

**Motivating Factors for Olympic Support: Analyzing Vancouver's Olympic
Plebiscite Vote**

Jensen Metchie
18911032

URST 400 Final Paper

April 28, 2009

Introduction

There is a multitude of scholarship describing why city governments actively seek out mega-events such as the Olympics Games. Harvey Molotch's growth machine paradigm established the rules for which capitalist cities operate.¹ David Harvey updated this concept for the post-industrial landscape, defining the city government's new role as the entrepreneur, actively seeking ways to boost their city's appeal competitiveness in the global fight to attract investment capital.² The goal is to propel the city into the highly coveted ranks of a 'global city' using every available resource (people, geography, business climate, and reputation) in order to assert the city's superiority over the competition. The globalization of the workforce has decoupled investment and people from a specific location, promoting this more aggressive strategy for ensuring community survival. Therefore, as Harvey explains,³ city leaders must think more like CEO's, treating their city like a commodity to be sold on global market.

Arguably this shift in city governance approach could be interpreted as expanding the scope of the role of the city government rather than direct move away from the traditional role of the city government. The managerial approach to city governance taken prior to 1970⁴ viewed the city's competition in a regional context. Strategies to advance the city's position in the region took the form of making the city the safest and cleanest with the best roads and schools could be interpreted as means to attract or retain investment from the surrounding cache of potential investors. The advancements in communication technology along with the deindustrialization of Western cities have increased that cache's boundaries, first continentally and then globally. The

¹ Harvey Molotch, "The City as a Growth Machine: Towards a Political Economy of Place," *The American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 2 (1976): 312-313.

² David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 71, no. 1 (1989): 7.

³ Harvey, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*: 9.

⁴ Harvey, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*: 4.

result is a re-evaluation of the way the city governance approach the city's competition. Does having the newest roads and safest streets make a city the most competitive? Or is exposure the path to success; remaking the city as a brand that can be as easily and effectively exported – like the brand Coca Cola? Indeed both are important, a defective product, no matter how unique the brand, will not sell. Yet with limited funds at a city's disposal, decisions need to be made on the direction a city will take to remain competitive.

Mega-events such as the Olympic Games provide a global boost for a city looking to increase their exposure in the global market. Yet the level of capital commitment required to host a successful event can often delay other necessary infrastructure projects, therefore it can be assumed that the governments of the cities bidding for the events are relatively confident in their 'product'. Thus, one reason for public opposition may be a lack of confidence in their city's product and the belief that funds would be better spent directly on the population rather than on attracting outside investment. Clearly the residents of Denver felt that the taxpayer's money could be used for better causes when 59.2% voted to withhold public funds for Olympic projects, forcing city officials to turn down hosting the 1976 Winter Olympics.⁵ Yet even in this case there was still over 40% of the population who felt otherwise. Why was there such a divided opinion? In Denver's case the city had already been awarded the games, so a vote against was effectively a public call to back out. Despite the negative press such a decision could bring, the voters still felt the city was better served by rejecting the games.

Cities have changed considerably since 1972. Globalization has brought an influx of international immigration from all parts of the globe. As people migrant around the world they bring with them cultural identities and social ideologies that either assimilates, hybridizes, or remain separate to their destination's culture. These new opinions have already been shown to

⁵ International Olympic Committee, "Innsbruck 1976," http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/index_uk.asp.

bring about conflict. A study on Vancouver's Community Vision Program, which aimed to create neighbourhood specific plans to guide future policy and development, indicated site-specific level conflicts over housing forms.⁶ The Victoria-Fraserview and Killarney neighbourhoods (see Figure 1) both contain large communities of Chinese immigrants, many are recent arrived in Canada, who were in favour of permitting larger Chinese style courtyard houses which extend to the sidewalk⁷. A book by Thomas Hutton documenting Vancouver's transformation away from the Central Canadian periphery to the Asia-Pacific market describes the same conflict:

In Vancouver, the redevelopment of residential areas of the past decade or so has generated intense public debate involving issues of taste and aesthetics but with distinct overtones of race. Coinciding with a period of high and increasing immigration from Asia-Pacific societies, the last decade has been marked by a series of neighbourhood struggles over the design, the scale and even the landscape of new or reconstructed houses.⁸

Though the study on the Community Visions Program concluded only minor site-specific cultural tensions over neighbourhood policy, the authors recommended more research to definitively show what, if any, impact culture has on urban policy issues.⁹

This paper intends to build upon this recommendation by analyzing the 2003 plebiscite vote for support for Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The aim is to

⁶ Joyce Lee Uyesugi and Robert Shipley, "Visioning Diversity: Planning Vancouver's Multicultural Communities," *International Planning Studies* 10, n0. 3-4 (2005): 316.

⁷ See note 4 above.

⁸ Thomas A. Hutton, *The Transformation of Canada's Pacific Metropolis: A Study of Vancouver* (Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 1998), 137.

⁹ Joyce Lee Uyesugi and Robert Shipley, "Visioning Diversity: Planning Vancouver's Multicultural Communities," *International Planning Studies* 10, n0. 3-4 (2005): 319.

understand the motivations behind the vote (63.9% supported the bid)¹⁰ and what affect culture or other socio-economic factors had on the public's willingness to support the games.

Vancouver is an interesting case to study because of the high proportion of immigrants and visible minorities; the 2001 census shows 45.8% are foreign born and 49% are visible minorities¹¹. Variations in income and the built environment among the city's 21 neighbourhoods also provide factors that can be measured for their possible influence on the community's support for the Olympic Games.

Methodology

This study aims to identify the influence cultural, ethnicity, spatial distribution, and socio-economic factors had on Vancouver resident's support for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Ultimately the findings will be related to understanding the factors that shape resident's attitudes towards different urban policy.

Vancouver is medium size city (population of 546,976 in 2001¹²) with a strong central business district and a rapidly growing immigrant population.¹³ The city also has distinctive spatial relationship to income level distribution with higher income earners locating on the western side and lower income in the eastern side. For these reason Vancouver provides the ideal landscape for identifying demographic and spatial trends.

The primary demographic data was collected from the 1996, 2001, and 2006 Canadian National Census and a 2002 yearend Vancouver Police Crime Statistics report. Olympic support

¹⁰ City of Vancouver, "Election Services," <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/elections/index.htm>.

¹¹ Statistics Canada, "Census," <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>.

¹² City of Vancouver Planning Department, "Community Services," <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/census/2006/index.htm>.

¹³ Vancouver's immigrant population in 1971 was 35%, in 2001 it was 48%. R. Allan Walks and Richard Maaranen, "Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities," *Urban Geography* 29, no. 4 (2008): 314.

is measured using the 2003 plebiscite vote, which asked if residents supported or opposed Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. This data is then plotted on x-y scatter plots, bar graphs, and geographic maps of the city that is analyzed to identify patterns and correlations between data.

The plebiscite vote held on February 22, 2003 asked voters one question: "Do you support or do you oppose the City of Vancouver's participation in hosting the 2010 Olympic Winter Games and Paralympic Winter Games?"¹⁴ Voter turnout was 46% with 64% supporting the city's participation in hosting the Games.¹⁵ All City of Vancouver residents¹⁶ as well as anyone who owned property in the city was eligible to vote in the plebiscite.¹⁷ One significant problem with this data is that voters were not required to vote at a designated voting location based on their place of residence or owned property. This questions the reliability of the data to be used as an indicator of a specific location's attitude trend towards the Olympics. However, since the vote was held on a Saturday and polls were open from 8am – 8pm, it is reasonable to assume that a vast majority of the voters choose locations close to their residence, particularly in residential areas with low commercial activity. For this reason as well, advance votes will not be considered.

Data from the 1996, 2001, and 2006 Canadian National Census and a 2002 year-end Vancouver Police Crime Statistics report is utilized to provide a general idea of the

¹⁴ City of Vancouver City Clerk's Department, "Olympic Vote Process," <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/olympicvote/olympicindex.htm>

¹⁵ See note 14 above.

¹⁶ To be eligible to vote, residents of the City of Vancouver must be a Canadian citizen, 18 years of age or older, have lived in BC for at least six months on the day of voting, have lived in Vancouver for at least 30 days on the day of voting, and not be disqualified by law to vote, (See note 14 above).

¹⁷ To be eligible to vote, those owning property in the City of Vancouver must be a Canadian citizen, 18 years of age or older, have lived in BC for at least six months on the day of voting, and have owned real estate in Vancouver, registered in their name, for at least 30 days on the day of voting. Non-resident can only vote once, regardless of the number of properties owned and in the event that two or more names are registered as owners, only one may vote (See note 14 above).

cultural/ethnic, spatial, and socio-economic conditions in Vancouver's neighbourhoods leading up to and immediately following the plebiscite vote. The 2001 census data is used as an approximated description of Vancouver's demography at the time of the vote. For this study, cultural and ethnic characteristics refer to the attitudes a person may have as a result of their nationality or ethnic heritage and are identified by a person's mother tongue. To simplify the analysis, two groups are identified: those whose mother tongue is either English or French represent the indigenous majority and those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French (Allophone) represent the immigrant minority. This distinction should encapsulate those who have immigrated to Vancouver from outside Canada, the United States, and Western Europe, all historically traditional centres for Vancouver immigration. Spatial characteristics refer to both a person's geographic location of residence within the city and the urban environment within that location. The specific indicators are population density, population growth, and proximity to certain areas like the Downtown Eastside: a region with an extremely high concentration of poverty, drug use, and crime. The intention is to measure what relationship the urban environment and/or proximity to certain urban environments may have had on the vote. Finally, socio-economic characteristics are identified using the following indicators: mean income, single parent family population, rental property percentage, and crime statistics (assaults, break and enters, and theft).

In order to better understand and identify patterns and trends in the data, the city is divided into 21 neighbourhoods (see Figure 1). However, this simplification comes with some problems. First, the plebiscite vote is divided among the various voting locations. A number of these voting locations lie on or close to the neighbourhood boundaries (see Figure 1), which further complicates the effectiveness of the plebiscite data. Solving this problem required voting

locations on the borders to be assigned to the neighbourhood on the basis the logical flows of traffic and vote results. In addition, the neighbourhoods described are neither homogenous nor do their borders represent a definitive line of distinction between populations. There will be populations that have more in common with their neighbours across the border than with the residents in their prescribed neighbourhood. However, taking the whole city into consideration, the neighbourhood distinctions does construct a relatively accurate portrayal of the cultural geography within the city, especially considering the often dramatic impact neighbourhood affiliation can have on real estate values in Vancouver.

Patterns and data correlations are constructed using two methods: visual analysis and correlation coefficient/trend line analysis. Visual analysis is most often used when examining geographic maps and bar graphs. General patterns and trends are identified and then cross referenced with the correlation coefficient data. Correlation coefficients and trend lines are used when analyzing x-y scatter plots. The correlation coefficient indicates how closely the trend line describes the data and is utilized to measure the strength of the relationship between the two measured factors. R^2 values are indicated on the graph under the legend. The following definitions are used to describe the correlation: $r^2 \geq 0.4$ is a very strong correlation; $0.4 > r^2 \geq 0.25$ is a strong correlation; $0.25 > r^2 \geq 0.15$ is a moderate correlation; $0.15 > r^2 \geq 0$ is a weak to no correlation. The significance of this correlation is measured using the slope of the trend line, which is visually evaluated for its influence.

Analysis

An initial analysis of the plebiscite vote results shows a pocket of particularly strong opposition to the Olympics directly east and south-east of the downtown peninsula (see Figure 1

and Figure 2). Three neighbourhoods make up this region: Strathcona (which includes the Downtown Eastside) with 54.62% support, Mount Pleasant with 47.37% support, and Grandview-Woodlands with 45.37% support.¹⁸ One poll, held at Queen Victoria Elementary School located on the Westside of Grandview-Woodlands, registered 39.15% support.¹⁹ What makes this particularly interesting is the neighbourhood with the largest support for hosting the Olympic Games was Downtown with 78.96% support²⁰, which is directly adjacent to these three neighbourhoods, even sharing a border with Strathcona. This indicates a clear polarization occurring in this region of the city over the Olympic Games. These results sometimes act as outliers, complicating further demographic analysis by dramatically changing the correlation coefficient and trend line slope. For this reason it is beneficial, in certain cases, to remove these results from the analysis to better understand the trends in the rest of the city. For simplicity, when referring to Mount Pleasant, Strathcona, and Grandview-Woodlands as a group, they will be called the Eastside inner-city.

¹⁸ City of Vancouver City Clerk's Department, "Olympic Vote Process," <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/olympicvote/olympicindex.htm#who>

¹⁹ See note 18 above.

²⁰ See note 18 above.

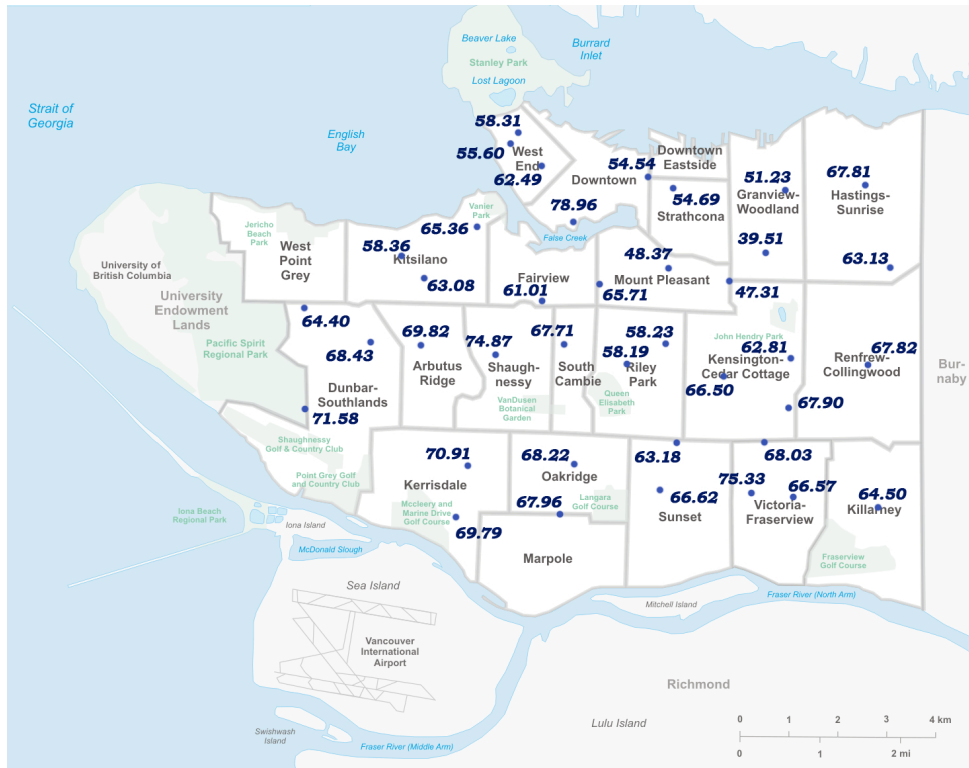


Figure 1. Vancouver neighbourhood map²¹ with Olympic Plebiscite voting location and support percentage.²²

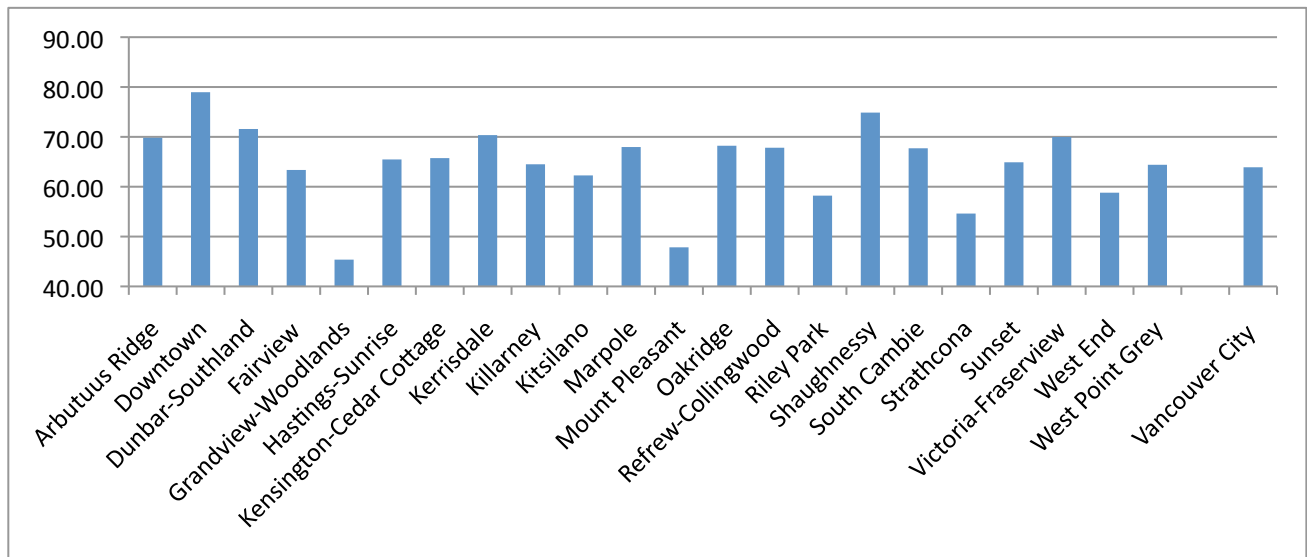


Figure 2. Olympic Support (%) by neighbourhood.²³

²¹ "Vancouver," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vancouver>.

²² See note 18 above.

²³ See note 18 above.

Cultural and Ethnic Factors

Plotting the 2001 Allophone population versus the plebiscite vote results indicates no correlation between the two (see Figure 3). Even with the exclusion of the highly polarized Downtown and Eastside inner-city yields no correlation between the resident's ethnic and cultural background and their support for the Olympic Games. There is a moderate correlation between Allophone population change and the plebiscite vote with a strong slope indicating those neighbourhoods with negative Allophone population growth had more opposition than those with a positive growth, particularly in the period immediately following the vote (see Figure 4). However, when the Downtown and Eastside inner-city are removed, the correlation coefficient R^2 falls below 0.1, indicating no correlation between the data (see Figure 5). Figure 6 is a plot which represents only Downtown and the Eastside inner-city, showing the degree to which these two regions conflict and skew the data of the whole city. It is interesting to note the Eastside inner-city neighbourhoods all have a negative Allophone population growth over the two periods at some of the highest rates in the city. The Riley Park neighbourhood also exhibited a large negative growth in the Allophone population, particularly between 2001 and 2006, and had relatively low support for the Olympics (58.21% support).²⁴ Yet its neighbour to the west, South Cambie, which also exhibited a considerable decrease in Allophone population, returned 67.71% support for the Games.²⁵ This data indicates that the cultural and ethnicity did not influence the vote.

²⁴ See note 18 above

²⁵ See note 18 above.

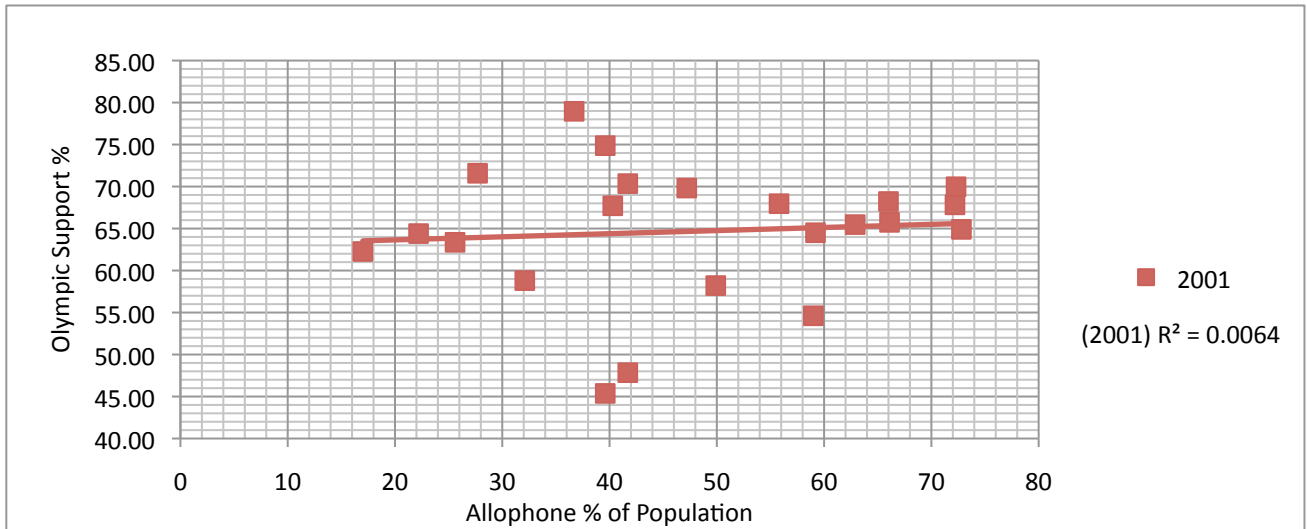


Figure 3. Allophone population²⁶ vs. Olympic support (%).²⁷

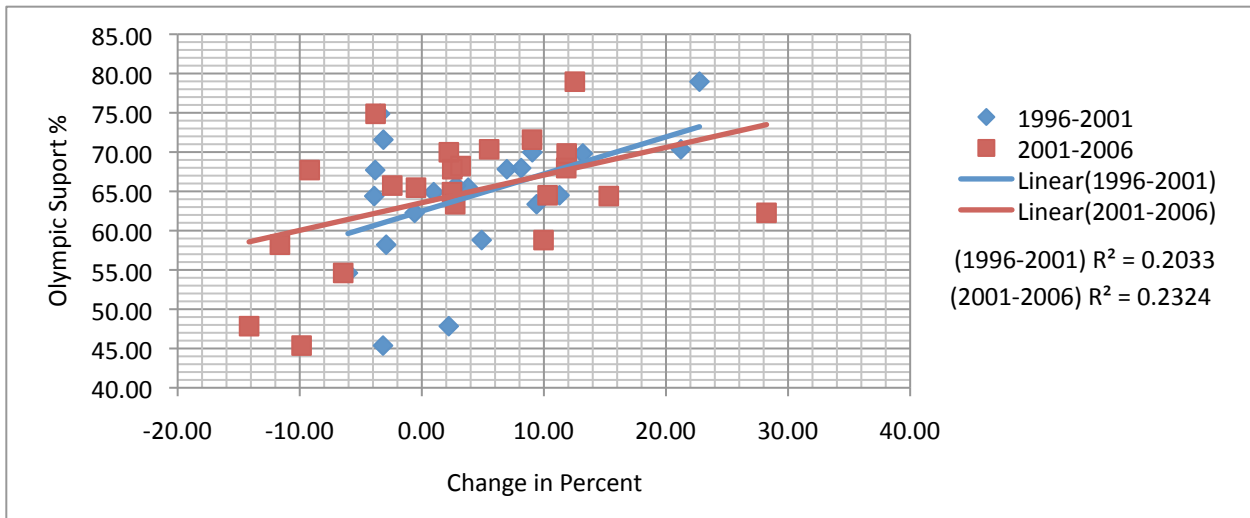


Figure 4. Allophone population change as a percent²⁸ vs. Olympic support.²⁹

²⁶ City of Vancouver, "Community Web Pages," http://vancouver.ca/community_profiles/communityList.htm.

²⁷ See note 18 above.

²⁸ See note 26 above.

²⁹ See note 18 above.

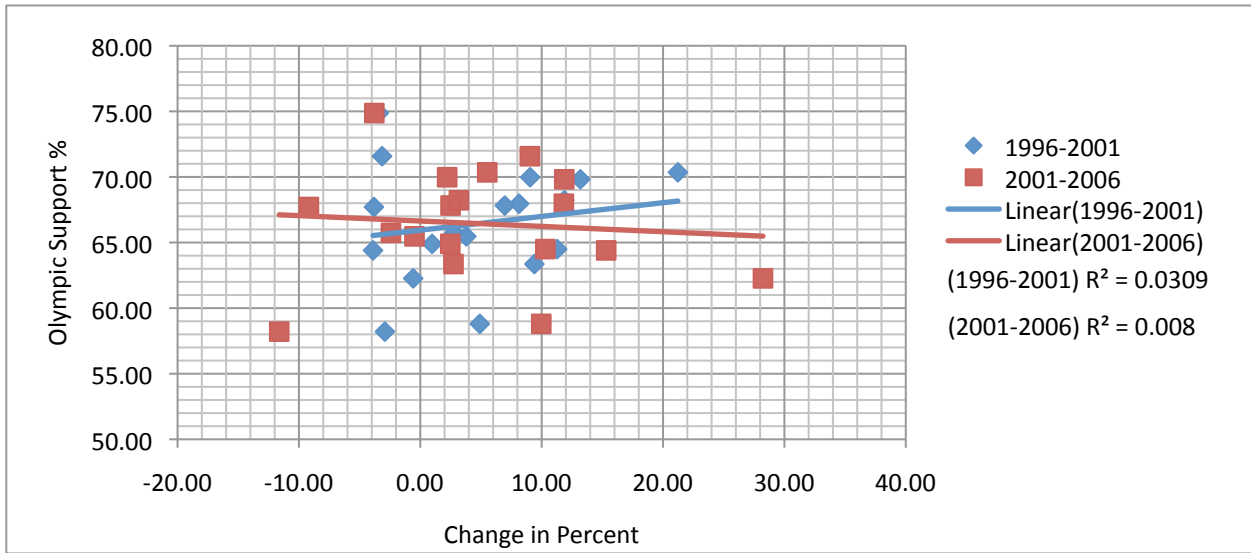


Figure 5. Allophone population change³⁰ vs. Olympic support³¹, excluding Downtown and Eastside inner-city.

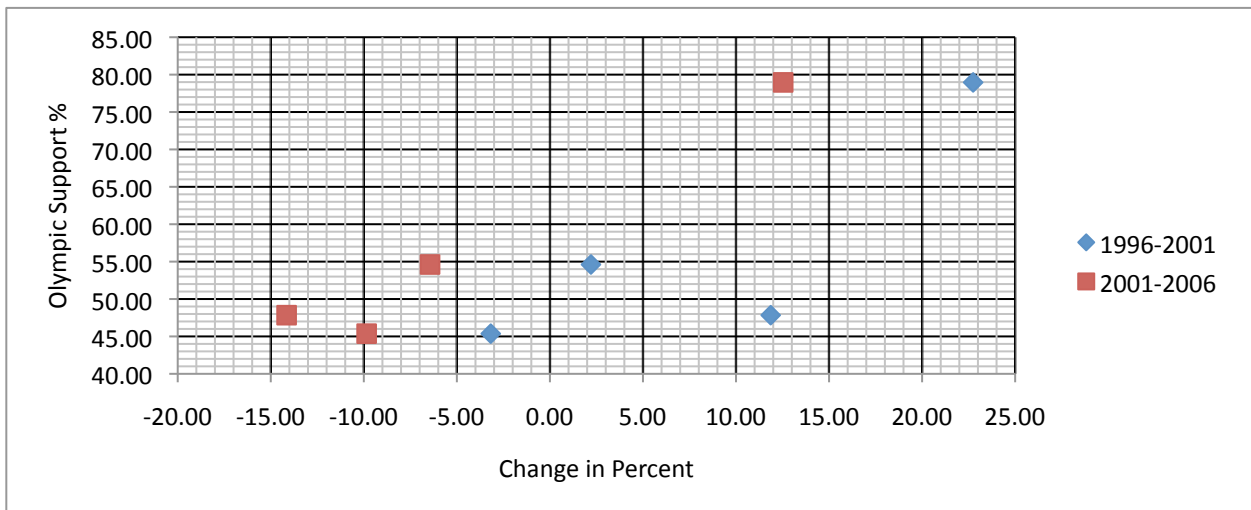


Figure 6. Allophone population change³² vs. Olympic support³³, only Downtown and Eastside Inner-city.

Spatial Distribution Characteristics

Looking at the map in Figure 7, which marks the plebiscite poll results over a population density map of the city, shows two patterns. The first shows that support for the Games generally falls as density rises. There are of course some exceptions, some polls in the southeast

³⁰ See note 26 above.

³¹ See note 18 above.

³² See note 26 above.

³³ See note 18 above.

neighbourhoods of Victoria-Fraserview and Renfrew-Collingwood had results in the upper 60's lower 70's and Downtown, which has some of the highest densities in the city, also has the higher level of support. However, the general trend shows that the less densely populated the neighbourhood is the higher the support for the Olympics. Excluding Downtown, the Eastside inner-city, and the West End neighbourhood³⁴ (see Figure 8) shows a strong correlation between density and the vote results and clearly indicates a relationship between high opposition and high density.

The second pattern is the proximity to the downtown peninsula. Though population density is closely related to the proximity to the downtown peninsula, regions with comparable density show a decrease in support as the distance for downtown increases. The inner-city ring that surrounds the downtown peninsula had only two voting locations that returned result higher the city average. As was noted above, the polls directly east and southeast to the Downtown Eastside also had the lowest levels of support. These results indicate a clear relationship between the urban spatial environment and Olympic opposition, however it is yet to be determined if density is a cause of the opposition or just a symptom of the real cause.

³⁴ The West End has a population density over triple that of any other region and was considerably skewing the data.

2006 Population Density - City of Vancouver

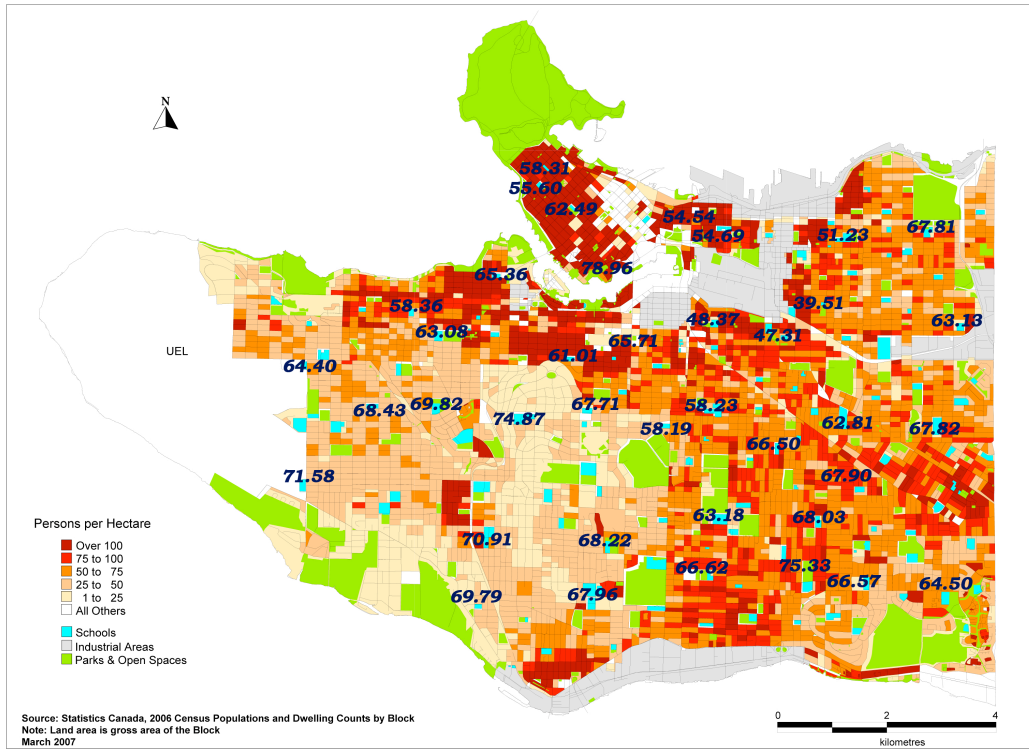


Figure 7. Map of Vancouver population density³⁵ with Olympic Plebiscite vote locations and support percentage.³⁶

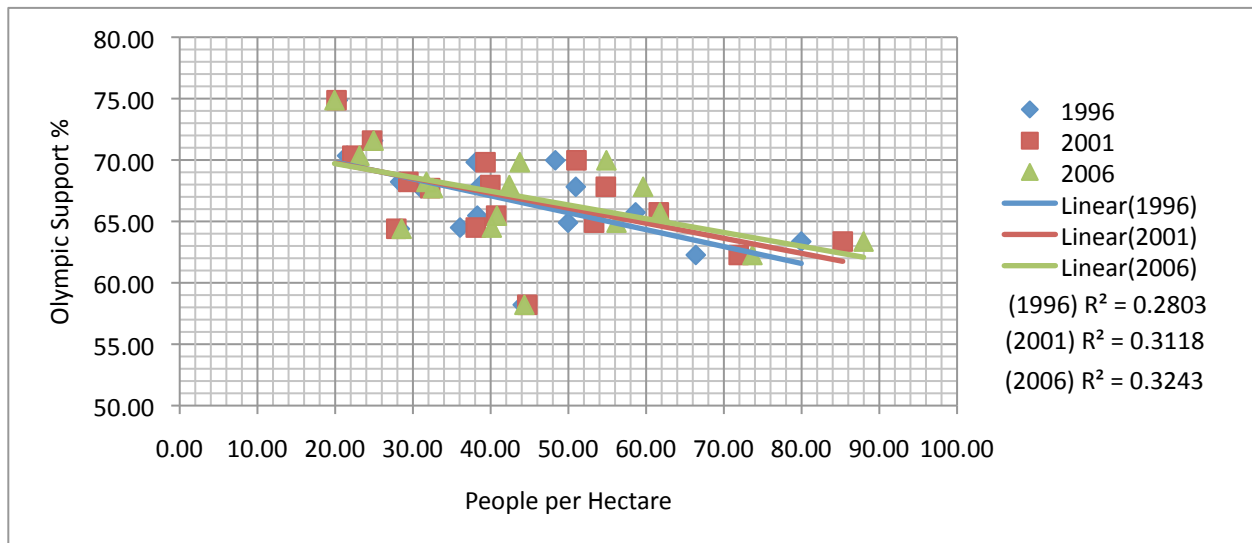


Figure 8. Population density³⁷ vs. Olympic support³⁸, excluding Downtown and Eastside Inner-city.

³⁵ City of Vancouver Planning Department, "Community Service," <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/census/2006/index.htm>.

³⁶ See note 18 above.

³⁷ See note 26 above.

³⁸ See note 18 above.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

All the indicators measuring socio-economic status show a strong or very strong correlation between the higher a higher economic status and higher support for the Olympic Games. There is strong correlation between mean income and support for the Games (see Figure 9). The steep slope indicates a direct relationship between high income and high support, with all the highest income neighbourhoods showing strong support and the lowest income neighbourhoods showing the least. The exception again is Downtown. However, a change in the mean income bar graph (see Figure 10) shows a rapid increase in that neighbourhood's economic status, indicating a distinct demographic shift trends towards a higher income neighbourhood. A bar graph showing rental property percentages (see Figure 11) over the three census years points to a rapid increase in homeownership in Downtown, considerably faster than any other neighbourhood. A plot of rental percentage versus Olympic support (see Figure 12) shows a strong correlation with high rental property percentage resulting in lower support. With the exclusion of Downtown and the Eastside inner-city there is an even greater correlation in the data, clearly indicating a relationship between the homeownership and Olympic opposition (see Figure 13). The renter population is also concentrated closer to the downtown peninsula and in neighbourhoods with greater density, explaining the results found in the spatial distribution analysis above.

Crime statistics help further explain variation outside the inner-city ring. Figure 14 graphs assaults, break and enters, and theft³⁹ for each neighbourhood, excluding Downtown⁴⁰, as a percent of the total crime in the city. Plotting crime versus Olympic support (see Figure 15) shows a strong correlation, very strong in the case of assaults, and clear relationship between high crime and low support.

³⁹ Theft is over and under \$5000.

⁴⁰ Downtown attracts a considerably high level of crime due to a high use by the entire Metro Vancouver region.

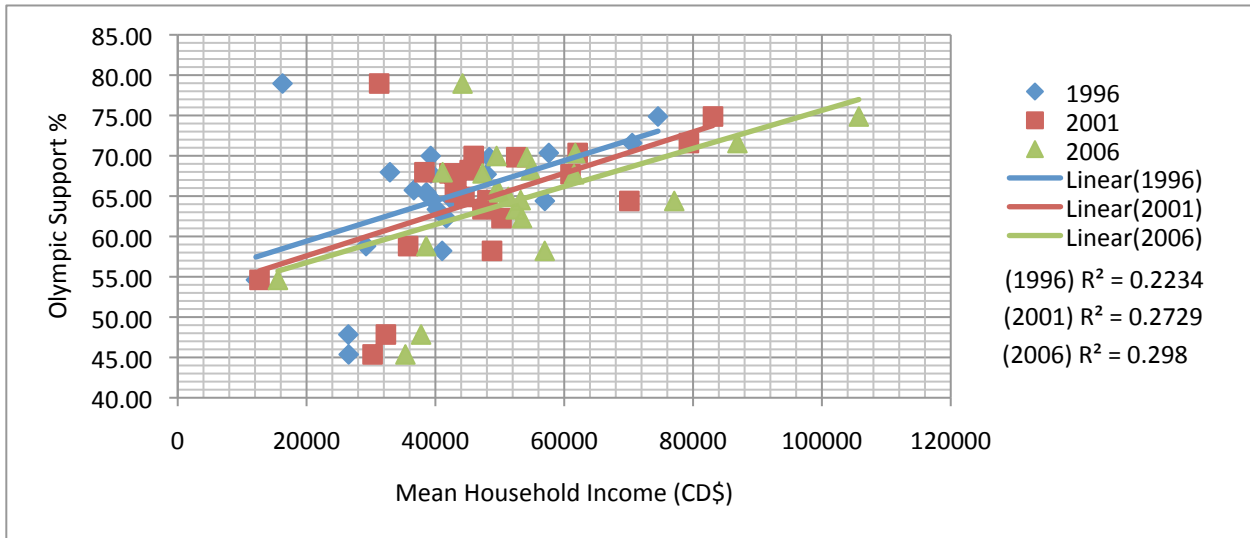


Figure 9. Mean income⁴¹ vs. Olympic support.⁴²

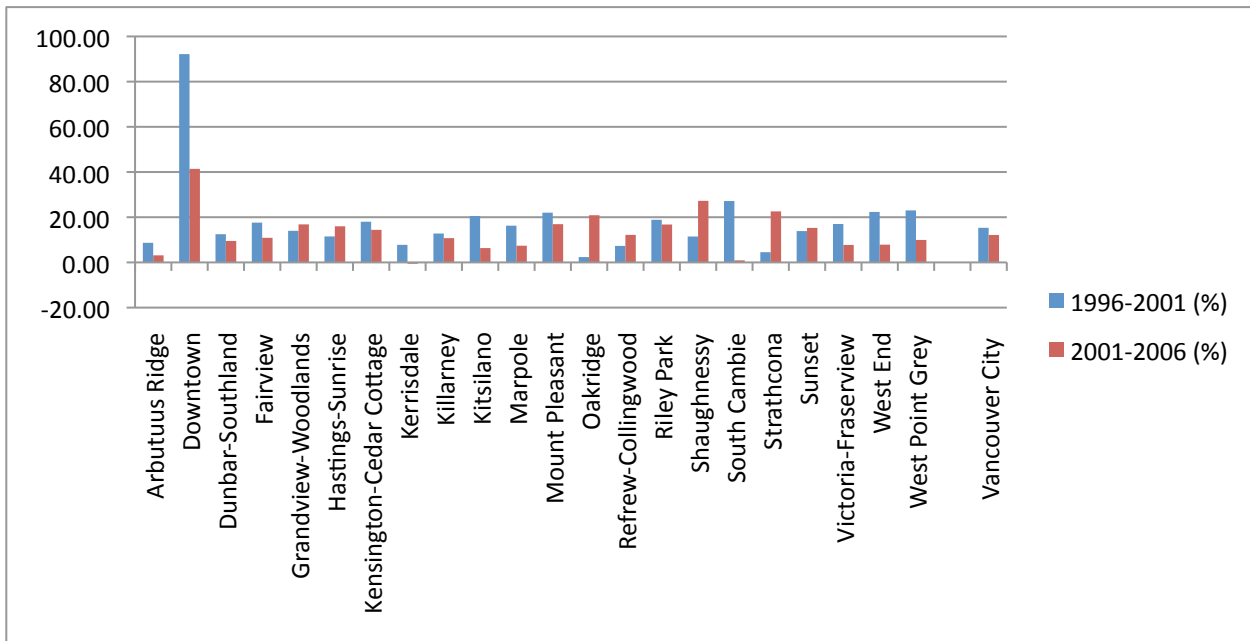


Figure 10. Mean income change as a percent by neighbourhood.⁴³

⁴¹ See note 26 above.

⁴² See note 18 above.

⁴³ See note 26 above.

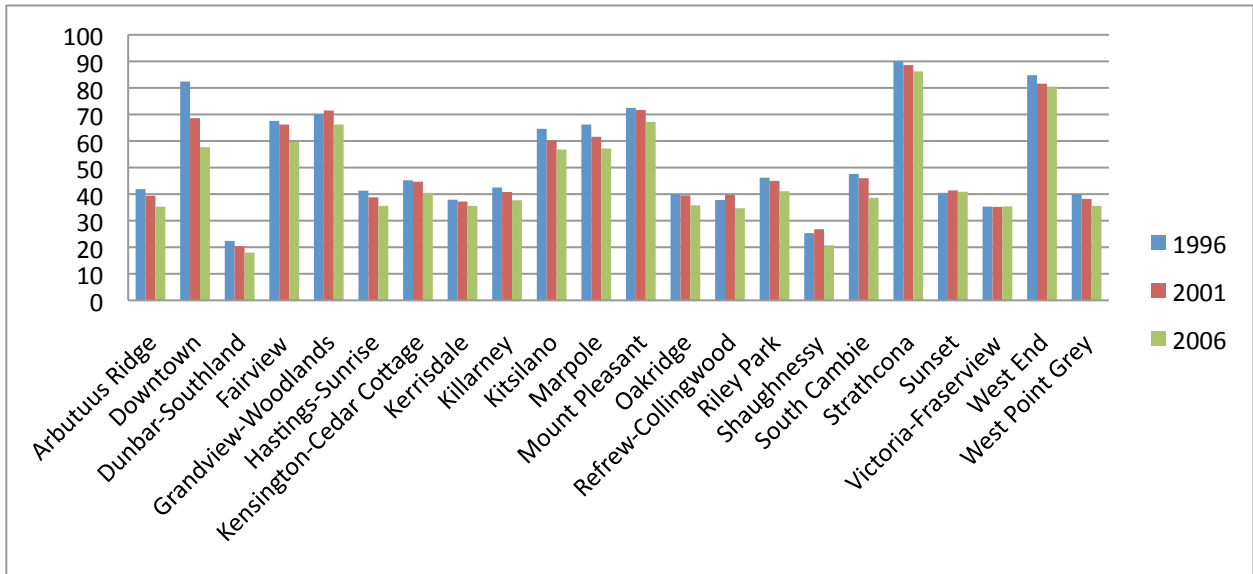


Figure 11. Rental percentage from 1996 -2006 by neighbourhood.⁴⁴

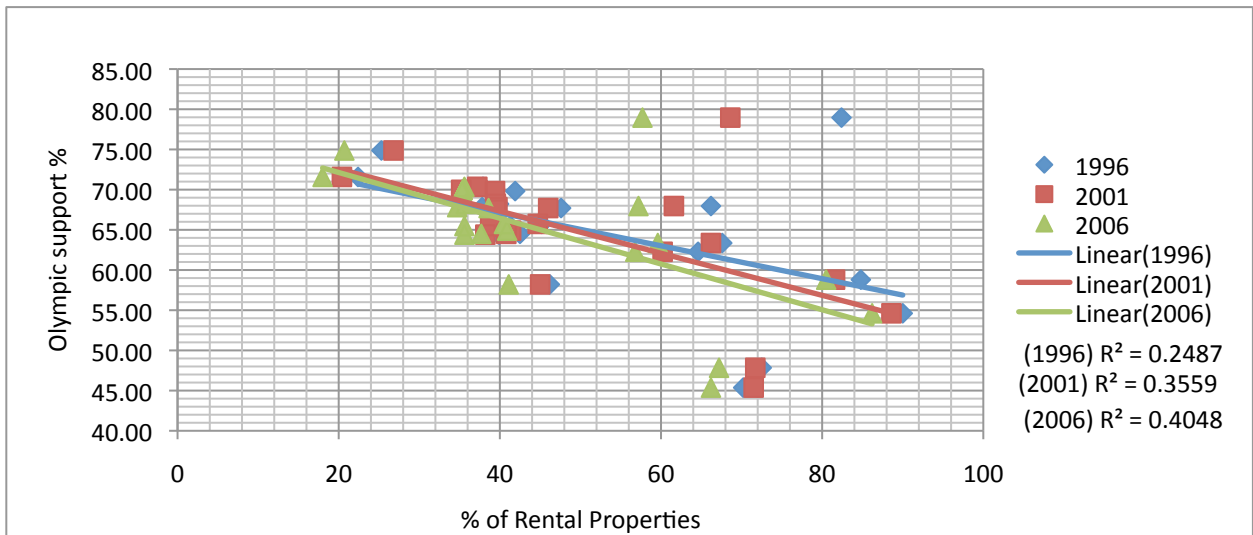


Figure 12. Rental Percentage⁴⁵ vs. Olympic support.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See note 26 above.

⁴⁵ See note 26 above.

⁴⁶ See note 18 above.

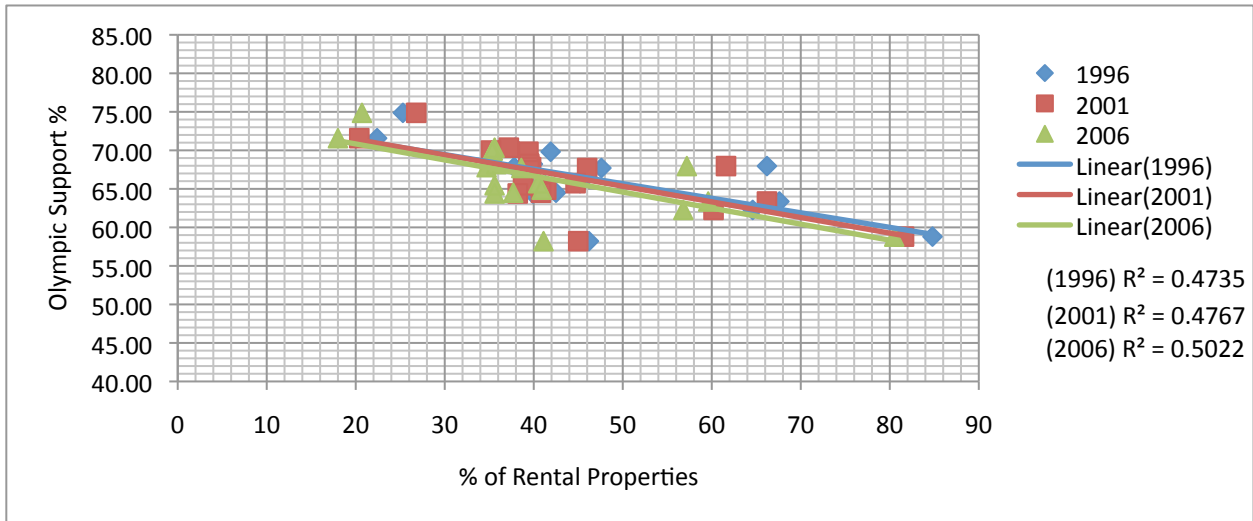


Figure 13. Rental percentage⁴⁷ vs. Olympic support.⁴⁸

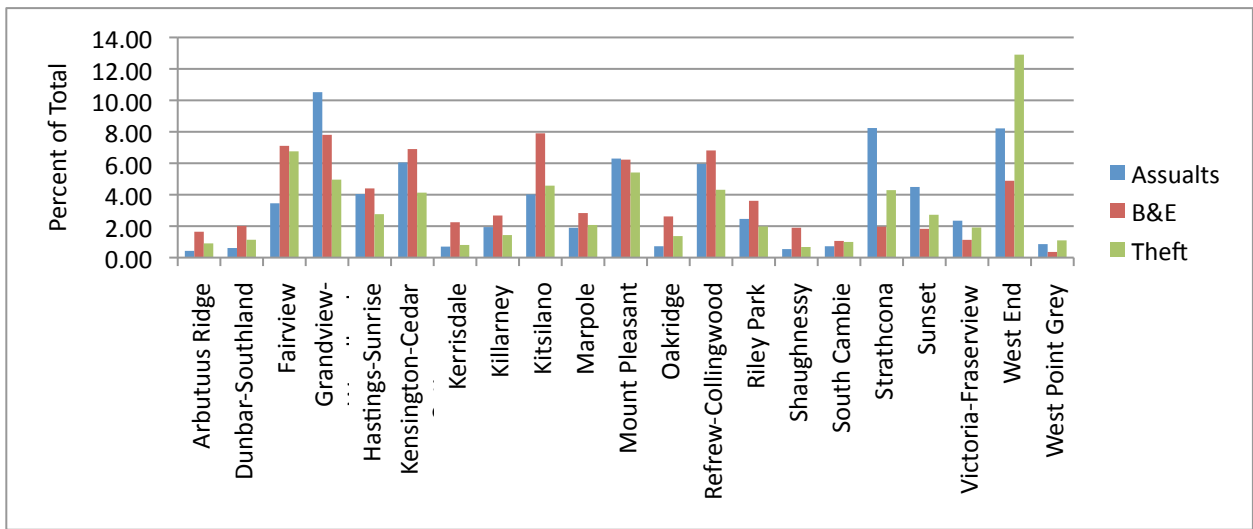


Figure 14. 2002 yearend crime statistics by neighbourhood, excluding Downtown.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See note 26 above.

⁴⁸ See note 18 above.

⁴⁹ Vancouver Police Department, "Statistical Reports," Planning, Research & Audit Section, <http://vancouver.ca/police/Planning/Reports.htm>.

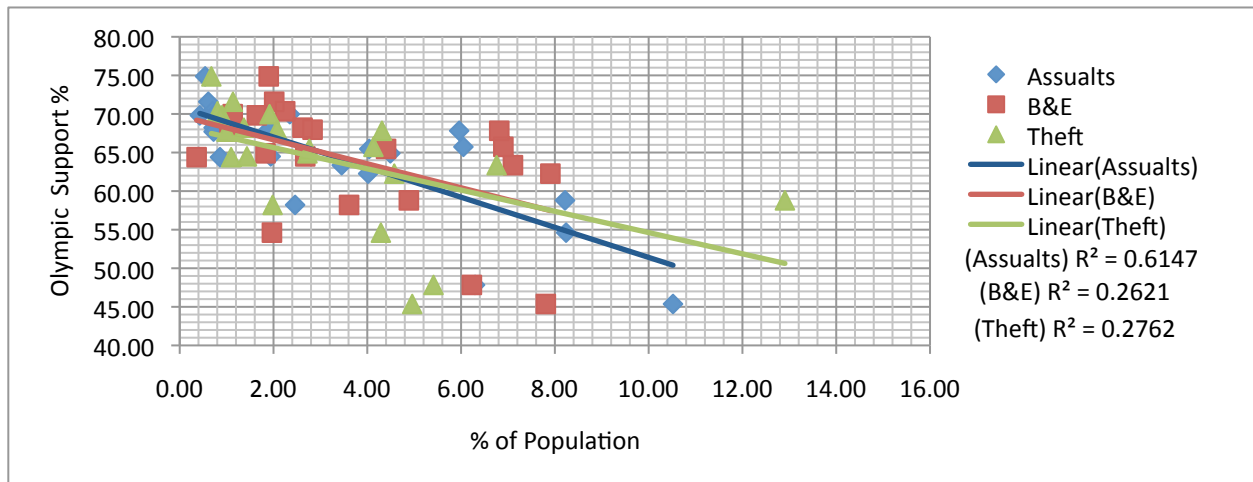


Figure 15. 2002 yearend crime statistics⁵⁰ vs. Olympic support, excluding Downtown.⁵¹

Conclusion

All the data analyzed indicates the public’s cultural background or ethnicity had no influence on their receptiveness to the Olympic Games. This result corroborates the results of the Community Vision study. It seems, at least in this isolated case, that public policy regarding large city-level issues is not culturally biased. The conflict over housing styles could then be interpreted as a difference of opinion stemming from cultural notions of aesthetic value rather than an indication of a deeper policy divide between ethnic groups.

The data does, however, indicate a direct relationship between the economic situation of a community and that community’s support for the Olympics. The fact that the renter population seems particularly adverse to the Games recalls Molotch’s point regarding the individual motivations with respect to urban policy: “That is, each landowner (or person who otherwise has some interest in the prospective use of a given piece of land) has in mind a certain future for that parcel which is linked somehow with his or her own well-being.”⁵² Renters do not own the land they occupy, therefore, following Molotch’s position, their envisioned use of the land is closely

⁵⁰ See note 49 above.

⁵¹ See note 18 above.

⁵² Harvey Molotch, "The City as a Growth Machine: Towards a Political Economy of Place," *The American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 2 (1976): 310.

ted to their desire to own land in the future. Such a situation entails keeping rents low and wages high, which would the renter population to focus on efforts that provide a healthy job market without drastically increasing property values. Yet hosting the Olympic Games produces almost the exact opposite result. The Olympics acts like an extended advertisement campaign that boosts the value a city's property values by propagating the belief that after hosting the games the city is, somehow, guaranteed to be successful. This has been the situation in Vancouver ever since the games were awarded to the city. Home prices have skyrocketed, almost entirely on the speculation of what the Olympics will bring when it comes to town. Homeowners would naturally be enthusiastic about the prospect of increase home values and this is indicated in the data. To use an analogy, the city operates like a publicly traded company. Those who own shares in the company, in this case property are more inclined to favour policy decisions that would increase the value of their shares.

The difference is that shares in a city, unlike a company, are not created equal therefore there exists a difference in opinions as to which policies would most likely be beneficial. Westside residents and those further from the downtown peninsula are less affected by the social problems associated with the downtown core, such as crime. As a result these neighbourhoods almost unanimously supported the Olympic more than those closer to the downtown core and especially the Downtown Eastside. The crime statistics data advances this explanation by indicating a clear correlation between crime, particularly violent crime, and Olympic opposition. These results can be used to explain the difference in support in neighbourhoods with similar homeownership and distance from Downtown, such as Sunset and Victoria-Fraserview. Both of these neighbourhoods have relatively high homeownership levels, comparatively lower than the rest of the city, and are located adjacent to each other on the southern edge of the city, (see

Figure 11) yet some striking differences in violent crime distributions. Sunset, with nearly twice number of assaults as Victoria-Fraserview, was less supportive of the Games. Perhaps residents of Sunset felt public money should be spent on addressing crime, which may in turn also increase their property values.

Finally a picture can be constructed illustrating the motivations of voters in the Olympic Plebiscite vote. Residents and property owners considered the Olympics validity as a means to advance their own welfare in the city. Those without property found little to be enthusiastic about, higher property values equal higher rents and thus reduced saving potential for renters. Homeowner on the other hand, would find the prospect of increasing the value of their home enticing if other issues, such as crime, are not complicating their decision.

The lesson for city officials thinking of hosting an Olympic Games or another mega-event is to consider the economic health of the residents and how this may influence the residents support or opposition. Area with high homeownership and low influence of social problems, such as crime, will tend to be most in favour of the move. Yet, opposition will grow in areas with low homeownership and high influence of social problems. The history of these areas and the presence in urban politics, or potential presence, will most like determine if the event will be met with city-wide enthusiasm or marred by strong opposition movements.

Bibliography

- Andranovich, Greg , Matthew J. Burbank and Charles H. Heying. "Olympic Cities: Lessons Learned from Mega-Event Politics." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23, no. 2 (2001): 131-131.
- City of Vancouver. "Community Web Pages."
http://vancouver.ca/community_profiles/communityList.htm.
- City of Vancouver. "Election Services." <http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/elections/index.htm>.
- City of Vancouver City Clerk's Department. "Olympic Vote Process."
<http://vancouver.ca/ctyclerk/olympicvote/olympicindex.htm>.
- City of Vancouver Planning Department. "Community Services."
<http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/planning/census/2006/index.htm>.
- Harvey, David. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 71, no. 1 (1989): 3-17.
- Hutton, Thomas A. *The Transformation of Canada's Pacific Metropolis: A Study of Vancouver*. Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 1998.
- International Olympic Committee. "Innsbruck 1976."
http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/index_uk.asp.
- Molotch, Harvey. "The City as a Growth Machine: Towards a Political Economy of Place." *The American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 2 (1976): 309-332.
- Statistics Canada. "Census." <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>.
- Uyesugi, Joyce Lee and Robert Shipley. "Visioning Diversity: Planning Vancouver's Multicultural Communities." *International Planning Studies* 10, no. 3-4 (2005): 305-322.
- "Vancouver." <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vancouver>.
- Vancouver Police Department. "Statistical Reports." Planning, Research & Audit Section.
<http://vancouver.ca/police/Planning/Reports.htm>.
- Walks, R. Allan and Richard Maaranen. "Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities." *Urban Geography* 29, no. 4 (2008): 293-326.