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ABSTRACT

The Downtown Eastside neighborhood of Vancouver, British Columbia, is a contested zone of municipal, community, health, political and social debate. In the fall of 2002, these tensions erupted with the creation of a squat at 101 West Hastings, also known as the Woodward’s building, created by the Vancouver affordable housing social movement. Using photographs, oral interviews, in addition to Vancouver Sun newspaper articles and a squatters’ diary this comparative- qualitative methodological study creates a written history, while also formulating a sociological analysis of the Woodward’s building squat and affordable housing social movement that occurred from September 14, 2002 to December 14, 2002. This critical investigation examines the Woodward’s squat and affordable housing social movement employing the theories of social constructionism, sociological framing and journalistic framing. In particular, the meanings, framings and constructions of the squat and movement that are evident in the squatter’s diary are compared to the understandings and images of the squat and movement offered by the local media, The Vancouver Sun newspaper. The analysis of the two documents reveals that the framings of the squat and affordable housing social movement argued and publicized by the Vancouver affordable housing social movement are not supported and reproduced by the framings of the squat and movement in The Vancouver Sun.

Key words: Squatting, homelessness, historical research, framing theory, Vancouver Downtown Eastside community and housing
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woodsquat
we resist
person by person
square foot by square foot
room by room
building by building
block by block

(original emphasis; Bud Osborn in Douglas, 2002; 54)
INTRODUCTION

For over thirty years, the Downtown Eastside (DES) neighborhood of Vancouver has been and continues to be a low-income neighborhood (Community Directions, 2001; 4). This being the case, the majority of low-income residents of the Downtown Eastside reside in a single occupancy room in a residential hotel (SRO) or a self-contained social or co-op building (Ibid.). SROs are a major source of "housing"\(^1\) in the DES for low income and nearly homeless individuals. In 1994, 5,757 SRO units existed in the DES (Housing Centre, 2002; 11). The number of units has decreased to 5,179 SRO units as of 2001 (Ibid.). A total of 578 SRO units have been lost in a seven-year period due to hotel fire, closure or conversion (Community Directions, 2001; 4). With more people observed to be living on the streets of Vancouver, more sources of social housing are needed.

The creation and maintenance of social housing in the DES is becoming increasingly difficult. The Downtown Eastside Draft Housing Plan reports that as of 1993 the federal government no longer supports, produces or finances the creation of social housing (Community Directions, 2001; 5). Thus, the production cost of social housing was downloaded to the provincial governments. In British Columbia, the Liberal provincial government ceased supporting the creation of new social housing projects in 2001. In November 2001, the British Columbian provincial government put a hold to 1,700 units of social housing. This included 220 units that were scheduled for the Woodward's building in the DES. In April

\(^1\) I use the term housing in parentheses, since many SROs are not an adequate form of housing in my view. They are often in poor repair, are small in size and do not afford residents privacy or security in many cases.
of 2002, the provincial government declared the cancellation of the Woodward's social housing project.

Since the cancellation of the Woodward's social housing units in the DES, the rates of visible homelessness in Vancouver have risen. In 2001, a count of the homeless people in Vancouver was undertaken (Evening Global Television Newscast, February 23, 2004; channel 11). This involved organizing volunteers and municipal workers teamed in pairs of two, to walk through the streets in an assigned city block radius, counting people observed to be "sleeping rough" or sleeping on the streets, parkades, tents, alleys and covered alcoves on one given night in Vancouver (Ibid.). This was the first time an organized count of the visible homeless, of this magnitude, had been undertaken in and by the city. That night approximately 600 people were observed to be living on the streets of Vancouver (Ibid.). As of 2003, using the same counting technique, the number of people perceived to be "sleeping rough" or visibly homeless in Vancouver has doubled to 1200 people (Ibid.). Affordable housing has become a serious issue in the Downtown Eastside community.

The DES neighborhood is a hotbed of municipal, community, health, political, economic and social debate. Since the 1993 closure of the Woodward's department store in the DES, the Woodward's building has come to represent: 1) a struggle over land, community, shared meaning and power; 2) a loss of safety and security; 3) a beacon of neglect, disrepair, decay and loss (Sommers and Blomley in Douglas, 2001; 50-51). In the fall of 2002, these tensions culminated in the creation of a squat at 101 West Hastings, also known as the Woodward's
building. More to the point, from September 14, 2002 to December 14, 2002, the Woodward’s building became a site of political and social resistance forged by the homeless people, homelessness supporters and activists of Vancouver to combat homelessness and lack of affordable housing opportunities. The homeless squatters took up residency in the Woodward’s building to protest the City’s housing crisis demanding, “...the [Liberal] government live up to the NDP’s pledge to renovate the building for low income housing” (CBC: News British Columbia, September 23, 2002; n.pag.). Likewise, another web site titled “Hot Issue: Woodward’s Occupation” states, “Activists and community members are occupying the building to press for action on social housing” (February 3, 2003; n.pag.). This indicates that the Woodward’s squat is symbolic of an affordable housing social movement in Vancouver. More affordable housing is necessary for the revitalization of the low-income DES neighborhood. Symbolically and materially the Woodward’s building and squat are central to this aim.

Many studies exist on the state of affordable housing in the DES. Two forms of DES affordable housing written discourse exist. The first form of written discourse pertaining to the DES, generally describes the housing statistics in the DES (BC Non-Profit Housing Association, July/August 2003). The second form of written discourse details the DES affordable housing statistics, in addition to prescribing solutions to the lack of affordable housing in the DES (Community Directions, 2001; Organic Intellectuals, 2001; BC Housing, March 2001). Both forms of the literature appear to be written by DES community members or governmental agencies.
Squatting is a newly publicized phenomenon in Vancouver. To date, I have found one scholarly publication that briefly refers to the Woodward’s building squat, titled *Every Building on 100 West Hastings* [2002]. This book examines the history of economic, political and housing struggles in the DES, while tracing the decline of a whole block in the East End. This indicates that few, if any, scholarly material exists on the affordable housing social movement related to the Woodward’s squat.

This six-credit thesis critically endeavors to examine the Vancouver affordable housing social movement and the Woodward’s squat that occurred during the autumn of 2002 in the Downtown Eastside. The purpose of this critical – sociological study is to analyze the social significance and representations of the Woodward’s squat and the actions of the Vancouver affordable housing social movement that occurred in September 2002. I shall look at the contrasting constructions of the events provided on the one hand, by the media, and on the other by the affordable housing proponents, employing the sociological theory of Framing. Framing refers to a cognitive frame or “…‘schemata of interpretation’ that enables individuals ‘to locate, perceive, identify, and label’ occurrences within their life space and the world at large” (Benford and Snow, 2000; 614).

From a sociological standpoint, I have two primary goals. The two aims of this thesis consist of: 1) deconstructing the public frames or symbolic meanings and representations of the squat actively created and communicated by the local print media and by the squatters, 2) in addition to evaluating the strategic framing processes or actions that the affordable housing social movement activists
engaged in to communicate their collective frames or squat representations. Ten local newspaper articles and ten diary entries from an online communal Woodward’s squatters’ diary, focusing on a critical event in the life of the Woodward’s squat, will be analyzed and compared to accomplish these goals.

In simple terms, the squatters and their supporters or members of the local affordable housing movement, banded in solidarity to combat the growing prevalence of homelessness, poverty, and lack of affordable housing opportunities within the DES and Greater Vancouver community. Most squatters at Woodward’s do not want to be homeless; they are calling for more social and affordable housing. Members of the affordable housing movement are calling for the Woodward’s building to be transformed into social and affordable housing units. Only when the complex nature of the local affordable housing movement and the Woodward’s squat are understood, will viable solutions to issues of homelessness and affordable housing opportunities be attainable. For if the affordable housing concerns and squat issues are not intimately understood, viable solutions will not be formulated that adequately address the needs of affordable housing members.

To further clarify, the usage of the term Woodward’s squat refers to any group or individual(s) who assumed the unauthorized possession of the Woodward’s building and/or surrounding area, for living purposes. The Woodward’s building may commonly be referred to as Woodsquat. Any individual who actively participated in the action of squatting can be described as a squatter or woodsquatter. Likewise, any individual who actively supports and/or engages in
squatting actions, specifically calling for an increase in Vancouver’s stock of affordable housing is defined as a member of the local affordable housing social movement or movement member.

1.1 - Hypotheses

At this juncture drawing on my knowledge of the Woodward’s squat, I have formulated two hypotheses related to my intended research interest. Firstly, I hypothesize that the Woodward’s squatters and supporters, constitutive of members of a Vancouver affordable housing social movement, created and used an injustice master frame to communicate their goals, publicize their cause and rally support for their squatting protest actions. An injustice master frame refers to the perceived denial of justice of social movement members by a legitimate authority institution or individual, resulting in a lack of cooperation and agreement from the infringed social movement member or group (Benford, 1986: 466). This hypothesis may be substantiated by an extract, from the squatters’ diary. The entry stated that the homeless squatters of Vancouver were being abused by the BC Housing Corporation, since they evicted the squatters from the interior of the Woodward’s building, which the corporation owned (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day –10, September 23, 2002; 24). The word “abuse” implies that a legitimate provincial institutional housing authority, the BC Housing Corporation, is treating unjustly affordable housing social movement members and societies most marginal – the homeless. The same entry continues, “That they come in with what can only be classed as jackboots and kick people in poverty and kick homeless people out onto the streets and into the
alleys" (Original punctuation; Ibid.). This emotive statement clearly conveys a sense of injustice at the hand of the BC Housing Corporation, in their treatment of squatters by employing the terminology “jackboots” and “kick.” This terminology constructs the legitimate provincial housing authority as excessive and unfair, thereby contributing to the creation of an injustice master frame on behalf of the affordable housing proponents. Members of the affordable housing social movement are framing the squat employing injustice rhetoric. They are attempting to communicate that an act of injustice against the squatters, undertaken by legitimate authority institutions and enfranchised organizations, is a violation against a marginalised group that will not collectively be tolerated.

Secondly, I hypothesize that despite conveying sympathetic images of the Woodward’s squat and squatters, The Vancouver Sun newspaper communicated dominant hegemonic discourses and alternative frames to those constructed by the squatters and the local affordable housing social movement in their coverage of Woodsquat. In The Language of Newspapers, author Danuta Reah claims, “People are defined by their sex, their race, their sexuality, their religion – and these groups can be disliked, feared, discriminated against or actively persecuted. Language is one of the means by which attitudes towards groups can be constructed, maintained or challenged” (2002; 54). Following this rationale, I argue that the The Vancouver Sun newspaper framed the Woodward’s homeless squatters as a marginal group to be feared, ignored and discriminated against, which is contrary to how the affordable housing social movement constructed the squatters and squat.
The questions now become: Why is this research socially important or generally significant? Moreover, how does this research contribute to the discipline of Sociology? As previously stated, this research may benefit social and public policy, in addition to providing sociological contributions. Firstly, this research can contribute to social or public policy by: 1) initiating positive changes in the public perceptions, stereotypical images, meanings and conceptions of homeless individuals; 2) highlighting evidence that challenges arguments for a reduction in affordable housing strategies and opportunities in the Greater Vancouver Regional District; 3) contributing to the development of realistic social research that may inform social policy for homeless people and affordable housing; 4) creating a platform to substantiate arguments that support increased affordable housing opportunities in the Greater Vancouver Regional District. By studying the framing of the Woodward’s squat and local affordable housing social movement, this study will hopefully contribute to more realistic portrayals of homeless people, countering the dominant mis-representations of homeless people, supporters and protestors in the media and public. This is a given, since many of the squatters and members of the Vancouver affordable housing social movement are homeless. Through constructing the frames and framing processes engaged in by the homeless squatters and squat supporters, who are members of the local affordable housing social movement, characteristics of the Vancouver homeless population will come to light. It follows that once a more realistic portrayal of homeless people is constructed and communicated, more plausible and beneficial social policies and solutions to housing dilemmas and
homelessness issues can be revised, created and implemented. In turn, through a more realistic representation of the Woodward’s squatters and Vancouver affordable housing movement, it is hoped new arguments in support of affordable housing opportunities can be substantiated, opposing anti-housing initiatives.

Secondly, from a sociological position, my research positively contributes to: 1) explaining, critiquing and enacting social framing theory, such as deconstructing the framing processes and tactics employed by the local affordable housing movement; 2) developing a more detailed comprehension of homelessness issues from a sociological perspective; 3) expanding the stock of sociological and wider academic literature of squatting; 4) expanding the supply of written-recorded Vancouver social and political history.

My research of the Woodward’s squat will contribute to the limited Canadian academic squatting literature available. Currently, there is not a great deal of published work in the social realm of squatting. Specifically, there are very few, if any, published ethnographic accounts of squatters and squatting in Canada. Canvassing the contemporary squatting literature, it was very difficult to locate an article in any academic discipline specifically pertaining to squatting in Canada, written prior to 1980. Moreover, I have experienced difficulty finding squatting literature on a wider international academic search. This is to say, I have attempted to survey the British and American literatures on the subject of squatting. I found they both provide few recent studies of squatting. However, Britain does have a large body of squatting literature prior to 1980. As well, there is some literature on squatting post-1980, but in general this body of literature is
not academically focused. It is literature primarily written by squatters for squatters. On this note, my research will contribute to a perceived lack of academic squatting literature in the discipline of Canadian and International sociology and other related scholarly fields.

First, the theoretical and methodological research design will be explained, followed by a critique of the squatting literature, a historical overview of Woodsquat, the development of the thesis analysis and findings, and ending with the conclusion of the thesis.
CHAPTER 2: Theory and Methodology
2.1 - THEORETICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

Social philosopher and media studies analyst, Stuart Hall, brilliantly wrote, "Theory is always a (necessary) detour on the way to something more important" (Brackets original; Hall in Henry and Tator, 2002; 1). Opposed to detouring, I will now develop the theoretical framework of this thesis. Wanting to illuminate socially constructed meanings and frames of the Woodward's squat, developed and communicated by the affordable housing social movement members and media, I employ a social-constructionist theoretical approach, infused with framing analysis as the theoretical backbone of this thesis. However, before progressing with an explanation of the theoretical framework and theoretical conceptual clarification, I wish to briefly explain and qualify the affordable housing social movement in a theoretical vein.

2.2 - Vancouver Affordable Housing Social Movements

Italian social theorists Donatella Della Portia and Mario Diani in Social Movements: An Introduction [1999], argue that there is a new defining form of social movements, commonly referred to as the "new social movement" (Ibid.). They turn to the rhetoric of German sociologist Claus Offe to substantiate their position. Della Portia and Diani argue that Offe claims new social movements...
reclamation of autonomous spaces, rather than material advantages. New social movements are characterized, in Offe's view, by an open, fluid organization, an inclusive and non-ideological participation, and greater attention to social than to economic transformations (Ibid.).

In essence, new social movements are constitutive of an informal system of interaction and networking, fostering shared beliefs, equally promoting internal social cohesion and solidarity, employing the method of collective action and protest to bring attention to and rectify sites of social conflict (Ibid.; 14-15).

The Vancouver affordable housing social movement is emblematic of many characteristics consistent with this form of social movement. The Woodward's squat and member's of the affordable housing movement: 1) critiqued representative democracy; 2) challenged conventional systems of 'doing politics'; 3) denounced the municipal and provincial bureaucracies calling for change; 4) called for social transformation; 5) were a fluid, inclusive group. For instance, the squatters of Woodward's were challenging the representative democracy of the local Vancouver community. They were protesting to be heard and represented, since they were often not heard, ignored or cast to the side as second-class citizens. By challenging the conventional way of 'doing politics' in the form of protesting in a squat, they were bringing attention to the "housing crisis" of Vancouver and being heard. The homeless Woodward's squatters of Vancouver chose to take a political stance to combat the civic and provincial bureaucratic institutions which neglected to or minimally addressed the issues of the homeless, calling for new solutions to very real housing problems.
The local affordable housing social movement was born out of a reported "housing crisis," demanding a social transformation of the housing landscape in Vancouver. The homeless squatters and supporters banded in solidarity, calling for a social change in how the homeless people of the city are treated. The squatters argued shelters are not homes (Townsend, 2003). When they use shelters, they often are witness to violent behaviour and crowded conditions, defying the safe, stable and secure sanctity of the conception of a home (Townsend, 2003; Layton, 2000; 48). Thus, the squatters were calling for a social transformation of how the citizens and decision-makers of Vancouver, in association with the Provincial government, approach housing those without homes. They are asking for more social housing, starting with the Woodward's building.

Finally, this was not an exclusive group; all people were welcome to join the Woodward's housing social movement. Cameron Gray, director of the City of Vancouver's Housing Centre, reported that people from as far away as Vancouver Island had made their way to the city of Vancouver to participate in the squat (2003). I have not found evidence to suggest that boundaries of exclusion inhibited people from joining this social movement if they supported the objectives of the group. For these reasons, the Woodward's squatters embody the definition of a new housing social movement.

Before continuing with an explanation and critique of social constructionism, I would like to add that there was political opportunity for the
affordable housing social movement to occur when it did, in the autumn months of 2002. The City of Vancouver is an interesting key party in the negotiation of the squat, in that some of the principal decision-makers changed in the midst of the squatting event. This is to say a civic election was held approximately two months into the duration of the squat. Hence, chief decision-makers, such as the mayor and city councilors, changed at this juncture in the life of the squat. Two civic parties dominated the Vancouver political landscape leading up to the election, the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) and Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) parties. The incumbent predominate NPA slate of councilors and Mayor Philip Owen, were replaced with a majority COPE council and new Mayor Larry Campbell. Did this impact the squat at all? The answer is a resounding YES.

The municipal political climate at the time of the squat may have contributed to the duration of the squat, especially considering the civic election (Townsend, 2003; Cameron 2003). From September 14, 2002 to the November 16, 2002 municipal election date, the squat figured as a contentious issue amongst the candidates running for office; Vancouver citizens based upon the candidates’ approach to Woodsquat cast many ballots. The Woodward’s squat fit nicely into the COPE campaign, since the DES was always intended to be one of their main party platforms (Green, 2003). They had intended to anchor their platform on the issues of the Four Pillar Approach to substance abuse, safe injection sites, housing and the 2010 Olympic plebiscite (Ibid.). All of these issues were of great importance
to the Downtown Eastside community. By contrast, the NPA City council had traditionally ignored or avoided controversial issues in relation to the DES. Consequently, the NPA council was not in comfortable territory.

The majority NPA council that was in power until November 16, 2002, was concerned with the squat, however they avoided taking any strong measures to end it or promote strong change, given the volatile political predicament they found themselves approaching election time. If they made a negative or positive decision in response to the squat, it could have had pronounced implications on the election results. The outcome of the protest had grave implications for the NPA candidates running for re-election; inevitably little action was taken as a result of the looming election. Following, the election, within one month of being elected, the majority COPE civic council successfully negotiated the end of the squat with members of the affordable housing social movement. The timing of the civic election provided the affordable housing movement members a window of opportunity to stage their squatting protest.

2.3 -Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is a powerful and useful communicative sociological theoretical device. In a paper titled “The Social Construction of What?” analytic philosopher, Ian Hacking argues for “…great caution in using the phrase, ‘social construction’” --since confusion over the intent of the term is common (October 19; 2-3). Hacking asserts that ideas are an entity that can be socially constructed (Ibid.; 10). According to Hacking, the term idea is shorthand “…for theories, hypotheses, conjectures, beliefs, classifications, images,
stereotypes, of, or about, something” (Ibid.; 13). It is the naturalized idea assigned to a real or imaginary item or object that is socially constructed, not solely the physical fabricated item or object itself in Hacking’s view (Ibid.; 5). For instance, employing the terminology of Hacking, a car is a “something.” Hacking is interested in the taken-for-granted socially created ideas that we assign to the physical object of the car or “something”. Put another way, the traits and characteristics that connote a sports car versus a family car are social constructs. Depending upon the physical attributes, signs and symbols socially constructed and assigned to a specific car, it will be classified and categorized as a sports car or a family car. Ultimately, a car or “something” is a socially created physical object, however, more importantly, the ideas affiliated with the car’s categorization communicate the meaning and representation of the cars socially constructed image. It is due to confusion over this theoretical distinction that Hacking argues caution should be used when employing the term social constructionism.

With regards to this critical research investigation, social constructionism is used in a similar vein. Essentially, social constructionism is an overarching macro-theoretical concept that denotes the creation of meaning in society. One of the great benefits of social constructionism is that it allows the taken-for-granted meaning of ideas to be explored and/or problematised. Social constructionism evaluates how meanings or ideas are created within society. This theory is processually oriented in that it evaluates how meanings or ideas are created within society. Through a process of evaluating or deconstructing
the multiple layers that fabricate an idea or meaning, social constructionism determines the creation, production, reproduction and mutation of meaning and ideas made by, for and within society. The import of social constructionism is that it can be used as a theoretical device that is processually driven to arrive at an understanding of the objective and/or subjective categorization, classification, meaning and/or idea of something. This is the merit of social constructions communicative power.

In *Shards of Glass* [1993] childhood education author Bronwyn Davies writes, "Constructionism focuses on subjects accounts primarily as a resource to find out about the social world and the detail of that constructed world as it is experienced by the participants" (1993; 13). I present, contrast and analyze ideas of the Woodward’s squat as developed by the local Vancouver print media, that being *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper and affordable housing movement proponents. Through the classification and image presentation of the Woodward’s squat, I construct ideas pertaining to the meaning of the squat that were produced by the members of the local affordable housing movement and *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper.

From a critical vantage point, the goal of social constructionism is to reveal or create the meaning of something. Despite being process oriented, a weakness of social constructionism is it does not define a working apparatus or framework to deconstruct meaning as a macro-theory. This begs the question, how are meanings, images, theories, conjectures, hypotheses, beliefs and
classifications de/constructed? What theoretical analytic processes can be used to de/construct meaning?

**2.4 - Framing Theory**

By analyzing frames and the process of framing one can interpret how social realities, knowledge, meanings, classifications, beliefs and values are created and reconstituted over time, this being the essence of social constructionism (Eder, 1996; 166). In other words, frame theory is one micro-theoretical vehicle that assigns meaning to objects/subjects/events related to social movements, also examining the construction of the meaning through the evaluation of strategic framing processes. In more detail, frames refer to the "...system of structuring or imposing meaning on a set of symbols so those symbols are situated in relation to one another" (Doyle, Elliott and Tindall, 2000; 241). “For Goffman, frame denoted ‘schemata of interpretation’ that enables individuals ‘to locate, perceive, identify, and label’ occurrences within their life space and the world at large” (Benford and Snow, 2000; 614). “Frames...enable an individual or group ‘to locate, perceive, identify and label’ events within their lifespac and world at large” (Goffman in Benford, 1997; 415). According to acclaimed sociologists Robert Benford and David Snow, due to the influential work of Erving Goffman in relation to the framing process, the concept has garnered stamina and gained academic clout as a tool of analysis in the contemporary discipline of sociology (2000; 611). Moreover, the framing process is often operationalised to better understand and construct the significance of social movements, be it environmental, political, economic, social or otherwise.
For Benford and Snow there are three core framing tasks, identifiable as "...diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing" (2000; 615). Diagnostic framing refers to the location of the source of blame, causality or frustration, which requires a remedy (Benford and Snow, 2000; 616). Progressing, the central ways in which the groups located within the social movement differ indicate the second task, that being the prognostic (Benford and Snow, 2000; 616). This task requires locating the groups of a social movement on a figurative scale or imaginary continuum, situating the pro-campaign at one axis with the anti-campaign on the other. All the groups within the social movement are designated a position, or a "prognosis" of their location, in relation to one another, depending on their anti or pro social movement views. In summation, drawing on the words of Benford and Snow, "[m]otivational framing, the final core framing task, provides a "call to arms" or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action" (2000, 617). All of these tasks are operationalised in relation to the Woodward's squat and Vancouver affordable housing social movement, in the primary and master framing of the squat.

There are two types of social movement frames developed in this analysis. They are a primary collective action frame and master frames. A primary collective action frame is indicative of a movement-specific frame (Benford and Snow, 2000; 619). In other words, the reasons, meanings and rationale specific to and for mobilizing a particular movement are designated as the primary collective action frame. Differently, a master frame can be defined as "...quite broad in terms of scope, functioning as a kind of master algorithm that
colors and constrains the orientations and activities of other movements" (Ibid.; 618). Klaus Eder, an environmental sociologist, suggests masterframing consists of "...the output of public discourse...which is collectively accepted and used as a reference in the communication of...issues" (Eder, 1996, 170). This is to say, from all the subjective competing frames, one frame emerges as the winner, awarded with the validation of the collective majority (Eder, 1996, 171). An injustice master frame is contingent upon the rebellion of social movement actors against a legitimate authority (Benford, 1986; 466). "...[A]n injustice frame [is] a mode of interpretation that defines the actions of an authority system as unjust and simultaneously legitimates noncompliance"-- in the words of Benford (Ibid.). My research findings support this form of master frame being invoked by the woodsquatters and Vancouver affordable housing social movement adherents. In any attempt to create or construct a frame, strategic framing processes are completed.

Specifically, there are four strategic framing processes one can employ to create meaning, thereby gaining or loosing public and private support for one's social movement cause. The strategic processes are frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation (Ibid.; 624-625). Benford and Snow define frame bridging as "...the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (2000; 624). The aim of connecting the two structurally distinct, but ideologically similar "schemas" or frames is to mobilize or solicit new potential social movement supporters, individual or group members
(Ibid). By embellishing, clarifying, invigorating or idealizing the framing of Woodsquat, appealing to preconceived beliefs and values, one is engaging in the strategic process of frame amplification (Ibid). Consistent with Benford and Snow's explanation, frame amplification involves a focus on the invigoration of existing values and embellishing determined beliefs related to a given social movement to garner new members (Ibid.). When a social movement alters or changes the meaning and framing of a central issue, to extend beyond its primary interests, attempting to appeal to additional interests, concerns and affiliated interest groups and social movement organizations, frame extension has occurred or is occurring (Benford and Snow, 2000; 625). Finally, "[f]rame transformation, the final strategic alignment process, refers to changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones"—in the words of Benford and Snow (Ibid.; 625). Evidence of frame bridging, amplification and transformation has been analytically observed and reported in the findings.

In "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective" by Benford, some critical faults with framing theory and the critical analytical application of framing theory are raised. In total six criticisms are outlined below. Firstly, he states that the methods of analysis in relation to framing are inadequate and underdeveloped (1997; 412). Having attempted to formulate my own methodology for elucidating social movement frames, I agree with Benford. A prescribed analytic method pertaining to the theory of framing would be beneficial to researchers as a point of departure.
Secondly, Benford states there are a "...lack of systemic empirical studies across cases, movements and times" (Ibid.; 413). This perceived deficiency in the publication of framing studies, may be attributable to imprecise theoretical development of the framing theory, from Benford's perspective (Ibid.; 413). I support this statement. Due to a lack of standardized methodology in the realm of sociological framing, the theoretical analysis of framing may not be comparable across cases, movements and time. Alternative and diverse applications of framing theory may not yield comparable social movement candidate studies for analysis due to vague theoretical direction and explanation of framing by theorists. For instance, in my opinion, the strategic framing processes could benefit from more detailed and explained theoretical definition and example. From the written theoretical material, the analytical and critical distinction between frame bridging and frame extension is not expressly clear. Benford and Snow have been used as a guide to develop my own interpretation of the two strategic processes in my analysis.

Thirdly, he states that there is a "descriptive bias" by scholars in the use of framing theory. Specifically, Benford argues, "[a]t times, it appears that a major thrust of the research agenda has been to identify the universe of specific frames. This has resulted in a rather long laundry list of types of frames" (1997; 414). Despite identifying the primary or movement-specific frame of the affordable housing social movement and actors, master frames were also critically observed. Therefore rather than lengthening the laundry list, it is hoped
to be maintained in size by engaging the master frames, which appeal to a plethora of different movements.

Fourthly, Benford is concerned with “static tendencies” (Ibid.; 415). This expresses how frame analysts are preoccupied with identifying frames, as opposed to examining the framing processes employed to explore the construction of a given frame (Ibid.; 415-416). I have attempted to avoid this criticism by focusing upon the strategic framing processes employed by proponents of the affordable housing social movement.

Fifthly, I have made a conscious effort to circumvent the criticism of “monolithic tendencies.” Monolithic tendencies pertains to the notion that “[t]here is a general tendency to oversimplify, to treat movement frames or framing as monolithic” (Ibid.; 422). By examining the framing strategies and discourses of the movement members, in the squatters’ diary, and viewing the construction of three distinct frames within the literature, monolithism is not a criticism I hope to encounter.

Finally, an “elite bias” of the affordable housing social movement members’ frames constructions is intentionally avoided. An elite bias refers to the “...shortcoming prevalent in much of the movement framing literature”—focusing “...on the framing of movement elites to the neglect of rank-and-file participants, potential recruits, bystanders and others” (Ibid.; 421). Using the squatters’ diaries as a primary source, it is my intention that this form of criticism will not be leveled against this analysis. Members of the public, average squatters and movement leaders, in addition to international supporters, are all profiled in the
diary and within the reporting of my findings, providing a wide and varied spectrum of the affordable housing movement population and proponents.

2.5 - Journalistic Framing

I analysed representations of the Woodward's squat in the Vancouver newsprint media, by critically evaluating if the frames offered by the affordable housing movement were supported or negated in news articles from The Vancouver Sun newspaper. “The media are one of the most powerful institutions in a democratic society because they help transmit its central images, ideas and symbols, as well as a nation’s narratives and myths” (Henry and Tator, 2002; 4). As Martin Mayer proposes, in Making News [1993],

News is a window of the world. Through its frames, (people) learn of themselves and others, of their institutions, leaders, and life styles, and those of other nations and their peoples...[N]ews is socially constructed...[N]ews organizations both circulate and shape knowledge...Additionally, the news media have the power to shape consumers opinions on topics about which they are ignorant (Parentheses added, 2003; 1-2).

This extended quotation illustrates the power that the news media have in conveying and formulating knowledge claims of the mass public, through framing or socially constructing the news. The Vancouver Sun and additional media sources, were circulating, informing and creating public understandings of the Woodward's squat and the affordable housing social movement, a topic about which many members of the local public had little awareness. Thus, the frames of the squat and affordable housing movement socially formulated and conveyed by The Vancouver Sun, pertaining to the squat and affordable housing social
It is my position that The Vancouver Sun newspaper continued in the practice of communicating dominant discourses or frames of the homeless and Woodward's squatters in the media, discrediting the alternative framings of the squat and squatters offered by the local affordable housing movement. In other words, inequities faced by homeless persons, squatters and other second-class citizens of Vancouver were legitimized in the The Vancouver Sun coverage of the Woodward's squat. This hypothesis was confirmed in my findings.

2.6 - Conceptual Clarification

In relation to the journalistic framing of the squat, two additional theoretical terms or concepts are employed. They are hegemony and legitimate authority. Hegemony is a theoretical concept first developed by cultural theorist Antonio Gramsci originating in the 1930s (Henry and Tator, 2002; 245). Relations of power and class are central to the term. Hegemony examines how the dominant class maintains power over the (re)production of the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres of society through the ruling of the state (Ibid.).
concept of hegemony is often found in those analyses that seek to show how everyday meanings, representations, and activities are organized and normalized as part of a natural order of domination and subordination" (Ibid; 246). Evidence from *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper confirms that dominant hegemonic discourses were upheld in the newspaper reporting of the squat, while alternative subordinate framings of Woodsquat offered by the affordable housing movement members, the subordinate non-ruling class were rarely discussed.

Legitimate authority refers to institutional organizations, such as the Vancouver Police Department, who are a legitimate enforcement authority, or the Liberal provincial government, who are a legitimate political authority, who are perceived as legitimate due to the consent and compliance of the masses to their authority and/or governing and/or enforcement rules.

Why propose a marriage between these realms of theoretical thinking? Is framing theory and social constructionism compatible? I argue yes they are. Both theories examine the construction of meaning and discourse in our society. By combining the goals of social constructionism, with the outlined processes of framing theory a more comprehensive investigation of social significance and meaning, in relation to the Woodward's squat and local affordable housing social movement can be undertaken. By applying facets of framing theory and social constructionist viewpoints to my research interests, I will confirm the existence of my proposed hypotheses.

2.7 - METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN
These theoretical conjectures and hypotheses have been evaluated through the construction of a comparative-qualitative methodological research design. Firstly, the research design is comparative in that selected Vancouver Sun newspaper articles and squatters’ diary entries have been scrutinized to determine similarities and differences in their framing of the Woodward’s squat and affordable housing social movement. Secondly, it is qualitative in that deductive-interpretive skills will be employed to decipher meaning and understanding of the primary and secondary sources analysed. First, an elaboration of the sources utilized and the process of data collection will ensue, followed by an explanation of the sample construction. Finally, the data analysis strategy, inclusive of the data recording method and process of analysis will be developed.

2.8 - Explanation of Sources

Before any further development of the methodological map of the research, it is appropriate to explain the sources that were critically evaluated in more detail. There are a number of primary sources and a grouping of secondary sources that were the focus of evaluation. In particular, two integral private and public document sources were the central focus of analysis. They were: 1) a collection of private documents publicly shared - a squatters’ electronically web-posted diary and 2) public documents - a selected compilation of Vancouver Sun newspaper articles. The private documents or squatters’ diary data were collected using the Internet, while the public documents or Vancouver Sun newspaper data were amassed using archival searches.
In more detail, the squatters' diary has been downloaded from the Internet and provides a plethora of direct squatting information as a primary source to be used for analytical purposes. In all honesty, this is not a traditional diary. This is to say, that the diary is not entirely written by squatters. Instead, this document is organized in a chronological fashion, starting with "Day 01, Saturday, September 14", continuing to "Day 92 – December 14 – Saturday" (Friends of The Woodward's Squat, February 3, 2003; 1-90.). 148 diary submissions comprise the details of the 92 days, from September 14 to December 14, 2002, overviewed by the diary. The diary is a collaborative effort, instigated by the squat supporters, "Friends of the Woodward's Squat". It is a rich primary source including: 1) letters about the squat written to various local, provincial and governmental officials and the Vancouver Archives by Anti-Poverty Committee members, squatters and squat supporters; 2) public press releases from the Woodward's squat; 3) testimonies from squatters and squat supporters; 4) a historization of the chronological facts pertaining to the squat from the squatters and supporters point of view; 5) communication and the public advertisement of events pertaining to Woodsquat; 6) documentation of the legal proceedings as related to the Woodward’s building squat and tent city (Ibid.). Unfortunately, this valuable primary source is no longer posted on the Internet. Potentially, the IRL address for this website may not have been renewed as is necessary annually. However, I would like to be clear that this is an assumption; I have no data that conclusively support this idea.
I also have acquired more than 70 *Vancouver Sun* news articles and reports from *The Vancouver Sun* archives, using their automated archival retrieval system called *Infoline*, as a method of data collection. *Infoline* searched all of their archival article databases for the terms “squat,” “Woodward’s,” and “homeless,” published between September 14 and December 14, 2002. The search produced 79 articles. The articles, produced by the conservative media publisher Can West, are considered to be a bountiful primary and secondary source of information on the central topic of Woodsquat. In my archival search, I decided to omit opinion piece articles and editorials as a means to construct a small sampling frame. Thus, the 70 articles overwhelmingly consist of reports and detailed accounts of the affairs that relate to the Woodward’s squat.

A concern with using public and private documents, such as the squatters’ diary and *Vancouver Sun* newspaper articles, as a primary source of investigation is they may be incomplete or provide inaccurate information (Creswell, 2003; 187). The articles and diary may display inauthentic information (Ibid.). In response to this criticism, I argue that a careful historical investigation of the squat, incorporating information interviews with knowledgeable figures associated with the squat, can assist in the verification of the sources. This historical information process can assist in determining the accuracy and authenticity of the information revealed. Furthermore, by analyzing the strategic framing processes of the affordable housing social movement, the creation of meanings assigned to the squat can be elucidated, confirming or negating competing knowledge or truth claims related to the squat.
Creswell suggests that a benefit of using private and public documents, like the squatters' diary and *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper articles, is they represent thoughtful data (Ibid.). The authors and contributors of both sources have taken time to compile the information or data presented, representing the squat and affordable housing social movement. Another benefit of using these documents for analysis is that the language and words of the affordable housing proponents and squatting participants can be studied in the diary and newspaper (Ibid.). Their direct words can be sought in newspaper quotations or written language, opposed to studying material that has been indirectly paraphrased or reported differently.

Other than these central sources of analysis, archival photos, in addition to academic articles, texts and diagrams, in association with the inclusion of Internet based materials will complete the sources used in this thesis research.

**2.9 - Sample Construction**

From over 140 woodsquatters' diary entries and 70 plus *Vancouver Sun* newspaper reports, pertaining to the dates September 14 to December 14, 2002, I have selected 10 random diary submissions and 10 random *Vancouver Sun* news articles for the comparison in frames of Woodsquat and the affordable housing social movement, in addition to analyzing the framing processes. How will the sample of articles and diary entries be narrowed in sample size to twenty? In response, the criteria used to select the sample relates to a critical event in the life of the squat. The critical event in the life of the squat occurred
September 21, 2002 when the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) evicted squatters from the interior of the Woodward's building.

For historical reference, from September 14 to September 21, 2002 homeless people, activists and supporters resided and organized a squat in the interior of the Woodward's building. However, on the morning of September 21, 2002, everything changed. According to squatter, Craig Ballantyne:

The cops came in...They literally went 'leave or get arrested.' Three cops came onto me. I grabbed my bag, my packsack, and my bike and I left 50 feet. I was told to continue on so I couldn't watch the proceedings. It was hard. Then they threw everybody's possessions that people couldn't grab or weren't able to grab because the cops just told people to leave. They wouldn't let them grab what little we have. They threw it all in the dumpster (Ballantyne, October 1, 2002; n.pag.).

That morning the VPD evicted and arrested squatters, after acquiring an injunction demanding the removal of the squatters from the interior of 101 West Hastings. Similar to the account of Craig Ballantyne, local media reports circulated and broadcast that the VPD forcibly removed occupants (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 24, 2002; B4). The tumultuous eviction process resulted in the arrest of 58 squatters and supporters. Vancouver Police chief, Jamie Graham, rejected the notion that the police were heavy handed in the disbandment of the interior squat (Ibid). Following these events, a tent city was formed, surrounding three of the four sidewalks around the perimeter of the Woodward's building, until the squat was disbanded on December 14, 2002.

This critical event, referred to as the eviction, is being used as a marker or filter to select the 20 articles and diary entries. Using the eviction date, September 21, 2002, the first ten diary entries and the first ten newspaper
articles will be selected from the sampling frame. This event has been selected as a means to generate a sample for two reasons. First, in lieu of simple random selection, the critical event method of selection will be used to create a sample for analysis. Simple random selection is not a preferable sample construction method for this project as some diary entries and some newspaper articles do not make reference to any form of frames or framing processes of Woodsquat and/or the local affordable housing social movement. Many of the news articles and diary submissions, written in relation to Woodsquat and the Vancouver affordable housing movement, are not suitable for this research project. Secondly, the eviction event in the life of the squat was highly publicized and reported in the media and social movement literature. A vibrant and plentiful discourse of the eviction was illustrated in the squatters’ diary and in The Vancouver Sun newspaper articles that is suitable for the goals of this research study.

Using this sample construction process has yielded a variation between the dates of the ten sample diary articles and the ten sample news articles. The ten diary entries analysed cover the dates: Saturday, September 21, 2002 to Saturday, October 5, 2002. Alternately, the ten Vancouver Sun newspaper articles critically evaluated overview a broader time period, starting on Saturday, September 21, 2002 and ending Monday, October 22, 2002. Thus an unintended result of employing this method of sample construction has allowed for a longer duration of time to be analysed in the newspaper’s reporting of Woodsquat, compared to the squatters’ diary. In my opinion, this variation in the
dates of the samples has not complicated or detracted from the aims of this thesis research.

2.10 - Data Recording, Analysis and Interpretation

Data Recording

Once the sample of the select 10 diary submissions was critically decided, employing the eviction event as a filter, I scrutinized each entry for supportive facts of frame construction and the engagement of framing processes, communicating the goals and attitudes of the affordable housing social movement and Woodward's squat. In a similar vein, I analyzed each selected *Vancouver Sun* news report for evidence and communication of the affordable housing social movement's frames and/or the construction of alternative journalistic frames. The information or data analysed from the sources was recorded using a protocol or form. Please refer to Appendix one to view the systematic model or data analysis protocol I utilized to assess, theoretically and critically, each of the 10 sample news articles. Appendix two, composite of a data analysis protocol, was used to determine the significance of the squatters' diary entries. Ultimately, these evaluation forms helped allow for the surfacing and determination of research findings. I was able to expose patterns of injustice framing and other frames, plus locate strategic framing processes through this methodological process and use of the evaluation forms.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

"Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive" (Creswell, 2003; 182). In other words, researchers interpret data to arrive at descriptions, explanations, analyses and conclusions of a given subject, object or phenomena. It also
implies that researchers must develop a method to filter or interpret the data. In this research project coding was used as an analytical strategy to decipher the data. Coding is an analytical strategy originating from grounded theory (Ibid., 182). Grounded theory is a theoretical method of analysis commonly used "... to derive a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study" (Ibid.; 14). First, grounding theory requires data collection, followed by the analysis of data to arrive at varied levels or layers of interpretation described as categories or themes, resultant from coding (Ibid.).

According to sociologists Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson, "...coding can be thought of as a range of approaches that aid the organization, retrieval and interpretation of data" (1996; 27). Codes are categories used to thematically arrange the data for the purposes of analysis. John Creswell explains the process of coding in, Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches ([2002] 2003), suggesting that when analyzing data, first broad codes are used as an analytical tool to transform the data into broad theme groups (2003; 182). Following, the broad themes can be recoded and regrouped to arrive at more narrow category definitions if desired. In Making Sense of Qualitative Data [1996], Coffey and Atkinson describe the process of coding as the decontextualisation and recontextualisation of data (1996; 30). First the data are filtered through codes and decontextualised from their original state. Specifically, the data are shifted into categories of interpretation, disconnected from their original context. Once, this process is complete, the researcher recontextualises the coding of data into themes. Recontextualisation
involves reformulating the coded data into coherent and possibly inter-related themes (Ibid.). All the authors agree that coding is not static, but fluid and ever changing with the visualization of the data. To be clear, coding is not solely about the categorization of data, rather, coding is about the conceptualization of data, the questioning of data and providing interpretive answers to the questions raised (Ibid.; 31).

From a critical perspective, A. Weaver and Paul Atkinson criticize codes that are too expansive in scope, lacking detail, permitting the creation of vague themes of analysis (Weaver and Atkinson in Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; 37-38). Equally, they also warn against codes that are too refined in interpretation, disconnecting data from inter-thematic links (Ibid.; 38). This indicates that the aim of a researcher when coding must be to create codes that are not too broad, yet not overly restrictive in categorization. It is hoped that neither of these criticisms will be an issue within this research project.

Please refer to table 2.1 to view the code questions and corresponding codes that were used to analyze the squatters’ diary submissions.

**Table 2.1 - Diary Coding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code questions</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did members of the affordable housing social movement describe the squat?</td>
<td>Members-description/frame of squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What perspectives did members of the affordable housing social movement communicate in relation to the squat?</td>
<td>Members – Perspectives/frame of the squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What strategies did the members use to communicate their description and perspectives of the squat?</td>
<td>Members- Strategies/Framing processes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please refer to table 2.2 to view the code questions and corresponding codes that will be used to analyze *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper.

**Table 2.2 – Newspaper Coding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code questions</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How did the newspaper describe the squat?</td>
<td>Newspapers-description/frame of squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What perspectives did the newspaper communicate in relation to the squat?</td>
<td>Newspapers—Perspectives/frame of the squat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beyond, these initial broad codes, the codes were refined into smaller groupings representative of themes symbolic of the existing frames reported in the findings chapter. Please view Appendix one and two to view the related coding portion of the protocol or form used to analyze the diary and newspaper data.

**2.11 - Step-By-Step Explanation of Data Analysis**

**Table 2.3 – Step-By-Step Explanation of Data Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step of Analysis</th>
<th>Explanation of Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>• Read all of the diary submissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Read all of the newspaper articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>• Begin broad code analysis with protocol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 1 document (an article or a diary submission) = 1 form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
<td>• Sort coded data into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4</td>
<td>categories/themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Question the themes/categories, problematise them if necessary as a method of critical investigation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 5</th>
<th>categories/themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provide rationale and meaning for the organization and interpretation of data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar methodological template was employed in Daniele Torek's article "Voices of homeless people in the street newspapers: a cross-cultural exploration" [2001], published in the journal *Discourse and Society*. Torck completed a comparative quantitative-qualitative discourse analysis of four different street newspapers, published in three different nations, framing homelessness issues by homeless peoples (2001; 373-377). Theoretically, his findings were arrived at via the use of content and discourse analysis in addition to journalistic framing theory (Ibid.; 378-388). Torck placed an emphasis upon the qualitative methods of discourse and frame analysis interpretation, as opposed to the quantitative method, content analysis. Methodologically, the research of Torck and mine are similar in that our research is comparative. His qualitative research is more comprehensive in that he compared different nations frames of homeless people, published in different newspapers. I too compare two primary written sources on homelessness, one of the sources being a
newspaper, albeit it centers on one location, as opposed to a broad international appeal. Different to Torck, I do not have a quantitative component of research. Instead, I have chosen to focus on the qualitative aspects of my research findings.
CHAPTER 3: Squatting Literature Review
LITERATURE REVIEW

Turning to a critical review of the contemporary literature on squatting, some themes are evident upon surveying the texts. The themes are: 1) a generalizable pattern of political squat formation; 2) the development of housing social movements in relation to squatting; 3) in addition to a prevalence of police involvement with the squats, squatters and squat supporters; 4) the creation of tent cities. Three publications will be the primary focus of this review, supplemented with the inclusion of primary sources. Author Ann Pettit’s “Better Than Telly Any Day”, which forms Chapter 10 in the ethnographic squatters’ book *Squatting: The Real Story* [1980], highlights features of The Parfett Street squat that formed in London prior to 1980. Similarly, The Maida Hill squat which also took place in London, pre-1980 and is explained by author and squatting activist, Piers Corbyn, in the article “We Won, You Should Fight Them Too”-- is used from the same publication. Neil Smith’s article “From Gentrification to the Revanchinist City,” explores squatters’ actions associated with The Tompkins Park Squat that occurred in New York City, in the later period of the 1980s. Cumulatively, these articles provide an historical backdrop against which to explore the recent and highly publicized squat in Vancouver. Thus, the Woodward’s squat, that recently occurred at the commencement of the new millennium, in 2002, will also be overviewed, using *Vancouver Sun* newspaper articles and information interviews as primary sources. A lesser contribution from three smaller articles is also to be revealed. The articles are: “Modernism and Resistance: How ‘homeless youth sub-cultures make a difference”, “Breaking
Camp at Tent City" and "In Seattle, Tent City Reveals Underside of the New Economy". This literature review will summarize themes that are embedded within the texts of these international squats, spanning a thirty-year period.

3.1 - Theme 1: Political Squats and Political Squat Formation

In broad terms, the literature suggests that political squats may be formed and characterized by educated, politically left, non-homeless participants, who become squat leaders. They become leaders through direct actions assuming unauthorized possession of a vacant building and/or surrounding area to promote social change through unconventional, peaceful, political means, such as squatting. Political squats can be representative of social movements, commonly protesting urban housing crises. By no means am I asserting that this is the sole form of squatting, nor am I claiming that this is an exhaustive list of political squat attributes and maxims, rather I am stating that political squats often exhibit these qualities.

For example, a political, yet non-urban housing movement occurred in the United States amongst the punk sub-culture, engaging in the act of squatting. From the mid-1970s to around 1979, the Californian punk counter-culture movement squatted vacant and condemned buildings as a political action (Ruddick, 1997; 346, 350). As a former punk squatter explains, "A lot of the people [punk squatters] were pretty educated – in a lot of cases upper middle class or even upper class people who'd rejected that" (Ibid.; 351). They were politically active as anarchists (Ibid).
Many stereotypes of squats represent them as disorderly, unorganized and chaotic, however the literature reviewed does not support this. Instead, it becomes evident that some political squats follow a widely similar pattern of development or formation. By critically analyzing the literature pertaining to four squats, two in London, England formed in 1973, one in the United States of America, in the city of New York, that occurred in 1989 and one in Vancouver, Canada in 2002, a sequence of steps are observable in the initial establishment of political squats. Specifically, four steps have been identified in the formation of a political squat. Despite a thirty year span and the occurrence of squats in three different nations, the formation pattern of the Maida Hill, Parfett Street, Tompkins Square Park and Woodward’s building political squats followed the proceeding steps: 1) politically left, educated individuals with homes assumed unauthorized control of a vacant building and/or surrounding area; 2) the newly formed squat was organized and maintained through a democratic process; 3) the establishment of the squat was communicated and publicized in the media; 4) homeless people joined the squatting population.

The first sequential step in the pattern consists of non-homeless, politically motivated, educated individuals assuming unofficial possession of a vacant building and/or surrounding area, creating a squat. Ann Pettitt, writing about the Parfett Street squat in London, in 1973, stated, “...the people who actually squatted were working-class families (122)...with children, whilst others were highly educated middle-class young single people” (Pettitt, 1980; 129).
More than 29 years latter, in the autumn months of 2002, a similar occurrence happened at 101 West Hastings or the Woodward's building. From information interviews and The Vancouver Sun newspaper articles, it becomes clear that the squat was formed by low to middle income people who had homes. In more detail, on the evening of September 14, 2003, Jim Leyden, Murray Bush, three other citizens of the Downtown Eastside Community and a dog, broke into the old Woodward's building (Townsend, 2003). In an interview, Cameron Gray confirmed that Jim Leyden climbed a ladder to the second story of the Woodward's building and entered the premises through a window (2003). Jim Leyden and his collaborators ascended to the roof and raised a banner on the top of the famous Woodward's "W", claiming Woodward's as their own (Townsend, 2003). Mark Townsend, manager of The Portland Hotel social housing complex, claims that all of these people had homes (Ibid.). The actions of these individuals and animal, laid the groundwork for what would become a significant housing social movement in the history of Vancouver (Ibid.). The squat was born and the people came. Homeless people, members of housing pressure groups and others came and the Woodward's affordable housing squat protest grew in numbers over the weekend. "The squatters occupied the building because of what they claimed was frustration over unfulfilled provincial promises to turn the building into social housing" (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 17, 2002; B7).

In demographic terms, this indicates that people with homes, not the homeless, often initially form political squats. The evidence also supports the
conjecture that these same individuals are relatively highly educated (Pettitt, 1980; 123; Ward, Friday, November 1, 2002; B1). From analytically examining the reviewed squats and in acknowledging this first step, it becomes evident that educated individuals with homes often initiate the formation of political squats due to political grievances or concerns in their local community.

The second step in the formation and establishment of a political squat consists of democratically organizing the squatters. According to Piers Corbyn, in "We won, you should fight them too", he states weekly meetings and a news-sheet helped inform squatters of day-to-day operations, issues and concerns in relation to the Maida Hill squat formed in London, in 1973 (1980; 131-132). At the meeting the squatting community democratically voted, deciding how to proceed on certain issues (Ibid.). Similar systems of organization were implemented at the Parfett Street squat and the Woodward's squat. Squatter Craig Ballantyne illustrates the democratic process at Woodsquat. When asked how the space of Woodsquat was organized, he responds,

We held general meetings and committees, democratically. You put your name on the speakers list and you got your turn to speak about whatever. There was lots of yelling and screaming but we did pretty good. We did really good I thought (Ballantyne, October 1, 2002; n.pag.).

Thirdly, all three previously mentioned squats used the media to publicize the formation of the squat and advertise their political concerns. For instance, news releases, interviews with radio, print and television journalists, plus Internet communication were some of the techniques employed by the squatters, at the Woodward's building, to raise awareness of their protest. In 1973 the Internet
had not been invented, hence the Maida Hill and Parfett Street squatters frequently turned to the telephone as a tool of communication with the media. Pettitt writes, "We were on the phone non-stop and were rewarded with the presence of many reporters and three camera teams" (1980; 125).

Finally, the fourth step of squat formation is the creation of a squatting population. In an effort to communicate a forceful, legitimate, supported and enduring protest campaign, the political squatters need to create the image and reality of a squatting population. How is this done? One method of increasing the squatting population is by recruiting homeless people to squat in the seized buildings. In the Maida Hill, Parfett and Woodward's squats, homeless people joined the squat within 12 hours to two weeks after the first illegal occupation of the building (Townsend, 2003; Pettitt, 1980; 127; Corbyn, 1980; 134). "There were it seems, 'some legitimately homeless people' who 'live in the park'"—according to Neil Smith when explaining the Tompkins Square Park squat in New York (1996; 220). By recruiting homeless individuals to buoy the political squat population, two different types of individuals come to dominate the political squatting population demographically. They are the homeless squatters in search of security in numbers, safety in the squatting group and a kind of home, while their also are the politically motivated, educated and home-having squatting activists, attempting to raise public consciousness in relation to a certain issue or cause through the protest of squatting. The squatting activists are commonly more radical in their political squatting agenda, opposed to the legitimately homeless segment of the squatting population.
These observations are born out of a repeated series of actions and characteristics observed in the squatting literature. I do not know if this observed sequence of steps or squatting traits has been academically profiled before. Admittedly, I was intrigued by the fact that a similar pattern of political squat formation occurred when the development characteristics of Maida Hill and Parfett Street squats were compared to the more recent Tompkins Square Park and Woodward's squats. One could suggest that the formation patterns of some political squats are similar to the collective mobilization process of housing social movement activists and sympathizers. Moreover, the observed political squat pattern is essentially similar to that found in the genesis of many social movements, hence I wonder whether if what I have represented as squat formation characteristics are also consistent with the mobilization process of collective action in general? I am unable to answer this question without further research on social movements and collective action, in addition to squatting.

3.2 - Theme 2: Housing Social Movements and Squatting

Not only did all four squats exhibit the listed qualities of squat formation, but they can also be linked to housing social movements in London, New York and Vancouver. For instance, in London at the Parfett Street squat, radical squat supporters and squatters endured two years of "court cases, harassment and internal dissention"—in their efforts to expose the "inadequacies of the [London] housing system" (1980; 122). Wanting to promote affordable family and single housing in London, the Parfett Street squatters and activists collectively decided to engage in direct political action in the form of housing protests (Ibid.). In the
words of Ann Pettitt, "In Parfett Street some of us were working-class families with children whilst others were highly educated middle-class young single people but we all had a firm basis of common ground: our desire and need for a home. ‘The personal is political’" (Ibid.). This quotation exhibits the social movement qualities of an inclusive membership, the fostering of a shared belief of a collective group, the engagement in collective protest action— in the form of squatting, in an attempt to secure social change related to London housing.

Shifting the emphasis of squatting and housing social movements to the United States of America, on June 3, 1991, over 300 homeless residents of Tompkins Square Park in New York were evicted from their squatting tent homes (Smith, 1996; 220). A pro-housing movement grew in response to this attack on homelessness (Ibid.). The Lower East Side neighborhood of Tompkins Square Park became a contested housing zone overnight (Ibid.). Rallying in support of increased affordable housing, the local people gathered on the steps of a Lower East Side community church for repeated evenings after the June 3 forced evictions of the homeless (Ibid.). As one eyewitness recounts, "On Friday, a dozen parents with their children gathered among the punks and anarchists and tried to march against the line of riot police blocking their way chanting 'Open the park!'" (Ibid.). These protest actions are symbolic of a housing social movement, in that its membership appears inclusive. Young families protested shoulder to shoulder with homeless " punks". Moreover, they claimed a unified vision of an end goal. The pro-housing individuals supported the collective goal of more affordable housing and the re-opening of the closed neighborhood park. The
following Saturday "...bulldozers rumbled past the ripped-up benches and shattered chess tables [in the cordoned-off park], a second demonstration of over 1000 Lower East Side residents linked arms around the park"—attempting to defy the anti-homelessness New York City administration policy (brackets original; Ibid.; 221).

3.3 - Theme 3: Police Action and Squatting

Despite the efforts of the Tompkins Park squatters and supporters, the New York Police Department (NYPD) assumed an authoritative role in response to the aforementioned protest actions. "One parishioner, Maria Tornin, was struck in the face and knocked against the stairs by one of the cops, and Father Pat Maloney of Lazarus Community was shoved against the wall"—according to the testimony of a protest witness (Ibid.).

Likewise, in September of 2002, in Vancouver, local media reports circulated and broadcast that the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) forcibly removed occupants from the interior of the Woodward's building (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 24, 2002; B4). However, in a Vancouver Sun newspaper article, Chief of Vancouver Police, Jamie Graham, rejected the proposition that the VPD were heavy-handed in the eviction of the Woodsquatters, denying the use of excessive force by VPD members (Ibid.). Due to the protesting nature and sometimes-confrontational actions of squatters and protesting supporters a tense relationship with the police appears difficult to avoid in squatting circumstances.

3.4 - Theme 4: Tent Cities
A tent city is a form of squatting that is comprised of your home as a tent and the surrounding tarps, canvases and tents structure your neighborhood within a so-called city of tents (Paton, 2000; n.pag.). Tent cities are considered a form of squatting, in that the tents are erected on public or private lands, not owned by the tent squatting population. In some instances of tent cities, but not all, housing activists and homeless people take over an open area or visible shared public spaces (i.e. parks, city boulevards) in order to draw attention to their cause and claims. In other circumstances, individuals form tent cities not out of protest, but in an effort to create a sense of stability and due to a lack of other viable housing options. Most recently, reports of tent cities can be found in Toronto, Seattle and Vancouver.

In 1998, 17 tents were erected on prime Toronto waterfront redevelopment land, becoming a home for some homeless Toronto residents (McTeague, 2002; 62). Ironically, the owner of the land was, Home Depot, the do-it-yourself home restoration giant (Ibid.). “On the morning of September 24, 2002, 125 people who had established a makeshift community on disused industrial land...were, after a long and well-publicized struggle, finally evicted” (Ibid.). In 2002, the maximum housing allowance the Ontario government would concede a squatter was $325.00 (Ibid.). That would not provide adequate shelter for a homeless individual in Toronto in the long term. The City of Toronto attempted to assist the squatters find a solution to their homeless predicament, arranging for representatives from local shelters to speak with members of the tent city. However, the sex-segregated shelters of Toronto were not an
appropriate short-term solution for couples and families who were squatting at the site (Ibid.). At the time of eviction, it was reported that the needs of the 125 displaced residents were met (Ibid.).

"Welder’s wages weren’t enough to cover the cost of a new apartment – first month’s rent, last month’s rent, and a security deposit could easily total $1600" (Paton, 2000; n.pag.). As a result of not being able to afford an apartment, Mr. Brown set up camp in a Seattle tent city. The article reports that depressed wages and rising house costs are major reasons for the rising residency and formation of tent cities in the Seattle area (Ibid.). Where Mr. Brown lived, the tent city was self-policed by the residents. "The community is drug-and alcohol –free. No weapons are permitted, and violence is not tolerated" (Ibid.).

In 2003, at least four tent cities were reported in Vancouver (Skelton, September 8, 2003; B3). One canvas city was located at Stanley Park, while two were located in the Downtown Eastside Community at Victory Square and Thornton Park, the final encampment was located at Creekside park, adjacent to Science World (Ibid.). All of the tent cities, with the exception of Stanley Park, were described in a Vancouver Sun news article as a “...protest against a lack of affordable housing”—in the city (Ibid.). As a result, the City’s park board, the official authority responsible for all of the parks land that the squatters were using, successfully pursued an injunction against the protest squatters. The reason that the park board did not pursue an injunction against the non-protesting squatters at Stanley Park was explained in the following fashion:
...the difference is the protestors have largely taken over the parks they've camped in, denying others the right to enjoyment...The campers deep in the forest of Stanley Park aren't blocking access of other people to the park...They are the truly homeless (Grammar original; Ibid.).

Thus, what we can learn from this is if tenting homeless squatters are not seen and can be ignored, the public will leave them alone. If the homeless are visible and affecting others in the community, they will be asked to disband their tented home and move on to a less visible site. This brings to mind the phrase "Out of sight, out of mind." If the public cannot view the homeless, they can ignore the homeless.

From these articles it becomes apparent that the living costs in urban city centers are more than the minimum wage will support. Moreover, in Canada, the provincial welfare shelter payments are not adequate to meet sufficient living accommodation for homeless families and couples. The literature makes it plain that some working homeless individuals are empowered to collectively mobilize tent cities as a means to create an urban home, when they cannot afford the traditional costs of concrete walls and urban brick in metropolitan areas. As a result, tent cities are becoming increasingly common in major urban centers, where the collective groups of tenters refer to themselves as a community, and their rights to set up their tents are respected as residents of the tenting community.

In summation, tent cities, a police -squatters relationship, a link between squatting and pro-housing social movements, in addition to the formation process of a political squat are all themes developed and explored in a broad overview of the secondary sociological and academic literature of squats. I would like to
acknowledge that these themes are not explicitly developed or explored by the profiled authors overtly. Instead, these themes have been identified, observed and developed within this paper from a canvassing of the squatting literature. By no means is this an in-depth list of squatting attributes, rather this is the identification of some pervasive themes in the minimal literature located. Equally, not all squats may exhibit these observed qualities, however the literature profiled in this paper does substantiate these regularities.
4.1 - Recent History Of The Woodward's Building And Woodsquat

Classical sociologist C. Wright Mills once wrote, “The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise” (1959; 6). In order to develop one’s sociological imagination pertaining to the Woodward’s squat, first, the task of unraveling the history of the building and explaining the chronology of the squat will be undertaken. Secondly, the biography, titled as the “life history” of the Woodward’s squat, will be described in the form of the key players, noting the affordable housing movement’s objectives and tactics. Following is the contemporary history of the Woodward’s building located at 101 West Hastings Street, in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Over the years, the Woodward’s department store, at 101 West Hastings Street, was renowned for their Tuesday $1.49 sale days, house brand of peanut butter, giant red neon “W” a top the roof (Photo 1), and legendary Christmas window displays (McInnes, Thursday, January 30, 2003; A4; Mackie, Friday, September 20, 2002; A4). After 90 years of retail business – “...the building has been empty since Woodward’s closed on Jan. 31, 1993” (Ibid.).

Photo 1 – Woodward’s Building post 1950’s . Note the giant W, a top the Woodward’s roof (Photograph from City of Vancouver Archives).
Nonetheless, before Woodward’s closed its doors to the final customer, there were plans to redevelop the building at 101 West Hastings Street into social housing. From 1985 to the present day, there have been a multitude of proposals to redevelop the Woodward’s building into mixed housing, in association with commercial and retail space (Ibid.; Green, 2003).

Woodward’s is considered by many to be the epicenter of many social problems in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver. In 1985, Jim Green attempted to find a means to purchase the Woodward’s building, in an effort to revitalize the area (Ibid). He submitted a proposal to the Canadian International Development Agency suggesting the Downtown Eastside be treated as a “Third World Country” (Ibid). As such, he was asking for money from the federal
agency to redevelop and rejuvenate the area (Ibid). At that point in history, Green's proposal did not come to fruition.

Flashing ten years ahead, in 1995, Fama Holdings bought the Woodward's building for five million dollars, while the City of Vancouver bought the adjacent parking lot for $11 million dollars (McInnes, Thursday, January 30, 2003; A4; Mackie, Friday, September 20, 2002; A4). The building and parking lot sold for $14 million dollars short of its original $30 million dollar asking price. Vancouver Sun news journalist, John Mackie, reported the following details, "Then-premier Mike Harcourt announced that the province would ante up funds for social housing in the old store, and Green thought he had a deal with Fama's Kassem Aghtai to buy one-third of the building and develop 200 units of low income housing. But the deal fell apart in 1997" (Friday, September 20, 2002; A4).

Following the falling out of the British Columbian government and Mr. Aghtai, that same year, Fama Holdings was granted approval for a new development plan for the Woodward's building. The City of Vancouver approved a development plan that permitted 419 units of market housing to be created in the aging Woodward's building (McInnes, Thursday, January 30, 2003; Mackie, Friday, September 20, 2002). Shortly, following the approval of 419 units of housing in the Woodward's building, the Vancouver housing market slowed down. The slowing market called for Fama to re-evaluate their intentions, resulting in the sale of the building in 2001.
In 2001, the new owners of the building were the New Democratic Party (NDP) British Columbian Provincial government. They bought the building from Fama Holdings for $22 million dollars, two months before the provincial elections, with the expressed aim of building 220 co-op housing units (Ibid).

Despite these goals, in June of 2001, the NDP government suffered a crushing defeat in the provincial election; the Liberal government, led by Gordon Campbell, now formed the majority government and owned the historical Woodward’s building. The Liberals brought new political agendas and mandates with them to the provincial legislature. As a result, in November of 2001, the Liberals put a hold on 1,700 units of social housing, including the 220 units scheduled for the Woodward’s building. In April of 2002, the Liberals declared the cancellation of the Woodward’s social housing project, followed with an announcement in August that the Woodward’s building was once again for sale. A developer by the name of Geoff Hughes then expressed interest in the purchasing and development of the Woodward’s site (Townsend, 2003). His efforts consisted of obtaining funding for converting the Woodward’s building from non-residential to affordable housing from the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (Mackie, Friday, September 20, 2002; A4). It was also reported by Vancouver Sun columnist, Doug Ward, that Hughes was soliciting the City of Vancouver to grant him tax breaks and a transferable “bonus density” if he purchased the building (Ibid.). Transferable “bonus density” refers to the transference of floor-space ratio between a restored building and a second building. This was the breaking point. The preceding historical information is
intended to assist in the understanding of the proceeding pages where the chronology of Woodsquat unfolds.

**Woodward's Squat**

On the night of September 14, 2003, three local activists seized the Woodward's building in an effort to mobilize a local affordable housing protest (Gray, 2003; Townsend, 2003). The actions of these individuals laid the groundwork for what would become a significant affordable housing social movement in the history of Vancouver, centering on the formation of a squat, known as Woodsquat (Ibid.). Why did they resort to this course of action?

Townsend, explains these actions in the following manner,

...[I]nvolvement in Woodward's [the squat] really stems from the fact that for the last decade, for us living in the community, Woodward’s has been a big issue. And the ...revitalization of Woodward’s is critical to this neighborhood. So what really happened is we really got frustrated that once again Woodward’s was going off to the side for some crazy scheme...This was the last scheme when BC Housing [Liberal Provincial government] gave Geoff Hughes an option to buy Woodward’s. In a sense, out of frustration, we decided we’re sick of this; sick of this Woodward’s thing. And if we are sick of it, we should do something practical about it (Ibid.).

The squat was born and the people came.

Homeless people and supporters of the Woodward’s housing crisis grew in numbers over the weekend. “The squatters occupied the building because of what they claimed was frustration over unfulfilled provincial promises to turn the building into social housing” (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 17, 2002; B7). The provincial government, who owned the building, demanded the squatters vacate the building, initially refusing to negotiate with the squatters until they vacated the building (Ibid).
squatters resided in the interior of 101 West Hastings until September 21, 2002. That morning the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) evicted and arrested squatters, after acquiring an injunction demanding the removal of the squatters from the interior of 101 West Hastings. Local media reports circulated and broadcast that the VPD forcibly removed occupants (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 24, 2002; B4). The tumultuous eviction process resulted in the arrest of 58 squatters and supporters. The arrested individuals became known as “Woodward’s 58”.

- Two aluminum 30'-40' ladders
- Red first aid kit ($250 value)
- Four (4) large banners (Social Housing or Nothing, Woodward’s is Not For Sale, Our Home and Native Land, Sovereign Territory)
- Coffee Maker, 8-cup
- Skateboard
- Cell phone
- Formal clothes for court (pants and shirt)
- Table saw (Craftsman)
- BC Health card
- Sleeping bag (black & blue, waterproof...value $150)
- Five (5) pairs of white sport socks
- White teddy bear
- Journal
- Drum
- Wedding band, male, 18k gold, size 10.5
- Small Mattress (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, February 3, 2003; 37-40).

What is this list you may ask. This is an inventory of personal items reported missing, by the squatters, following the raid of the VPD (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 18 – October 1, 2002; 29-30). This is by no means an exhaustive list of the squatters’ missing possessions, but merely a sample of over 218 items listed as missing post-police raid by the squatters (Friends
Vancouver Police chief, Jamie Graham responded to the list by stating, “There were some effects left on the sidewalk which were deemed by the officers at the time to be refuse and garbage, and they were disposed of accordingly” (Hogben and Hall, Tuesday, September 24, 2002; B4). He also rejected the notion that the police were physically forceful in the disbandment of the interior squat (Ibid). Differently to Graham, the squatters were of the view that the VPD stole or recklessly discarded their property.

Following these events, a tent city was formed, surrounding three of the four sidewalks around the perimeter of the Woodward’s building. The sidewalks of Abbott, Cordova and Hastings Street provided the land supporting tent city (Map 1).

Map 1 – This is a map of the downtown core of Vancouver, denoting the location of Woodward’s with a star (Mapquest, April 7, 2003).

The squatting issue then shifted from a concern of the Provincial government, regarding the interior of a building they owned, to a problem for
which the City of Vancouver had responsibility, when the squatters overtook
the sidewalks. Cameron Gray corroborates this. He remarks that the city was
not involved in the squatting dispute until September 21, 2003, when the
squatters and supporters took to the sidewalks of Vancouver (Cameron,
2003). Mark Townsend notes that 100 mattresses and 60 tents were initially
donated (2003). He then states that the Anti-Poverty Committee (APC) took
over the maintenance of the squat donating more tents (Ibid). Cumulatively,
these mattresses and tents lined the sidewalk of the streets of Vancouver in
the vicinity of the Woodward's building.

With a civic election fast approaching in the month of November, the
Woodward’s squatting event became a topic of debate amongst the
candidates contending for City office. Two civic parties dominated the
election campaigning in Vancouver, the NPA and COPE. The NPA slate
supported the dispersal of tent city through a court ordered injunction,
whereas the COPE candidates took a less aggressive campaign approach.
They upheld the position that they would work with the squatters to achieve a
peaceful resolution to the squat (Green 2003). Despite the NPA’s election
platform, the out-going majority NPA civic council took relatively little action
due to the looming election on Saturday, November 16, 2003.

Nevertheless, having stated this, October 29, 2003, was the official
date the City sent a letter to the squatters and supporters asking them to end
their political housing campaign, and cease to occupy the streets of
Vancouver. City engineer Dave Rudberg asked the squatters to leave in his
letter writing, "I demand you remove these tents, structures and objects from
city streets, including city sidewalks, ON OR BEFORE NOON ON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2002" (Hogben, Wednesday, October 30,
2002; B1). This letter enraged the squatters and they vowed to remain until
the City and the Province committed to the conversion of Woodward's into
social housing (Ibid). Without a court injunction, there was little recourse the
City could take on this matter. Thus, they sought an injunction on
Wednesday, October 31, 2002, to remove the squatters. The City suit
claimed the squatters were violating a bylaw that prohibits obstruction of the
free use of sidewalks (Ward, Friday, November 1, 2002; B1).

Likewise, as tent city grew, "...a growing cluster of city engineering
staff, sanitation workers, nurses, doctors, mental-health teams, police,
medical health officers, housing locators and bureaucrats...begun to orbit the
makeshift community" (Bula, Friday, October 31, 2002; A1). In an article
titled, "As Tent City Grows, So Do the Services: Woodward's squatters have
better access to food, clothing, health care"—journalist Frances Bula
described how the homeless of Vancouver had gravitated towards the squat,
resulting in a need for a plethora of services to be provided at the squat by
the City (Ibid). During this same stage in the existence of the squat, the
founder of the squat, Jim Leyden was cited as saying no squatters would
leave the squat for they had no where else to go (Ibid.).

While the City waited for the injunction to be arranged through a legal
process, a fifteen-year-old teenage girl, who had been listed as missing since
October 12, 2002, was found at the squat on November 5, 2002 (Vancouver Sun, Wednesday, November 6, 2002; B4). Two days later, on November 7, 2002, the B.C. Supreme Court dismissed the civil contempt charges against the "Woodward’s 58" (Indymedia, n.pag.). Following the civic election, the City was granted an injunction calling for the termination of tent city. It became effective Monday, November 25, 2002 at noon, but it was largely ignored by the squatters (Vancouver Sun [Vancouver], Monday, November 25, 2002). On November 27, 2002, it was reported that only 20 squatters had left the squat (Reevely, Wednesday, November 27, 2002; B3). With winter fast approaching, many squatters still chose to live day-to-day life at the squat, while City councilors and staff worked feverishly to find temporary shelter for the squatters.

According to Cameron Gray, the "solution" to the squat appeared when the owner of the Dominion Hotel approached the city in early December (2003). The owner was about to convert his hotel from a single-room – occupancy dwelling into a tourist hotel (Ibid.). Due to his preparation to renovate he had many vacant rooms. This being the case, a deal was made. On December 14, 2002, precisely three months after the squat was officially formed, the remaining squatters vacated their tents, moving to the Dominion Hotel for temporary accommodation. On December 14, 2002, the squat was officially and peacefully disbanded. The City, in conjunction with the Provincial and Federal government, committed to moving the squatters from tent city to the Dominion Hotel, paying for their accommodation for four
months. During that time, the City confirmed it would assist the squatters find permanent accommodation (Gray, 2003). Albeit, Cameron Gray was very careful to point out, that the City was not willing to offer the squatters permanent housing, instead they would provide the opportunity and resources for the squatters to find permanent housing on their own with assistance (Ibid). As of December 15, 2002, there no longer was a Woodsquat or tent city lining the streets of Vancouver. That chapter in the history of the city had come to an end.

4.2 - Life History Of The Affordable Housing Social Movement Squatters And Woodsquat

Statistical Information Relating to Woodsquat

The city of Vancouver has an approximate population of 550,000 people according to the 2001 Census data from Statistics Canada (Vancouver Facts and Figures, April 7, 2003; n.pag.). Of the 550,000 people in Vancouver, approximately 630 people were estimated to be homeless in the city of Vancouver in 2001 (Bula, Thursday, October 31, 2002; A1). The 656,000-square-foot-landmark, known as the Woodward's building, was home to an estimated 220 to 150 homeless squatters at the height of the squat, and a mere 50 people during the period of its lowest occupation (Gray, 2003; Townsend 2003). These statistics are similar to the findings of news reporter Frances Bula, who claimed "...100 or so homeless or badly housed" had migrated to the squat (Bula, Thursday, October 31, 2002; A1).

The homeless squatters, in association with the squat supporters, also referred to as members of the affordable housing movement and the City of
Vancouver form the two key parties involved in the negotiation of the squat, throughout the duration of the squat (Appendix three). The federal government, provincial government, VPD, media, developers and various business associations also had a role within the squat, however their participation in negotiating the disbandment of the squat was not as central as the previously mentioned two central parties ²

In demographic terms, the squatters and members of the affordable housing movement, can be defined as predominately homeless. Many of the homeless population at Woodward’s, like any other homeless population, are typically mentally ill and/or drug addicted (Bula, Thursday, October 31, 2002; A1; Gray, 2003). The result of which is a physical weakening of the squatters from living outdoors, in correlation with these two factors (Ibid).

Mark Townsend described the squatters as predominately male in gender, as did Cameron Gray (2003). Equally, both men identified a large First Nation population amongst the squatters. One observer identified the age of the squatters to widely vary (Townsend, 2003). This is to say, not one single age group seemed to be outstanding. Alternately, another observer stated that a younger age cohort seemed to be overwhelmingly represented (Gray, 2003). However, this difference in observation may be attributable to a difficulty in the ability to distinguish between squatters and squat supporters. Squat supporters, also members of the affordable housing movement, appeared to be young in age, not homeless, nor typically squatting at 101

² The VPD appear as a central focus in the analysis and findings, yet upon examination of the entire duration of the squat, they are not a prominent party in negotiating the squat.
West Hastings, however they mixed with the squatting population at all hours of the day. Also, the average age of the squatters may be difficult to decipher, since the squatting population also has been described as transient (Gray, 2003). For example, some people would join the squatting community for a week, then leave for two and return to the squat for another period of time. Finally, most squatters did not qualify for welfare (Gray 2003; Townsend 2003).

The elements at stake in relation to the Woodward’s building for the squatters, community members of the DES and affordable housing proponents are economic, political, and social in nature, in addition to the very real material element of housing. Should the Provincial Government sell the Woodward’s building to a private developer, the rejuvenation of the Downtown Eastside community is at stake. They have patiently waited for the opportunity to revitalize their economically and socially deteriorating neighborhood. A central element to the economic and social revitalization of the community is the Woodward’s building due to its history, size, construction and potential.

Politically, the marginalisation of this low-income and homeless community is also at risk. If the Downtown Eastsiders do not air their political opinion, or are not listened to, their ability to effectively communicate to the policy makers and decision makers may be dismissed or negated in future struggles that involve the community. Thus, the political voice of the
squatters and the Downtown Eastside community is a second element at stake in relation to the squat.

A final material element at stake is housing. It must be remembered that 419 units of market housing are permissible within the Woodward's building, due to the work of Fama. This development plan has not been nullified or been rendered inoperable. It is possible for a new party to buy the building from the Liberal government and choose to pursue this development option. This would be devastating for the homeless and low-income residents of the community, since they would most likely be unable to afford the market housing prices to live at Woodward's.

The squatters and adherents of the affordable housing movement were successful in communicating they were protesting: 1) a perceived lack of social housing; 2) the potential sale of a feasible source of social housing and corner stone to revitalizing the DES community (Woodward's); 3) general dissatisfaction with local, municipal and provincial decision making and policy (Gray, 2003; Townsend, 2003). By protesting in this fashion, the aims of the squatters were to: 1) bring attention to homeless issues; 2) promote and bring attention to a general lack of viable housing opportunities in an "ignored" community; 3) not be treated as second-class citizens, this is to say, as citizens of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, this group of individuals wanted their opinions and rights observed and heard, as opposed to being ignored, discarded, marginalized and forgotten; 4) stand up for change,
demanding the Woodward's building be developed into social housing units as once promised by the British Columbian provincial government.

As part of an affordable housing social movement, the homeless squatters were not alone in their efforts. They had support from fellow movement members. One of the primary support groups and proponents of the affordable housing social movement was the Anti-Poverty Committee (APC). A website titled "Creative Resistance" stated, "The Anti-Poverty Committee uses basic principles of solidarity to defend the rights and build the power of the poor and working people in Vancouver. As an injury for one is an injury to all; so is a victory for one, a victory for us all" (February, 25, 2003; n.pag.). Friends of the Woodward's Squat (FWS) are another support group of the squat involved in the affordable housing movement. In relation to woodsquat they assisted with "...supplies and garbage removal during the occupation and ...assists with legal support of the Woodward's 58, people who were subsequently attacked by police on 22, Sept, and the people who lost their possessions in the garbage trucks after the Sunday night attack" (squat.net, April 23, 2004; n.pag.). Other proponents of the movement include, the Portland Hotel Society, Pivot Legal Society, Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU), the Brian Jessel BMW car dealership³, members of the general public, in tandem with other community and activist groups also supporting the squatting protest. This indicates that the affordable housing social movement was broad in its appeal of membership and support.

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³ This group donated food to the squatters.
CHAPTER 5 - FINDINGS: Squat Framings From The Woodsquatters' Diary
**FINDINGS**

The first portion of the findings focuses on the affordable housing social movement and Woodward's squat as framed by the squatters' diary. There are three significant meanings of the squat and squatters communicated in the diary through one primary collective action frame and two master frames. The primary collective action frame, also referred to as a movement-specific frame, consists of representing the squat as a *political protest calling for increased affordable housing* (Benford and Snow, 2000; 619). When explaining the production of the primary collective frame, the core framing tasks, that being the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing of the movement will be described. The first master frame in relation to the squat, which is broad in scope, inclusive, flexible and culturally resonating, appealing to a range of varied social movements, is an *injustice master frame*, while the second master frame consists of a *rights master frame* (Ibid.; 619; Valocchi, 1996; 117-118). In addition to defining the frames with examples and excerpts from the squatters' diary entries, the strategic framing processes engaged in by the affordable housing movement that were evident in the squatters' reports, such as frame bridging, frame amplification, and frame transformation will also be explored.

The second portion of the findings will concentrate on the journalistic representations of the affordable housing social movement relating to the Woodward's squat and squatters, arrived at through analysis of *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper's reports. Four journalistic frames, socially constructing the shape of local knowledge, are apparent (Mayer, 1993; 2). The frames are: 1) the
homeless as other; 2) the Woodward’s squat and Downtown Eastside (DES) community destitute frame; 3) the revitalization frame; 4) The Vancouver Police Department – positive legitimate authority frame. Collectively, these four journalistic frames contribute to a dominant hegemonic discourse that is prevalent within the media news reports, in *The Vancouver Sun*, of the Vancouver affordable housing movement, the Woodward’s squat and squatters. In other words, a dominant ideology existed in relation to the affordable housing movement, the Woodward’s squat and squatters and the main function of *The Vancouver Sun* was to circulate that ideology (Henry and Tator, 2002; 31).

"Mass communication is more likely to reinforce the existing attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions of its audience than it is to change the audience's opinion (Ibid.; 32).

Finally, a comparison of the Vancouver affordable housing social movement frames with the media frames of *The Vancouver Sun*, highlighting the differences of the two sources meanings and portrayal of the squat and squatters of Woodward’s will conclude this chapter.

I. THE WOODWARD’S SQUATTERS DIARY

5.1 - Frame #1 – The Affordable Housing Political Protest Primary Collective Frame

Out of the ten diary entries analysed, seven of the entries alluded to or explicitly framed the squat as an affordable housing protest. Initially, the squat primarily represents a political protest calling for an increase in the stock of affordable housing, according to the diary.
From the commencement of the squat on September 14, 2002 to the disbandment of the squat on December 14, 2002, the meaning of the Woodward's squat was first and foremost framed and conveyed as an action of political protest against the Liberal provincial government, demanding an increase in the creation, production, and maintenance of affordable housing in the DES. This was confirmed in a quote from the squatters' diary titled "11pm Police Attack":

"Last Saturday the homeless squatted the Woodward's building to demand the province make good on their promise for social housing in that building" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; 20).

The diary describes squatters politically protesting, in the form of a squat, claiming Woodward's for their own, insisting that the vacant publicly-owned Woodward's building be converted into social housing for the homeless and low-income people of the DES and Vancouver. From a diagnostic framing point of view, consistent with the core framing tasks, the affordable housing movement blamed the provincial government for the housing crisis in Vancouver. As pro-affordable housing supporters on a prognostic framing scale, affordable housing movement members viewed the government as unsympathetic to affordable housing initiatives. Motivationally, members of the affordable housing movement rallied and protested due to a lack of viable affordable housing options in the

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4 Whenever possible the words from the diary of or representing the affordable housing movement members and squatters is included. Being that they are a traditionally silenced minority, I consciously have selected to highlight their words and thoughts. As a result when diary extracts are being shared, they are italicized and indented offering primacy to those thoughts as a tactic to ameliorate the silencing and oppression.
DES community. This is supported in the diary, in the form of a speech presented at a Victory Square Woodward's squat support rally, by social activist Bev Meslo. She blames the provincial government for the state of affordable housing in the DES, arguing that Woodward's should be converted into social housing:

"Because the Woodward's building has been fought for as social housing, because the Woodward's building was bought by Canadian people's funds to be social housing, it is therefore regressive on the part of the liberal government to now change it"

(Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 24).

A second speech in the diary, also at a second Victory Square Woodward's squat rally, by a squatter named Toecutter, also blames the provincial government and leader of the liberal party, premier Gordon Campbell for the need to squat for affordable housing initiatives at Woodward's:

"...as long as I can breathe I'm going to be at the squat. Because goddammit Campbell can't take the simple things away from me"

(Grammar original; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 22 – October 5, 2002; 30).

By stating, "Campbell can't take the simple things away from me", Toecutter may be implying Campbell is taking away the social housing units that were slated for Woodward's or the right to safety and security offered by permanent and stable housing, given that the speech included in the diary was from a squat support
rally. The actual intent of the aforementioned phrase is not explicitly or clearly developed in the diary.

The squat framed as a political protest for affordable housing was also described through the discourse of reclaiming housing space in the diary.

“Community members and supporters are encouraged to come and show their support of people reclaiming space in the Downtown Eastside” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 08-September 21, 2002; 19).

The phrase “reclaiming housing space” is consistent with the political protest frame of “demanding increased affordable housing initiatives”. Both phrases denote more available spaces are needed to create housing opportunities in the DES. The difference is “reclaiming housing space” does not directly refer to affordable housing spaces. Anti-Poverty Committee organizer and activist Ivan Drury furthers the notion of “reclaiming housing space” or claiming housing space, when he describes how Woodward’s is being used as a housing area in the diary:

“People who have been living in Woodward’s who had taken up shelter in the only place that was left to them. Who had taken up shelter illegally in an empty building that is left empty by this government” (Punctuation original; Friends of the Woodward’s squat, Day 10-September 23, 2002; 25).

Likewise, another entry states:
"...others felt determined to return to the street outside Woodward's to continue the cause of claiming a place they now view as their home" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 08 – September 21, 2002; 19).

Another entry claimed:

"We want a home. We don't want to live on the street. That's what this is all about, this squat" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 22- October 5, 2002; 31).

In the last two diary submissions, Skyy, a Woodward's squatter and a different member of the affordable housing movement, are arguing that the Woodward's building and squat are a potential housing space available to be a home to the homeless and low-income people of the DES community.

Not detracting from the end goal and frame of the Woodward's building as a resource of affordable housing, one diary submission supports the building be used in the short term for shelter housing space:

"We call on the BC Housing Corporation to apologize for any role they have in this abuse of the homeless and ask that they agree to immediately open a significant part of the first floor of the Woodward's Centre for a homeless shelter" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23; 24).

Evidence that the political protest frame was calling for an increase in social housing due to a lack of viable housing alternatives is confirmed in the following diary extract:
"There is an urgent need for a solution to the homeless and housing crisis in our community and in our city" (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 14 – September 27, 2002; 28).

The implication of a “homeless and housing crisis” suggest that more affordable housing is required as part of a solution to homelessness and low income housing concerns in the Vancouver and DES area.

From critically evaluating the diary excerpts presented in the explanation of the primary collective action frame, one can comprehend that the meaning of the squat was expressed as a political protest against the BC liberal government due to a lack of affordable housing availability and spaces in the DES, calling for an increase in the stock of affordable housing supply, starting with the Woodward’s building.

5.2 - Frame #2 – Injustice Master Frame

All ten-diary entries provided support constituting the creation and evocation of an injustice master frame. An injustice master frame is contingent upon the rebellion of social movement actors against a legitimate authority due to the perception of wrongful treatment or action by the legitimate authority against the social movement actors (Benford, 1986; 466). In the case of the Woodward’s squat, an injustice master frame is observable. The affordable housing social movement did not agree with the actions of the Vancouver Police as a legitimate enforcement authority in the diary and the provincial government as a legitimate political authority. The diary contributors condemned the actions of the VPD in relation to their interaction with squatters and the squat, deeming
them to be violent and disrespectful of the squatters as people. This especially came to light in the diary surrounding the eviction event that occurred Saturday, September 21 to Sunday, September 22, 2002. The title of one diary submission offered, "Police Raid Woodward's Tent City: Brutalize Homeless People" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09 – September 22; 20). Another diary entry titled "Vancouver Police Illegally Detain Local Lawyer Following Police Raid Against Woodward's Homeless"-- chronicles the polices' unjust actions against the squatters at the Woodward's squat:

"...the Vancouver Police Department cordoned off a one-block radius around the building, and began kicking, harassing and arresting more than 50 homeless people sleeping on the sidewalk...They [the VPD] do not have the authority to cordon off city blocks, harass and assault people, conduct arbitrary arrests and destroy personal property" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 23).

"...this kind of behaviour and abuse of people in Vancouver, in British Columbia and in Canada is unacceptable!!" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 26). The VPD as a legitimate authority is negatively socially constructed in the diary, by employing the terms "kicking", "harassing", "assault", "destroy" and "abuse" in reference to their alleged unwarranted actions against the squatters and members of the affordable housing movement. These violent actions are represented as unjust. During the eviction event, the VPD's actions are
described as excessive and unnecessary in the diary. In one excerpt the police were claimed to have assaulted the squatters, using unprovoked force:

"...the police attacked the tent city that has been outside of the Woodward's building for the past eight days" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; 20).

In the diary, it was written that at a Victory Square affordable housing rally, in support of the squatters and social movement, social activist Jim Leyden claimed:

"That they come in with what can only be classed as jackboots and kick people in poverty and kick homeless people out onto the streets and into the alleys, away from places that we are holding as secure" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 24).

"They ordered people to leave and sleep in dangerous parks and alleys and dangerous shelters" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 25).

Through the written word of the diary, the actions of the VPD are constructed as perpetuating the injustice experienced by the homeless, by subjecting them to escalating dangerous situations, treating them with force, banishing them from the Woodward's building to unsafe and unsanitary alleyways and promoting a diaspora of the collective homeless squatters. In the discourse of the diary, the VPD are not viewed as helping the squatters but perpetuating their marginal status as outcasts in society. This legitimate police authority is not understood to
be protecting all citizens unconditionally, instead the VPD are criticized for wrongfully harming proponents of the affordable housing movement.

“Police used a good deal of force & violence in conducting the arrests, and it is unclear at this point what injuries the arrestees might have sustained” (Original punctuation; Day 09 – September 22, 2002; 21).

“I saw a cop smash a 13-year-old boy in the face. And the kid was crying. He had blood gushing out of his lip… The cops were fucking brutal for no reason at all” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 22 – October 5, 2002; 31).

“They’re [the VPD] trying to scare us!…They dislocated my shoulder” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 25).

The aforementioned depictions of the VPD’s actions are declared unjust and overly forceful, in the entries of the diary. Ultimately, the cops are described as “attacking” and threatening the already destitute and homeless (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 08- September 21, 2002; Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 22- October 5, 2002). This is especially the case in a vibrant diary discourse that evolved from the removal and loss of squatters’ possessions following squat evictions, at the hands of the VPD. For example:

*During that time dozens of security guards, police, housing officials, private contractors and construction and TV crews had*
access to the space and things “went missing.” The next night during the police attack the remaining property on the street was loaded into city garbage trucks and destroyed. In both cases the police has NO LEGAL AUTHORITY to take this property. They will have to PAY to replace EVERY item that cannot [be] accounted for and returned (Original grammar and punctuation; Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 18 – October 01, 2002; 28).

“I saw them throwing people’s belongings into garbage trucks with no regard for the personal value of that property. Especially disturbing was the fact that the officers I spoke with were unable to give any explanation as to their legal authority for acting as they did” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 23).

Both of the diary excerpts affirm that the police had no legal grounds to dispose of the squatters’ possessions as they did. These submissions delegitimise the police authority’s actions, categorizing them as wrong and unfair, offering more impetus to the affordable housing social movement members to rebel or generally not respond to some or any legitimate authorities.

“In reply to demands for the return of clothing, medication, blankets and other personal objects, the Vancouver Police offered to prepare an inventory to be ready next week” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 08- September 21; 18).

The diary argued, when people loose all they own, a week is not a satisfactory response time to compile a list of disposed items, typifying the negative representation of the VPDs’ lack of compassion and sympathy for the squatters’ experience of loosing all of their worldly possessions (Ibid.). The squatters
needed their discarded possessions immediately (Ibid.). This example assists in fortifying the injustice framing of the squat in the diary.

However, the VPD were not the sole legitimate authority that the diary described as inappropriate and therefore unjust in negotiating the squat. The Liberal provincial government is a legitimate political authority that the diary casts in an unreasonable and negative view. In showcasing the Victory Square affordable housing rally in the diary, Ivan Drury, a member of the affordable housing movement and APC activist states:

"They were removed with force by the police in service of the government who are interested in keeping this building empty. They are interested in keeping this building empty because they are attacking the poor" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 25).

According to this excerpt, the unfavorable and harmful actions of the VPD are at the request of the Liberal provincial government. Thus, the government is as much to blame for "attacking the poor" as the VPD themselves. Jim Leyden's diarized Victory Square speech affirms this:

"We condemn in the strongest voice possible the violence and lies which surround the Vancouver Police handling of the Woodward's Squat. We believe that this has the fingerprints of Gordon Campbell all over it" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10–September 23, 2002; 24).
This diary submission is further contributing to the development of an injustice frame, by highlighting that the legitimate authorities, the VPD and Gordon Campbell, the head of the Liberal provincial government, are deceptive and violent in their interactions with squatters.

Finally the police and provincial government authorities are painted as unjust because they: 1) politically and legally ignored the homeless citizens of Vancouver; 2) failed to politically represent them; 3) they attempted to delegitimise their political protest. These sentiments can be viewed in the proceeding diary excerpts:

"You [Gordon Campbell], your government, and the police, are trying to discredit the action by poor people in Vancouver by stating that the 'protest has been taken over by hard core social activists'" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 26).

"...the government and the police turn their backs on these people" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 25).

On a different note, according to the diary, the aboriginal squatter arrestees were treated differently in detainment by the VPD, compared to their fellow non-aboriginal squatter arrestees.

"Several of the native leaders had their shoes confiscated while being held in cells then forced to appear in a courtroom without
The aboriginals were unjustifiably racially discriminated against in holdings and in court, by being asked to remove their shoes. Not all squatters were asked this by the VPD enforcement authority, only the aboriginal squatters. Since the squatters and fellow members of the affordable housing movement subjectively considered that the enforcement and political authorities of Vancouver and the province were not treating them in an egalitarian and respectful fashion, the squatters engaged in acts of "non-compliance" towards the legitimate authorities. This is to say, that they ceased to act in a manner that necessarily recognized the legitimacy and authority of the VPD and Province. In other words, they justified their rebellion against the authorities. For instance, the squatters perceived their squatting and protest actions as passive and non-threatening, not justifying excessive force during arrests. One letter in the diary writes:

"...there is an enormous public outrage over the two sets of brutal arrests against the peaceful and non-violent residents" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23; 22).

Given that the diary supports the notion that the squatters were non-aggressive and peaceful, the violent actions of the legitimate police authority, supported by the provincial government authority are rationalized as unjust, legitimating non-compliance with the "delegitimised" authorities.
One non-compliant action against the legitimate authorities that the squatters engaged in was the erection of barricades attempting to slow the VPDs entrance into the second floor of the squat:

"Over the course of the night, protestors had erected barricades on doorways and staircases, sealing off the squat on the second floor. The barricades were intended to impede police progress onto the second floor in the event of the police storming the building."

(Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 08 - September 21, 2002; 18).

The affordable housing movement members actively constructed a barrier to keep the "unjust" police from harming their "peaceful" protest. Another squatter, in the diary, was actively non-compliant with the police legitimate authority, spitting on a perceived abusive and overly violent VPD officer during an arrest:

I saw a cop smash a 13-year-old boy in the face... I honkered [spat] on that cop. I was like: 'YOU FUCKING BASTARDS!' And I got arrested for assaulting three police. First was the one I honkered at. Then his partner got some of the spit on his arm so I got charged for that too. And while they were arresting me I accidentally tripped a cop who got a concussion from hitting his head on a cement wall. They pushed me around and put the cuffs on a tad bit too tight (Punctuation and grammar original; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 22- October 5, 2002; 31).

The squatter, Skyy, claims she rebelled against the cops only after she herself has observed them commit assault and viewed acts of misconduct against a young proponent of the affordable housing movement by the cops. From a critical vantage point, according to the diary and Skyy, she decided to commit
"acts of non compliance" against the legitimate authority only after she deligitimizes them on the grounds of their unjust treatment of the squatters.

5.3 - Frame #3 – Rights Master Frame

From analyzing the documents, it becomes apparent that nine of the ten diary entries maintain a rights discourse supportive of a rights master frame. The rights frame is the most vibrant in a submission titled, “Day 10 – September 23 – Monday – Rally at Victory Square.” Social movements that mobilize for equality of rights and freedoms can be described as supporting or subscribing to a rights master frame, according to social theorist Steve Valocchi (Valocchi, 1996; 117). Valocchi is not specific in categorizing his use of the term “equality of rights”, rather he leaves the term open and potentially intentionally vague, available for diverse interpretations (Ibid.). As such, it may be broadly interpreted, appealing to multiple and various forms of rights, such as constitutional, urban, citizenship or human rights, in addition to civil liberties. In the case of the diaries, the rights master frame was used to refer to Canadian and international human rights. Through the recorded material in the diary, it becomes evident that the international and Canadian human rights to equality of shelter and personal security are an issue, and so is freedom from racial discrimination. For some, the diary highlights how the affordable housing social movement, social movement members’ actions and squat symbolized a humanitarian action claiming entitlement and calling for implementation of these rights and freedom at a local municipal, provincial and federal level.
In the diary, Bev Meslo's Victory Square speech was the first to employ overt rights rhetoric in relation to the squat and movement. She states:

...what is happening here [the squat] is against the covenant that was signed by Canada with consensus of all ten provinces in 1987. It states that all human people have the human right to security of their person and home...That regressive act [the Liberal's denying funding for social housing in Woodward's] is a regressive act through to the United Nations. That regressive act can reach the Supreme Court of Canada and change the Charter of Rights within our country (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 – September 23; 24).

Firstly, the covenant that Meslo is referring to has not been located. Perhaps, she may have been actually referencing the International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which Canada signed in 1976 (Landry, 2001; n.pag.). This covenant is “a legally binding treaty, committing Canada to make progress on fully realizing all economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to adequate housing” (Ibid.). Secondly, by making reference to the United Nations, Meslo is implicitly alluding to Article (25) of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights that Canada signed in 1948, which state that: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control” (Ibid.). Therefore, the diary and Meslo are using international human rights legal documents, in addition to a Canadian constitutionally binding covenant to evoke a rights frame arguing for the squatters equality to rights of an adequate shelter, food and personal
security. Finally, in the diary, Meslo implies that an outcome of the squatting action can be that the Supreme Court of Canada can support the affordable housing social movement, Woodward's squat, squatters and national homeless by amending the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to overtly and directly protect these individuals from loss of home. In other words, the diary foresees that a sympathetic interpretation of the squatting actions by the legal decision makers of Canada could enfranchise the traditionally marginalised homeless citizens of Canada by amending the Charter to include their right of equality to shelter. Canada claims to legally uphold the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, but Meslo and the diary suggest that, in reality, they uphold the declaration in theory, not practice.

Another entry in the diary, from the Victory Square Rally speeches continues the rights frame:

Yes, it should be ILLEGAL not to have a home. In fact, internationally, it is illegal, all governments have a responsibility to provide the basic needs, including shelter, to everyone. So, given that the government has broken international human rights codes, the police should be putting them in jail at this very minute. Perhaps you [Liberal provincial government and Gordon Campbell] should call your family and tell them you have broken international laws and are expecting to do some time in jail (Punctuation and grammar original; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10-September 23, 2002; 26).

Within the rights frame, this excerpt from the diary, in association with Meslo's diary submission, accuses the governments of Canada at the municipal, provincial, federal and international level of not maintaining adequate Canadian and international standards of human rights. Some homeless and nearly homeless Canadian's international right to adequate housing is denied by the
Canadian governments, according to the diary. They assign blame to the governments at an international, national, provincial and municipal level.

Whenever the diary suggests a group or individual’s home was taken away, denied or refused in the form of a squat, or all they desire is a secure place to speak of as a home, it is an illustration of people’s claims to equality to shelter under international rights law and a Canadian covenant being disallowed. For example:

*People were sitting outside of the Woodward’s building with people who had no place to go talking about how we can make it so that people have a safe place to go. How we can fight so that people have a decent standard of living. Very basic things. Guaranteed fundamental human rights.* (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 - September 23, 2002; 25).

Likewise, when the diary describes the squatters’ personal possessions being discarded by the VPD following the evictions of September 21 and 22, 2002, it can be argued that the VPD’s actions demonstrate a refusal of an individual’s adequate right to security. At times the phraseology and terminology of the diary makes it appear as thought the VPD committed theft by disposing of the squatters property. These quotations from the diary exemplify this notion:

“*...the subsequent destruction of their personal possessions*”

(Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 22).

“*...stealing from people who have very little to begin with*” (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10 – September 23, 2002; 26).

Another instance when the diary proposes the squatters’ right to personal security was challenged relates to the eviction as well. By evicting
homeless members of the affordable housing social movement from the Woodward's building, many people were left with the alternative of finding shelter:

"...in dangerous parks and dangerous alleys and dangerous shelters" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10- September 23, 2002; 25).

Finally, not only does the arrested aboriginal squatting members treatment in detention invite the creation of an injustice master frame, it also commands the attention of a rights master frame within the diary. In the diary, it was reported that aboriginal squatting members were asked to remove their shoes while in jail and when appearing before a judge in court, after being arrested during the Woodward's squat evictions of September 21 and 22, 2002. By asking aboriginal squatting arrestees to remove their shoes while in jail and court, yet not demanding this behaviour from any other members of the affordable housing movement, their freedom from racial discrimination is not upheld (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 08 – September 21, 2002; 17). The VPD's conduct interacting with the squatting aboriginal arrestees represents racially discriminatory practices within the police and legal system.

In conclusion, a rights master frame is constructed within the diary due to a use of international and national rights rhetoric, and the selected use of descriptive terms and phrases in the writing of the entries. In the diary, the disenfranchised rights of the squatters' that were being fought for by the
affordable housing movement include the equality to adequate shelter and the right to personal security, in addition to the freedom from racial discrimination.

5.4 - STRATEGIC FRAMING PROCESSES

The primary affordable housing protest frame, social inequality frame and rights frame were strategically communicated through a process of frame bridging, frame amplification and frame transformation. The diary entries indicate that the affordable housing movement advertised community meetings in speeches and online; communicated their interests employing the internet, formal letters, newsletters, and rallies; issued press releases to the media and public; and shared squat news using word of mouth to publicize their primary and master frames, strategically bridging, amplifying, and transforming their frames to gain new social movement adherents and/or supporters (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 08- September 21; 18, 20; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; 20; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10- September 23, 2002; 22,26; Friend’s of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 18- October 1; 28-29; Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 22- October 5, 2002; 31). Please review table 5.1 to examine the frequency that strategic framing processes, the likes of frame bridging, frame amplification and frame transformation occurred in the squatters’ diary. The right column’s numbers in the rows are ranked out a possible ten analysed diary entries.

Table 5.1 – Strategic Framing Processes Frequency Table
5.5 - Frame Bridging

Frame bridging expresses the connection or bridging of at least two ideologically similar but structurally distinct frames regarding a given issue or circumstance, with the end goal of generating new social movement adherents or "unmobilized sentiment pools" (Benford and Snow, 2000; 624). For instance the social injustice master frame constructed by the affordable housing movement, also appealed to the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users (VANDU) organization, according to an entry in the diary titled "Pivot Statement Regarding Detainment of Lawyer". This excerpts refers to the eviction arrests undertaken by the VPD on September 22, 2002:
"Dean Wilson, president of the Vancouver Area Network of Drug Users, was at the scene... 'I can honestly say I am ashamed to be a citizen of the City of Vancouver, if that's the way the police will act'" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Monday, September 23, 2002; 23).

VANDU is representative of a group supportive of the harm reduction social movement amongst DES drug users (VANDU; May 7, 2004; n.pag.). Yet despite drug harm reduction being the primary structural social movement frame of VANDU, and the creation of affordable housing alternatives is the primary structural frame of the affordable housing movement, both movements unite ideologically under the rubric of injustice. Both movements ideologically oppose the actions of the VPD in relation to the eviction of the squatters, since both movements are concerned with social justice for the marginalised citizens of the DES. For if one DES community member is denied justice as a squatter, this may set a president and DES drug users will equally be withheld from justice by the VPD.

5.6 - Frame Amplification

Frame amplification refers to attracting new social movement members and/or supporters through the "idealization, embellishment, clarification or invigoration of existing values and beliefs" (Benford and Snow, 2002; 624). From analyzing the diary, it becomes apparent that the affordable housing movement embellished values and used catch phrases or mottos targeting belief
systems to garner new members and maintain existing adherents. For instance, the following is a diary entry title:

"Police Raid Woodwards Tent City: Brutalize Homeless People"

(Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; 20).

By including the term "brutalize" in the title, this diary headline may influence individuals or groups who are concerned with the values of humanity, peace, compassion, happiness, non-violence and aggression amongst other values, to join the affordable housing social movement. Throughout the diary, these same values were asserted by the squatters when stating they were "peaceful" and "non-violent" protestors (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 09- September 22, 2002; 20; Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 10 - September 23; 22, 25).

In another example, the diary showcases the affordable housing movements plea to family values. In one entry, a squatter states,

"Everybody got along like it was one big happy family" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 22 – October 5, 2002; 31).

While a separate submission invites supporters to a picnic, a common family-oriented event:

"Supporters are invited to attend a community picnic...Bring food, instruments, clothing, blankets, water and an appetite for social housing" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 08- September 21, 2002; 18).
This final excerpt appeals to potential members' sense of fun by suggesting instruments are welcome, further appealing to community, neighborhood and family values by constructing an affordable housing rally as a picnic experience.

Belief amplification can be critically observed in the diary through the employment of catch phrases or suggested mottos. Two choicely worded phrases include:

"We will win as revolutionaries against the capitalists [Gordon Campbell and the Liberal Provincial Government]" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, Day 22 – October 5, 2002; 32).

"No justice, no peace!" (Ibid.; 30).

The former phrase appeals to socialist and anti-capitalist values and beliefs, ultimately soliciting people who are politically leftist in their belief system. Individuals and groups who believe in social justice, civil disobedience and activism may be recruited by the latter phrase.

5.7 - Frame Transformation

When old frame meanings are adjusted or changed, resulting in new frame constructions, the process of frame transformation has occurred (Benford and Snow, 2000; 625). Frame transformation is visible within the squatters' diary. The meanings and representations of the squat transformed to appeal to potential adherents throughout the duration of the squat. In particular, the framing of the squat shifted or transformed from solely symbolizing an affordable housing political protest, to eventually encompass frames of injustice and rights. It appears that the framing of the squat significantly changed in relation to the
police eviction event that fertilized a vibrant rights and injustice discourse directly pertaining to the framing of the squat. Critically, the framing of the squat altered from only representing the primary frame to including the primary affordable housing protest frame, in conjunction with the social inequality and rights master frames as a result of the police eviction, according to the diary. I am unable to discern if injustice master framing, preceded or proceeded the rights master framing of the squat, hence I suggest they evolved at the same time, due to the VPD eviction event. Please view Appendix four for an illustration of this explanation. On Saturday, September 21, 2002, known as day eight of the squat, Woodsquat was framed in the diary as a political protest:

"...reclaiming housing space in the Downtown Eastside" (Friends of the Woodward's Squat, 20).

Whereas on day ten of the squat, Monday September 23, following two VPD evictions of the Woodwards' squatters from the Woodward building, the squat was suggested to be:

"...not a political action, it was a humanitarian action. We were supported by the community [DES community and possibly the wider Vancouver community]. We were supported by the churches. We were supported by union movements. We were supported by women's movements. We were supported by individuals. A farmer came here and brought us food to support the fact that we were taking care of the homeless" (Grammar original, Friends of the Woodward's Squat, 24).
Firstly, this statement supports the transformation of the primary affordable housing protest frame, constructing and including a rights master frame, alluding to human rights protections and enfranchisement of the squatters, through the action of protesting for the homeless squatters and nearly homeless citizens of Vancouver. Secondly, by transforming the framing and meaning of the squat, beyond the primary affordable housing protest frame, to include human rights discourse, individuals from other social and human interest groups are interested in supporting the squat, such as religious, labour, feminist and agricultural social movement groups.

The final document analysed maintains the phrase "No justice, no peace!" -- supporting the construction of an injustice frame (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 22 – October 5, 2002; 32). The diary upholds evidence that the framing of the squat transformed with the event of the police-squatter evictions. The framing of the squat broadened with this event from a singular primary frame relating to issues of affordable housing, to include rights and social injustice master frames. The framing and meaning of the squat became more expansive, appealing to a wider array of interest groups and parties through affordable housing, rights and injustice written and verbal discourse as the life of the squat continued. In particular, through transforming the framing of the squat to encompass human rights and injustice rhetoric, international, national and local human rights groups, justice groups, in addition to other interested participants became increasingly interested in the squatting protest (Friends of the Woodward’s Squat, Day 10- September 28, 2002 24-27).
CHAPTER 6 - FINDINGS: Journalistic Framings Of Woodsquat From The Vancouver Sun newspaper
II. THE VANCOUVER SUN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

In three out of the ten Vancouver Sun news articles, sympathetic images of the squatters were conveyed. An article titled "Woodward's Squatters Vow To Continue Protest: Protestors determined to prolong fight for social housing in former store"—includes interviews with squatters in the reported news material (Griffin, September, 21, 2002; B4). This article is one of three news reports, out of the ten analysed media documents that incorporate the squatters' perspective in the reporting of the Woodward's squat through interviews with the squatters.

Differently, in a second article that debates the future development of the Woodward's building, five out of 12 individuals interviewed supported the involvement of the squatters and DES residents in the planning and development of the Woodward's building. The individuals interviewed included architects, city planners and politicians. Amongst those who advocated for the inclusion of squatter and DES residents, empowering them in the planning and development process of the building were most notably: former premier Mike Harcourt; renowned architect Arthur Erickson; then mayoral candidate Larry Campbell; and downtown Eastside activist and politician Jim Green (Vancouver Sun, Saturday, September 28, 2002; B4). Finally, in a third article, profiling potential Woodward's building buyer and developer Geoff Hughes, it was reported that he was "...grateful to see many of the protestors [Woodward's squatters and proponents of the affordable housing movement] applauding the unanimous approval of council" (Chow, Monday, October 22, 2002; A1). This quotation alludes to the notion that many Woodward's squatters and supporters
were in agreement with Geoff Hughes development plans calling for the creation of mixed affordable and market housing in the Woodward's building. These highlighted portions of the three articles would have you believe that the squatters voice was heard in the mass publication of *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper, that government and professionals worked to empower the DES residents and squatters involvement in the development project of Woodward's and that they were collaborative and supportive of Geoff Hughes. Instead, from a critical vantage point, in all three articles the squatters were othered, represented in a hegemonic criminalized and medicalised discourse, continuing the marginalisation of the homeless in the newsprint media.

The language of journalistic frames "...is one of the means by which attitudes towards groups can be constructed, maintained or challenged" (Reah, 2002; 54). In *The Vancouver Sun*’s media coverage of the Woodward’s squat, four journalistic frames overwhelmingly dominated the articles, maintaining a dominant hegemonic discourse. The dominant discourse supported the framing of: 1) the homeless as other; 2) the squat and DES as destitute; 3) Woodward's as the solution to revitalizing the DES; 4) the VPD as a positive legitimate authority.

6.1 - *Journalistic Frame #1 - The Homeless As Other Frame*

The homeless as other journalistic frame was analytically identifiable in all of the ten articles critically evaluated. The homeless as other refers to how the homeless squatters were unfavorably or undesirably portrayed and framed in the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper. Canadian theorists of racialization, Frances Henry
and Carol Tator, qualify othering as the ideological representation of two distinct
groups; the we and the they (2002; 231). We connotes the dominant culture
"…or the culture of organization (i.e., the newspaper, or the radio station, or in
other contexts the courts, the police, the schools, the museums); they refers to
the communities that are the other and that possess ‘different (i.e., undesirable)
values, beliefs, and norms” (Emphasis and parentheses original; Ibid.). In nine
out of the ten articles scrutinized, the homeless squatters were othered as a
distinct homogenous group using us/them or we/they terminology in the article.
For instance, Constable Sarah Bloor, media relation representative for the VPD,
was quoted in *The Vancouver Sun* as stating:

“We are still going to be in mediation with them throughout the day
attemping again to have a peaceful resolution and have them
leave the building on their own accord” (Emphasis added; Griffin;
September 21, 2002; B4).  

The terminology within the newspaper used in the reporting of the squat, prior to
the first interior Woodward’s building eviction, emphasizes the VPD and reading
public as the dominant we and the squatters are othered as them. The
homeless squatters’ are isolated as a separate unfavorable group, challenging
the dominant authority of the VPD, requiring mediation.

In another instance, George Chow, an individual running as an
independent candidate for election to Vancouver city council was quoted in *The
Vancouver Sun* as asserting:

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5 I have consciously decided to highlight excerpts from the analysed newspaper articles, as a means of
emphasizing and illustrating the findings.
"Woodward's should be developed for 'the normal and average people who are in the neighborhood'" (September 28, 2002; B4).

This interview quotation use in the article, promotes the othering of the homeless by implying that they are not "normal and average" people in the DES community. Alternatively, the article upholds the meaning that the homeless squatters are not a group of normal-average people, they are excluded from the dominant group of "normal and average" citizens. Cast outside the boundaries of normality and "average-ness", the homeless squatters become labeled and framed as binary non-normal others to dominant average DES neighborhood members.

The homeless squatters and mutual proponents of the affordable housing social movement were framed as undesirable others using the discourse of: 1) criminalization, 2) medicalization, 3) plus value and belief labeling in The Vancouver Sun newspaper.

1. Criminalization of the Other

In six of the ten articles, the homeless squatters were constructed as criminals and framed in the media by engaging images of civil disobedience, suggesting abuse of police by squatters, reporting on alleged illegal activities of squatters and by covering the arrests of homeless squatters in relation to the squat.

"Squatter 'Has Nothing To Lose' If Arrested: Patient police still aiming to resolve the standoff at Woodward's peacefully" (Griffin, September 21, 2002; B1).
This is the initial title of an article published in the first publicly distributed edition of *The Vancouver Sun*, on the morning of Saturday, September 21, 2002, that was changed in a final and later printing to:

"Woodward's Squatters Vow To Continue Protest: Protestor's
determined to prolong fight for social housing in former store"

(Griffin, September 21, 2002; B4).

Not only was the story title modified, minor editing of the article changed its final draft, in addition to shifting the placement of the article from the first page of the “Lower Mainland” section, to the fourth page. Did the altering of the article’s title from the former insinuating sensational hegemonic opinion to the latter title more sympathetic to the homeless squatters protest, instigate a change in the placement of the article from the first page to the fourth page? This is unknown.

What is known is that the first edition’s title is complicit with framing the homeless squatters as a group willingly engaging in acts of civil disobedience, accepting of potential arrest, thus casting them in a criminal light. Conversely, the same title illustrates the police as “patient,” thereby contributing to the newspaper maintaining an image of the police as a compassionate legitimate authority. The first morning edition of *The Vancouver Sun*, with the former title of the article, supports the hegemonic construction of discourse which frames the squatters as criminals and therefore undesirable, while the police are a respected authority who are being generous in their deliberations with the “criminal” homeless squatters.

The opening paragraph of both aforementioned articles starts:
Mike Platts proudly points to his name on the handwritten list tacked up on a wall. At the top it says ‘Arrestees – Civil Disobedience.’ His is sixth out of 20 names (Ibid.).

The articles opening and continuing focus on the squatters’ criminal and civil activities, detracts or negates from the central goal of the squatters, which is to protest for increased social housing, commencing with the Woodward’s building in the DES. In fact, only four out of the ten articles state that the aim of the Woodward’s squat and affordable housing social movement is to create affordable-social housing in the DES and Woodard’s building (Griffin, September 21, 2002, B1; Ibid.; B4; Hogben and Hall, September 24, 2002; B4; Vancouver Sun, Saturday, September 24; B4). Furthermore, the public image of the homeless squatters and Woodward’s squat, informed through The Vancouver Sun news reports comes to represent criminal others and events due to a focus on the squatters’ alleged civil disobedience and arrest records.

Squatters evicted from the Woodward’s building over the weekend verbally abused police officers...A group of about 50 protestors confronted about 15 officers in the street chanting:...’Get the f--- off our street’ (Hogben and Hall; September 24, 2002; B4).

This extract from a Vancouver Sun news article substantiates the criminal othering of the squatters by highlighting their defiant behaviour towards a legitimate authority figure, the VPD. The article does not describe how the squatters were evicted, nor does the article make mention of the fact that two squatters had to have hospital care after being arrested during the evictions. Later in the article justification for the squatters’ behaviour is explained, yet not until after they have been criminally othered by the media.
Finally, the homeless squatters were continually framed in the media as
dividuals engaging in illicit behaviour. For instance, they were described as
"panhandlers", "prostitutes", and "substance abusers" (Friedland, September 23,
2002; A11). Panhandling, prostitution and the possession and trafficking of
illegal substances are all acts that are against the Vancouver law. Thus, if the
squatters and members of the affordable housing social movement are named
and labeled as such, they are implied to be engaging in illegal criminal acts. By
linking the homeless squatters with this illegal behaviour, they are constructed as
criminal others. Since the homeless squatters of the Woodward's building were
illustrated as criminal others in *The Vancouver Sun* news media, equally the
squat came to represent a place hospitable to criminal conduct and activity.

2. Medicalization Of The Other

By creating a frame of the homeless squatters as the drug addicted, it not
only suggests the creation of the criminal other, it also implies a medicalized
other. Two of the three squatters interviewed and reported in *The Vancouver
Sun*, were reported to have medical conditions contributory to their state of being
homeless. The newspaper reports:

"He's trying to get on welfare because of an injury to his back that
left him unable to work" (Griffin, September 21, 2002; B4)

"He gets $766 a month for being on level 2 disability as someone
diagnosed with ADHD—attention deficit hyperactivity disorder"
(Ibid.).

In another report, interviewee, George Chow, claims:
"...the way to deal with drug addiction is through police enforcement of drug laws and treatment centers—not by providing subsidized housing" (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

This final excerpt from the newspaper substantiates hegemonic discourse in the newsprint media. Firstly, it medically frames all homeless peoples' drug use as requiring medical treatment for addiction. Secondly, it contributes to the criminal othering of the homeless squatters by suggesting their substance abuse should be managed with the legitimate legal authority of the Vancouver Police. Finally, it homogenizes all homeless squatters as the "drug addicted," when the newspaper reports Chow asserts that subsidized housing is not the answer for the Woodward's squatters, implicitly due to their substance abuse.

3. Value and Belief Labeling

The Woodward's homeless squatters were treated as a different and separate minority group from the dominant majority, being othered through the use of value labeling and belief labeling in The Vancouver Sun newspaper.

Value Labeling

Value labeling refers to assigning a group a label endowed with a meaning measuring their worth. In The Vancouver Sun newspaper the homeless squatters were assigned the value of vulnerable and a failure. The homeless squatters were implicitly assigned the characteristic of vulnerability in the sense that they were characterized as druggies, who needed medical assistance and are prone to criminal activity. Acclaimed Vancouver Architect Arthur Erickson affirms this, by stating:
"We need to get people off the street and get them into proper housing and medical treatment...proper housing is critical for any poor person to make a life for himself and become a useful citizen"  
(Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

The reporting of this segment of the interview in The Vancouver Sun illustrates a belief that the homeless squatters are vulnerable to medical ailments and need help in finding a home. The article implies that the homeless cannot be a useful citizen while homeless and can only become productive, once they have a stable home.

The Woodward’s squat and building has also been assigned the value of failure by mayoral candidate, Jennifer Clark. She was reported to say:

“As long as it remains undeveloped, it’s a symbol only of our failure” (Campbell, October 24, 2002; A22).

By stating that the Woodward’s building is a failure as long as it remains undeveloped, negates the actions of the Woodward’s homeless squatters, members of the affordable housing movement and the squat as a success and symbol of collective mobilization against the provincial government’s unfulfilled promise of social housing. The building was constructed only to be a success if it has housing in it, not if people have politically protested for change and affordable housing. Again, this is representative of hegemonic discourse privileged in the media. Development is valued, while political protest and minority dissent is not rewarded.

Belief labeling
Within the articles analysed in *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper, belief labeling is visible. Belief labeling is consistent with assigning a belief or commonly held perception to a group, resulting in that group coming to be represented or recognized by that belief. In the news articles critically evaluated, the beliefs assigned to the homeless squatters, promoting othering include: 1) the homeless are a problem; 2) the homeless are a threat to safety; 3) Not In My Backyard (NIMBY); 4) blaming the poor.

The homeless were portrayed and framed as a problem by the news media. This belief is observable in the following excerpt:

"[Redevelopment] Woodward's doesn't solve all the problems of homelessness, poverty and healthcare" (Chow; October 28, 2002; A1).

This article excerpt suggests that even with the redevelopment of the Woodward's building into mixed affordable and market housing units, a belief remains that homelessness will not be solved in Vancouver and it will continue to be a problem for the city.

In a different article, the homeless squatters and squat were constructed as a problem for local businesses and residents of the DES:

"Graham said moving the squatters is necessary to answer complaints from businesses and residents" (Culbert, October 16, 2002; B1).

Finally, *The Vancouver Sun* reported a story, where Geoff Hughes affirms:
“The current protests are focused on homelessness. That is being dealt with through efforts of various government and non-profit agencies” (Chow, October 22, 2002; A1).

By printing this quotation from the interview, The Vancouver Sun is supporting the notion that homelessness is a problem of the government and non-profit sector, not society in general.

The homeless were also believed to be an othered group threatening the safety of the general Vancouver population and larger society. An article written on September 23, 2002, published in The Vancouver Sun upholds a belief that homeless people are:

“...dangerous denizens of the day and night” (Friedland; September 23, 2002; A11).

Another article maintains:

“...homeless people are running all over town, stoned out and threatening average people” (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

These affirmations of the homeless squatters as dangerous people and a threat to society, continues to perpetuate their othering and stereotypical depictions of them in the public sphere. What is left unexplained by the articles is how the homeless squatters are a threat or danger to the average citizen by not having a home day and night.

With The Vancouver Sun supporting the belief that the othered homeless squatters were dangerous to the public, moral panic may have been instigated.
Albeit, the editorials and letters to the editor were not analysed relating to the squat and it is unknown if moral panic conclusively occurred amongst The Vancouver Sun readership or wider Vancouver public.

NIMBY or Not In My Backyard is a common phrase used to deter a marginal undesirable event or group from settling or occurring in one's neighborhood. This attitude and belief was adopted by many DES and neighboring communities of the DES, in addition to local merchants as it was reiterated in The Vancouver Sun newspaper.

"...many merchants in Chinatown who feel that drug addicts in the area are undermining their business and that they should be housed and treated in other areas of the Lower Mainland” (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

The homeless squatters, constructed as drug addicts are believed by some, as reported in the article, to be the source of blame for poor business in the DES and neighboring community and as a result should be banished from the DES and moved to other parts of the Lower Mainland. This belief contributes to the perpetuation of the homeless squatters as others, based upon a belief-labeling squatters as undesirable and unwanted in the community - Not In My Back Yard.

Finally, a belief was shared in the media that blames the homeless squatters for their own predicament, suggesting they have chosen homelessness as a preferred way of life:

"...they have chosen to be in this state of affairs [homeless]”

(Ibid.).
While some people may choose homelessness as a lifestyle, many others may not. Thus this belief label, homogenizes and others all homeless people as consciously choosing to be without a home, being labeled as a threat and a danger who is drug addicted and unwanted as a community member by fellow neighbors who uphold a NIMBY attitude.

All of these profiled beliefs and values, plus medical and criminal discourses from the analysed articles provide evidence substantiating hegemonic representations of the homeless squatter other as outside the realm of inclusion and labeled as undesirable in The Vancouver Sun newspaper. This form of framing discriminates against the homeless and squatters. Members of this group lost their individuality in the media, through the act of othering and labeling, thereby constructing the image of a homogenous squatting-homeless group (Reah, 2002; 54). The squatters were constructed as criminals, with medical problems, instead of empowered and collectively mobilized individuals fighting for their humanitarian rights to a home and security.

6.2 - Journalistic Frame #2 –Squat and DES - Destitute Frame

The Vancouver Sun used negative representations of the Woodward’s squat and DES area, framing them as destitute and unattractive. In the media, the squat and DES were negatively framed as destitute by suggesting they were: 1) a health risk to the Vancouver population; and 2) a building and community in disarray, disrepair and decay.

1. Health Risk
The reported unsanitary state of the Woodward’s squat was constructed as a belief of danger to public safety and health:

Part of the area, as a result of people that were down there, became an open sewer. There was defecation in a public place...There were needles and that is a main thoroughfare to and from the Gastown area, people walking and that is why action was taken [eviction of squatters] (Hogben and Hall, September 24, 2002; B4).

The health and safety of the squat was questioned, thereby creating an opinion that the squat was a threat to public concerns of safety and health. Simultaneously to the occurrence of the Woodward’s squat, needles were strewn throughout many alleyways in the DES, leading to Gastown, however the media did not depict that as a public health concern or issue at the time the squat was being reported.

Despite this, in the reporting of the squat, the health of the DES community members were also problematised, in addition to the state of cleanliness and health standards of the squat. The health of the DES community members was challenged, in a second article focusing on the availability of drugs in the area:

“...drugs are easily purchased on the street corner...You can look at Hastings and Main and it's become pretty unbearable” (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

The availability of drugs was constructed as an unattractive quality of the DES, as was the unsanitary conditions of the squat, thereby rendering both in a negative light for the reading consumer.
This negative rendering of the community members and squatters is pervasive when examining the revitalization discourse in relation to the squat and DES community. Former city planner Ernie Fladell was quoted saying:

"...if you give people a reason to be healthy, they will be healthy"

(Ibid.).

His quotation implies that the DES community and homeless squatters are unhealthy, thus needing motivation to become healthy. Not only are health problems prevalent within the DES, but so too are social problems, according to the same article of analysis (Ibid.). It is suggested within the newspaper that revitalization is the key to healing the community and squat of health concerns, contributing to the creation of a clean DES environment.

2. Revitalization

Revitalization is praised as key to improving the DES community, Woodward’s squat and building, since The Vancouver Sun corroborates that the community and Woodward’s building are destitute and in need of improvement:

"...the ghostly visage of the boarded-up Woodward’s department store" (Friedland, September 23, 2002; A11).

Whenever the news articles analysed utilize the discourse of revitalization, they are inversely implying that the DES and Woodward’s squat are not adequate in their current form and need to be rebuilt or changed for the better:

"...to see Woodwards become the first step to revitalization of the whole area around it" (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4).

We can’t... expect one symbolic building to shoulder the burdens and expectations of the entire community. The Woodward’s
building and its iconic 'W' aren't capable of that. But they remain a symbol—of our commitment to rebuild the historic heart of our city and to help those in poverty who live there (Campbell, October 24, 2002; A22).

Firstly, the former and latter article excerpts are significant for they communicate that revitalizing Woodward's will not save the entire of the DES community. Woodward's cannot save the DES community on its own. Secondly, the latter article suggests that the DES community is incapable of revitalizing itself, therefore the DES community needs additional help from others. This is indicative from the phrase "our commitment" and "...to help those in poverty who live there." The use of our and those alludes to the notion that an outsider is helping the "poor" insiders improve their living environment in the DES. The destitute framing of the squat supports the continuance of hegemonic discourse in the newsprint media. Officials and experts who are in the majority, are deciding the health and safety standards for the minority. Despite the fact that the squat may not meet mandatory health standards for the majority, it may be a superior alternative to sleeping rough in a needle infested alleyway of the DES for the homeless minority. There is a lack of evidence in the analysed Vancouver Sun documents to substantiate that the opinion of the squatters or members of the affordable housing movement was actively pursued in relation to the destitute hegemonic framing of the squat and DES area. That is no members of the affordable housing social movement were reportedly interviewed and reported in the media on the topic of revitalization of the DES area.

6.3 - Journalistic Frame #3 – Revitalization Frame
"This whole Woodward's thing is really a linchpin to the revitalization and redevelopment of the area [DES]...the city's planning department noted the redevelopment of Woodward's it 'crucial' to the revitalization of the Hasting's corridor west of Main, as well as creating a link between Gastown and the International Village mall, on the outskirts of Chinatown" (Chow, October 22, 2002; A1).

The Vancouver Sun newspaper relied on professionals, such as city planners to vindicate that the development of Woodward's was a worthy pursuit and central to the improvement or revitalization of the DES community. The newspaper did not provide the squatters' or affordable housing movement a space to share their views on revitalization, despite the fact that they too were calling for the redevelopment of Woodward's into affordable housing. Not only did the newspaper exclude the opinions of squatters when evaluating the revitalization development plans for Woodward's, so did the city council of Vancouver:

"About 75 people, including some from the Woodward's squat...said they were outraged by the city's plan to decide on the issue [redevelopment plans of Woodward's] before people had a chance to debate it" (Bula, October 22, 2002; A1).

Ignoring the affordable housing movement and squatters, in the print media and in the revitalization redevelopment planning stage of Woodward's, maintains the notion of hegemonic discourse dominating the public constructions, meanings
and knowledge of the Woodward's squat, building and affordable housing movement in the public domain. Revitalization was praised by politicians, city officials and architects all of whom are in positions of the dominant majority class, contributing to hegemonic discourse upheld by the news publishers:

"Mayoral candidate Jennifer Clarke said she thinks the city's proposal is a message to the development community that the city is willing to support someone who comes in and kickstarts the area's [DES] revitalization" (Ibid.).

This article excerpt supports the dominance of hegemonic discourse in the media, by referring to a politician – a mayoral candidate, a legitimate authority – the City of Vancouver, and a professional group – developers. The article quotation also connotes that the DES community is in need of improvement and that the members of the DES community are incapable of revitalizing their own community. Instead, professional developers, who are not DES community members, are needed to "kickstart" the revitalization process in that area.

Overall, three types of general development plans were reported in the media. One form of redeveloping Woodward's called for the creation of mixed affordable and market housing, in conjunction with retail and commercial space (Vancouver Sun, September 28, 2002; B4). The second, called for social housing to be the sole use of the Woodward's building for revitalization and development in the DES community (Ibid). While a small grouping of development plans called for no social or affordable housing, advocating market
housing or no housing option for the Woodward's building at all (Ibid.). As professional architect, Bryce Rostich comments:

...to revitalize the neighborhood includes demolishing one-half to one-third of the existing Woodward's building...replaced with a tower...The new tower, he said, should have retail on the ground floor, service businesses such as doctor's offices on the second and third floors and residential above. Rostich believes tearing down a portion of the building would help reduce its 'iconic status' in the neighborhood and turn it into just another building (Ibid.).

The newspaper does not justify why Woodward's must lose its supposed 'iconic status' in the neighborhood? Nor does it explore, why the Woodward's building should become “just another building” for the DES community members in the revitalization plans of Woodward’s? Is hegemony, through spoken and printed word, trying to silence or undermine the memory and voices of the marginalised DES community members, squatters and affordable housing movement, by destroying part of the Woodward's building in the name of revitalization? Woodward's may represent decay and a destitute DES neighborhood to some, yet it is symbolic to others of a battle for housing. Is it necessary to demolish this symbol?

6.4 - Journalistic Frame #4 – VPD – Positive Legitimate Authority Frame

In a subsection of four articles that focused on the police involvement in the squat, the voice of Vancouver Police Chief Jamie Graham was privileged, meaning his news interviews were used as a central focus of the news article. The primacy of police chief Graham’s words, in the analysed articles, reiterates the legitimate authority of the VPD in the media, maintaining and perpetuating dominant hegemonic discourse in the news. In addition to privileging the VPD's
voice of legitimate authority, The Vancouver Sun also constructed the VPD as a positive legitimate enforcement authority. This is exemplified in the following article interview extract:

"We've been very progressive as far as trying to mediate the situation [Woodward's squatters' protest] from the very start and trying to have a peaceful resolution. We're working in a capacity that we've never really taken as police before, as far as trying to find methods of mediation and trying to resolve the situation"

(Grammar original; Culbert, October 16, 2002; B1).

The VPD are affirming that they are attempting to work with the squatters to determine a peaceful outcome to the squatting protest action of the homeless and affordable housing social movement. By emphasizing this in the media, the VPD are cast in a positive light. Their image is also positively constructed in the same article and others, describing the police's initiatives peacefully trying to disband the squat:

"...police are working with other agencies to try to find shelter and food for the 'legitimately homeless'" (Ibid.).

Firstly, the article does not solicit the input or opinion of any squatters to corroborate or negate the VPD's peaceful efforts in ending the squat. Moreover, the squatters are not projected as having agency to find their own shelter. The police and news article disregard that some squatters and affordable housing members may be protesting for affordable social housing and are capable of locating their own accommodation. Finally, the VPD's legitimate authority as an
enforcement agency is unchallenged when they affirm that they are helping the 
legitimately homeless. As a legitimate enforcement authority they are capable of 
defining who legitimately belongs to other groups, such as the homeless, in the 
media and wider public sphere. The VPD’s criteria and method of qualifying the 
legitimately homeless of the Woodward’s squatting population is not disclosed, 
problematised or tested in The Vancouver Sun. As an enforcement agency, not 
specialized in housing issues, how do the VPD define and understand the 
legitimately homeless?

Later in the same article, the term legitimacy is used by the VPD, and 
newspaper again, when police chief Graham is quoted as saying:

“*There will come a time when the legitimacy of this kind of protest 
ends*” (Ibid.).

Once more, the VPD is afforded the power to determine what is and is not 
legitimate, since it is a legitimate authority. According to Graham, at the time of 
the Woodward’s protest it was a legitimate protest, yet Graham foresees a time 
when squatting protests of the Woodward’s type will no longer be viewed as 
legitimate. The paper, nor Graham, explain how the protest is legitimate and 
how it one day may not be viewed as such. The terminology of what is and is 
not legitimate as well as who is able to pronounce what is and is not legitimate 
furthers the rendering of hegemonic discourse in *The Vancouver Sun* 
newspaper. The legitimate enforcement authority of the VPD as reported in the 
analysed articles is representative of the dominant class deciding the legitimacy 
of the minority homeless squatters. Since the VPD are endowed with the power
of deciding the legitimacy of others and events, the media and public view them in a positive regard producing and reproducing their legitimate authority.

Jamie Graham also framed the squat not as an affordable housing protest in an article, but as an anti-authoritarian campaign. The article reports Graham stating:

"There are people there right now [the Woodward's squat],...who are only there for one reason—and that is confrontation with police and other authorities" (Ibid.).

Firstly, Graham and the newspaper, which published this portion of the Graham interview, are framing the squat not as a political or humanitarian protest, but as an anti-authority demonstration. Squatters were not observably interviewed in this article to support or refute this claim. It is questionable if Graham had to publicly construct the squatters' pursuits in this manner to justify the VPD's continued involvement and monitoring of the squat. Secondly, Graham's comments iterated from a position of power and hegemony, negatively construct the homeless squatters, as individual's who are attempting to confront the authorities. Therefore, the minority squatters' ideals and goals are framed in a violent and confrontational anti-authoritarian fashion in the media and public perception. This construction of the squatters by an authoritarian establishment, like the VPD and Vancouver Sun newspaper has the power to legitimize this opinion within public consciousness.

When the squatters and other members of the affordable housing social movement were evicted from the Woodward’s building and surrounding area on
September 21 and 22, Graham justified the evictions as a legitimate authority suggesting:

"...police were forced to do something about the deteriorating situation which...had the potential to become a flashpoint"

(Hogben and Hall, September 24, 2002; B4).

The media supported the police chief, perpetuating the continuance of hegemonic discourse, by privileging his justification and not pursuing other opinions of the evictions, such as the likes of squatters and members of the affordable housing movement. Without questioning other viewpoints on the evictions, the media and public, endow the police chief with the legitimate authority to make the pronouncement that the squat was “deteriorating” and a “flashpoint”.

On the same subject, Graham explained the VPD’s actions pertaining to the Woodward’s squat eviction process in the following way:

“There were some effects left on the sidewalk which were deemed by officers at the time to be refuse and garbage, and they were disposed of accordingly [the garbage]” (Ibid.).

The VPD used their legitimacy as an authority to decipher and interpret what was garbage and what were squatters’ belongings. Ultimately, the VPD decided all of the squatters’ possessions were refuse, according to the analysed newspaper articles (Ibid.). The VPD also defended themselves from allegations that they used excessive force when arresting squatters:
“Graham dismissed accusations Monday [September 23, 2002] that the arrests were overly aggressive” (Ibid.).

When the print media publishes these interview excerpts, they are upholding the authority of the VPD and supporting the construction of them as a non-aggressive enforcement authority. These sentiments may come to pervade in public opinion once this article is distributed throughout the public, thereby reinforcing the use and maintenance of hegemonic sentiment in the public forum.
CHAPTER 7 - FINDINGS: Comparison of Frame Findings
### III. DIARY AND MEDIA FRAME COMPARISON

From examining table 7.1, it can be learned that the affordable housing movement members' frames, communicated and constructed in the analysed entries of the squatters' diary, are not repeated in the reporting of the squat in the critically evaluated articles of *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper. For the benefit of your understanding, an X in a column of table 7.1, symbolizes the frame is critically discernible in the diary or articles analysed, while the symbol -- in a column refers to the absence of a given frame in the analysed documents of the squatters' diary and *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper.

**Table 7.1 – Frame Comparison Table**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRAME</th>
<th>DIARY</th>
<th>VANCOUVER SUN NEWS ARTICLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affordable Housing Protest Frame</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injustice Master Frame</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights Master Frame</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeless as Other Frame</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squat &amp; DES - Destitute Frame</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revitalization Frame</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPD-Positive Legitimate Authority Frame</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hegemonic Discourse</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why was there a lack of repetition or similarity in the different frames communicated by *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper and the affordable housing social movement? In *Making News*, from a chapter titled "News as Frame", author Martin Mayer suggests, "...items must be judged pertinent to both speaker and listener in order to be judged newsworthy and must somehow present themselves to the speaker in the course of the day" (1993; 8). Put differently, in the case of newspapers, a general and timely interest in a particular topic must exist on behalf of the news writer and newsreader if it is to be deemed newsworthy. Should the topic be untimely, uninteresting, taken for granted knowledge or beyond the general comprehension of the reporter and/or reader, that subject is not newsworthy (Ibid.). The Woodward's squat and affordable housing social movement as framed by the diary, did not fulfill Mayer's newsworthy criteria, resulting in a different framing and construction of the squat in *The Vancouver Sun*. “The mass media...cover the problem [homelessness]
as something that affects 'other people'"—therefore homelessness as a news story does not have a wide appeal to people with homes (Dodge in Torck, 2001; 372). According to Daniele Torck, "[t]he end of the 1990s saw a diminution of media interest in homeless persons, in spite of the fact that homelessness persisted or in some places was even getting worse" (2001; 372). Torck argues that a dominant official position in many societies labels homeless individuals as substance abusers, who are lazy and selectively choose not to work, therefore unworthy of the public's respect (Ibid.). Journalistic framing is often used to reinforce dominant official positions or ideologies through a synthesis and interaction between social beliefs, culture and written texts (Ibid.; 375).

Since *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper is produced by and for the dominant classes, the framings of the squat and affordable housing movement, constructed by the minority class of squatters and affordable housing movement members in the diary, were subordinated to the hegemonic position of homelessness in the media (Henry and Tator; 2002; 245-246). Therefore the framing of homeless as other, the DES and squat as destitute, the DES community needing revitalization and the cops perceived as a positive legitimate authority all support the dominant hegemonic position that the homeless are "...bums, drunks or drug addicts too lazy to work and not worthy of public respect" (Torck, 2001; 373). This is why the frames of the squatters' diary were not upheld in the media.

The affordable housing political protest frame, the injustice frame and the rights frame, constructed within the diary submissions relating to the
Woodward’s squat, challenge the dominant viewpoints of organizations and legitimate authorities, such as the media, VPD and governments, from a collective position demonstrating organization and articulation. This counters the official constructed dominant hegemonic position of homelessness culturally in the public and mass media. In the hierarchy of hegemony it is difficult for the minority class to sway the official position of the dominant class (Henry and Tator, 2002; 245-246).

Further comparison and analysis of the diary entries and media articles, reveals some additional differences in the writing, reporting, framing and interviewing of the Woodward’s squat and affordable housing social movement. Please examine table 7.2 to learn of continued differences in the media and diary representations and understandings of Woodsquat and the affordable housing social movement. Table 7.2 is divided into 3 sections, demarcated by the headings: 1) “GENERAL QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON”; 2) “INTERVIEW QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON”; 3) “FRAME QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON”. The numbers under the “DIARY” and “ARTICLE” column denote the number of diary entries or articles that reveal evidence supporting the question posed in the far right column of the row. Each number underneath the “DIARY” and “ARTICLE” column is ranked out of ten, due to the fact that ten diary entries and ten news articles were analysed. As a result, the maximum number possible in each cell, under each column, is ten.

Table 7.2 – Diary and Article Comparison Table
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPARISON QUESTION</th>
<th>DIARY (10)</th>
<th>VANCOUVER SUN NEWS ARTICLE (10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) GENERAL QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles directly report on the squat?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles include the sentiment of the affordable housing social movement members or the squatters?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) INTERVIEW QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles directly incorporate quotations or interviews of the affordable housing social movement members or squatters?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles directly incorporated quotations or interviews of politicians?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles directly incorporated quotations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or interviews of professionals (i.e., lawyers, city planners, architects)? | 0 | 4
---|---|---
How many entries/articles directly incorporated quotations or interviews from the Vancouver Police Department? | 5 | 1
How many entries/articles directly incorporated quotations or interviews from community activists or organizations (i.e., Anti-Poverty Committee, Friends of Woodward's)?

### 3) FRAME QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affordable Housing: Political Protest Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles suggest social housing is the aim of the squat?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Injustice Master Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles employ injustice terminology or ideology?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rights Master Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles employ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Homeless as Other Frame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles other members of the affordable housing social movement or squatters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revitalization Frame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles reported on the revitalization of the DES?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revitalization Frame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many entries/articles examine how to develop the Woodward's building?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Destitute Frame</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many articles/entries construct the squat and DES as destitute?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VPD- Positive Legitimate Authority</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many articles/entries supported the construction of the VPD as a positive legitimate authority?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From examining the first section of table 7.2, titled "GENERAL QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON", it is revealed that the squatters' diary directly dealt with the squat compared to reporting of the squat in *The Vancouver Sun*. Ten out of ten diary entries directly commented on the Woodward's squat and expressed the sentiments of the squatters and members of the affordable housing movement. Differently, only four out of ten articles directly reports on the squat in *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper, while only three out of ten news reports informs the public of the sentiment of the affordable housing members or squatters.

"INTERVIEW QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON" is the heading of the second section of table 7.2, profiling whose voice and interviews were published and privileged in diary excerpts and in the newsprint media. Four out of ten diary entries incorporated quotes or interviews with squatters, while the media only used the direct words of squatters or members of the affordable housing movement in three articles out of a possible ten. Legitimate authorities, representing professionals, city officials, politicians and the Vancouver police were overwhelmingly interviewed and directly quoted more in the media, than in the diary. This corroborates Mayer's claim that "...news is an ally of legitimate institutions" (1993; 4). Not only is the news a legitimate institution, but access to the news media is afforded to common, like-minded dominant legitimate authorities. The average person, or minority group, like the Woodward's squatters and affordable housing movement proponents, do not customarily have access to reporters or the creation of news (Ibid.). As well, news is
"...located, gathered and disseminated by professionals working in organizations" (Ibid.). Thus, it is not surprising that architects and police officials were provided more space in articles to share and voice their direct opinions and views. The result of this is that hegemonic discourse prevailed in the newspaper. Community activists were more featured in the diary, whereas only one minority activist was provided interview space in The Vancouver Sun.

The final portion of table 7.2, referred to as “FRAME QUESTIONS OF COMPARISON” reveals distinct differences in framings and meanings of the squat and affordable housing social movement between the diary and The Vancouver Sun articles analysed. Most notably, the newspaper did not engage or reproduce injustice or rights framing in relation to the squat in any form, as the diary did. In ten out of ten articles analysed injustice framing is prevalent, while in nine of a potential ten articles evidence supported the construction of a rights master frame. In both cases, there was absolutely no supporting documents that upheld a rights or injustice master frame in the newsprint media. In ten analysed news articles, versus one diary entry the framing of the homeless as other was substantiated. Torek supports the notion that in the mass media, homeless people and issues are commonly reported as happening to “others” (2001; 372). In examining the question, “How many entries/articles examine how to develop the Woodward’s building?” seven out of ten diary submissions provided favorable support in answering this question, while nine news articles did. I wish to be clear, that when analyzing the diary entries, whenever social housing was discussed as a viable option for the Woodward’s building, it was included in
response to this development question. The squatters' diary, did not discuss the creation of social housing in the Woodward's building as a revitalization tactic for the DES and building explicitly. Instead, the development of social housing was framed in the diary as a means to end a shortage of affordable housing options for homeless and people at-risk of homelessness in the DES. Differently, the newspaper supported the creation and development of mixed social and market housing, in addition to the inclusion of retail and commercial space in the Woodward's building as a revitalization tactic for 101 West Hastings and the surrounding DES community. Conclusively, the Woodward's diary did not support the construction of a destitute frame, since only one instance of it occurred in the diary, whereas five articles are suggestive of destitute framing in The Vancouver Sun. In conclusion, the VPD were only referred to in four out of ten articles in the news media, albeit of those four articles all of them maintained that the VPD acted in a responsible and positive fashion as a legitimate enforcement authority. None of the diary excerpts supported this frame. In fact, in regards to the final journalistic framing of the squat, the squatters expressly portrayed the VPD in a contradictory-opposing manner. If the aim of this thesis had been to frame and assign meaning to constructions of the VPD, the squatters' diary would reveal that the squatters' negatively view the VPD. It is questionable if they support them as a legitimate authority, due to strained past interactions, such as their experience at the Woodward's squat evictions.

In summation, from analyzing The Vancouver Sun news articles, it becomes apparent that the central focus and discourse of the articles' is how to
revitalize and develop the Woodward’s building, as opposed to examining and exploring issues of homelessness, squatting and the activities of the Woodward’s squat. Conversely, the squatters’ diary principally displayed the organizational tactics of an affordable housing social movement, struggling for increased affordable housing options in the DES, through justice and humanitarian discourse.
CHAPTER 8: Conclusion
CONCLUSION

From the analysis of the primary documents, the Woodward's squatters' diary and The Vancouver Sun newspaper, satisfactory evidence is critically observable supporting the two hypotheses of this thesis:

1) Firstly, I hypothesize that the Woodward's squatters and supporters, constitutive of members of a Vancouver affordable housing social movement, created and used an Injustice master frame to communicate their goals, publicize their cause and rally support for their squatting protest actions.

2) Secondly, I hypothesize that despite conveying sympathetic images of the Woodward's squat and squatters, The Vancouver Sun newspaper communicated dominant hegemonic discourses and alternative frames to those constructed by the squatters and the local affordable housing social movement in their coverage of Woodsquat.

In reference to the first hypothesis, confirmation of an injustice master frame was corroborated in the squatters' diary. Ten out of ten diary articles supported the construction of an injustice master frame, providing plentiful evidence that it was a dominant representation of the squatting protest. Nonetheless, it was not the only frame constructed by the affordable housing movement and squatters in the diary. A primary affordable housing political protest frame was elucidated, in addition to a rights master frame. All three frames were strategically constructed employing the processes of frame bridging, amplification and transformation.
Furthermore, the primary affordable housing political protest framing, plus the injustice and rights master framing engaged by the affordable housing movement were not reproduced in the media. Thus, the second hypothesis is also substantiated in two parts. Firstly, alternative frames to those constructed by the squatters and local affordable housing social movement were created in The Vancouver Sun. The newspaper framed the squat and local affordable housing movement through four principle frames. They are: 1) homeless squatter as other frame; 2) DES and Woodsquat – destitute frame; 3) Woodward’s building and DES area - revitalization frame; 4) VPD - positive legitimate authority. None of these journalistic frames were produced, reproduced or constituted by the Vancouver affordable housing movement or Woodsquatters in the squatters’ diary. Secondly, the journalistic framings of the squat and local affordable housing movement contribute and support the maintenance and production of dominant hegemonic discourse in the media. This confirms the second portion of the second hypothesis.

In pondering what is left out of the diary, it becomes visible that queer groups or representations are omitted. Youth or seniors groups or representations are not present, in addition to non-aboriginal ethnic group representations in the squatters' diary. Despite the inclusion of female speakers in the diary, it does not adequately address or represent women. Legitimate authorities and professionals are not positively and frequently visible in the writing of the diary. In part, this can be attributed to the fact that at times the
squat was represented as unfavorable to authorities. For instance, the diary communicated a strong dislike for the actions of the VPD.

When the focus shifts to *The Vancouver Sun* newspaper, like the diary, women and women's issues relating to housing are underrepresented in the reporting of the squat. For example, of the eight reporters who covered the squat in the articles analysed, only two of the reporters' names appear to be female. Moreover, when the squat was framed in the media, female representations were not obvious. Aboriginal and other ethnic and cultural groups are not afforded written representation in the articles, while queer groups or images in relation to the squat are not observable. Legitimate Caucasian male authorities and professionals are overwhelmingly represented in the media reporting of the squat, including the writing of the analysed articles, maintaining the status of hegemony in the newsprint. Finally, no relatively homeless or at-risk of homeless people were presented in the reporting of Woodsquat, only absolute or visibly homeless individuals were represented.

From a point of clarification, the squatters' written depictions of the VPD were not actively developed beyond shared images in the construction of the injustice and rights master frames, since the intended aim of this thesis was to explore meanings, constructions and framings of the Woodward's squat and affordable housing social movement. Though the VPD interacted with the squatters and members of the affordable housing movement, their image construction does not rest within the boundaries of this project.
Secondly, unfortunately this analysis has not benefited from any interviews with homeless Woodward's squatters, primary members of the Vancouver affordable housing movement, members of the press, many city officials, local and provincial politicians or the VPD. Information from forthcoming individuals would have been a tremendous asset to this critical sociological investigation. This is not to say, their viewpoint cannot be known from the sources employed in this study, but simply it would have been beneficial to interview a squatter or a related VPD member in person as a primary source.

Thirdly, this thesis is a stepping-stone or point of departure from which future critical investigations of squatting and framing can blossom. For example, future research can include an expanded analysis of the squatters' diary and The Vancouver Sun newspaper, incorporating all of the diary entries and news articles pertaining to the squat as primary documents of critical investigation. I also encourage future research projects to pursue: 1) a gender analysis of the squat; 2) or/and the exploration of urban, national and universal human citizenship issues in relation to Woodsquat. These proposed research avenues could be pursued utilizing the aforementioned primary documents or interviews with former woodsquatters. I firmly am of the opinion that the best research of the Woodward's squat can be produced through information interviews with past Woodward's squatters and members of the affordable housing protest. I support and encourage future research endeavors of that type.

In closing, I would like to briefly and concisely evaluate the question: What can be learned about the Woodward's squat from this critical thesis?
Firstly, the meanings of Woodsquat vary greatly depending on the source of framing construction. The findings of this study, support that the media do not assign the same meaning to the squat as proponents of the affordable housing social movement and squat.

Secondly, on a positive note, Jeffrey Weeks purports, “The strongest sense of community is in fact likely to come from those groups who find premises of their collective existence threatened and who construct out of this a community of identity which provides a strong sense of resistance and empowerment” (Weeks in Bauman, 2002; 100). I agree with Weeks. From my in-depth document analysis of Woodsquat, I have learned that the squatter’s collective action resulted in a blossoming of community in the face of adversity. A homeless squatter was reported to have said:

*I’ll remember this for the rest of my life,* he said. *For once people are starting to have a sense of belonging again. Here they’re not on the street. Here they have a family* (Griffin, Saturday, September 21, 2002; B4).

This homeless individuals experience illustrates that a sense of identity and belonging was a positive by-product that was an unintended result of the squat. My only hope is that this squatter’s sense of community in the DES will continue, post-disbandment of the squat, supporting the revitalization of this challenging, yet rewarding neighborhood.
Appendix 1

THE VANCOUVER SUN NEWS ARTICLE PROTOCOL - EVALUATION FORM

Article Title:
Author:
Date of article publication:
Page #:
Page/Paragraph Length of Article:
Topic of Article:
Who interviewed:

What frames are being used in the article? What evidence in the article supports the frame?

What broader social narrative is addressed?

What information is left out of the narrative?

What representations of homelessness or the squatters or members of the local affordable housing social movement are found?
**CODING**

How did the newspaper describe the squat?
CODE: Newspapers-description/frame of squat

What perspectives did the newspaper communicate in relation to the squat?
CODE: Newspapers—Perspectives/frame of the squat
Appendix 2

THE SQUATTERS DIARY PROTOCOL - EVALUATION FORM

Title Of Diary Entry:

Author:

Date of Diary Entry:

Page #:

Page/Paragraph Length of Entry:

Topic of Entry:

Who interviewed:

What frames are being used in the diary entry? What evidence in the diary submission supports the frame?

What strategic framing processes are being employed?

What broader social narrative is being addressed?

What information is left out of the diary entry?

What representations of homelessness or the squatters or members of the local affordable housing social movement are found?
**CODING**

How did members of the affordable housing social movement describe the squat?
CODE: Members-description/frame of squat

What perspectives did members of the affordable housing social movement communicate in relation to the squat?
CODE: Members – Perspectives/frame of the squat

What strategies did the members use to communicate their description and perspectives of the squat?
CODE: Members- Strategies/Framing processes
Frame bridging

Frame amplification

Frame extension

Frame transformation
## Appendix 3

### KEY PLAYERS IN RELATION TO THE WOODWARD'S SQUAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Players</th>
<th>Interest in Squat</th>
<th>Pro or Anti Squat</th>
<th>Pro or Anti support for housing movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Squatters – Members of the affordable housing movement | This group of squatters are primarily concerned with local homelessness in Vancouver. They are calling for civic and provincial changes to decrease the rate of homelessness and increase support services to the homeless community.  
- Some angry with the Liberal provincial government  
- Some interested in electing C.O.P.E. | Pro | Pro |
<p>| Squatters– Members of the affordable housing movement | This group of squatters is homeless. They require homeless services that are oriented to their specific cultural needs. | Unknown | Unknown |
| Aboriginal Squat Supporters– Members of the affordable housing movement | This group of squat supporters are interested in opposing the Liberal government and creating local change for low-income and poverty stricken minorities. | Pro | Pro |
| Squat Supporters – Members of the affordable housing movement | This group of squat supporters were interested in assisting the squatters with their legal defense, amongst other pursuits. | Pro | Pro |
| Friends of the Woodward’s Squat | They were not involved in squat until Sept. 21st, when the squatters started to inhabit the public sidewalks of Abbott, Hastings and Cordova. They were interested in resolving the issue peacefully. | Anti | Pro, but concerned with downloading. Not interested in footing the entire bill. They believe housing is the joint responsibility of the Federal and Provincial governments. |
| Local municipal government NPA city council | They became directly involved in the squat post November 16, 2002. They were interested in resolving the issues of the squat and | Anti | Pro |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Key Players</th>
<th>Interest in Squat</th>
<th>Pro or Anti support for housing movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provincial Government</strong></td>
<td>Not primary party involved in the resolution of the squat, post-September 21, 2002. -assisting city financially with housing squatters at Dominion Hotel</td>
<td>Anti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal Government</strong></td>
<td>Has not complied with the Vancouver Agreement of 1999, where they pledged to assist in the development of housing in the Downtown Eastside community -assisting city financially with housing squatters at Dominion Hotel</td>
<td>Anti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gastown Business Association</strong></td>
<td>Claimed the squat negatively affected business in Gastown</td>
<td>Anti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Developers</strong></td>
<td>Attempted to re-develop Woodward's with promise of mixed affordable and market housing</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoff and Tanya Hughes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Portland Hotel Society</strong></td>
<td>They assisted the squatters throughout the squatting event.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VANDU</strong></td>
<td>Concerned with the injustice of squatters at the hands of the VPD</td>
<td>Pro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4

Frame Transformation Diagram

FIRST MEANING OF WOODQUAT

Injustice Master Frame + Rights Master Frame + Primary Affordable Housing Protest Frame

SECOND TRANSFORMED MEANINGS OF WOODQUAT
REFERENCES
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