Policy for Binners
Binners for Policy

An Analytical Policy Review for the Binners’ Project

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I. Introduction

This is an analytical policy review completed for the Binners’ Project. The audience for this review are binners, people working with binners, and any other people interested about binners. The purpose of this review is to introduce and examine one policy subfield that affects binning. There are three parts to this review. The first part is an Environmental Scan to provide context. The second part is an analysis of existing policies and options for policy change. Lastly, the third section will include recommendations and actions that could help achieve policy change.

A. Scope

The aim of this work was to examine policies that affect binners and policy options binners could support. There are several conditions to the policies that were selected for investigation. Policies examined are limited to those that presently affect the binner community in Vancouver with a particular focus on the Downtown Eastside (DTES). Many important policy subfields affect the members of this community, such as housing and welfare, but only those related to the activity of binning for redeemables were considered in this review. Other activities closely tied to binning, such as vending, are also not included. This review approaches the subject matter primarily through the activity rather than the people engaged in it. The best demarcation of the policy subfield is waste management of beverage product packaging.

For the policy options that binners could support, these were limited to policy options that other actors in this subfield are currently discussing. Novel policy options are not explored in this review.

B. Public Problem

A public problem calls for a public solution. To reach the latter, a clear definition of the former is required. The focus of this review is the management for beverage containers that have reached their end-of-life. However, this is not the problem of the policy subfield. Looking back to when the government of British Columbia established its policy position (in 1970), the public problem of this subfield was public disorder in the form of litter.

Today, the wider issue of environmental protection has become more central and has served to change how the actors in this subfield address the public problem, though not the public problem itself. It is still an issue of waste management for beverage containers. Taken in this context, binning is in fact a solution. It is a private solution that arises from the intersection of this policy subfield and other public problems such as poverty, barriers to employment, and access to welfare. Any solution considered for this subfield should be evaluated against how well it addresses the problem.
C. **The Binners’ Project**

Based in the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood of Vancouver, British Columbia, the Binners’ Project is a binner-led group using collective action to achieve its goals. Ken Lyotier, founder of United We Can, which operates a charity bottle depot, started the project in January 2014. Currently it is a project of Tides Canada, a national Canadian charity.

Binner is a term attributed to Robert Sarti (Vancouver Sun Reporter). A Canadian west coast colloquialism, binner denotes a person who collects discarded objects of value from the waste stream as a means to support their livelihood. It is synonymous with dumpster diver.

The Binners’ Project aims to increase public recognition of the contribution binners make to society and to explore novel informal economic opportunities. Using community-led initiatives, it seeks to foster urban resilience, social inclusivity, and community building. The project does not aim to eliminate binning. Instead, it wants to enable binners to continue doing the work they do and to do more of it. The wider integration and acceptance of binning in society is part of its larger vision.

During monthly meetings, binners gather to work on different initiatives. Recently, these meetings have focused on organizing and mobilizing to bin at city events such as the FIFA FanZone for the women’s world cup, Khatsahlano Block Party, and VIVA Vancouver. Another initiative is the “Binner Box”, a receptacle for refundables that homeowners can install in their laneways. Binners and volunteers with the project are currently exploring prototypes of the box. A third initiative is the preparation for the next “Coffee Cup Revolution” (CCR). The first Coffee Cup Revolution held in October 2014. It was a one day pop-up depot where binners could receive a 5 cents refund on used paper coffee cups. In four hours, binners returned nearly forty-five thousand cups for refund.

Public relations management and awareness-raising have been the primary tools of the Binners’ Project. In practical terms, this has resulted in the formalization of binning with a uniform and logo, branded communication (including business cards, identification cards, informational handouts, and signs), and official involvement in city events through contracts.

Based on the suggestions of the local binner community, the project has the long-term goal of promoting access to refundables and lobbying to expand the refundable system. Such involvement and influence on this area of waste management policy can come through leveraging the knowledge and experience of the binner community. To that end, this review was completed to aid the Binners’ Project in beginning to engage with policy.

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1 For more information, visit binnersproject.com
2 For more information, visit tidescanada.org
Part I
II. Environmental Scan

An overview of pertinent topics of this policy subfield

An environmental scan presents a short overview of issues that are relevant to the subject matter at hand. It will cover a range of topics. First is an overview of binners in the DTES. Information in this section was drawn from two sources:

- Crystal Tremblay’s Master thesis titled *Binners in Vancouver: A socio-economic study on Binners and their Traplines in Downtown Eastside*
- Letticia Chia and Judy Lam’s needs assessment completed for the Binners’ Project

This was combined with observations and feedback gathered at four Binners’ meetings (May – August 2015) by the author. Next will be a short overview of the social determinants of health to provide a broader understanding to the challenges faced by binners. Josie Wittmer’s Master thesis titled *Environmental governance, urban change, and health: An investigation of informal recyclers’ perspectives on well-being in Vancouver, BC* helped to inform this section. While the focus of this review is not the people, but the policies, it is necessary to understand the binner community to make relevant policy suggestions.

Binners and binning is not limited to the DTES or even British Columbia. However, this review is directed at binning and binners in Vancouver. Therefore, awareness of local initiatives can create opportunities. Three initiatives will be introduced along with their relevant goals.

In the next sections of the environmental scan will be topics that concern the entire province. The policy of Extended Producer Responsibility will be introduced to provide background for the recycling systems in British Columbia. Following that will be a summary of the deposit-refund system for beverage containers in British Columbia. The system in BC will be compared to the system in Alberta due to its proximity, similarity, and differences. Quebec’s system will also provide contrast, in particular because it is the base of Coop Les Valoristes, a social enterprise in that supports the equivalent of binners in Montreal and part of the Binners’ Project.

These issues together provide the context in which the policies and actors of the policy subgroup exist.

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3 For more information, visit cooplesvaloristes.ca
A. **Binners**

There are several concerns that binners have when it comes to binning. These include financial need, competition for resources, occupational health and safety, and public perception (1).

1. **Financial Need**
   The majority of binners interviewed by Tremblay relied on binning as their main source of income. Additionally there is evidence showing a correlation between welfare restructuring and an increase in binning (1). Participation in binning also fluctuates with the schedule of social assistance. Towards the end of the month, before social assistance is disbursed, an increase in binning occurs. When cheques for social assistance are disbursed, binning activity drops off dramatically, so much so that at one point, the United We Can bottle depot would close.

2. **Competition**
   Competition arises due to the finite supply of resources, which in this subfield are discarded beverage containers. Tremblay identifies four subgroups within the binner community based on productivity. From the least productive to the most productive are those that scavenge for survival, seasonal or “tourist” binners, professional binners, and middlemen (1). Recognition of territory and seniority are ways the community self-manages to prevent conflict, though it still occurs (1). Many professional binners have “traplines”, which are established routes that binners regularly traverse to collect containers (1). Traplines are continually replenished so that they can be worked multiple times in a day and by different binners (1). Partnerships, with homeowners and businesses, are another way professional binners maximize their productivity (1).

3. **Occupational Health and Safety**
   Occupational health and safety is another concern for binners. Occupational injuries include cuts and scrapes from glass and such, injuries do to entering and exiting dumpsters, and musculoskeletal injuries from working with heavy loads. However, the greater concern is infections, bacterial or viral, resulting from needle-stick injuries (1). This risk of this type of injury varies spatially as needles are not uniformly disposed of in an improper manner (1). Binning in the DTES is particularly high risk for needle stick injuries because of the high number of discarded needles (1). Despite the danger, most binners report not using protective equipment such as gloves (1).

4. **Public Perception**
   Public perception is another challenge affecting the work of binners. Binners report that they have been targets for acts of aggression or that their access to containers has been deliberately reduced (1; 2). More generally, there is a stigma attached to the work and the community binners come from. Negative perceptions around drug and alcohol addiction as well as mental health issues, which do affect some binners, are applied to the community as a whole (1). There are also issues such as noise or confrontations between binners that create a negative perception. The situation has improved with the majority of binners interviewed by Tremblay saying they think the public views their work as a contribution to the environment. In response
to this changing perception, binners are also becoming more visible by working during the day rather than at night (1).

B. DEMOGRAPHICS AND REPRESENTATION

While the binners involved in this research were self-selected, so too are the members of the Binners’ Project. They also share these four concerns. However, there is awareness amongst those involved in the project that certain subgroups of the binner community have not been reached.

One set of demographics for this community identify them as predominantly male, in their 40s, and with the majority of them relying on binning as their main source of income (1). While women make up a minority of the community, their numbers are increasing. Binning is primarily a solo activity, but partnerships do occur. Women are more likely to form or be part of a partnership (1). Education level and occupational background for binners are diverse (1). Homeless or housing instability is another challenge that is group faces, both in and of itself, but also for the activity of binning (1). With depots closed overnight, binners without places to store their containers either work through the night or sell their load at a discounted price to middlemen.

Tremblay recognizes there are a significant number of older Asian women involved in binning. She estimates they comprise up to 20% of the binners that use the United We Can bottle depot (1). For her research, she was unable to include them due to language barriers. Tremblay notes that immigrants often face barriers such as skills recognition, language, and status that push them into the informal economy (1).

In recognition of the gap in knowledge, the Binners’ Project attempted a needs assessment of the group. Two ethnographic students with language abilities in Mandarin and Cantonese, Judy Lam and Letticia Chia, were tasked with interviewing members of this group.

Issues beyond language arose; most of the people they approached who appeared to fit their criteria simply refused to participate in the survey. The research also brought to light that Mandarin and Cantonese alone might not cover the diversity of languages spoken. However, the researchers were able to characterize this group. They are primarily older, 60 and above, live with family, and bin for extra income. This group also shared with the researchers that they come into conflict with the Caucasian members of the community.

The work of the ethnographic students revealed findings about the general binner community that are similar to the findings by Tremblay. These include that most binners are visibly men, mostly Caucasian or First Nations, and with financial need as the main motivation. These observations also align with the current members of the Binners’ Project.
C. Relevant Initiatives

In acknowledgement of the localization of this review, it is useful to be aware of other initiatives in the city and local area. These initiatives have some goals that could align with the aims of this policy subfield.

1. Greenest City 2020 Action Plan
This is the City of Vancouver’s multi-pronged approach to addressing climate change with targets to be achieved by 2020. Of its goals, Green Economy (goal 1) and Zero Waste (goal 5) have aims that are relevant to this policy subfield. The targets of goal one are to double green jobs (baseline 2010 levels) and to double the number of companies that are greening their operations (baseline 2011 levels). Goal two’s target is to reduce waste sent to landfill or incinerator by 50% of 2008 levels. As part of this effort, the city is seeking to enforce the separation of recyclables from the waste stream and to advocate for more EPR programs for packaging.

For More Information

- Greenest City 2020 Action Plan
D. **Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR)**

This section will introduce the policy that underpins the subfield. It will include a brief overview of its history/origins and explain the intent behind the policy. Then it will summarize the policy’s use in a Canadian context.

Originating in Sweden and Germany, this policy dates back to the early 1990s. Extended Producer Responsibility is a useful strategy because of its efficiency; it can address multiple related goals simultaneously. These goals are

- incentivizing “greener” designs for products and packaging,
- leveraging private sector resources to address a public problem,
- building the cost of waste management into the price of a product, and
- shifting the financial burden from taxpayers and municipalities to producers and consumers (3).

While the theory of EPR is still an active discussion, this concept can be broadly understood as placing producers in a position of responsibility for the end-of-life management of their products and packaging. In practice, EPR acts as a cost shifting mechanism (3). Most implementations, due to design, have shown fewer results in the first of the four aforementioned goals (3). Rather it has played out as the creation, funding, and expansion of post-consumer recycling systems (3).

Worldwide, there are several open issues surrounding Extended Producer Responsibility.

- What does an implementation of EPR that does incentivize “greener” design look like and what is preventing its realization?
- How can EPR contribute to the prevention of waste?
- How cost-effective is EPR compared to other strategies?

While the positive impact on recycling rates is quantifiable, an accounting of the entire system remains technically challenging. Comparisons between systems is also challenging due to differences in implementation.

Extended Producer Responsibility in the Canadian context refers to the management of products once they have reached their end-of-life. Product Stewardship is another approach towards the same end. They differ in who is financially responsible; the former places the burden on producers while the latter places it on provincial or municipal governments (4). Costs in EPR programs become costs of production, which may be passed onto consumers while costs in PS programs are met with legislated environmental fees or public funds (4).

EPR is the policy approach endorsed by the Canadian council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME) (1). They also endorse the shift from product stewardship towards full EPR programs. The Canada-wide Action Plan for Extended Producer Responsibility (CAP-EPR) was approved by the CCME in 2009 (1). In its most recent progress report, British Columbia is a leader in EPR programming. It has EPR programs for all product categories except sharps and (1).
E. **DEPOSIT-REFUND SYSTEM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA**

The following section will provide an overview of the deposit-refund system in BC. The history section will describe the changes to legislation. The program section will review the two stewardship organizations and how they meet their obligations. The funding will explain how the programs are paid for. Lastly, depots will summarize their purpose and use.

1. **History**

In the nearly 50 years since the inception of the refundable system in BC, the first in Canada, it has undergone numerous changes. Beginning in 1970 as the Litter Act, this policy was aimed at reducing litter, specifically bottles and cans, on the streets (5). This was a public solution for a public problem. Almost 30 years later, in 1998, the Beverage Container Stewardship Program Regulation replaced the Litter Act (5). The main change was the expansion to include all ready-to-drink beverage containers. The one exception is milk and milk substitutes, which the definition of beverage explicitly excludes.

The next and most recent change was in 2004 where BC Product Stewardship Regulations were consolidated under the Recycling Regulation (5). The main additions were a recovery rate target of 75% and the requirement that refundable containers be recycled or refilled. Stewardship plans are another requirement of this regulation. These plans are the responsibility of the obligated industry members.

2. **Programs**

Two stewardship agencies exist to meet the obligations of this legislation: Encorp Pacific (Canada) and Brewers Distributor Limited (BDL). Encorp handles all containers except domestic beer bottles and some cider brands; these products are under the purview of Brewers Distributor Limited (5). Encorp’s program for beverage containers is Return-It. A network of Return-it depots supports collection across the province. Brewers collects its materials through government liquor stores. Return-it depots also accept Brewers material, but have the discretion to offer discounted refund values (typically 8 cents rather than 10 cents).

Beverage containers are on the Banned Recyclable Materials; they are not accepted at Metro Vancouver disposal facilities (1). The city applies a surcharge to haulers who drop-off loads with banned materials, which can range from a minimum of $50 up to a high of 50% of the tipping fee (1). (See Greater Vancouver Sewerage and Drainage District Bylaw No. 287.2014) These surcharges in theory can be passed down the chain until the original offender, the customers of the waste haulers, bears the burden. In practise, waste haulers bear the fines.

3. **Funding**

The Return-It program is funded by three sources: unredeemed deposits, profit from the sale of collected containers, and the container recycling fee (CRF). Each material is funded separately and only by the funds directly associated with it. Funds for one material are not used to fund the recycling of another type.
a) Deposit
When a consumer purchases a beverage in a container that is part of the system, they pay a deposit. This deposit is separately declared on their receipt. Unredeemed deposits are those that a consumer pays when they purchase a container, but then does not collect back by returning that same container to a depot. This occurs when a beverage container is improperly disposed of (as litter or into the garbage) or if other recycling systems are used such as curbside collection. Unredeemed deposits go towards funding the recycling of the material on which the deposit was collected.

b) Profit from Collected Materials
The materials collected, for example, aluminum cans or plastic bottles, are bundled and sold as raw material to create recycled goods. Their values are determined by the market.

c) Container Recycling Fee
The Container Recycling Fee is also collected when a consumer makes their purchase; this amount is not refunded when a container is returned. Encorp adjusts this amount for each material yearly to ensure sufficient funds are available to support the recycling of a particular material. It bridges the shortfall in funding, if there is one, between the cost of recycling a particular material and the funding from unredeemed deposits and the profit from the sale of collected materials. As of April 2013, the 5% GST is applicable to the Container Recycling Fee.

Encorp will increase or decrease the Container Recycling Fee based on the other two sources of funding. For example, if redemption rates were high, Encorp would calculate and apply a higher CRF. This is because there is less funding from unredeemed deposits and a higher CRF is required to meet the shortfall. In another scenario, if the value of the recovered material were high, Encorp would calculate and apply a lower CRF. The profit from the sale of collected materials would be enough to fund most of the recycling system.

4. Depots
A depot is a dedicated business that collects containers and issues refunds to consumers. There are over a 170 Return-it depots in BC. Each depot is run as a business; for each container the depot receives, Encorp pays a handling fee of 4.5 to 5 cents. Prospective operators apply through Encorp Pacific to start a depot.

a) United We Can Depot
United We Can operates a charity bottle depot. Previously located on Hastings Street in the DTES it has since moved south of its original location to Industrial Avenue. It provides full deposits on bottles and cans as well as a welcoming environment for binners. Aluminum beer cans and refillable bottles for domestic beer and cider are accepted at government liquor stores and Return-It depots. However, the latter has the discretion to offer varying refund values because the material is not part of the Return-It system.

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4 For more information, visit unitedwecan.ca
References and For More Information

- Container Recycling Institute – Bottle Bill Resource Guide
- Encorp Pacific – FAQ Container Recycling Fee
  - https://www.return-it.ca/beverage/faqs/crf/
F. **Milk Containers**

The following section will review the status of milk containers. This is a relevant topic because of its exclusion from the rest of the deposit refund system. Specifications for this material as well as the system and programs for it are described below.

1. **Specifications**

As noted before, containers for milk (including flavoured milk) and milk substitutes (e.g. soy, almond, or rice) are currently explicitly excluded from the deposit-refund system. The liquids included in this group also include meal replacements, dietary supplements, and infant formula.

Containers for these liquids are general made out of one of two materials, high-density polyethylene (e.g. plastic milk jugs) or polycoat (e.g. gable top milk carton). Other types of containers include aseptic cartons and single-serve milk containers.

2. **System and programs**

Milk containers are the only material in BC that has a voluntary EPR program; all other materials are handled by legislated EPR programs (6). The important differences are that a deposit is not collected at the time of sale nor is a refund offered on milk containers and there are not legislated recovery rate targets.

The stewardship of this material is industry-led and involves the collection and recycling of milk containers. Funded by the BC Dairy Council, services are contracted out to Multi-Materials BC (MMBC) and previously Encorp Pacific. Through Multi-Materials BC, milk containers are accepted under two categories: Cartons and Paper Cups for polycoat (milk cartons) and Plastic Containers for HDPE (milk jugs). Both categories are accepted via curbside collection, multi-family collection, and Multi-Materials BC depots.

a) **Multi-Materials BC**

Paper and product packaging in BC is subject to legislated Extended Producer Responsibility under the Recycling Regulation (Environmental Management Act). Multi-Material BC is a not-for-profit industry-funded organization. It is the steward for management of residential paper and product packaging (PPP) waste.

Multi-materials BC exists to help business meet the mandates of the Recycling Regulation. It officially launched in May of 2014 after the Ministry of Environment approved its stewardship plan in April 2013. There are three components to the system: residents, collectors, and stewards (AKA businesses obligated to participate in EPR).

In a phone conversation with a MMBC representative, they confirmed the program is residential, therefore material from commercial-sources are not accepted at depots. The contract between depots and MMBC is for the collection of residential material. It would be at the discretion of the depot if it would accept material from a commercial source.

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5 Contacted through the MMBC general information number 1-855-875-3596
G. **COMPARISON TO OTHER PROVINCES**

1. **Alberta**

Alberta has a similarly high performance beverage container recycling program as British Columbia. However, the structure of their program is different. BC’s program is a legislated EPR where industry is responsible for funding and operation. Alberta’s program is a product stewardship program. The Beverage Container Management Board, a designated administrative organization (DAO), regulates the program. This is an arm’s length not-for-profit affiliated with Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Resource Development. It holds delegated governmental authority. Industry is not responsible for funding or operations.

Funding for Alberta’s program is similar to BC. There are three sources of funding: unredeemed deposits, container recycling fees, and the sale of collected material. The Government of Alberta does not supply any funding. Industry also does not bear any direct costs as Container Recycling Fees are passed onto consumers.

Alberta has made two notable changes to its beverage container recycling program. First, in 2008 it increased deposit-refund amounts to create a two-tier system. Containers 1 litre or less have a 10 cents deposit-refund while containers greater than 1 litre have a 25 cent deposit-refund value. Then in 2009, Alberta became the first province to add containers for milk and milk alternatives to its deposit-refund system.

2. **Quebec**

Quebec has a very limited deposit-refund system. Only soft drink cans, refillable beer bottles, and some energy drink containers are included in the system. Expansion of the system accompanies talk of abolishing it altogether.

Similar to Alberta, Quebec’s program is a product stewardship. A crown agency, Recyc-Quebec, is responsible for overseeing the system. Three other organizations are involved in carrying out the functions of the system. Boissons Gazeuses Environnement (BGE), an industry-established not-for-profit, collects soft drink containers. Brewers collect beer containers. Another industry-established not-for-profit, Eco-Enterprises Quebec, is responsible for the financials of the program. It collects fees from producers, which are used to finance the municipal curbside collection. However, much of the funding comes from unredeemed deposits.

Collection happens through two streams: return-to-retail and curbside collection. Away-from-home recycling has a multi-stakeholder not-for-profit organization, La Table pour la recuperation hors foyer, tackling the issue. The group has provided financing to municipalities for recycling bins and to restaurants, hotels, and bars to promote recycling.

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6 For more information, visit bcmb.ab.ca
References and For More Information

- Environment Canada – Milk Container Recycling Program
- Encorp Pacific – Milk Container Recycling Program
  - http://www.return-it.ca/beverage/recycling/milk/
III. Areas for Policy Change

Actors in this policy subgroup are actively considering change in several areas. These actors have discussed some of these changes for many years. Not all actors speak out about their position for each change, but there is strong community participation during public consultations.

Five areas for change generate most of the discussion. They are 1) expanding the range of materials accepted in the deposit-refund system, 2) changing the deposit-refund values and the number of tiers in the system, 3) the mandate for the return-to-retail option, 4) container design, and 5) practises for end-of-life management. Of these areas, the first two are of particular relevance to binners.

A. Including Milk Containers in the Deposit-Refund System

As noted in the Environmental Scan, the range of materials accepted in the deposit-refund system has grown. The biggest growth was the expansion to include all ready-to-drink beverages. Smaller expansions include the recent addition of polycoat containers. One area of expansion remains a matter of contention. The addition of milk containers to the system has actors on both sides of the argument.

The push for the inclusion of milk containers has a long history. One of the earliest instances of was in 1987. Langley District sponsored the resolution that the Union of BC Municipalities endorsed at that year’s convention. Since then other municipalities have sponsored seven similar resolutions with the most recent being Delta in 2012. See Appendix A for a list of resolutions.

In 1992, the Recycling Council of British Columbia (RCBC) outlined its policy positions stating it supported the inclusion of milk containers in the deposit-refund system. The BC Bottle Depot Association has also pushed for the inclusion of milk containers. This association has written letters to the municipalities of BC and spoken during public consultation for Encorp Pacific’s 2014-2018 stewardship plan and the Ministry of Environment’s beverage container consultation. Other proponents include citizen initiatives such as The Campaign for Real Recycling, founded by Helen Spiegelman. In 2001, a petition titled “Include Milk” was drafted by Southern Gulf Islands Recycling Coalition. Over twenty thousand signatures were collected.

In response, the BC Dairy Council (BCDC) piloted a voluntary stewardship program in 2001. Following that, BCDC put forth another similar plan that was supported by the Minister of Environment in 2006. This program contracted Encorp Pacific to run the Encorp Milk program. The Return-it Milk program ran from 2008 to 2014 when the responsibility for the collection and recycling of milk containers was transferred (May 19) to Multi-Materials BC. This program produced eight status reports. The following is a graphical presentation of the collected data.
January-June Depot Recovery Rate for Plastic and Polycoat Milk Containers

See Appendix B for the data in table form.
There are several arguments on each side of the debate. The actors in favour of including milk containers into the deposit-refund system, their justifications are as follows.

a) Arguments For
   • A financial incentive will increase the return rate
   • The current incarnation of the program is a not a “true EPR” by which they mean it does not transfer costs from taxpayers to industry, there are no measurable metrics or targets, and there is a lack of equity.
   • Level playing field with other industries

Major actors against the inclusion of milk containers include the province and the BC Dairy Council. The following is their reasoning.

b) Arguments Against
   • The resulting price increase on these products would negatively affect “vulnerable members of society” by reducing their ability to “meet basic nutritional needs”
   • These products are utilized in typically in a home setting, unlike pop or juice, which makes recycling their packaging convenient
   • These materials fall under Packaging and Printed Paper category, which means those producers, are obligated to manage these materials. The province expects that they will do so and achieve “high performance”

The voluntary EPR program for milk containers does not set any quantifiable targets. In 2011, Mike Dick, president of the BC Dairy Council stated that 15 million containers weighing in at 630,000 kg (380,000 kg polycoat and 250,000kg HDPE) were recycled. However, in the last status report published at the end of June 2012, the January to June 2011 sales of polycoat was over 1.5 million and sales of HDPE was over 2 million. Full year numbers for 2011 are not publically available, but taking a four year average (2007-2010) of milk sales HDPE comes in just over 4 million kg and polycoat over 2.75 million kg. This means only 14% of polycoat and 6% of HDPE was recycled.

The British Columbia Dairy Council’s last status report on milk carton recycling was published in June 2012. Multi-Materials BC recently published its first annual report (2015). Though they state that within months, they achieved a recovery rate of 80.1% this is an overall number. Recovery by material type or product is not available making it difficult to determine the recovery rate for milk cartons. While the British Columbia Dairy Council reports high return rates for HDPE containers, polycoat still lags based on previous data. With the change to the new system and a lack of accounting by product type, the recovery rate of milk containers has become opaque.
References and For More Information

- **Milk Container Recycling**

- **Solid Waste and Recycling Magazine: Include Milk! – Ann Johnston**
  - [http://www.solidwastemag.com/features/include-milk/](http://www.solidwastemag.com/features/include-milk/)

- **UBCM Resolutions (Year 2012 – Number B27 – Resolution Title Milk Containers – Sponsor Delta)**
B. Changing the Deposit-Refund Amounts

There are two alternatives for this area. The first alternative is to create a two-tier system where all containers 1 litre or less have a 10 cents deposit-refund and all containers greater than 1 litre have a 25 cent deposit refund. This would represent a 5 cent increase in two of the three current deposit-refund levels; non-alcoholic containers 1 litre or less currently have a 5 cent deposit-refund amount and all containers greater than 1 litre currently have a 20 cent deposit. The deposit-refund amount for alcoholic containers 1 litre or less would not change from its current 10 cent amount. The second alternative is to introduce a flat deposit-refund amount of 10 cents regardless of beverage type or container volume.

1. A Two-Tier System (representing an increase in deposit-refund amounts)
   a) Arguments For
      • Continuous improvement requires greater incentive
      • Deposit-refund values have not kept pace with inflation and therefore no long represent sufficient financial incentive for consumers
      • A simpler system will be better for consumers
      • Harmonizing with Alberta’s system
   b) Arguments Against
      • A higher deposit rate will no mean a higher recovery rate
        o Alberta has a similar return rate despite having higher deposit-refund values
      • It will be an extra expense for consumers without a benefit
      • There will be undue initial financial obligations for Encorp if this change happens
        o Encorp will require an additional $10 million available cash flow

2. A One-Tier System
   a) Arguments For
      • It will be more convenient which would increase participation/recovery rates
      • Reduced fraud
   b) Arguments Against
      • The deposit-refund amount is not incentive enough for all container types

References and For More Information

Part II
IV. Analysis

A. Policy Dimensions

Four major dimensions affect this policy subfield.

1. Legal
Municipal waste management in Canada is managed at several levels of government. Diversion, under which recycling falls, is a municipal responsibility while the province is responsible for overseeing the operations.

The material in question, beverage containers, is not classified as hazardous and does not have any applicable federal legislation. It falls within the sphere of municipal solid waste. The main policy instrument of this subfield is legislation. However, this does not preclude any parallel, informal system, such as the deposit-refund system BC Avalon Dairy uses for its glass milk bottles. In addition, the legislation sets out a baseline rather than a ceiling. The deposit-refund amounts indicated are minimums. Legality would not hinder an upward shift of the deposit values.

2. Economic
Economic considerations strongly factor into this policy subfield. First is the cost of running these programs. Industry is placed in charge of funding these programs and it does through three channels: unredeemed deposits, container recycling fees, and the sale of recycled materials. The sale of recycled material can be impacted by policies of other nations such as when China enacted its 10-month green wall. Due to this policy, contaminated bales of recycled material were rejected and sent back to warehouses. Not only was there a loss in profit, but additional cost to store the rejected material.

In 2011, Encorp’s program cost $86.64 million dollars. Another way to calculate this is each tonne of material collected costs $976. BDL’s claims their costs are lower, but are not publically available for review.

The province avoids an estimated $58-$74.6 million because of EPR programs for beverage containers (7). These savings come mainly from cost reductions in three areas: municipal collection, garbage collection, and landfilling (7). Additionally, $11.3-$16.4 million is generated from the sale of collected materials (7). This revenue stream would still exist without EPR programs; however, it would not be as profitable. EPR enhances the value of collected material because it helps to prevent contamination that can happen through curbside collection (7). One of the biggest offenders is glass because it breaks easily. This is such an issue that Multi-Materials BC now collects glass separately to prevent contamination. The economic impacts also include job creation. An estimated 456-1228 jobs have been created by EPR program with an estimated 50% of those located in BC (7).
3. Social
The social influence on this policy subfield is the willingness of the public to participate in recycling programs. Participation on the part of the public is voluntary and incentivized through a deposit. This financial incentive is meant to balance the extra effort required for recycling. If these programs are continually changed or the public does not see that they are making measureable effects, they may lose their willingness to participate.

The public needs to believe that the extra effort required to properly dispose of recyclable material, including identifying it, preparing it (such as rinsing and removing caps), and sorting it are worthwhile. EPR programs reduce environmental impacts in three ways. Nearly 400,000 sq. m of landfill space, over 100,000 tonnes of greenhouse gases, and over 1.8 million GJ of energy for virgin production are saved through beverage container EPR programs. Additionally litter has been reduced by an estimated 12 million beverage containers due to EPR programs (7).

4. Political
The political influences on this subfield are also financial in nature. Taxpayers pay for municipal recycling services and this is regardless of their use of these materials. Political influences are also seen in the discussion around expanding the deposit-refund system to milk containers. While it is not an actual political issue, it could become one as milk and milk substitutes are viewed as a staple food. The application of a deposit on containers for them would result in an increase of upfront cost. This would put undue pressure on low-income individuals and families who rely on this food to meet basic nutritional requirements. The province often uses this line of reasoning to argue against expanding the system to include milk containers.

References and For More Information

- Morrison Hershfield for British Columbia Ministry of Environment – Assessment of Economic and Environmental Impacts of Extended Producer Responsibility Programs in BC
B. **INTERACTIONS OF THE POLICY SUBFIELD**

1. **Dominant Coalition and its Appreciative Systems**
The dominant coalition is the group or groups that hold the majority of the power in the policy subfield. The provincial government and the stewardship agencies occupy this position. Together they hold the legislative power as well as the financial and physical resources necessary to the subfield.

Appreciative systems are which resources and relationships the dominant coalition values. Due to mutual dependence, the relationship between the two members of the dominant coalition is very important. The use of EPR places responsibility into the hands of industry, which must create a stewardship plan to be approved by the Ministry of Environment.

C. **GOVERNANCE**

Governance of a policy subfield has four features.

1. **Interdependence**
   Interdependence in this subfield is not shared between all actors. The dominant coalition is interdependent between its members and the remaining actors are interdependent on each other. The relationship between the dominant coalition and the other actors is less interdependent; the other actors are dependent on the dominant coalition, but the reverse is not true. The dominant coalition holds much of the power through legislative power and control of resources and does not rely much on other actors.

2. **Continuing Interactions**
   This policy subfield continues to interact mainly through the exchange of information and ideas. Resource exchange does not often happen. One such exchange of information was Encorp Pacific’s Public Consultation for its 2014-2018 stewardship plan. Similarly, the Ministry of Environment consulted stakeholders on the Beverage Containers Product Category.

3. **Rules of Interaction**
   This is how the actors interact with each other. Consultation occurs when changes are made to policy. The dominant coalition seeks the input of the other actors in the subfield. However, the impact of this input appears negligible. When members of the attentive public raise issues, the dominant coalition responds at its discretion. Letter writing and petitions are another way the attentive public tries to influence the dominant coalition. Since the dominant coalition holds much of the power in this subfield, they often do not need work cooperatively with other actors.

4. **Autonomy**
   Each actor in this subfield has its own mission, vision, and policies. Despite the power of the dominant coalition, they do not control the other members of the subfield. This is most evident by the friction between the two major divisions on some issues.
D. **Community or Network?**

This policy subfield can best be understood as a community rather than a network. Each of these terms represents a conceptualization of how the actors in a policy subfield are organized. Organization as a community seeks to include all interested parties and their relative influence in their particular subfield. This representation does not show how these actors interact with each other, the decision-making process, nor the acquisition and use of resources. A network model is the opposite; the focus of this model is on the interactions between the actors.

E. **Changes in Policy Subfield**

There are three theories that can explain how change occurs in a subfield. Change can happen incrementally, where small modifications to policy are made over time. Reversing changes is another feature of this model; if the desired outcome is not achieved, policy-makers undo the change. In contrast, the rational model of policy change is where a comprehensive evaluation is carried out to determine the best available course of action. This model is time, resource, and data intensive. The third theory is a mix of the two.

Changes to this policy subfield happen through the incremental model. The legislation used to carry out the policy has changed over time in a piecemeal manner. The programs that carry out the policy likewise have undergone changes over time.

F. **Instruments of Policy Subfield**

1. **Regulation**

Regulation is a major instrument of this policy subfield. Provincial legislation is used to indicate the material and deposit/refund values that fall under the beverage container product category. This legislation also sets out target recovery rates. Bylaws are another type of regulation used in this field. While there are not any direct bylaws used in this policy field, there are bylaws that indirectly affect this policy subfield.

2. **Direct Provision**

This is the crux of the purpose behind the policy Extended Producer Responsibility. Industry and consumers would bear the cost of the system to manage the waste. The Ministry does not provide the programs that carry out the policy, as part of the policy is that they do not bear any of the financial burdens of such programs. Instead, stewardship bodies, such as Encorp Pacific, draft stewardship plans that the Ministry approves. These plans are the programs that carry out the policies.

Direct provision by Encorp Pacific comes in the form of recycling bins on streets. Some municipalities still do provide direct provision; this is through municipal curbside collection. Other ways of direct provision that carry out the policy of this subfield are container design and markings that facilitate recycling.
3. **Subsidy**
Subsidies, in the sense of the government providing financial support, are not used in this policy subfield. However, the industries that carry out the stewardship programs do pay for the programs in part. Consumers can also be said to subsidize the programs through unclaimed deposit amounts.

4. **Tax**
Taxation is not a major feature of this subfield. None of the money collected as part of the policy or its programs goes to the government. However, the Container Recycling Fee is subject to the 5% GST.

5. **Contract**
Much of the policy in the field is carried out through contract. For example, British Columbia Dairy Council contracted Encorp to carry out its voluntary EPR program for milk containers. It now contracts Multi-Materials BC for the same purpose. Encorp Pacific has contracts with its depots for the collection of materials.

6. **Authority**
The stewardship organizations have a degree of authority to change how their programs run. While they must adhere to the requirements of legislation, they can still make changes to their programs.

   Another example of the use of authority is by the British Columbia Dairy Council. It has used its authority to carry out programs in accordance with the policy of this field. Because milk containers are not under a mandatory EPR, but rather a voluntary program, the British Columbia Dairy Council retains much of the authority over its programs.

7. **Exhortation**
This is another important instrument of this subfield. It manifests as the advertising campaigns carried out by stewardship organizations, for example Encorp Pacific and Multi-Materials BC. This is not exhortation by a specific individual, but by the program and for the program.
G. **INFLUENCERS ON POLICY SUBFIELD**

1. **Subgovernment**
   Those that fall within the Subgovernment group have a direct part in creating and changing policy. It is the day to day work of these groups and people to work on policy in this subfield.

2. **Attentive Public**
   The attentive public are those that are not directly involved with creating policy, but bring attention to issues that policy makers then address through policy creation or change.

Below is a diagram of the various actors in each group. The relative size of each bubble represents their influence and the proximity to the represents their influence on the policy subfield. See Appendix C for a more detailed list of actors.
H. **Analysis Criteria**

The following are the five major criteria that will be used to evaluate policy options. These were selected because of the issues raised in the Environmental Scan. Due to the difference between the options and the issues they address, each option will be compared to the present condition rather than against each other. These criteria are to aid binners and those who work with them for determining if a policy option is suitable.

1. **Equity**
   As binners are a marginalized group, care should be taken so that further disparities are not created. Policies should be examined for the equity of their impact on the binner community as a whole.

2. **Relevance**
   The relevance of policy options to binners and binning are important to consider. Relevance will consider to what extent the policy options address the issues raised in the environmental scan. Considerations include the impact on compensation, competition, health and safety, and public perception.

3. **Efficiency**
   The evaluation of efficiency will consider on one hand how the economic resources are used and the individual and group effort of binners is maximized. This evaluation will be based estimations of the relative cost of implement a policy alternative compared to the potential benefit.

4. **Effectiveness**
   How well a policy addresses the issues raised in the environmental scan will determine its effectiveness.

5. **Progress/Impact**
   This considers the long-term effects of each policy option. Under consideration will be if the policy option creates the conditions or precedent to support future action.
V. Policy Options

A. **Option One**

Add milk and milk substitute containers to the deposit-refund system.

This policy option would entail formally changing legislation to include milk and milk substitutes under the definition of beverage in Schedule 1. The current deposit-refund amounts would apply.

B. **Option Two**

Reduce the number of tiers in the deposit-refund system and increase the minimum refund to 10 cents.

This policy option would entail a formal change to legislation to increase the lowest minimum deposit-refund value (currently 5 cents) and the highest minimum deposit-refund value (currently 20 cents) by 5 cents each going up to 10 cents for the former and 25 cents for the latter. This would also reduce the deposit-refund system from a three-tier system to a simpler two-tier system. Any container one litre or less has a minimum deposit-refund value of 10 cents and any container more than one litre has a minimum deposit-refund value of 25 cents.

C. **Analysis of Options**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Include Milk Containers</th>
<th>Increase Deposit-Refund Values</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Equity</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency</td>
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<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progress/Impact</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/A – uncertain | 0 (zero stars) not true | * (one star) somewhat true | ** (two stars) true | *** (three stars) very true

1. **Equity**

Option 1 and 2 are both equitable because all binners could potentially benefit. Since this would be a change to the legislation, it would be applicable across the province. However depending on the distribution of milk containers, some binners could stand to benefit more than others did. For some the inclusion of milk containers may not create any gain for them. An increase in deposit-refund values would benefit all binners.
2. **Relevance**
Option one and two are relevant to the concerns of binners. Both options address two concerns of binners: financial need and competition. Including milk containers increases the number of available containers and increasing the deposit-refund amount increases their payout.

3. **Efficiency**
The two options differ greatly on this criterion. How binners currently encounter milk containers will determine how efficient option one. If it were a regular occurrence and therefore currently extra effort to separate milk containers from other containers, it would become more efficient if containers were added to the system. However, if they do not typically encounter milk containers, then it will be additional effort to find them. Option 2 however is very efficient. For the same amount of work, binners can have a bigger payout if deposit-refund amounts increase by 5 cents.

4. **Effectiveness**
Option 1 is effective in addressing the concerns of binners. It introduces more containers into the system, which could increase the payout for binners and potentially reduce competition. Option 2 may only be somewhat effective. An increase in the deposit-refund amount could introduce more competition. Consumers may be more motivated to return their containers personally, therefore reducing available containers for binners. Additionally, people with greater means to gather containers may become more motivated to engage in this activity.

5. **Progress/Impact**
Both options would create progress and significant impact. Option 1 could lead the way for further expansion of the deposit-refund system. Other materials such as coffee cups could be introduced into the system. Option 2 would also represent progress and have large impact because it affects the whole system.
Part III
VI. Advocacy Plan

A. **Numbers**

Collective action will be key to making an impact. To that end, numbers will matter. This policy subfield is performance oriented and metrics are important. There are two areas to generate numbers.

1. **Create Collectives**
   Binnners should take action to demonstrate a unified front. This can be the collection of signatures for a petition or the creation of a group to represent them and speak on their behalf. An obvious suggestion is for binnners to join or encourage others to join the Binnners’ Project. The project can then use attendance rates at meetings to show that a large group of binners care about these policy issues and have a collective stance on them.

2. **Container Diversion Rate**
   Binners can amass their receipts from depots to demonstrate how many containers there are diverting from landfill. These numbers serve as official proof of the capacity of the community. Depots or the Binnners’ Project can facilitate this effort.

B. **Education**

Educating the public and building awareness are also important methods to affect policy. Members of the attentive public are there to raise issues with policy, but cannot do so if they do not know what they are.

C. **Network**

Connect with other actors that have the same policy positions. A unified voice can create greater pressure on the dominant coalition to make change.

D. **Engage on the Program Level**

Encorp has made an effort to consider binnners with the design of its away-from-home. Building on that engagement can create a relationship between the groups. This can include providing feedback to Encorp about these containers.
VII. Recommendations

A. **Support the Policy Recommendations**

Binners should support the two policy changes introduced in this review. These changes are issues familiar to the actors of the policy subgroup and highly relevant to many of them.

B. **Take a Position on Policy**

Binners publically declare their policy positions. This could be all or none of the ones raised in this review. By having stated policy positions, binners can show the public that they are thinking of the bigger picture and for the long term. It would show that their interest extends to society as a whole rather than simply their own benefit. This would generate greater support for the binners and could help to address concerns such as public perception.

C. **Make Policy an Ongoing Topic of Conversation**

An ongoing discussion on policy would be beneficial to share knowledge and to come to agreement on policy issues. The Binners’ Project can facilitate this by having policy on the agenda at its monthly meetings. A champion for this cause should be chosen to lead the discussion and continue the work on policy for the group.
VIII. Conclusions

This review has analyzed the policy subfield of waste management for beverage containers in British Columbia. It has used binners and binning as the context for the analysis of policy changes. There is a place for binners to become involved with policy and policy changes can help them address many of their concerns.

This review recommends that binners should support the policy position of including milk containers in the deposit-refund system. It also recommends that binners support increasing deposit-refund values.

Policy change in this subfield happens slowly and the policy changes proposed in this review have been under discussion for many years. Regardless, for long-term progress and benefit of binners they should become involved in policy. This can begin with determining their position on major policy positions of the subfield.
IX. Works Cited


## Appendix A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Resolution Title</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Text Highlights</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Responses</th>
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<td>Milk Containers</td>
<td>Langley District</td>
<td>Deposit system for milk containers</td>
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<td>Recycling of Milk Beverage Containers</td>
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<td>Convention referred to Environment Action Plan</td>
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<td>B14</td>
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<td>B122</td>
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Appendix B

Data from status reports published by BC Dairy Council for the Return-it Milk Program

<table>
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<th>Jan-June</th>
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<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
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<tr>
<td>Plastic (Kg)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Encorp</td>
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<td>122,192</td>
<td>136,374</td>
<td>131,947</td>
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<td>Sales</td>
<td>1,441,435</td>
<td>2,260,565</td>
<td>2,300,156</td>
<td>2,094,055</td>
<td>2,231,925</td>
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<tr>
<td>Depot Recovery Rate (Plastic)</td>
<td>5.92%</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
<td>5.93%</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Polycoat (Kg) |          |          |          |          |          |
| Encorp        | 60,637   | 86,781   | 152,693  | 183,959  | 216,081  |
| Sales         | 1,142,615| 1,345,039| 1,542,642| 1,508,393| 1,321,119|
| Depot Recovery Rate (Polycoat) | 5.31% | 6.45% | 9.90% | 12.20% | 16.36% |

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<tr>
<th>Full Year</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
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<tr>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>Plastic by Units</td>
<td>Plastic by Weight (Kg)</td>
<td>Plastic by Weight (Kg)</td>
<td>Plastic by Weight (Kg)</td>
<td>Plastic by Weight (Kg)</td>
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<td>179,170</td>
<td>257,156</td>
<td>274,854</td>
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<td>48,106,247</td>
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<td>Dairy Industry</td>
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<td>33,500</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>51,209,764</td>
<td>3,261,825</td>
<td>2,985,017</td>
<td>3,196,847</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Sales         | 72,065,635| 4,259,160| 3,776,939| 4,420,960| 3,932,045 |
| Depot Recovery Rate | 3.16% | 3.05% | 4.74% | 5.82% | 6.99% |
| Overall Recovery Rate | 71.06% | 76.58% | 79.03% | 72.31% | n/a |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Year</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2007</th>
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<td>Polycoat by Units</td>
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<td>Polycoat by Weight (Kg)</td>
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<td>Encorp</td>
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<td>63,159</td>
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## Appendix C

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Appendix D

**LOCKED DUMPSTERS** will be covered in this appendix. This issue is particular to the City of Vancouver and to the DTES.

Access to redeemables is one of the key daily challenges of binners. Access is already group moderated with seniority and active use helping to secure better prospects. Access is often directly connected to competition.

The City of Vancouver has a by-law that states dumpsters stored on city property must be locked when not in use. This bylaw is selectively enforced; with the DTES and a stretch on Granville Street as two places where this bylaw is enforced. Litter around dumpsters and in alley ways and the subsequent cost to the city for cleanup was the impetus for the bylaw.

To simply oppose this bylaw is unhelpful. Even if it were to be repealed, business owners could still chose to lock their dumpsters to limit illegal dumping and abandoned garbage. Nevertheless, binners should call for a reconsideration of the bylaw, not with the intent of repealing it, but opening the conversation on the issue.

When the bylaw was first proposed, an administrative report noted the social implications of the bylaw. It stated that through consultation with the binner community at United We Can, most containers were not gathered in “problematic lanes”. They also reported that binners felt uncomfortable working in those lanes. The General Manager of Engineering Services commented that there would be minimal financial impacts on binners due to this bylaw. Additionally, the report stated that an educational campaign would be developed to promote the separation of materials so that objects of value would not end up in dumpsters.

This report shows that the City of Vancouver considered the impacts of the bylaw on binners and attempted to address them. Binners in the Binners’ Project report that locked dumpsters are an issue for them. However, more information is required, such as the location of these dumpsters and the purpose of the business owner when they lock them. Calling for the reconsideration of the bylaw can help to start this conversation.

For more information

- [https://downtownvancouver.net/dvbia/pdf/AppendixEStreetCleaningInitiativesDec1406ReporttoStandingCommitteeofCouncilonCityServicesandBudgets.pdf](https://downtownvancouver.net/dvbia/pdf/AppendixEStreetCleaningInitiativesDec1406ReporttoStandingCommitteeofCouncilonCityServicesandBudgets.pdf)