrangements than friendships.”⁵⁵ Even when the opportunity to create social capital exists, the very poor are constrained by their existing barriers and by no means have the ability to utilize it.

Other research on dependence and exploitation through social relationships suggests that the dynamics at play are more complicated than a simple binary relationship. In a case study in rural South Africa, du Toit et al. find that for many poor families, entering into agreements via personal networks is the best option they have; it may come at a steep price, “but for many, it is a price worth paying.”⁵⁶ Engaging in relationships that may put the poor at a disadvantage still provides opportunities for mobility that would not otherwise exist. Household survival, in this sense, “is made possible by complex and intricate social, political and economic relationships that are shaped by the exchange of gifts and services.”⁵⁷ The idea of a ‘Faustian bargain’, whereby

⁵² Cleaver, 895-896.

⁵³ Cleaver, 900.

⁵⁴ Cleaver, 901.

⁵⁵ Cleaver, 899.

⁵⁶ Andries du Toit, Andrew Skuse, and Thomas Cousins. "The Political Economy of Social Capital: Chronic Poverty, Remoteness and Gender in the Rural Eastern Cape." *Social Identities* 13.4 (2007): 528. Print.

⁵⁷ du Toit, Skuse, and Cousins., 531.

people enter knowingly into relationships of dependence, oversimplifies the nature and terms of the trade-offs.⁵⁸ To ensure the poor benefit from social capital, say du Toit et al., the focus should be on addressing the root causes of the poor's vulnerability, through social and economic programs, rather than simply trying to eliminate dependent relationships.⁵⁹ Relationships include a number of complicated, intangible elements and to dismiss them as either solely positive or negative ignores their complexity and the context from which they operate.

Aldrich's forthcoming work on social capital looks specifically at the concept of externalities at a local level. In a case study of disaster responses in southern India, he uses the presence of "uur panchayats," or local councils, as a proxy for establishing social capital. These councils were structured by caste and occupation, and served as informal norm and law enforcers, as well as to resolve village disputes.⁶⁰ He argues that they facilitated bonding social capital on an ongoing basis between workers of similar castes, as well as enabling linking social capital during natural disasters between aid agencies and the councils.⁶¹

Aldrich finds that villages with higher levels of bridging and linking social capital, through the presence of uur panchayats, secured greater amounts of aid and assistance, yet these same networks led to the exclusion and discrimination of minorities, women, and the elderly from these resources.⁶² Like Portes, he

⁵⁸ du Toit, Skuse, and Cousins, 535.

⁵⁹ du Toit, Skuse, and Cousins, 536.

⁶⁰ Aldrich, 17.

⁶¹ Aldrich, 18.

⁶² Aldrich, 2.

warns that scholars who envision social capital solely as a resource that provides positive benefits may overplay the public good aspect and ignore its costs.⁶³

Aldrich uses the councils as a representation of social capital, and in the process deploys it as an independent variable. He assumes that because there are diverse personal networks that originate from the councils that social capital exists. This could be true. However, his work does not address how the social capital was created, or how it varies in terms of access to resources across various councils.

Social capital's treatment of personal relationships as economic opportunities has also been subject to criticism. Margit Mayer argues that by "dissolving" social and political perspectives into economic ones, the concept ignores the role of the state in solving problems like urban decline.⁶⁴ Social capital's emergence as a concept to address poverty came as a result of the limits of the neo-liberal 'Washington consensus' in the 1980s.⁶⁵ As governments sought ways to soften the challenges created by neo-liberal development policies like deregulation and privatization, social capital's use of non-economic solutions to development problems provided a platform to continue limiting the role of the welfare state in development policy.⁶⁶ This view is most often associated with the World Bank's development policies, which do not explicitly challenge the

⁶³ Aldrich, 8.

⁶⁴ Margit Mayer. "The Onward Sweep of Social Capital: Causes and Consequences for Understanding Cities, Communities and Urban Movements." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 27.1. (March 2003): 110. Print.

⁶⁵ Mayer, 115.

⁶⁶ Mayer, 124.

underlying economic arrangements that drive asset distribution.⁶⁷ Mayer argues that this use of social capital ignores the causes of problems in low income communities from economic and political restructuring.⁶⁸ Social capital's focus on personal relationships and the importance of self reliance can allow neo-liberal development policy to continue, albeit with a friendlier face. This literature is relevant for research into the Downtown Eastside Street Market and its impacts, as it is important to acknowledge the limits of social capital in assisting low-income populations, and to not ignore the role of the state in fostering community growth and well-being.

2.3 Social capital and externalities

A gap in literature discussing social capital involves the local impacts that social capital can have - either good or bad - on actors not involved in its creation or application. Portes and Aldrich touch on this with references to the inclusion/exclusion dynamic, but bigger questions remain. Exclusion is just one form of local externality that social capital can create.

From the existing literature, there are a variety of externalities one could expect to see from social capital creation. Putnam's work draws linkages between the existence of social capital and externalities ranging from economic growth and effective government to higher education and lower murder rates.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Anthony Bebbington, Scott Guggenheim, Elizabeth Olson and Michael Woolcock. "Exploring Social Capital Debates at the World Bank." *The Journal of Development Studies*. 40.5. (June 2004): 58. Print.

⁶⁸ Mayer, 125

⁶⁹ Putnam., Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti., Putnam.

Knack and Keefer argue that social capital leads to a positive correlation with growth in GDP at the state level, while Desi and Dale portray it as creating local economic growth.⁷⁰ Coleman says it leads to lower transaction costs between individuals.⁷¹ On the negative side, Portes and Aldrich say social capital can create externalities of exclusion, and Cleaver puts forth the idea that social capital can create dependency and exploitation.⁷² All of these theories share the idea that social capital can lead to impacts that exist outside of those who engage in it, albeit on different levels.

These concepts vary in their use of social capital as an independent versus dependent variable; in particular, the positive externalities tend to be weighted towards macro-level statistics. Many of these externalities are outside the scope of this research project. The following research will take into account different arguments and ideas of externalities when identifying and analyzing the social capital from the DTES Market.

2.4 Regulation of street vending and public space

A final area of literature that can help us understand the Downtown Eastside Street Market concerns the regulation of public space – specifically, as it relates to street vending. Street vending is a practice that is growing in

⁷⁰ Knack and Keefer., Dhesi., Dale and Newman.

⁷¹ Coleman.

⁷² Portes and Landolt., Aldrich. , Cleaver.

frequency in cities around the world, particularly in low-income communities.⁷³

The regulation of street markets is shaped by competing views of public space and the people who seek to use it. In a study of street vending (also known as 'hawking') in Mumbai, India, Anjaria cites two distinct views of the people who sell goods on city streets. One view is that the 'hawkers' are a nuisance who represent the chaos of the city's streets, and hinder Mumbai's ability to become a 'global' city; the other is that the hawkers represent an "underserved claim" of the poor on the city's public spaces, and have the right to sell goods to make a living.⁷⁴ These views compete for influence with how the local government chooses to engage and deal with hawkers.

Anjaria's work finds that the local government's perception of hawking in Mumbai as a chaotic, unregulated activity is inaccurate: "it is assumed that hawkers and the rest of the urban poor embrace garbage and urban chaos, whereas in fact, hawkers vigorously self-regulate the use of urban space, and even articulate their own notions of the appropriate and inappropriate use of space."⁷⁵ Even if not licensed and regulated by the state, street activity in the public realm can create its own forms of norms and accepted models of behaviour.

⁷³ Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria. "Street Hawkers and Public Space in Mumbai." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 41. 21. (2006): 2140-2146. Print., Lissette Aliage Linares. "Socio-Spatial Implications of Street Market Regulation Policy: The Case of *Feria Libres* in Santiago de Chile." *United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research Working Paper*. 2011. 11.(March 2011):1-15. Print.

⁷⁴ Anjaria, 2142.

⁷⁵ Anjaria, 2143.

Formal regulation of street activity can be a powerful tool to create - advertently or inadvertently - spatial exclusion. Linares' study of the highly regulated farmers' markets, or "ferias", (which are organized by street vendors) in Santiago, Chile, found that licensing and control of location led to the segregation of low-income vendors from high-income households.⁷⁶ Local municipalities in Chile are able to provide legal recognition to the ferias, and can decide on their location to "diminish negative effects and to maximize consumer benefits."⁷⁷ However, this has led to the needs of the ferias being downplayed by local governments in favour of neighbourhood needs, leading to the location of ferias on backstreets far from attractive commercial areas.⁷⁸

Linares found that the regulation of ferias, and subsequent location of them away from commercial – and high-income - areas led to the strengthening of a stigma towards the vendors, and reinforced perceptions among higher-income households that the vendors provided a lower quality of service than local supermarkets.⁷⁹ The regulation of vendors into a controlled form of spatial activity enabled views and perspectives to be projected onto those who took part in the ferias. Linares suggests a more "cautious location policy" in Santiago, one that promotes greater interaction between socio-economic households and that balances the needs of public space between vendors and neighbourhoods.⁸⁰

⁷⁶Linares, 12.

⁷⁷ Linares, 1.

⁷⁸ Linares, 1.

⁷⁹ Linares, 12.

⁸⁰ Linares, 12.

For Blomley, the most prominent theory that shapes the way streets and public space are regulated is ‘political pedestrianism’, a “remarkably hegemonic ‘common sense’” ideology.⁸¹ It is based on the idea that streets and sidewalks are of priority for the movement and traffic of people and goods, where individuals require boundaries and the state regulates a person’s right to move unimpeded.⁸² A sidewalk is a space - a “transport corridor” - and not a civic place where people engage with one another.⁸³ The research by Linares and Anjaria on street markets also reveals how this perspective influences state actions involving regulation.⁸⁴

Blomley cites the example of the City of Vancouver seeking to remove homeless people from encampments on public space.⁸⁵ The City’s legal argument demonstrated the use of political pedestrianism, whereby homeless people are treated as urban objects, in that they impede the public flow of traffic on sidewalks.⁸⁶ The City sought to de-link the issue of rights in the case, treating the sidewalk not as a politicized zone of rights but as a “neutral and technical realm of administration.”⁸⁷ People who sell goods in front of businesses, sleep in doorways, or set up encampments on sidewalks, are not exercising political rights but interfering with the primary objective of city space – the freedom of

⁸¹ Nicholas Blomley. *Rights of Passage: Sidewalks and the regulation of public flow*. New York: Routledge, 2011. 110.

⁸² Blomley, 103.

⁸³ Blomley, 21.

⁸⁴ Anjaria., Linares.

⁸⁵ Blomley, 1-4.

⁸⁶ Blomley, 87.

⁸⁷ Blomley, 110.

movement for individuals and goods. Defining people and place in this way enables the state to exert control in order to regulate and bring order to public space.

Anjaria, Linares and Blomley all demonstrate how the state uses regulation to control public space, and how it can impact marginalized populations. Regulation is often used by the state as a tool to control 'disorder' in instances where there are competing claims on public space. Their research shows how the use of state control over street vending can lead to outcomes that favour formal stakeholders like private businesses at the expense of low-income people.

The range of research on social capital demonstrates the many positive and negative impacts it can have, depending on its use and context. Social capital can create benefits through information sharing, access to resources, trust and bonding, and the lowering of transaction costs. As well, it has the potential to exclude people from personal networks and create relationships based on dependency and exploitation. The complexity and fluid nature of social capital means that many of these issues can be at play simultaneously. Combined with competing needs for public space, the creation of social capital can lead to a multitude of impacts and externalities. An analysis of the externalities of social capital creation requires an in-depth look at the relationships and perceptions existing in and around the Street Market. The paper now turns to this research.

3: RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHOD

3.1 Definitions

The research question for this paper is ‘how does the creation of social capital, through the Downtown Eastside Street Market, impact local businesses?’ The question requires a two-part research plan. First, identifying the social capital in the DTES Market to demonstrate its creation; second, identifying the perceived impacts of the social capital created through the Market on local businesses. Local businesses are defined as private businesses within a two-block radius of the Market (see Appendix A).

Social capital in this research context is as a dependent variable; it is, as Foley and Edwards define it, an engagement in personal networks that provide access to resources.⁸⁸ For the purposes of this paper, Coleman’s work on the importance of norms, information sharing, and obligations will be used to describe and help understand the way the relationships within the Market exist, and in the process create social capital. That is not to say that Coleman’s definition of social capital is being used in this paper, but rather that it acknowledges the role these forms play in shaping relationships.

It is important to note that the research question is not seeking to quantify the social capital from the Market, only to establish that it is being created. Social capital’s fluid nature makes it difficult to quantify without treating it as an

⁸⁸ Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael W., 166.

independent variable, with the risk of losing subtlety and nuance. Social capital as a dependent variable allows for the local context and relationships to be taken into account in the research. Studying the impacts of the Market – which in the process structure a set of relationships that create social capital – allows the externalities of social capital to be identified in a local, neighbourhood context.

Social capital's existence at the Market will be established by first identifying the social networks that exist between the vendors because of the Market. It is important to identify that the relationships formed through the Market are distinct to pre-existing ones, otherwise the social capital creation process being identified could be generated from networks already in existence.

The resources that vendors capitalize on because of the networks will be identified to demonstrate that social capital is being produced through the personal relationships. This will establish that the Market's networks are creating social capital, and are not merely a social network that fails to yield opportunity. The social capital being created will be categorized as bonding, bridging, or linking, to provide further understanding of the ways in which the Market networks engage vendors and provide access to opportunities.

It is important to state that this paper does not seek to prove a hypothesis that the Market leads to specific positive or negative externalities. Local externalities from the Market that impact neighbouring businesses could take many forms. An organized street market could reduce illegal street vending and enliven the neighbourhood with more activity in the public realm. The Market could lead to an increase in income for the vendors, the reduction of property theft, and the

creation of new customers for the businesses. It could attract people to the neighbourhood who have never been to the Downtown Eastside before.

Alternatively, the market could have negative externalities. It could attract drug dealers and criminals who engage in illegal activity, who see the vendors as potential patrons. The Market could socially legitimize street vending, leading to an increase in people illegally selling goods throughout the week. The low-income vendors could loiter near businesses, deterring customers; people who otherwise would come to the neighbourhood might stay away. People might opt to spend money at the Market rather than at other neighbourhood businesses. Traffic congestion could result from the closure of the block for the Market.

For the purposes of this paper, the local externalities will be defined as third-party effects, which arise when an uninvolved person or group is affected by the economic activity of others.⁸⁹ These will consist of demonstrable impacts such as incidents of behaviour that stem from the Market, including encounters with the Market and its vendors, as well as financial or operational changes to a business as a result of the Market. Perceptions of the Market will also be included in the discussion of externalities; they cannot be dismissed because these perceptions can shape the way a business owner chooses to run his or her business and could influence short- and long-term business decisions.

⁸⁹ James A. Brander. "The Normative Analysis of Government." *Government Policy Toward Business*. 3rd ed. Vancouver: Butterworths, 2000. Print. 37.

3.2 The DTES Street Market

The Market was chosen for its ability to draw low-income individuals together into relationships, and, by extension, social networks, making it a good candidate for researching the impacts of social capital creation. Operating once per week on Sundays at the corner of Hastings and Carrall in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, the Market provides low-income individuals with a formal, legitimized setting to sell first- and second-hand goods, including artwork, jewellery, electronics, and books.

The Downtown Eastside neighbourhood is home to some of Vancouver's poorest and most marginalized residents. With a median income of \$12,016 (compared to \$55,231 for the Vancouver Census Metro Area), its standards of housing and quality of life are much lower than other neighbourhoods in the city, with approximately 5,000 residents living in social housing.⁹⁰ The neighbourhood is home to an estimated 4,700 of Canada's 8,000 injection drug users, and has a disproportionate number of HIV infections and drug overdoses, with Aboriginal drug users becoming infected at twice the rate of non-Aboriginals.⁹¹ As a result, the Downtown Eastside has a high concentration of social services, including

⁹⁰ Statistics Canada. *Earnings and Incomes of Canadians over the Past Quarter Century, 2006 Census*. 8 Vol. Ottawa: Government of Canada, May 1 2008. Print. , Planning Department, Community Services Group. *10 Years of Downtown Eastside Revitalization: A Backgrounder*. City of Vancouver, 2009: 1-20. Print.

⁹¹ Evan Wood, et al. "Changes in public order after the opening of a medically supervised safer injecting facility for illicit injection drug users." *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal* 171.7 (2004): 731-4. Web., Benjamin Maas, et al. "Neighborhood and HIV infection among IDU: Place of residence independently predicts HIV infection among a cohort of injection drug users." *Health & place* 13.2 (2007): 432-9. Web., Kevin J. P. Craib, et al. "Risk factors for elevated HIV incidence among Aboriginal injection drug users in Vancouver." *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal* 168.1 (2003): 19. Web.

drug treatment facilities, a safe-injection site for injection drug users, and several homeless shelters.⁹²

Investment and redevelopment in the past decade has resulted in a changing make-up of the neighbourhood. A number of newer, upscale businesses and housing developments have opened in recent years, leading to growing tensions between long-time and more recent residents.⁹³ At the same time, there has been a growth and convergence in community groups dedicated to representing the interests of low-income residents in the community. These range from long-standing groups like the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA) and the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU), to newer, more politically engaged groups such as the Carnegie Community Action Project (CCAP) and the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council (DNC). Debate between these groups and corporate or state interests over the future direction of the neighbourhood has manifested itself through events ranging from the redevelopment of the Woodward's building, policing of the neighbourhood, to proposed high-rises in the Downtown Eastside.⁹⁴

Many of the neighbourhood's low-income residents earn money through 'binning,' also known as dumpster diving, whereby people seek out used goods

⁹² Planning Department, Community Services Group.

⁹³ Gentrification Waves: Will coffee shops and condos replace community?, 11/23/2008 2008, Street Corner Media Foundation, 03/03/2011 2011 <http://www.megaphonemagazine.com/legacy/images/gentrification_waves_will_coffee_shops_and_condos_replace_community.html>., Brian Hutchinson, "Vancouver Downtown Eastside slowly crawls toward gentrification," National Post 12/18/2009 2009, .

⁹⁴ Hutchinson. , Police crack down on Downtown Eastside street disorder, 12/08 2008, The Tyee, 11/29 2010 <<http://thetyee.ca/Blogs/TheHook/Rights-Justice/2008/12/08/downtowneastside-police-disorder/>>., Frances Bula, "DTES activists, Chinatown leaders at odds over buildings," The Globe and Mail 01/25/2011 2011, sec. BC: 3.

in dumpsters and re-sell them for cash. It is a popular form of income for people who do not want to, or are not able to, hold a permanent job and instead work by themselves. Originally focused on collecting refundable recyclables such as pop and beer cans, bidders have increasingly branched out and now re-sell a variety of used goods for money.

The creation of the Market was a response to conflict due to an increase in street vending in the mid-2000s. Low-income individuals were illegally selling a variety of goods in increasing numbers on the sidewalks of the streets of the Downtown Eastside. This resulted in clashes with the Vancouver Police Department and local businesses over issues like theft, public safety, and the desire for a sanitized public realm.⁹⁵

In late 2008, the VPD increased enforcement of minor offences in the Downtown Eastside in response to rising complaints about street disorder.⁹⁶ Illegal street vending was targeted and vendors were ticketed up to \$250 for vending without a license.⁹⁷ The increased policing in the neighbourhood resulted in a community backlash, with several groups claiming the police policies were targeting the most vulnerable and forcing people to move out of the neighbourhood.⁹⁸ The police countered by saying they were responding to the

⁹⁵ Condon.

⁹⁶ Frances Bula, "Downtown Eastside crackdown misguided, groups say," The Globe and Mail 02/12/2009 2009, sec. British Columbia: B1.

⁹⁷ Condon.

⁹⁸ Downtown Eastside advocates vow to fight police crackdown, 02/16/2009 2009, CBC News, 11/30 2010 <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2009/02/16/bc-dtes-police-crackdown-opposed.html>>.

growing concerns of businesses and residents about a lack of safety in the neighbourhood, and that they did not ticket based on a person's ability to pay.⁹⁹

A response came from the newly formed Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council (DNC), a community group comprised of local residents. The Council proposed a formal, weekly Street Market, one that would be licensed by the City and enable vendors to sell their goods in one place.¹⁰⁰ The Market was started informally in June 2010, and in July the DNC received approval from the Vancouver Park Board for a special event permit to set up a weekly street market at Pigeon Park in the Downtown Eastside, at the corner of Carrall and Hastings.¹⁰¹ The Vancouver Police Department supported the Market, saying that as long as it was licensed by the City they would support it, and would work with vendors to ensure that stolen goods were not being sold.¹⁰²

The Market currently provides upwards of 25 vendors with a controlled location to legally sell their wares, and is frequented by dozens of people while also serving as a local gathering place where friends of vendors visit to be part of the scene. Local residents cite the community spirit and do-it-yourself nature of the vendors as reasons behind its success.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Condon.

¹⁰⁰ Downtown Eastside market almost ready to go legit, 07/23 2010, Vancouver Courier, 11/29 2010 <<http://www.vancourier.com/Downtown+Eastside+market+almost+ready+legit/3313814/story.html>>.

¹⁰¹ General Manager of Parks and Recreation. *Special event permit - Market at Pigeon Park*. Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation, 2010. Print.

¹⁰² Thomas.

¹⁰³ Street meet: community group launches street vendors' market, 07/08 2010, Street Corner Media Foundation, 12/01 2010 <<http://www.megaphonemagazine.com/legacy/node/1166>>.

After six months in operation, little is understood in terms of the externalities the Market creates in the immediate vicinity, particularly on businesses. It is this question that this research seeks to address.

3.3 Methodology

The populations studied in this research include two groups: the vendors at the Market, and businesses within a two-block radius of the Market. The Market, operating every Sunday afternoon, has anywhere from 15 to upwards of 30 vendors selling goods at one time. The vendors are predominantly male and English speaking. The two-block radius of the Market contains 75 businesses, ranging from beauty services to interior design to corner stores. Businesses were classified into nine categories for the purposes of this research (see Table C-1).

Both the vendor and business populations were approached with a survey containing approximately 20 questions each; a different survey was given to vendors and business owners (See Appendices G and H). Research participants were contacted in person and, following the protocol approved by the SFU Office of Research Ethics, asked verbally if they would be willing to fill out a survey. The purpose of the survey, regarding experiences with and opinions on the Downtown Eastside Market, was explained to the participant. The target response rate for the surveys was 50%, which would result in an estimated 38 completed surveys from local businesses. For the Market, as the number of vendors fluctuates on a weekly basis, a standard of 25 vendors was used as the sample size, with the goal of obtaining 13 completed surveys. The final results

included 14 completed surveys for Market vendors and 41 completed surveys for business owners and managers, respectively.

The objective of the surveys was to address the two parts of the research question. First, the survey helped to identify the creation of social capital through the Downtown Eastside Street Market. Vendors were asked questions to gather data on the way the Market has provided different opportunities, ranging from increased income, to friendships, to skills training and networking. This data identifies the different ways in which social capital is created. As well, vendors were asked their opinion on local businesses and how the Market impacts the neighbourhood.

The survey for local businesses addressed the second part of the research question regarding the impacts the Market has on businesses within a two-block radius. Owners or senior managers of businesses were asked to complete a 21-question survey, a combination of open-ended questions and agree/disagree responses. The questionnaire consisted of two sections; general business information (size, sector, length of time in location) and perceptions of the neighbourhood and of the Market. The goal was to draw out the perceptions that businesses have of the Market, what impacts it has on them, and to identify the factors that make a business more likely than not to support or oppose the Market. The survey also identified whether or not the businesses shared the same social networks as the vendors; this separation was key to establishing that the impacts on them were externalities. All participants were asked to sign a

consent form detailing the purpose of the study, that data was for this research project only, and that all responses were kept anonymous.

There were a number of challenges to collecting survey responses from the sample area. The single biggest challenge was being able to contact an owner or manager of a business. Many of the smaller corner stores did not have a manager on site, and did not have set times for managers being in the store. Businesses that were branch sites and part of a regional company had off-site managers who were contacted by phone and email; many did not reply back. Direct rejection of survey participation was rare; only five businesses declined when contact was made directly with the owner or manager. Market vendors were also quite willing to take part, with only two refusing to participate when approached.

A mixed-method research strategy was chosen to collect and analyze the data. The reason for this choice is that combining qualitative and quantitative data can be “mutually informative and provide the possibility for analyses in which both types of data contribute to and illuminate the analysis as a whole.”¹⁰⁴ Specifically, the purpose of the mixed-methods approach was to develop data; this involves a sequential process whereby results from the first method (in this case, the qualitative survey data) are used to inform the second (the quantitative data).¹⁰⁵ This process allows for a richer understanding and analysis of the survey data.

¹⁰⁴ Heather Laurie and Oriel Sullivan. "Combining qualitative and quantitative data in the longitudinal study of household allocation." *The Sociological Review* 39.1 (1991): 117. Print.

¹⁰⁵ Jennifer Greene, Valerie Caracelli, and Wendy Graham. "Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation design." *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 11.3 (1989): 260. Print.

For the Market vendors, qualitative data was collected from the surveys, which provided an understanding of their views of the Market and the role it plays, and when combined with feedback from the open-ended questions, gave insight into how the Market functions and in the process created social capital. The business surveys collected qualitative data on how the businesses view the Market and the neighbourhood. Descriptions of selected cases are also used in this research as a way to understand the local context in which individual vendors and businesses operate.

The business data collected qualitatively provided the basis for the quantitative data and analysis. No quantitative analysis was undertaken on the vendor data, as the sample size was too small. Quantitative analysis of the business survey data included the use of frequency distributions as well as the chi square test of significance. The chi square test was chosen for its ability to identify the strength of relationships between categorical variables. To conduct the chi square test, seven independent variables were created from the survey data that when cross-tabulated with two combined dependent variables, gave insight into the relationships between the businesses and the Market. Both the independent and dependent variables involved the collapsing and combining of responses to create binary, categorical variables. The seven independent variables measured the distance of a business from the Market; whether or not customers walk to the business; the length of time a business had been in the neighbourhood; awareness of the Market; crime as a concern for the businesses in the neighbourhood; interaction with the Market; and if a business was open on

Sunday (Appendix D). The two dependent variables reflected perceptions of negative impacts on a business, as well as whether the Market attracted crime and deterred customers (Appendix E).

The Market's fluid nature requires a broad, mixed-method approach to collecting and analyzing data for the purposes of studying the impacts of social capital creation. The literature review demonstrates how the existence of social capital can contain and create a variety of relationships, dynamics, and impacts, both within and outside of personal networks. The decision to use both qualitative and quantitative data was made for the specific purpose to cast as wide a net as possible on all of the impacts, real and perceived, that the Market could have. The following results and analysis demonstrate the relationships at play in the Market between vendors, and how this process impacts local businesses.

4: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Market vendor survey results

From January 2-30, 2011, the Market vendors were surveyed on four Sunday afternoons. I spent approximately two hours each Sunday afternoon engaging with the vendors, both in conversation and through purchasing goods, as well as observing the way vendors interacted with other vendors as well as the general public. 14 surveys were completed, with a response rate of 56% based on an estimated population size of 25. 86% of the vendors identified the Downtown Eastside as their home. The following results, despite a very small sample size, provide a basic overview of the vendors' perspective towards the Market and local businesses (Appendix B).

Of the vendors surveyed, over 64% always sold goods at the market, with 71% having started with the Market at its inception (Tables B-2, B-3). Support for the Market's benefits for the community was strong, with every vendor surveyed agreeing with the statement that the market is good for the local community (Table B-6). Strong majorities stated that they were better off now than before they worked at the market, as well as viewing the Market as an 'honest' way to make a living (Tables B-7, B-8). When asked what the best part about working at the Market was, the most frequent answer (5 of 14) was the friendship and camaraderie, followed by the ability to sell goods in a legal venue (4 of 14) (Table B-4).

Vendors were read a list of possible benefits they could gain from taking part in the Market. On a personal level, two-thirds said they had made new friends as well as gained confidence since working at the market (Table B-10). Almost four in five vendors said they had increased their income, and over half had gained new job skills (Tables B-11, B-12). Roughly 20% of vendors said they had gotten involved in community groups since coming to the Market (Table B-13). Almost half of the vendors stated they had formed partnerships with other vendors, and a strong majority stated that they engaged in mentoring or teaching other people at the Market new skills (Tables B-14, B-15).

Vendors demonstrated an overall positive attitude towards formal businesses in the neighbourhood, with almost all agreeing that local businesses were accepted in the Downtown Eastside (Table B-16). All of the vendors felt the Market brought new customers for local businesses, and all but one agreed that it brought vibrancy to the street (Tables B-18, B-17).

The following vendor case profiles provide a more detailed look at how the Market operates and the ways in which the vendors interact within its networks. All names were changed to maintain confidentiality.

4.2 Vendor profiles

4.2.1 Meghan

Meghan is a young woman who moved to the Downtown Eastside from Alberta to be with her mother and sister, who live in a low-income hotel in the neighbourhood. Meghan sells a small collection of women's clothes, shoes, and toiletries on a 5x5 blanket. She started selling at the Market two months ago as a

way to make some extra income; she did not sell goods before but became interested when she saw the Market taking place. Meghan lives in a building one block from the Market.

When Meghan started at the Market, she did not know any of the other vendors. Now she says she is friends with many of them, and during the course of the survey she said hello to a number of them as they walked by. Her personal confidence has improved as she makes new friends and is able to generate some extra income. Since working at the Market, she became aware of the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council, and decided to become a member and get involved in community issues that affect her fellow residents.

When asked how she helps other vendors, Meghan says she partners with others at the close of the Market to help take down display racks or pack up goods. She also says that because she only sells a small amount of goods, she can take extra goods that other vendors do not want to hold onto after a day at the Market. Meghan is very supportive of the Market, saying that she is better off now than she was before she started working there.

4.2.2 Steve

Steve, a middle-aged homeless man, has been coming to the Market for just over a month, and attends every Sunday. He has sold goods on the street off and on for years, and knew some of the vendors before coming to the Market; he sells a variety of used CDs and electronic devices like old radios and cell phone chargers. Steve is independent, and says he likes to work alone and is not interested in making new friends. "Friends cost money," he says.

Steve is adamant that the Market is a good thing for the community. He thinks the Market should be open every day because it provides such a boost to the local community, and decreases crime in the process. He is proud that the goods he sells are legal and found through his hard work, and is very critical of vendors who sell stolen goods and give him and other vendors a bad name. All of the people and energy bustling around leads him to describe the Market as “a little fair.” He claims the Market provides about 25% of his income.

Steve admits that even though he likes to work alone, the Market has helped him with his people skills, and he is better at selling goods to customers now. “You learn to deal with all types of people,” he says, citing the variety of customers, many with mental and physical illnesses, whom he engages with each Sunday. Since he started working at the Market, other people, including the volunteer organizers of the Market from the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council, have told him about job training and health programs that he did not know existed, and he says he’s thinking about checking some of them out.

On the day Steve was surveyed, he was in a very good mood because a customer had offered him a job. He struck up a conversation with one of his customers and ended up being offered a temporary labour job that would pay much more than he is making now. “We needed this,” Steve says of the Market. “It’s the best idea the cops ever came up with.”

4.2.3 Mark

Mark, an admitted drug addict in his 30s, has been selling goods at the Market since it started, and never misses a Sunday. He has one of the biggest

displays of goods at the Market, with a 15x15 foot blanket covered in clothes, kitchen goods, and books, as well as two stand-up clothes racks with jackets and sweaters, and a large rolling bin filled with jeans and sweatpants. There are usually one to two people looking at his display at any given time.

The best part about the Market is making some extra money, Mark says, and being surrounded by friends. When asked about the benefits of the Market, Mark says he has learned a few job skills, like where to find places to get clothes, and he partners with other vendors at the beginning and end of the Market to help with the set-up and take-down of his display. He has not heard about any new job or health programs and he is not interested in joining any community groups. He says he does not mentor or assist other vendors, but then goes on to say that he helps other vendors with the setting up of their display of goods. Mark is very supportive of the Market, saying it is good for the community, and that it has made things much better for street vendors in the neighbourhood because they do not get ticketed.

4.3 Market vendor survey analysis

The survey results and individual profiles demonstrate that the Market is creating social capital in a number of ways. First, it provides an increase in income and the acquisition of new job skills for several vendors. These are opportunities that would not be available had the Market not existed. The Market facilitated the creation of relationships based on trust, collective action, and information sharing within its networks, and combined them with opportunities for resources (new skills, a legal place to sell goods, etc).

The small number of vendors who cited getting involved in new community organizations because of the Market represents a form of social capital. The relationships from the Market provided information on community group opportunities, as well as brokered access to the groups for the vendors. Neither would have happened had the vendors not participated in the Market.

The Market demonstrates how different networks of relationships can have different outcomes. Roughly two-thirds of the vendors surveyed said they knew some or all of the vendors before coming to the Market, indicating that some form of social network existed prior to the Market. Yet, the survey responses clearly show that it was the relationships facilitated through the Market that led to better outcomes in terms of job skills and income. The Market, through its formal establishment, creates social capital from the relationships of the vendors, whereas the unstructured social networks of the vendors prior to the Market did not.

The Market networks demonstrate a fluid mix of different forms of normative structures, as per the work of Reimer et al. The relationships that exist within the Market are a mix of market, associate and communal relations. The relationships between the vendors are shaped by the buying and selling of goods (market); the shared interest of being part of the weekly Market (associate); and a strong sense of common identity from working in the DTES (communal). These relations flow and interact between one another, coordinating the way the vendors engage in the Market.

Coleman's forms of social capital – norms, obligations, and information sharing – are evident in the Market's relationship network, albeit not classified as 'social capital' for the purposes of this paper. However, it is important to recognize the role they play in shaping relationships within the Market and enabling its operation. These elements facilitate the Market's operation and success by allowing the personal networks to stabilize and grow. A Market lacking norms, obligations and information sharing would potentially devolve into a zero-sum game, pitting vendors against each other and preventing them from capitalizing on the potential resources that exist through the concentration of vendor relationships.

From the survey results and discussions with vendors it is clear that norms play a significant role in the operation of the Market (Table 4-1). There is a large sign at the entry of the Market stating "No stolen or hot goods," a rule which several vendors mentioned as the reason why they believe the Market is successful. The Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council asks vendors to abide by policies of not doing drugs while at the Market, as well as respecting others. For many vendors, these norms are what differentiates the Market from the illegal street vending scene, gives it legitimacy, and makes it a benefit for the community.

Different vendors engage in a variety of shared obligations with one another, demonstrating elements of Putnam's idea of generalized reciprocity. The most common example identified by vendors is having one vendor supervise another's goods while he or she leaves to go to the washroom, a practice

confirmed by personal observation at the Market. This vendor, or other vendors who witness the act, will provide the same service to the other when it is required. This represents a significant form of trust as many vendors have goods that collectively amount to hundreds of dollars. While covering for the other, a vendor is responsible for collecting a fair price for the other's goods, which he is then expected to hand over in full upon the other's return. Several vendors mentioned this as an example of the way they work with friends and build trust.

Information sharing takes place regularly through vendors' relationships, primarily with advice on how to display items and handle customers. Many experienced vendors take it upon themselves to provide advice to newer ones, imparting insight on everything from how to place goods, ask for payment, identify untrustworthy customers, or close a sale. Some experienced vendors partner up and share advice on the best places to purchase used goods, pool their resources, and then bring them to the following week's Market for sale. The Market provides a forum for new relationships to be formed and in the process share information to a wider network of actors.

Table 4-1: Forms of relationships at Street Market

Norms	No stolen goods; respect one another; no drug use
Obligations	Supervising others' goods
Info sharing	Sales tips; pooling of resources; mentoring

The survey results demonstrate the presence of bonding social capital, with limited bridging social capital. The personal networks developed through the Market enable information to be shared between vendors, such as how best to

sell goods, attract customers, and where to buy new supplies. Closer bonds of trust allow vendors to watch over others' items if they have personal matters to attend to, a favour which is then reciprocated. The capitalization of these resources through the personal relationships in the Market lowers transaction costs, making it easier for the vendors to do their work, and allows them to gain new skills and ideas.

Although less frequent, one instance of bridging social capital was created through the Market. Two respondents mentioned that because they started coming to the Market, they became aware of the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council, and actively joined as members. The Council is composed primarily of low-income individuals who reside in the DTES, but whose backgrounds vary in terms of jobs and lifestyles. In this sense, the Market's relationships linked the vendors to the resource of the Council, which helps organize members around community issues and activism related to the neighbourhood. There was no evidence of linking social capital at the Market.

The data from the Market vendors indicates that social capital is being created, but not at the expense of creating a system of dependency or exploitation. The survey results show that the Market provides a supplement to a vendor's income; as well, a majority of vendors said they knew some or all of the other vendors before working at the Market (Tables B-11, B-5). This demonstrates that the vendors are not dependent on the Market for the basis of their relationships, even though it does facilitate additional benefits through the Market structure.

In referencing the literature on social capital and dependency, Cleaver's three factors that constrain the poor's ability to benefit from social capital – physical disabilities, weak and fragile relationships, and an inability to voice their own needs – do not play a significant role in the way the Market operates.¹⁰⁶ Cleaver's research looks at work and employment opportunities happening at the expense of personal networks, due to extreme poverty. The Market's structure avoids this because it combines the creation of social capital through personal networks with the opportunity to generate income through labour. The vendors do not have to give up autonomy or power to take part in the Market. As well, with the local neighbourhood group the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council being the lead organizing body of the Market, vendors and people within their networks are represented within the DNC, creating a relatively equal power relationship. Vendors spoke positively about the Market and gave indication that they felt ties to it, but not that they would be significantly impacted if it closed.

Another element that distinguishes the Market from Cleaver's work is that the vendors are not in abject poverty; they are low-income and marginalized but most indicated they have a place to live and are able to 'get by'. The vendors are relatively self-sufficient and demonstrated a level of consistency in seeking out new goods each week and returning to sell them at the same time each Sunday. The Market provides benefits to the vendors, ones they want to maintain, but it is neither their sole source of income nor their only personal network; the vendors

¹⁰⁶ Cleaver.

utilize the Market but they are not solely dependent on it. Dependency and exploitation are not evident in the social capital creation in the Market.

Interactions and observations at the Market did not identify the existence of the negative impacts of social capital as outlined by Portes. Vendors were open to new participants and did not show antagonism towards existing businesses, nullifying Portes' idea of 'the exclusion of others' as it relates to the Market. Vendors cooperated with one another but not to the extent that there were 'excess claims' on their work; they were free to come and go from the Market as they pleased, with no requirements for attendance – showing no evidence of restrictions on individual freedoms. Finally, vendors demonstrated support to one another in their efforts to sell goods, and did not view it as a competition, nor did they resent those who were successful in selling their wares; there was no evidence of downward levelling norms.

In terms of shared networks with the businesses, many vendors noted that the local businesses are often closed on Sundays, enabling them to sell their goods without the threat of cutting into the market share of surrounding businesses. Others suggested that the Market brings customers to local cafes, corner stores and restaurants on Sundays for people looking for food while shopping at the Market. In discussions with the vendors, it is clear that they very much see themselves as distinct from the local businesses, despite engaging in their own business of buying and selling goods. Their comments on local businesses tend to employ an 'us and them' language, albeit in a neutral-to-positive way. According to most Market vendors, businesses are not resented,

they simply exist in the same area and have their own customers and products to focus on, operating separately from the vendors. The following section will now examine the perspective of these business owners and managers on how the Market impacts their companies.

4.4 Business survey results

From January 2-20, 2011, businesses within a two-block radius of the DTES Street Market were contacted to participate in the research survey. Of the 75 businesses in the two-block radius, 41 completed surveys, providing a response rate of 55% (Table C-1). A variety of business categories responded, with café/restaurant, beauty services, and interior design being the most common (Table C-1).

The sample population that responded was well represented in some business categories, such as the interior design and personal services sectors, but under-represented in others, including Chinese arts and crafts and corner store/convenience retail. These sectors tend to target more low-income, local customers and rely more on walk-in traffic; they were also more likely to be open on Sundays. A lower-than-average response rate from these businesses could bias the survey results by skewing them in favour of higher-income, destination businesses that tended to view the Market more positively. Given the different response rates per business category, it was decided to weight each response to account for disproportionate responses in different business categories; all business data cited in this paper is controlled for weight except where otherwise noted (see Table C-1).

Awareness of the Market was high among local businesses, with 57% saying they were aware of it (Table D-1). Reported interaction was limited to non-existent, with 93% saying they either never go to it (49%) or sometimes walk by, but don't shop there (44%) (Table D-5). In terms of the Market's effectiveness on the street vending scene in the neighbourhood, 44% said it had no impact and 35% said they did not know (Table D-6).

In terms of the Market having a direct impact on their business, 71% of respondents said it did not have an impact; 25% said it had a negative or very negative impact and 2% said it had a positive impact (Table D-7). 26% of respondents said the Market attracted crime and disorder, with 20% saying it deterred customers from coming to their business (Tables D-8, D-9). Only 7% thought it attracted new customers, and 8% thought it made the streets more vibrant (Tables D-10, D-11). Just over two-thirds of the businesses were open on Sundays, the same day as the Market (Table D-23). However, a sizeable portion of the sample lacked information and awareness of the Market to provide an opinion. 43% of respondents could not say if the Market attracted crime, deterred customers, attracted customers, or made the street more vibrant (Tables D-8, D-9, D-10, D-11). For the question of the Market being an honest way to make a living, 42% agreed and 35% disagreed (Table D-12).

On the question of the Market being good for the local community, a total of 59% supported the statement (48% agreed and 11% strongly agreed) (Table D-13). This positivity seems to be linked to the idea that the Market is good for the vendors, but that the positive impacts are limited for businesses and the

overall economy: support drops substantially on the question of the Market being good for the economy, with 36% disagreeing and just 32% agreeing with it (Table D-14). For these questions, roughly one quarter to one fifth of respondents did not know enough to state if they agreed or disagreed. The idea of the Market being good for vendors but not doing anything for the businesses is reinforced with the responses to the statement “The DTES Street Market is good for my business,” with 43% disagreeing and just 19% supporting it (Table D-15).

When asked in more specific detail about the negative impacts of the Market, the majority of respondents did not indicate that the Market was a burden for them. A strong majority disagreed (36%) or strongly disagreed (20%) with the statement that the Market makes it more difficult to run their business – perhaps the clearest question that addresses the issue of a negative impact (Table D-16). 47% disagreed that the neighbourhood would be a better place to do business if the Market was closed (Table D-17).

An overwhelming majority (97%) said they felt their business was welcomed and accepted in the DTES (Table D-18). In terms of challenges for operating a business in the Downtown Eastside, the negative public perception of the area was the most frequently cited challenge, with 79% of businesses in agreement (Table D-22). Other challenges that were cited by businesses included crime in the neighbourhood (65% agreed), a lack of local customers (30%), and a lack of street vibrancy (17%) (Tables D-19, D-20, D-21). The following profiles demonstrate different perspectives of the Market and the ways in which it affects local businesses.

4.5 Business profiles

4.5.1 Dan

Dan owns a restaurant within sight of the Market, which specializes in home-style cooking at affordable prices. He has been in his location for less than a year, and wanted to locate there because of the history and vibrancy of the area. Most of his customers come on foot and he gets a lot of business by word of mouth. He likes the neighbourhood and feels that his restaurant is welcomed by the community.

Dan is aware of the Market, although he has never been to it, and does not think it has any sort of impact on his business. When asked about what kind of impacts it could have, positive or negative, he did not list any. He feels that the Market is probably a good thing for the community, but since he's never been to it, could not say if it was actually a way to make an honest living. Some people sell stolen goods, he said, although most probably do not. Even so, he says, closing the Market would not make the neighbourhood a better place to do business.

4.5.2 Lisa

Lisa is a young entrepreneur who runs her own boutique clothing store and designs and makes the clothes she sells. She has operated at her location for almost four years, and is very familiar with the Market. She shops there regularly to buy used clothes that she then freezes (to kill bedbugs) and then re-stitches to make new designs. The Market has no impact on her business, but she admits it probably attracts crime, "but every flea market does." She also says

it might negatively impact the Chinatown flea market that operates during the summer by pulling away new customers.

Lisa feels strongly that the Market is good for the community, the economy, and that it helps people make an honest living. She is adamantly opposed to the idea that closing the Market would make things better for business. From her regular experience shopping there, she argues that the Market is important to the people who go to it, and that it helps them build a sense of community and purpose.

4.5.3 Michael

Michael is the owner of an upscale fashion and beauty store that has been in the neighbourhood for two years. When looking to start his business, he chose his location based on the proximity to similar businesses and the feeling that the area was “on the upswing.” Now, however, he is having second thoughts about his choice of location, due to repeated break-ins (four within a year), vandalism, and theft. On the day of the survey, a co-worker had just chased after someone who came into the store and stole a piece of clothing.

Michael is aware of the Market, and sometimes walks past it, although he has no reason to shop there. He thinks the Market is a bad thing for his business, and that it attracts crime, promotes stolen goods and deters people from walking over to his business. A lot of his business is done online, but the negative perception of the area can be an issue with customers, and the Market does not help. Michael did not cite any specific connection between the Market and the incidents of crime directed at his business, but it is clear that he believes the

people who sell at the Market and the people who engage in petty crime are one and the same.

4.5.4 Jane

Jane runs a very small coffee shop that specializes in cheap, sweet foods like cupcakes and ice cream. She is within sight of the Market and has been operating at her location for less than a year, and chose to set up shop where she did because of the distinct community of friendly low-income people who live in the area. Jane is a resident of the neighbourhood and lives in a building close by.

Jane knew about the Market and occasionally shops there. However, she is unequivocal in her opposition to the Market: it “destroyed my business on Sundays,” and as such she no longer operates on Sundays. To Jane, the issue is not the people who sell the goods – “they’re doing what they need to do.” Rather, the biggest impact from the Market is the people it attracts, like drug dealers, who hang around at the periphery of the Market and deter people from coming into her store. The Market also brings out the “do-gooders,” people who come from outside the neighbourhood and start handing out free food to the residents. This led to less business for Jane, and left the street strewn with paper plates and styrofoam cups on the ground.

“It didn’t have to be this way,” says Jane. The people who organize the Market should have reached out to businesses like hers, “but they were not thoughtful.” As a result, the Market is not a good thing for the community according to Jane, and everyone would be better off if it was closed.

4.5.5 Lily

Lily is a middle-aged woman who runs a Chinese arts and crafts store that sells paintings, jewellery, and trinkets. She has been in her location for two years and chose it because of its proximity to Chinatown. English is her second language and her customers primarily come by foot, walking in off the street from touring Chinatown.

When asked about the Street Market, Lily said she was not aware of it, and had never even walked past it. When told what it was, she was vehemently opposed to it. Lily said that the Market had a very negative impact on her business and it attracted crime and disorder to the neighbourhood. She strongly disagreed it was good for the community or for her business, and said that its presence made it more difficult to run her business successfully.

Lily mentioned how the people who sell goods on the street traffic in stolen goods, and that they should be shut down by the police. She also said that the street vendors, by setting up in the Downtown Eastside, scare away tourists who don't want to walk from Gastown through the Downtown Eastside to visit Chinatown. The presence of street vendors creates a negative perception of the area and as a result she loses out on business.

4.6 Business survey analysis

The profiles of the businesses highlight the variety of perspectives and opinions of the Market that exist in the neighbourhood. The qualitative data from the survey provides a unique look at how businesses engage – or don't – with the Market by operating in the neighbourhood. However, quantitative analysis is

required to provide a more detailed understanding of the business responses.

What factors impact a business's opinion of the Market? What is the strength and scope of business opposition or support for the Market? The following analysis uncovers the underlying factors behind the business responses.

The survey results demonstrate that the business owners within a two-block radius of the Market are not part of the same social or personal networks as the vendors. Despite existing within the same geographic area, the Market operates in a network and structure separate from the majority of businesses nearby. There was no evidence of businesses employing vendors for part-time work, sharing workspace, collaborating on selling or marketing, or reciprocating labour. 43% of business respondents said they were not aware of the Market, 93% said they had never visited, and only 7% identified as having ever shopped there (Tables D-1, D-5). Comments from business owners were similar to the vendors, employing an 'us and them' discourse, but also in a non-judgmental way. The Market and the vendors are seen by many businesses as a cohesive group, who 'keep to themselves' and are 'doing their own thing.' Many businesses mentioned that the vendors or other street people did not bother their clients or customers. There were no mentions of the businesses personally knowing any of the vendors; however, the majority of comments reflected a neutral, if not positive view, of the work they were doing.

It is clear that a strong majority of businesses within a two-block radius view the Market as being a good thing for the vendors, but that it has little to no impact on their own business. Many business owners cited the Market operating

on Sunday – a day when many businesses were closed – as being the primary reason why it did not impact them. Several respondents stressed that their business catered to a different clientele than that which works or shops at the Market, so they were not competing for customers or market share. The fact that 56% disagreed that the Market made it more difficult to run their business makes a clear case that the Market is perceived to have a negligible impact on local businesses (Table D-16). However, some businesses held clear, negative opinions of the Market, and we now turn to exploring these in greater detail.

Further to the survey responses, three new variables were created that combined data to identify negative perceptions (Appendix E). The first variable, Market Negativity, is a combined variable that identifies any business that responded saying the Market had a negative impact on its operations, that it made it more difficult to run their business, or that the DTES would be a better place to do business if the Market closed. The second variable, Market Impacts, categorizes businesses based on whether or not they stated that the Market either attracts crime or deters customers. Through the use of combining and collapsing responses, these two variables provided a broader understanding of the range of negative perceptions amongst businesses towards the Market. The third variable, Intense Negative, was created to identify those businesses that had extremely negative views of the Market. Businesses were categorized under this variable based on whether or not they agreed to at least four of the five statements that the Market had a negative impact on them, made it more difficult to operate, would be better if it was closed, attracted crime or deterred

customers. It is important to note that all three of these variables are collapsed and combined; they only provide an indication of the perception that businesses hold.

Based on the Market Negativity and Market Impacts variables, it is clear there is a core group of businesses, roughly 35%, who have some form of negative view of the Market (Tables E-1, E-2). Cross-tabulated with Market awareness, 42% of those who said the Market had a negative impact on their business were not aware that it existed (F-1). The fact that a substantial number of businesses were opposed to the Market, based solely on a limited, neutral description – and not from personal experience or awareness of it – is evidence of preconceived notions that businesses have of people who operate in the ‘binning’ business selling second-hand goods in the Downtown Eastside. This could be a result of the conflict in recent years between businesses and street vendors over the right to sell goods on street space in the Downtown Eastside. It was clear from survey responses that businesses that were opposed to the Market did not distinguish it from the illegal street vending that exists on East Hastings. Their responses indicate that there are entrenched views by some businesses on the conduct and legitimacy of people who sell goods in the DTES, and that their perception of the Market reflects this.

However, strong negative opinions towards the Market make up a much smaller portion of the businesses. The Intense Negative variable finds that just 18% of businesses have an extremely negative view of the Market (Table E-3). More significantly, 54% of the businesses that registered as having strongly

negative views of the Market were not aware the Market existed before the interview (Table E-4). This reinforces the theory that negative pre-conceived notions of the people who take part in the Market are shaping attitudes towards the Market and the way it impacts their business.

The survey research demonstrates that there is no consistent grievance from local businesses against the Market. 37% agreed with at least one statement that the Market either attracts crime or deters customers (Table E-2); however, when asked what could be improved about the Market, there were a variety of complaints. These ranged from a lack of traffic due to Carrall Street being closed, to Market customers coming into their store to test electrical appliances, to the Market attracting good Samaritans who donate food near the Market, and the resulting litter in front of their store. The range in business complaints against the Market shows that there is not one single, stand-alone externality created by the Market; rather, it varies by business and proximity to the Market.

The survey data indicates that overall, there are few externalities for local businesses related to the Market. Negative externalities consisted of garbage, the blocking of traffic, and market attendees coming into a store to test appliances, but these are all business specific. The negative externality for one store is not the same as the other.

The negative perceptions created by the Market for some businesses are important to acknowledge because they could lead to businesses taking action against the Market, through complaints to City Hall, the police, or the Downtown

Eastside Neighbourhood Council. The survey results show that roughly 35% of businesses have some form of negative perception about the Market.

Businesses who associate the Market with attracting crime and deterring customers could act on these negative beliefs regardless of whether they are backed by evidence.

Positive externalities are extremely rare as identified by the businesses. With the survey data indicating many businesses see the vendors as an entirely separate network, and that they 'keep to themselves,' the majority see the Market as neither good nor bad for their stores. Only a very small percentage of businesses think the Market attracts new customers (7%) or makes the street more vibrant (8%) (Tables D-10, D-11). In observing these interviews, many of these responses were unenthusiastic, indicating that business respondents could be inclined to agree with statements on vibrancy and customers given their neutral to positive support for the Market as it relates to the vendors themselves. There is no evidence that the businesses share in the benefits that exist for the vendors through the Market's social capital.

There are widely diverging views between the two sample populations on questions regarding the Market and the neighbourhood. Vendors overwhelmingly agreed that the Market was an honest way to make a living, but only 42% of businesses felt the same way (Tables B-8, D-12). For questions regarding the impact of the Market on local businesses, 43% of businesses did not have an opinion on whether or not the Market attracted crime, attracted new customers for their business, or made the neighbourhood more vibrant (Tables D-8, D-10,

D-11). In contrast, the vendors felt very strongly that their Market benefitted local businesses and brought more energy to the streets (Tables B-17, B-18).

Perhaps most interestingly, an overwhelming majority (97%) of businesses surveyed said they felt welcomed and accepted by the community in the DTES (Table D-18). This is important because the businesses are operating at a time of heightened anxiety by local residents against gentrification and business interests, and protests and petitions are frequent. Yet, even businesses that had negative views of the Market still felt that the neighbourhood was supportive of them. Market vendors were still broadly supportive of local businesses, with 79% agreeing that businesses were welcomed (Table B-16), but the almost unanimous feeling among businesses of acceptance in the neighbourhood is an interesting piece of data. The strong identification from businesses of belonging and acceptance in the neighbourhood creates a starting point for the Market and businesses to work in closer cooperation, an idea discussed in more detail later in this paper.

4.7 Chi square analysis

The purpose of the chi square analysis is to determine whether any of the relationships between variables identified in the previous section are statistically significant. The seven independent variables created for the chi square test were cross-tabulated with the two dependent variables that represented negative impacts and negative perceptions of the Market from the businesses (Appendix F). The third collapsed variable, Intense Negative, was not used as the response rate was insufficient to ensure a valid chi square test.

Awareness of the Market had very little impact on negative responses from businesses. Those who were aware of the Market were not more likely to say it had a negative impact on their business, but were somewhat less likely to say it attracted crime or deterred customers, albeit only significant at the 30% level (F-1, F-2). It is important to note that the comparison between awareness and market negativity failed to generate a sufficient expected outcome, meaning the result is not statistically valid for a chi square test.

Whether or not a business relied on walk-in customers had no relation to statements of negative impacts, and had a marginal relationship with the likeliness to cite crime and deterring customers, which was only significant at the 35% level (F-7, F-8). Businesses that existed in the neighbourhood for less than two years were more likely to have a negative perception of the Market (significant at the 75% level) and cite it as attracting crime or deterring customers (significant at the 65% level) (F-5, F-6). Business respondents who had interacted with the Market were somewhat more likely to view it as having a negative impact (significant at the 60% level for market negativity and 70% for market impacts) (F-3, F-4). Businesses that operated on Sunday were more likely to state that the Market had a negative impact on them (significant at the 80% level, although not valid in unweighted test) and attracted crime or deterred customers (significant at the 85% level) than businesses that were closed on Sundays (F-13, F-14).

The independent variables for location and concern of crime had much stronger relationships with how businesses viewed the Market. Although the

results were just shy of achieving a sufficient expected outcome for the chi square test, businesses that were within one block of the Market were much more likely to say it negatively impacted their business (significant at the 90% level) and attracted crime/deterred customers (95% level) (F-9, F-10).

Businesses that cited crime as a problem for their business were very likely to say the Market had a negative impact on them (significant at the 95% level) and almost always more likely to say that it attracted crime and deterred customers (significant at the 99% level) (F-11, F-12).

These results indicate that pre-existing opinions on crime and disorder in the neighbourhood tend to shape business opinions of the Market. Very few variables indicate a statistically significant relationship towards identifying negative impacts, other than businesses that already cite crime as a concern in the neighbourhood. Independent variables such as length of time, open on Sundays and interaction tend to have slight relationships to negative perceptions of the Market, although these were often not that statistically significant. There is no single determining factor to how businesses view the Market, other than pre-existing opinions on crime and how it relates to their business. This poses both a challenge and an opportunity for the Market over the long term.

4.8 Public space and the street market

In contrast to street markets in cities like Santiago and Mumbai, the local government does not heavily regulate the Downtown Eastside Street Market. The regulation of the Market is limited to the spatial dimensions of its location; individuals are not licensed and there are no fees for vendors. Rules related to

drug use or stolen goods are enforced primarily through norms and expectations between vendors as opposed to direct actions by police. Another distinguishing factor between the DTES Street Market and other markets is that regulation was not forced on vendors but rather was sought out. For vendors, formal recognition by the City and police is preferable to the constant threat of ticketing in non-licensed settings. Both sides saw the need for a legitimate street market that could defuse growing tensions and provide a solution for competing views of public space.

From the City and police perspective, it is clear that Blomley's concept of political pedestrianism is evident in their approach to the Market. The increase of illegal street vending and proliferation of vendors on city sidewalks was understood to impede traffic flow, create disorder, and was a nuisance that needed to be dealt with. Putting the vendors all in one place through a licensed street market enabled – in theory – the regulation and coordination of traffic and pedestrian flow in the Downtown Eastside. However, the survey data shows that the perception of business owners is that the Market has had a negligible impact on the overall street vending scene in the neighbourhood.

The creation of the Market and its location does not spatially exclude the vendors. The Market exists within the same neighbourhood as the illegal street vending takes place and is in a high-traffic area on Carrall Street, a recently revitalized greenway that runs from Gastown through Chinatown. The DNC itself suggested the location, which was agreed to by the City's Park Board. From a broader perspective, the Market is spatially excluded from higher-income

households in the sense that it operates in the Downtown Eastside; however, this has less to do with wanting to keep the Market away from other neighbourhoods and more with providing it in an area where residents want it. There was no desire from vendors or residents to move it outside of the Downtown Eastside.

It is unclear how much the spatial control of the Market contributes to businesses projecting their views and opinions onto the vendors, as Linares finds in her research in Santiago. The difference in the Vancouver context is that street vending is already so prevalent – and visible – in the DTES that it is unlikely that the concentration of vendors into one place provides new exposure to businesses in a two-block radius. The spatial control of the Market is not leading to new perspectives being projected onto vendors, simply pre-existing ones. The survey data finds that of the negative views that are being projected, they are of businesses assuming the Market promotes stolen goods or disorder because it contains street vendors, whom they associate with these negative activities. There is not enough data to indicate whether those businesses who have positive views of the Market are projecting them onto the vendors based on preconceived opinions, or view it positively simply from seeing the Market operate.

What the Downtown Eastside Market demonstrates is that the concept of political pedestrianism and claims by low-income people on public space need not be inherently antagonistic. The City's desire to regulate the use of sidewalks fits with the vendor's need for formal recognition and legal status; the vendors get a desirable location to sell their goods and the City has a place to direct illegal

street vendors to. The work cited by Blomley, Anjaria and Linares shows how street vendors and local governments often clash and conflict with one another, but the DTES Market provides a different model – one in which both sides are able to work together in a mutually agreed upon framework. The following section considers the policy implications of the survey findings, and outlines steps the Market can take to collaborate with businesses, as well as to improve the way local businesses perceive it.

5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The results of this study show that, first and foremost, social capital is created through the Street Market. It manifests itself in different ways through the vendor's Market relationships. The Market's ability to foster trust, facilitate the sharing of information, and develop generalized reciprocity has a positive feedback loop for vendors and allows them to lower transaction costs and benefit from opportunities that were not present before the Market existed. The creation of bonding social capital enables the vendors to 'get by' more than 'get ahead,' but is positive and relevant nonetheless. The data gathered by the survey demonstrates that these benefits are unique to the Market and did not exist prior to the Market's existence, even in instances where there were pre-existing relationships. The social capital created through the Market is making it easier for low-income vendors to make money, learn new job skills, and become involved in their community.

The externalities from the Market on businesses do exist but are limited in scope. In terms of an overall impact, the Market is primarily a non-issue for the majority of businesses, a local event that concerns 'others' and does not affect their operations, customers or market share. Positive externalities are almost non-existent, although there is broad - but not deep - support, bordering on ambivalence, amongst the businesses towards the Market. Negative externalities

do exist, although they tend to be site specific, depending on a business's needs for traffic or their proximity to the Market itself. Opposition from businesses to the Market focuses on generalized perceived impacts like 'crime' and 'disorder' rather than specific instances or identifiable impacts. These negative perceptions of the Market tend to correlate with pre-existing opinions and concerns about crime and low-income residents in the neighbourhood. The takeaway is that for most businesses, externalities from the Market do not exist and for those that perceive that they do, they tend to be site-specific. Opposition to the Market is not driven by widespread negative externalities so much as it is linked to pre-existing negative perceptions about issues in the neighbourhood.

The Market's success to date rests in its ability to meet the needs of both the street vendors and the majority of the local business community. Whereas other street markets around the world had regulation forced on illegal vendors, the idea for a formal market came, at least in part, from the community itself. Limited regulation from the City in the form of a spatially controlled market enables vendors to sell without fear of being ticketed, while also providing a mechanism to limit disorder, illegal vending and congestion on sidewalks in the Downtown Eastside. In this sense, the needs of vendors, businesses, the City and the police are each being addressed in their own way.

The biggest impediment to the long-term success and well-being of the Market is the lack of information, and presence of misinformation, that exists within the local business community. It is not a problem caused by negative impacts so much as it is driven by negative perceptions. With many businesses

having a neither positive nor negative opinion, their perceptions are fluid and could be influenced by word-of-mouth comments from neighbouring businesses or one-off events or incidents. The fact that the Market caters to a low-income population that is often associated with social problems in the neighbourhood creates a situation where people with negative opinions can project them onto the Market without recognizing its distinctive traits. While awareness of the Market does not necessarily correspond with a positive opinion of the Market, there is a significant lack of awareness amongst businesses with negative perceptions of the Market. Given that the variable representing concern about crime is the strongest indicator towards a negative opinion of the Market, business opinions of the Market seem to be shaped primarily by pre-existing opinions on low-income residents, as opposed to demonstrable impacts on their business. The linkages between awareness of the Market, perceptions of crime, and local businesses provide insight into measures the Market can take to address negative concerns and improve its standing in the neighbourhood.

5.2 Policy Recommendations

After being in operation for eight months, the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood street market has had a positive impact for the vendors and has a base of support from within the local business community. To ensure that relations with local businesses are improved and that the Market can continue to operate successfully, a number of steps can be taken for the Market to enhance its opportunities for ongoing success.

The first is that there should be an awareness campaign for residents and business owners in the neighbourhood on what the Market is and how it operates. With more than 40% of businesses surveyed unaware of the Market, there is an opportunity to build understanding and shape awareness about how it operates. The vendors who were surveyed spoke passionately about how their goods were legal, and that they were doing honest work. Yet, 35% of business owners did not agree that the vendors were making an honest living. Some businesses were not clear what distinguished the Market from the open – and illegal - vending scene on Hastings Street. An information campaign for local businesses educating them that the Market is sanctioned by the City and the police, and that there is a policy of no stolen goods or drug use, could improve the perception of local businesses.

The second proposal is that the Market organizers should reach out to local businesses to find ways to partner on the weekly Market. Despite common media portrayals of hostility towards businesses in the DTES, 79% of the vendors said they felt businesses were welcomed in the neighbourhood, and 97% of the business owners said they felt accepted. Some businesses made reference to the farmer's market that used to operate on Carrall Street in 2009, and suggested combining the two as a way to enhance the legitimacy and visibility of the Street Market. New partnerships with more formal businesses would enhance the perception and credibility of the vendors within the Market and create a broader network of partners and supporters, potentially creating new bridging and linking social capital. This interest from local business owners

on contributing to the success of the Market is an opportunity that the organizers should not ignore.

However, the pursuit of a partnership with local businesses could create conflict between the Market vendors and the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council. The survey results demonstrate that the vendors are quite supportive and welcoming to local businesses, and do not view them as a threat. Combined with their desire to increase income and gain access to new customers, the vendors would likely support a partnership or expansion opportunity in conjunction with local businesses. However, the DNC has traditionally been more sceptical, if not hostile, to the presence of local businesses, citing concerns of gentrification. The DNC, as the organizing body of the Market, could potentially be the group brokering an arrangement with the businesses on behalf of the vendors. The different perspectives towards private businesses amongst the vendors and the DNC could be a source of future conflict.

A third proposal relates to the frequency of the Market. Many vendors cited the desire to have the Market operate several times a week so that they could continue to sell goods in a licensed setting. Several vendors who were interviewed stated that the Market only makes up a portion of their income, indicating that the majority of it comes from unlicensed vending during the week. Street vending is a crucial form of income for many residents, and there was an overt desire to earn money through an honest, licensed process rather than setting up illegally on the sidewalks. Given that many businesses did not feel the Market was having an impact on the illegal street vending scene, there is the

potential for both businesses and vendors to support the Market increasing in frequency. Of course, this could lead to new conflicts emerging, particularly since it would not be taking place on a Sunday. However, a case could be made that the competing needs of both businesses and vendors – regulated, clear sidewalks and licensed, legal vending – could be met through an increase in Market opportunities.

5.3 Further research

This introductory research on the local externalities of social capital opens up new avenues of research. With strong support from local vendors, the Market is poised to grow in size, and possibly frequency. If the Market gets bigger, how will the externalities expand, and how will the business perceptions of the Market change? The norms and reciprocity existing within the Market are strong and will likely continue to positively reinforce one another, so it is unlikely the Market as a social network would break down if it gets larger. However, it is quite possible that businesses that have little opinion of the Market could begin to take sides depending on how the growth of the Market proceeds.

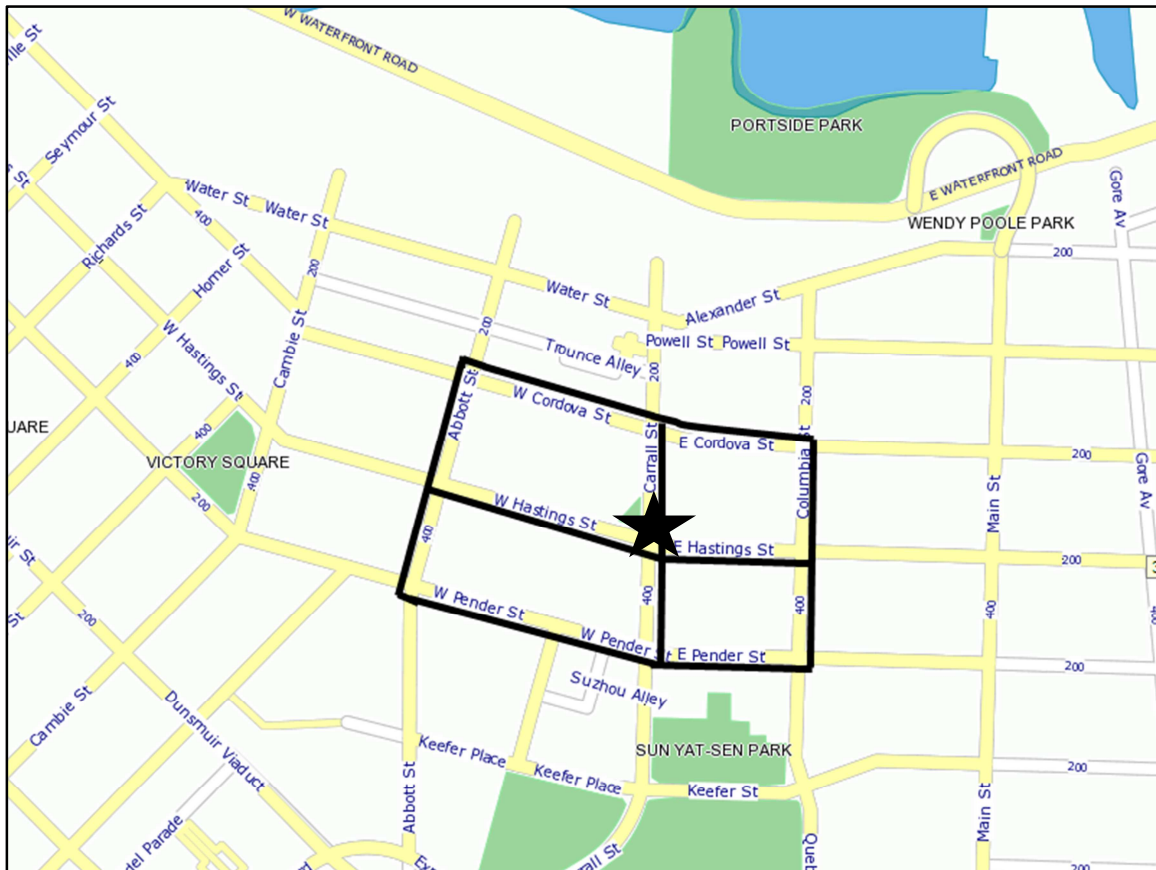
A second question this leads to is if the social capital created from the Market is transferable. Much of the existing research on social capital argues that it is embedded in personal networks, and cannot be moved out of its context. However, an interesting study would be to see how the networks and social capital change for vendors who have participated in the Market, and then leave. Presumably, if they remain in the same neighbourhood, the personal networks

would be maintained, albeit in a different setting. Would the information sharing and reciprocity continue between former Market vendors outside of the Market? Does the social capital exist outside of a spatially controlled environment? This would be of interest for identifying the ways in which social capital can exist and grow outside of the conditions from which it was created.

Overall, this study demonstrates that on a local level, social capital externalities from the Market are limited and specific in their impact on neighbouring businesses. The Market's relative small size and closed personal networks do not impact, often not even registering with, the majority of local businesses. This is a positive indication for longer-term success of the Market, and in potentially defusing business versus resident tension. However, there is little evidence that the benefits of the social capital generated by the vendors are shared by the businesses. The social capital created by the Market is accessed and contained within the networks of the vendors, and has limited direct impact, either positive or negative, on surrounding businesses.

APPENDIX A: MARKET AND BUSINESS SURVEY AREA

Figure 1: Market location and business survey area¹⁰⁷



Location of DTES Street Market



Business survey area

¹⁰⁷ VanMap Public Edition. *City of Vancouver Public VanMap*. City of Vancouver. 02/11/2011. <http://vanmapp.vancouver.ca/pubvanmap_net/default.aspx>.

APPENDIX B: MARKET VENDOR SURVEY RESULTS

Table B-1: Do you live in the Downtown Eastside?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	12	85.7
	No	2	14.3
Total		14	100.0

Table B-2: How often would you say you come to the Market to sell your goods?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Always	9	64.3
	Sometimes	3	21.4
	Total	12	85.7
	Did not answer	2	14.3
Total		14	100.0

Table B-3: Approximately, how long have you sold your goods at the Downtown Eastside Street Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Since it started	10	71.4
	In the fall/partway through	2	14.3
	Just started	2	14.3
Total		14	100.0

Table B-4: What's the best part of working at the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No tickets/licensed	4	28.6
	Friendship	5	35.7
	Good deals	2	14.3
	Money	3	21.4
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-5: Did you know many of the people working at the Market before you joined it?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Knew most of them	6	42.9
	Knew some of them	4	28.6
	Didn't know any of them	4	28.6
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-6: The Market is a good thing for the local community.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	7	50.0
	Agree	7	50.0
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-7: I am better off now than I was before I started working at the Downtown Eastside Street Market.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	7	50.0
	Agree	5	35.7
	Disagree	2	14.3
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-8: The Market helps people make a decent, honest living.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	8	57.1
	Agree	5	35.7
	No opinion	1	7.1
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-9: Have you made new friends since working at the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	9	64.3
	No	5	35.7
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-10: Have you gained more confidence?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	9	64.3
	No	5	35.7
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-11: Have you increased your income?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	11	78.6
	No	3	21.4
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-12: Have you gained new job skills from working at the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	8	57.1
	No	6	42.9
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-13: Have you gotten involved in new organizations since coming to the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	3	21.4
	No	11	78.6
	Total	14	100.0

Table B-14: Have you made any new business partnerships since coming to the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	6	42.9
	No	8	57.1
Total		14	100.0

Table B-15: Do you mentor or assist other vendors at the Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	9	64.3
	No	5	35.7
Total		14	100.0

Table B-16: Local businesses are welcomed and accepted by the community in the Downtown Eastside.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	2	14.3
	Agree	9	64.3
	Disagree	3	21.4
Total		14	100.0

Table B-17: The Market brings vibrancy and energy to the streets.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	13	92.9
	No	1	7.1
	Total	14	100.0

Table B18: The Market attracts new customers for the neighbourhood.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	14	100.0

Table B-19: The Market attracts crime and disorder.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	3	21.4
	No	11	78.6
	Total	14	100.0

APPENDIX C: BUSINESS RESPONSE RATES

Table C-1: Responses by sample size, completion rate, and weight

Business category	Completed surveys	Total sample size	Sample completion rate	Weight
Sports	3	3	100%	1
Hotel	1	1	100%	1
Interior Design/furniture	6	7	86%	1.17
Beauty/personal services	8	12	67%	1.5
Clothing	3	5	60%	1.67
Professional services	3	5	60%	1.67
Café/restaurant/bar	9	16	56%	1.78
Chinese arts/crafts	5	15	33%	3
Corner store/retail	3	11	27%	3.67
Total	41	75	55%	

APPENDIX D: BUSINESS SURVEY RESULTS

Table D-1: Were you aware of the Downtown Eastside Street Market?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	43	57.3
	No	32	42.7
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-2: Is walking the main way customers access your business?

Responses collapsed to create adequate variable for chi-square test.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	45	60.1
	No	30	39.9
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-3: Distance of a business from the Market.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Within one block	24	32.1
	More than one block	51	67.9
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-4: Length of time of a business in its current location.

Responses collapsed to create adequate variable for chi-square test.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Less than 2 years	34	45.6
	More than 2 years	41	54.4
Total		75	100.0

Table D-5: Please identify the level of interaction you have with the Market.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Regularly shop there	2	2.2
	Occasionally shop there	3	4.4
	Don't shop there, but sometimes walk past	33	44.4
	Never go to it	37	49.0
Total		75	100.0

Table D-6: The Street Market opened in mid-2010. Before that, vendors sold their goods at a variety of locations, often on the street. In your opinion, what kind of impact has the creation of the Street Market had on the Downtown Eastside's street vending situation?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Positive	10	12.7
	No impact	33	43.6
	Negative	6	8.4
	Don't know	27	35.3
Total		75	100.0

Table D-7: In your opinion, what kind of impact does the DTES Street Market have on your business?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Positive	2	2.0
	No impact	53	71.2
	Negative	14	18.9
	Very negative	5	6.4
	Don't know	1	1.6
Total		75	100.0

Table D-8: The DTES Street Market attracts crime and disorder.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	19	25.8
	No	24	31.5
	Don't Know	32	42.8
Total		75	100.0

Table D-9: The DTES Street Market deters new customers from coming to my business.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	15	20.1
	No	28	37.2
	Don't Know	32	42.8
Total		75	100.0

Table D-10: The DTES Street Market attracts new customers for my business.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	5	6.9
	No	38	50.4
	Don't know	32	42.8
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-11: The DTES Street Market brings vibrancy to the street.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	6	7.9
	No	37	49.3
	Don't know	32	42.8
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-12: The Downtown Eastside Street Market helps people make a decent, honest living.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	3	3.7
	Agree	29	38.5
	Neutral	5	7.1
	Disagree	18	24.4
	Strongly Disagree	8	10.2
	No opinion/DK	12	16.1
	Total	75	100

Table D-13: The DTES Street Market is a good thing for the local community.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	9	11.5
	Agree	36	47.9
	Disagree	8	10.0
	Strongly disagree	8	10.2
	Don't Know	15	20.4
Total		75	100.0

Table D-14: The DTES Street Market is a good thing for the local economy.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	7	9.1
	Agree	17	23.3
	Neutral	5	6.4
	Disagree	19	25.8
	Strongly disagree	8	10.2
	Don't Know	19	25.2
Total		75	100.0

Table D-15: The DTES Street Market is good for my business.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	2	2.0
	Agree	13	17.0
	Neutral	15	20.4
	Disagree	24	31.5
	Strongly disagree	8	11.3
	Don't Know	13	17.9
Total		75	100.0

Table D-16: The Street Market makes it more difficult to run my business successfully.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	5	6.4
	Agree	12	16.2
	Neutral	7	9.3
	Disagree	27	36.1
	Strongly disagree	15	20.2
	Don't Know	9	11.9
Total		75	100.0

Table D-17: The DTES would be a better place to do business if the Market was closed.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	1	1.3
	Agree	22	28.9
	Neutral	3	3.7
	Disagree	25	33.7
	Strongly disagree	10	13.4
	Don't Know	14	18.9
Total		75	100.0

Table D-18: My business is welcome and accepted in the Downtown Eastside.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	31	41.6
	Agree	42	55.5
	Strongly disagree	1	1.3
	Don't Know	1	1.6
Total		75	100.0

Table D-19: Identified crime as a potential challenge for their business operating in the DTES.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	49	64.7
	No	25	33.7
	Don't know	1	1.6
Total		75	100.0

Table D-20: Identified a lack of local customers as a potential challenge for their business operating in the DTES.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	23	30.4
	No	51	68.1
	Don't know	1	1.6
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-21: Identified a lack of street life/vibrancy as a potential challenge for their business operating in the DTES.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	12	16.6
	No	61	81.9
	Don't know	1	1.6
	Total	75	100.0

Table D-22: Identified a negative public perception of the neighbourhood as a potential challenge for their business operating in the DTES.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	59	78.5
	No	13	17.9
	Don't know	3	3.6
	Total	75	100

Table D-23: Is the business open on Sundays?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes, open	51	67.8
	No, closed	24	32.2
	Total	75	100.0

Note: this question was not included in the original survey; data was collected following input from the project defence.

APPENDIX E: COMBINED VARIABLES

Table E-1: Combined Variable #1 – Market Negativity

Any business respondent who agreed with at least one of the statements that the market either a) had a negative impact on their business, b) made it more difficult to operate, or c) that the DTES would be a better place to do business if the Market was closed.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	26	35.2
	No	49	64.8
	Total	75	100.0

Table E-2: Combined Variable #2- Market Impacts

Any business respondent who agreed with at least one of the statements that the Market either a) attracts crime or b) deters customers from coming to their business.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	27	36.5
	No	48	63.5
	Total	75	100.0

Table E-3: Combined Variable #3- Intense Negative

Any business respondent who agreed with at least four of the five statements regarding the Market having a negative impact on their business; making it more difficult to operate their business; attracting crime; deterring customers; and the DTES being a better place to do business if the Market was closed.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	13	17.7
	No	62	82.3
	Total	75	100.0

Table E-4: Intense Negative cross-tabulated with Market Awareness

Crosstab

			Negative Intense		Total
			Yes	No	
MRKTAWARE	Yes	Count	6	37	43
		% within MRKTAWARE	14.0%	86.0%	100.0%
		% within Negative Intense	46.2%	59.7%	57.3%
		% of Total	8.0%	49.3%	57.3%
	No	Count	7	25	32
		% within MRKTAWARE	21.9%	78.1%	100.0%
		% within Negative Intense	53.8%	40.3%	42.7%
		% of Total	9.3%	33.3%	42.7%
Total	Count		13	62	75
	% within MRKTAWARE		17.3%	82.7%	100.0%
	% within Negative Intense		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total		17.3%	82.7%	100.0%

APPENDIX F: CHI SQUARE RESULTS

Data was tested first without weight being controlled, to ensure adequate sample size for the chi square test. Results for all six variables are presented, including non-valid chi square scores. Results presented in this section are controlled by weight; invalid chi square results are noted.

Table F-1: Market Awareness * Market Negativity

*Unweighted responses not adequate for valid chi square test

			Market Negativity		Total
			Negative impact	Positive impact	
MRKTAWARE	Yes	Count	15	28	43
		Expected Count	14.9	28.1	43.0
		% within MRKTAWARE	34.9%	65.1	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	57.7%	57.1	57.3%
		% of Total	20.0%	37.3%	57.3%
	No	Count	11	21	32
		Expected Count	11.1	20.9	32.0
		% within MRKTAWARE	34.4%	65.6%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	42.3%	42.9%	42.7%
		% of Total	14.7%	28.0%	42.7%
Total	Count	26	49	75	
	Expected Count	26.0	49.0	75.0	
	% within MRKTAWARE	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%	
	% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.002 ^a	1	.963		
Continuity Correction ^b	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.002	1	.963		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.580
Linear-by-Linear Association	.002	1	.964		
N of Valid Cases	75				

Table F-2: Market Awareness * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		Total
			Yes	No	
MRKTAWARE	Yes	Count	15	28	43
		Expected Count	15.8	27.2	43.0
		% within MRKTAWARE	34.9%	65.1%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	53.6%	58.3%	56.6%
		% of Total	19.7%	36.8%	56.6%
	No	Count	13	20	33
		Expected Count	12.2	20.8	33.0
		% within MRKTAWARE	39.4%	60.6%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	46.4%	41.7%	43.4%
		% of Total	17.1%	26.3%	43.4%
Total	Count	28	48	76	
	Expected Count	28.0	48.0	76.0	
	% within MRKTAWARE	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	
	% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.163 ^a	1	.686		
Continuity Correction ^b	.027	1	.870		
Likelihood Ratio	.163	1	.686		
Fisher's Exact Test				.811	.434
Linear-by-Linear Association	.161	1	.688		
N of Valid Cases	76				

Table F-3: Interaction * Market Negativity

			Market Negativity		Total
			Yes	No	
Interaction	Some level of engagement	Count	15	23	38
		Expected Count	13.2	24.8	38.0
		% within Interaction	39.5%	60.5%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	57.7%	46.9%	50.7%
		% of Total	20.0%	30.7%	50.7%
	No engagement	Count	11	26	37
		Expected Count	12.8	24.2	37.0
		% within Interaction	29.7%	70.3%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	42.3%	53.1%	49.3%
		% of Total	14.7%	34.7%	49.3%
Total	Count	26	49	75	
	Expected Count	26.0	49.0	75.0	
	% within Interaction	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%	
	% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	34.7%	65.3%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.786 ^a	1	.375		
Continuity Correction ^b	.415	1	.520		
Likelihood Ratio	.788	1	.375		
Fisher's Exact Test				.469	.260
Linear-by-Linear Association	.775	1	.379		
N of Valid Cases	75				

Table F-4: Interaction * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		Total
			Yes	No	
Interaction	Some level of engagement	Count	16	22	38
		Expected Count	13.7	24.3	38.0
		% within Interaction	42.1%	57.9%	100.0%
		% within Market	59.3%	45.8%	50.7%
		Impacts			
		% of Total	21.3%	29.3%	50.7%
	No engagement	Count	11	26	37
		Expected Count	13.3	23.7	37.0
		% within Interaction	29.7%	70.3%	100.0%
		% within Market	40.7%	54.2%	49.3%
		Impacts			
		% of Total	14.7%	34.7%	49.3%
Total	Count	27	48	75	
	Expected Count	27.0	48.0	75.0	
	% within Interaction	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%	
	% within Market	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Impacts				
	% of Total	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.246 ^a	1	.264		
Continuity Correction ^b	.767	1	.381		
Likelihood Ratio	1.252	1	.263		
Fisher's Exact Test				.338	.191
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.230	1	.267		
N of Valid Cases	75				

Table F-5: Length of time * Market Negativity

			Market Negativity		Total
			Yes	No	
Length of time 2 years	Less than 2 years	Count	15	20	35
		Expected Count	12.4	22.6	35.0
		% within Length of time 2 years	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	55.6%	40.8%	46.1%
		% of Total	19.7%	26.3%	46.1%
	More than 2 years	Count	12	29	41
		Expected Count	14.6	26.4	41.0
		% within Length of time 2 years	29.3%	70.7%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	44.4%	59.2%	53.9%
		% of Total	15.8%	38.2%	53.9%
Total		Count	27	49	76
		Expected Count	27.0	49.0	76.0
		% within Length of time 2 years	35.5%	64.5%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	35.5%	64.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.522 ^a	1	.217		
Continuity Correction ^b	.987	1	.321		
Likelihood Ratio	1.522	1	.217		
Fisher's Exact Test				.239	.160
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.502	1	.220		
N of Valid Cases	76				

Table F-6: Length of time * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		
			Yes	No	Total
Length of time 2 years	Less than 2 years	Count	15	20	35
		Expected Count	12.9	22.1	35.0
		% within Length of time 2 years	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	53.6%	41.7%	46.1%
		% of Total	19.7%	26.3%	46.1%
	More than 2 years	Count	13	28	41
		Expected Count	15.1	25.9	41.0
		% within Length of time 2 years	31.7%	68.3%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	46.4%	58.3%	53.9%
		% of Total	17.1%	36.8%	53.9%
Total	Count	28	48	76	
	Expected Count	28.0	48.0	76.0	
	% within Length of time 2 years	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	
	% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.009 ^a	1	.315		
Continuity Correction ^b	.587	1	.444		
Likelihood Ratio	1.008	1	.315		
Fisher's Exact Test				.348	.222
Linear-by-Linear Association	.996	1	.318		
N of Valid Cases	76				

Table F-7: Walk to business * Market Negativity

			Market Negativity		
			Yes	No	Total
Walk_to_business	Walk to business	Count	16	29	45
		Expected Count	15.8	29.2	45.0
		% within Walk_to_business	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	61.5%	60.4%	60.8%
		% of Total	21.6%	39.2%	60.8%
Don't walk to business		Count	10	19	29
		Expected Count	10.2	18.8	29.0
		% within Walk_to_business	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	38.5%	39.6%	39.2%
		% of Total	13.5%	25.7%	39.2%
Total		Count	26	48	74
		Expected Count	26.0	48.0	74.0
		% within Walk_to_business	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.009 ^a	1	.925		
Continuity Correction ^b	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.009	1	.925		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.564
Linear-by-Linear Association	.009	1	.925		
N of Valid Cases	74				

Table F-8: Walk to business * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		
			Yes	No	Total
Walk_to_business	Walk to business	Count	18	28	46
		Expected Count	16.9	29.1	46.0
		% within	39.1%	60.9%	100.0%
		Walk_to_business			
		% within Market Impacts	64.3%	58.3%	60.5%
		% of Total	23.7%	36.8%	60.5%
Don't walk to business		Count	10	20	30
		Expected Count	11.1	18.9	30.0
		% within	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		Walk_to_business			
		% within Market Impacts	35.7%	41.7%	39.5%
		% of Total	13.2%	26.3%	39.5%
Total		Count	28	48	76
		Expected Count	28.0	48.0	76.0
		% within	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
		Walk_to_business			
		% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.262 ^a	1	.609		
Continuity Correction ^b	.072	1	.788		
Likelihood Ratio	.264	1	.608		
Fisher's Exact Test				.636	.396
Linear-by-Linear Association	.259	1	.611		
N of Valid Cases	76				

Table F-9: Distance from market * Market Negativity

*Unweighted responses not adequate for valid chi square test

			Market Negativity		Total
			Yes	No	
Distance from market	Near	Count	12	12	24
		Expected Count	8.6	15.4	24.0
		% within distance from market	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	44.4%	25.0%	32.0%
		% of Total	16.0%	16.0%	32.0%
	Far	Count	15	36	51
		Expected Count	18.4	32.6	51.0
		% within distance from market	29.4%	70.6%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	55.6%	75.0%	68.0%
		% of Total	20.0%	48.0%	68.0%
Total	Count	27	48	75	
	Expected Count	27.0	48.0	75.0	
	% within distance from market	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%	
	% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.002 ^a	1	.083		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.175	1	.140		
Likelihood Ratio	2.950	1	.086		
Fisher's Exact Test				.121	.071
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.962	1	.085		
N of Valid Cases	75				

Table F-10: Distance from market * Market Impacts

*Unweighted responses not adequate for valid chi square test

			Market Impacts		Total
			Yes	No	
Distance from market	Near	Count	13	11	24
		Expected Count	8.6	15.4	24.0
		% within distance from market	54.2%	45.8%	100.0%
	Far	Count	14	37	51
		Expected Count	18.4	32.6	51.0
		% within distance from market	27.5%	72.5%	100.0%
Total	Near	% within Market Impacts	48.1%	22.9%	32.0%
		% of Total	17.3%	14.7%	32.0%
		Count	14	37	51
	Far	Expected Count	18.4	32.6	51.0
		% within distance from market	27.5%	72.5%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	51.9%	77.1%	68.0%
Total	Near	% of Total	18.7%	49.3%	68.0%
		Count	27	48	75
		Expected Count	27.0	48.0	75.0
	Far	% within distance from market	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.056 ^a	1	.025		
Continuity Correction ^b	3.963	1	.047		
Likelihood Ratio	4.964	1	.026		
Fisher's Exact Test				.038	.024
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.988	1	.026		
N of Valid Cases	75				

Table F-11: Crime is a challenge in DTES * Market Negativity

			Market Negativity		Total
			Yes	No	
Crime is challenge in DTES	Yes	Count	22	27	49
		Expected Count	17.4	31.6	49.0
		% within Crime is challenge in DTES	44.9%	55.1%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	81.5%	55.1%	64.5%
		% of Total	28.9%	35.5%	64.5%
	No	Count	5	22	27
		Expected Count	9.6	17.4	27.0
		% within Crime is challenge in DTES	18.5%	81.5%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	18.5%	44.9%	35.5%
		% of Total	6.6%	28.9%	35.5%
Total	Count	27	49	76	
	Expected Count	27.0	49.0	76.0	
	% within Crime is challenge in DTES	35.5%	64.5%	100.0%	
	% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	35.5%	64.5%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.289 ^a	1	.021		
Continuity Correction ^b	4.200	1	.040		
Likelihood Ratio	5.606	1	.018		
Fisher's Exact Test				.026	.018
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.219	1	.022		
N of Valid Cases	76				

Table F-12: Crime is a challenge in DTES * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		Total
			Yes	No	
Crime is challenge in DTES	Yes	Count	25	24	49
		Expected Count	18.1	30.9	49.0
		% within Crime is challenge in DTES	51.0%	49.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	89.3%	50.0%	64.5%
		% of Total	32.9%	31.6%	64.5%
	No	Count	3	24	27
		Expected Count	9.9	17.1	27.0
		% within Crime is challenge in DTES	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	10.7%	50.0%	35.5%
		% of Total	3.9%	31.6%	35.5%
Total	Count	28	48	76	
	Expected Count	28.0	48.0	76.0	
	% within Crime is challenge in DTES	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	
	% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.916 ^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	10.262	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	13.288	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.759	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	76				

F-13: Open Sunday * Market Negativity

*Unweighted responses not adequate for valid chi square test

			Market Negativity		Total
			Yes	No	
Open Sunday	Yes, open	Count	21	30	51
		Expected Count	18.4	32.6	51.0
		% within Open Sunday	41.2%	58.8%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	77.8%	62.5%	68.0%
		% of Total	28.0%	40.0%	68.0%
	No, closed	Count	6	18	24
		Expected Count	8.6	15.4	24.0
		% within Open Sunday	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	22.2%	37.5%	32.0%
		% of Total	8.0%	24.0%	32.0%
Total		Count	27	48	75
		Expected Count	27.0	48.0	75.0
		% within Open Sunday	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Negativity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	36.0%	64.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.854 ^a	1	.173		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.218	1	.270		
Likelihood Ratio	1.916	1	.166		
Fisher's Exact Test				.205	.134
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.829	1	.176		
N of Valid Cases	75				

F-14: Open Sunday * Market Impacts

			Market Impacts		Total
			Yes	No	
Open Sunday	Yes, open	Count	22	29	51
		Expected Count	19.0	32.0	51.0
		% within Open Sunday	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	78.6%	61.7%	68.0%
		% of Total	29.3%	38.7%	68.0%
	No, closed	Count	6	18	24
		Expected Count	9.0	15.0	24.0
		% within Open Sunday	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	21.4%	38.3%	32.0%
		% of Total	8.0%	24.0%	32.0%
Total		Count	28	47	75
		Expected Count	28.0	47.0	75.0
		% within Open Sunday	37.3%	62.7%	100.0%
		% within Market Impacts	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	37.3%	62.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.295 ^a	1	.130		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.585	1	.208		
Likelihood Ratio	2.377	1	.123		
Fisher's Exact Test				.200	.103
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.264	1	.132		
N of Valid Cases	75				

APPENDIX G: MARKET VENDOR SURVEY

Survey for Market Vendors

The following is a survey for vendors at the Downtown Eastside Street Market. The purpose is to gather insight into the Market as part of my thesis, which studies the Market and its role in the DTES.

The survey takes an estimated five minutes to complete.

1. Approximately how long have you sold goods at the Downtown Eastside Street Market?

2. How often would you say you come to the Market to sell your goods?

Always

Sometimes

Rarely

3. What's the best part of working at the Market?

4. Did you know many of the people working at the Market before you joined it?

I knew most of the vendors

I knew some of the vendors

I didn't know any of them

5. The Street Market opened in mid-2010. Before that, vendors sold their goods at a variety of locations, often on the street.

In your opinion, what kind of impact has the creation of the Street Market had on the Downtown Eastside's street vending situation?

Very positive impact

Positive impact

Negative impact

Very negative impact

No impact

6. The following are a list of possible benefits from taking part in the Market. Please check all that apply.

Since I started working at the Downtown Eastside Street Market, I have:

Made new friends

Increased my income

Gained new job skills

Got involved in local community organizations; for example, the DTES council

Accessed new job training programs

Gained confidence

Made new business contacts

Helped teach other people new skills

Other _____

7. The following are a list of possible impacts the Street Market could have on local businesses. Please check all that you think apply:

In my opinion, the Downtown Eastside Street Market:

Attracts new customers to the neighbourhood

Brings vibrancy and energy to the street

Attracts crime and disorder

Hurts local businesses

Lowers property values

Other

The following are a number of statements related to the neighbourhood and/or the Street Market. Please indicate the level you agree or disagree with them.

8. The Downtown Eastside Street Market is a good thing for the local community.

Strongly agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

No opinion

9. I am better off now than I was before I started working at the Downtown Eastside Street Market.

Strongly agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

No opinion

10. The Downtown Eastside Street Market is a good thing for the local economy.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree
No opinion

11. The Downtown Eastside Street Market helps people make a decent, honest living.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree
No opinion

12. The Downtown Eastside would be a better place for local businesses if the Market was closed.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree
No opinion

13. Local businesses are welcomed and accepted by the community in the Downtown Eastside.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

14. Do you live in the Downtown Eastside?

- Yes
- No

15. How much does the DTES Street Market contribute to your income?

- All of my income is from the Market
- Most of my income comes from the Market
- Some of my income comes from the Market
- A little bit of my income comes from the Market
- Don't want to answer

16. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what's the best way to contact you?

This is the end of the survey.

If you have any follow-up questions or concerns, feel free to contact me at any time at either 778-995-2264 or kquinlan@sfu.ca. Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX H: LOCAL BUSINESS SURVEY

Survey for Local Businesses

The purpose of this survey is to gather opinions about the DTES economy from local businesses. The data will be used in my thesis, which studies the Downtown Eastside Market and its role in the neighbourhood.

The survey takes an estimated five minutes to complete.

...

The Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood Council, in partnership with the City of Vancouver, has created a formal Street Market in the neighbourhood. It takes place every Sunday, from 12-5pm, at East Hastings and Carrall. The market allows for local street vendors to sell a variety of goods, both new and second-hand, in a formal setting.

1. Were you aware of the Downtown Eastside Street Market?

Yes

No

2. Please identify the level of interaction you have with the Market:

Regularly shop there

Occasionally shop there

Don't shop there, but walk past it from time to time

Never go to it

3. The Street Market was opened in mid-2010. Before that, vendors sold their goods at a variety of locations, often on the street.

In your opinion, what kind of impact has the creation of the Street Market had on the Downtown Eastside's street vending situation?

- Very positive impact
- Positive impact
- Negative impact
- Very negative impact
- No impact

4. In your opinion, what kind of impact does the DTES Street Market have on your business?

- Very positive impact
- Positive impact
- Negative impact
- Very negative impact
- No impact

5. The following are a list of possible impacts the DTES Street Market could have on your business. Please check all that apply:

- Attracts new customers
- Brings vibrancy to the street
- Attracts crime and disorder
- Deters new customers from coming to my business
- Lowers property value
- Spurs the local economy, which helps my business

6. The following are a list of potential challenges your business could face operating in the Downtown Eastside. Please check all that you think apply.

- Crime
- Lack of local customers
- Language barriers
- Not enough street life/vibrancy
- Gentrification
- Street homelessness
- Shortage of skilled workers
- Negative public perception
- Other _____

The following are a number of statements related to the neighbourhood and/or the DTES Street Market. Please indicate the level you agree or disagree with them.

7. The Downtown Eastside Street Market is a good thing for the local community.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

8. The Downtown Eastside Street Market is a good thing for the local economy.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

9. The Downtown Eastside Street Market is good for my business.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

10. The Downtown Eastside Street Market helps people make a decent, honest living.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

11. The Street Market makes it more difficult to run my business successfully.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

12. The Downtown Eastside would be a better place to do business if the Market was closed.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

13. My business is welcome and accepted by the community in the Downtown Eastside.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- No opinion

14. Are there problems created with the Market that you would like to see addressed? If so, what are they?

15. What type of business do you operate?

16. How many employees to do you have?

Less than five

5-10

10-20

20-50

50+

17. How long have you operated in your current location?

Less than six months

6-12 months

1-2 years

2-5 years

5+ years

18. Please select the reasons for choosing to operate your business at its current location. You may select more than one.

- Affordable property
- Safety
- Easy access for distributing goods
- Access to skilled labour
- Cluster of similar businesses
- Distinct community
- Access to transit
- Attractive business climate
- Other: _____

19. What is the language that the majority of your customers speak?

- English
- French
- Cantonese/Mandarin
- Punjabi
- Other _____

20. What is the primary way that customers access your business?

- Walk in off the street
- Drive/transit
- Phone
- Website
- Other _____

21. Would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview?

Yes

No

If yes, please provide your contact information:

This is the end of the survey.

If you have any follow-up questions or concerns, feel free to contact me at either 778-995-2264 or kquinlan@sfu.ca. Thank you for your participation!

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