OPEN 24HOURS:
A CASE STUDY OF VANCOUVER AND
THE TWENTY-FOUR HOUR CITY CONCEPT

by

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B.A., The University of Winnipeg, 2000

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS (PLANNING)

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

School of Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
October 2002
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Date _January 11, 2003_

Abstract

Vancouver has been experiencing a new phase of change that is associated with globalization, the convergence of technology, culture and urban development and demographic factors. In recent years Vancouver's economic base has undergone transformation with a shift in capital and labour from mass production and manufacturing ("Fordist" production), to high-technology productions and producer services. More recently, Vancouver's 'new economy' has become increasingly focussed on the tourist, film and television industry.

Market forces and social processes have transformed Vancouver's urban core while planning and local policy initiatives have also been influential agents of change. The City of Vancouver's Central Area Plan (1991) successfully placed emphasis on the importance of downtown residential living. Consequently, Vancouver's downtown has evolved into a place to work, live and socialize creating new social conflicts and tensions.

The time has arrived for a new plan to guide the future of Vancouver's Central Area that shifts the focus of policy from 'hard' physical spatial planning to encompass and address 'softer' social and behavioural issues that are increasingly important for future planning endeavours.

Vancouver is a dynamic and diverse transnational city with a growing urban population and vibrant central area. As a result, planners are faced with the ongoing challenge of providing livable urban communities while still responding to how people both live and socialize through new and innovative planning schemes. The Twenty-Four Hour City concept offers an opportunity to inform new policy and planning strategy through experimentation and innovation.

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I would like to thank my parents and grandma for their guidance, support and encouragement throughout my studies. You've always being there for me when I've needed you and I love you all very much. To my friends (you know who you are) who have ensured me that I can and will finish this pursuit.

To Dr. Tom Hutton, you have always been there with your constant encouragement and advice. I am truly thankful for your time, patience and commitment to seeing this through. I would also like to thank Michael Gordon and Harry Harker for sitting on my thesis committee.

To everyone I have met at SCARP it has been an amazing experience and I couldn't have made it without the laughter and good times. Thanks for the memories.

Chapter 1.0

1.0 Background Narrative

Historically, city centres in both Europe and North America have been nodes of activity with their origins rooted in central place functions, and later manufacturing and production industries. However, with the de-industrialization of inner city districts new opportunities arose for the reorganization of city centres around consumption rather than production and the production of services, rather than goods. "The 1980s saw the re-emergence of a concern with city centres as focal points for, and as symbolic of, a specifically urban way of life seemingly eroded in the 1970s" (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). This erosion began in the 1960s in larger cities and the 1970s in medium-size cities like Vancouver. The development boom of the 1980s brought an associated rise in centrally located offices, reclaiming city centre prestige. With this shift from production to consumption activities which had previously been considered marginal, opportunities for cultural creation and entrepreneurial activity were presented (Heath and Stickland 1997). Creative and cultural activities became primary functions of cities, rather than merely adjuncts to production-related industries.

Despite this new opportunity for cities to (in a sense) recreate their central areas, many experienced little demand for inner city living, especially in large tracts of derelict land and vacant warehouse structures. In an attempt to breathe life back into British city centres, the Twenty-Four Hour City concept emerged as a new and innovative approach to revitalize and create safer city centres (Heath and Stickland 1997). The concept of twenty-four hour cities however, is not a new one. Many cities such as Edinburgh, and many in continental Europe are, to varying degrees, demonstrably twenty-four hour in

nature. It is in these cities as well as, those which, since the 1970s, have developed

cultural policies to revitalize their urban nightlife, that the twenty-four hour city concept

is influential (Bianchini 1994). The work of urbanist Franco Bianchini, who is often

recognized for establishing the concept of the twenty-four hour city, identifies Rome's

programme of night-time cultural events as being one of the first initiatives to promote a

more planned evening economy as an attempt to lure people back to the city.

Historically, the model of the twenty-four hour city has been employed in

attempts to revitalize urban centres by luring people back into urban areas throughout the

evening and late night. This idea has its origins in urban planning expert Jane Jacobs's

famous arguments regarding the social and economic benefits of the populous after-dark

street, and remains an important theoretical cornerstone of the twenty-four hour city

concept (Hadfield, Lister, Hobbs and Winlow 2001). "On successful city streets, people

must appear at different times. This is time considered on a small scale, at different times

throughout the day" (Jacobs 1961).

> Providing the space for transactions, across the day and night is what cities
> have always done. It is what cities are good at and it is what humans do. In
> a sense, the twenty-four hour city is really only about opening up the
> possibilities for transactions to take place in longer and more extended
> segments of time (Montgomery 1994).

1.1 The European and British Experiences

The success of Renato Nicholini's (a Rome City Councillor in charge of cultural policy)

1977 *Estate Romana,* Rome City Council's very influential and successful summer

programme of cultural events, is recognized as one of the first twenty-four hour city

revitalization initiatives. This annual summer cultural programme (1977-1985) focussed

on public monuments, historic streets and squares in the city centre, which were made

safer, more attractive, and more accessible by coordinating cultural policy with appropriate policies on public transport, lighting, child care and environmental improvements (Bianchini 1990 in Heath 1997).

Cultural policies similar to those of Renato Nicolinis, have been a common part of the night-time vitality of a number of European cities. There is now a commitment in Britain to twenty-four hour strategies and initiatives in order to achieve city centre revitalization. The British origins of the twenty-four hour city can be traced to Comedia consultant's *Out of Hours* report in 1991 which described how flexible working hours, part-time and shift work, and even the video recorder have all had a different temporal demand for leisure activities. In addition, 1993 saw the launch of Manchester's Olympic bid and thus ran the *More Hours in the Day* initiative. This particular initiative promoted extended licensing of establishments into the late evening and early morning in an attempt to entice individuals to venture out and stay in the city centre longer and later. This manipulation of existing legislation was an attempt to present Manchester as an international city with a relaxed approach to culture, leisure, entertainment and public consumption of alcohol.

The primary intention of Britain's local governments in adopting twenty-four hour initiatives was to create a vibrant city centre that offered a diverse range of leisure activities beyond the traditional hours of nine to five. If successful, a broad spectrum of people would be drawn into the city centre throughout the evening, instilling a sense of safety while improving the city image as a destination for people of all ages and walks of life, any time throughout the day or night.

1.2 Vancouver and The Twenty-four Hour City Concept

Many cities have undergone significant inner city transformations over the past few decades and Vancouver can be seen as an important exemplar. Vancouver has been experiencing a new phase of urban change that is associated with global processes, and with the convergence of technology, culture and urban development and social class (re)formation. In recent years Vancouver's economic base has undergone a transformation characterized by a shift in capital and labour from resource processing and manufacturing ("Fordist" production) to high-technology industries and producer services. More recently, Vancouver's "new economy" has become increasingly focussed on the tourist, film and television industry, and is more commonly being recognized as "Hollywood North" although this role is looking a little more tenuous.

The City of Vancouver's Central Area Plan (1991) successfully placed emphasis on downtown residential living. Consequently, Vancouver's downtown has evolved into a place to work, live and socialize, as well as a place for experiential endeavours. Unlike British cities Vancouver does not need to revitalize its vibrant and livable downtown peninsula through twenty-four hour city initiatives. Rather, the time has arrived for Vancouver to begin to acknowledge its success in becoming a vibrant, yet livable, dynamic and diverse global city with a growing urban population, and to reformulate policies to reflect and enhance this.

However, Vancouver's success has inherent conflicts. Vancouver needs to accommodate the creative constituencies it has drawn here in order to nurture and maintain all that has been achieved. As a result, planners in Vancouver are faced with the ongoing challenge of supporting this vibrant, livable urban community while still

responding to how people both live and socialize. The concept of the twenty-four hour city could offer innovative opportunities within this planning realm.

1.3 Problem Statement

The face of the North American city has changed considerably over the past few decades. Through the success of many planning efforts and the transformation of its economic base, Vancouver has evolved into a niche-level global city. With a shift from what was once recognized as working-class neighbourhoods in the "Fordist" era to the presently gentrified upper-class and "yuppie" neighbourhoods, there is a new demand for Vancouver's downtown to accommodate the employees of what has been deemed Vancouver's "new economy" (Ley 1996).

Vancouver's downtown does not struggle with attracting people at any time of the day or evening. However, with growth in new economy industries (and thus in new economy workers), there is a demand to accommodate the interests of this new group of urbanites. Vancouver's tourism and an increase in the film and television industry have created new time frames for living, working and socializing in Vancouver's downtown peninsula. The desire for late night activity in Vancouver's downtown has surfaced alongside this economic shift, raising questions regarding livability, social conflict and the effect of current policies.

Currently, Vancouver embodies the potential to adopt a twenty-four hour city model, but what does this represent for the City of Vancouver and most importantly for its residents? The demand for late night activity has become great enough for Vancouver to begin considering the concept of the twenty-four hour city as a viable option for the future.

1.4 Research Questions

Vancouver's new phase of urban change and recent transformation of its economic base has not only had an effect on the industrial structure of the city. Recently, social and behavioral concerns of how and when people both work and socialize have surfaced. This recent transformation has launched the city into a concentration of high-tech firms and a thriving local, national and international film industry, as well as a transformation of working middle class to middle upper class neighbourhoods creating a market for expensive and trendy housing in Vancouver's downtown neighbourhoods such as Yaletown.

The City of Vancouver's Central Area Plan (created in 1991) placed emphasis on the residential livability of the downtown peninsula. Further, it stressed the consolidation of the central office district, an increase in retail focussed on the street, the creation of downtown neighbourhoods and an interest in accommodating families with children. However, in realizing the current aspirations and demands of new groups now present, there are inherent conflicts and tensions.

Vancouver's downtown roles as place of residence, employment, leisure and experiential endeavors creates conflict with livability in the eyes of many. The success of the Central Area Plan brought about a richness of culture and urban vitality, as well as attracting people from all walks of life onto the streets and into the neighbourhoods of downtown Vancouver. It has created a livable, entertaining and vibrant downtown. However, with an increased focus on the new economy, there are new interests that currently need to be addressed. With employees of the new economy choosing to reside

in the trendy and 'happening' areas of Vancouver's downtown there is what is referred to as "temporal dysfunctionality" occurring (Michael Gordon, personal communication).[1]

In 2002, over a decade since the introduction of the Central Area Plan, there is a need for a new vision to manage the dynamic and vibrant scene occurring in downtown Vancouver. This new direction must include the possibility of the need and demands of a twenty-four hour city. Vancouver has created an environment that is conducive to this new economy and its employees, and now planners and those who make decisions for the city must take appropriate measures to ensure our creative people remain here in Vancouver. This raises some critical research questions, pertaining to the Vancouver case specifically.

- What is the range of issues associated with the model of the twenty-four hour city?
- How is the model already present in Vancouver?
- What makes the Vancouver case different/special?
- What are the planning implications and responses associated with the implementation of the model?

1.5 Methodology

How do we create a vibrant city that is capable of catering to the needs and desires of this new group? In addition to the employees of the new economy, tourists must also be able to venture out at anytime of the day or night and have a variety of amenities available to them. So in order to be successful, what do we need to provide in this twenty-four hour city, how can this be reconciled with the livability aspirations of other groups in the downtown, and which research methodologies can be deployed to help respond to these issues?

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[1] "Temporal dysfunctionality" occurs when a relationship between two variables (i.e. a place of residence and a dance hall) conflict with one another only temporarily, as opposed to on an ongoing basis (i.e. throughout the duration of an entire day).

With an increase in residential living, thus an increase in residents in the urban environment, there must be a mixed-use component for all hours. The twenty-four hour city cannot be focussed solely on clubs, cabarets and dancehalls although these remain essential components. The creation and use of cultural venues, public markets, grocery stores, and restaurants are all integral elements of a successful twenty-four hour city that is inclusive of all interests. Information gathered through the completion of an internship at the City of Vancouver, a review of literature on the twenty-four hour city concept and a description of existing local policy through the use of primary documents will provide the methodological sources for this thesis.

1.5.1 Internship

In order to examine the model of the twenty-four hour city in the Vancouver context mapping the area from a time perspective can identify specific locations and venues that tend to attract individuals in the early and late evening and into the early morning. In Vancouver's downtown peninsula what is seen, heard and experienced on the streets and in the variety of establishments, transforms as time unfolds into the evening.

Information I gathered through an internship with Vancouver's Central Area Planning (under the supervision of Michael Gordon, Senior Planner) provided a recent account of late night activity in Vancouver's downtown peninsula. Documentation of what takes place on a sample of Vancouver's most popular downtown streets demonstrates how the needs and desires of both Vancouver's visitors and residents change throughout the evening and into the early hours of the morning (see Figure One). This research explored the potential conflict that may exist between livability and
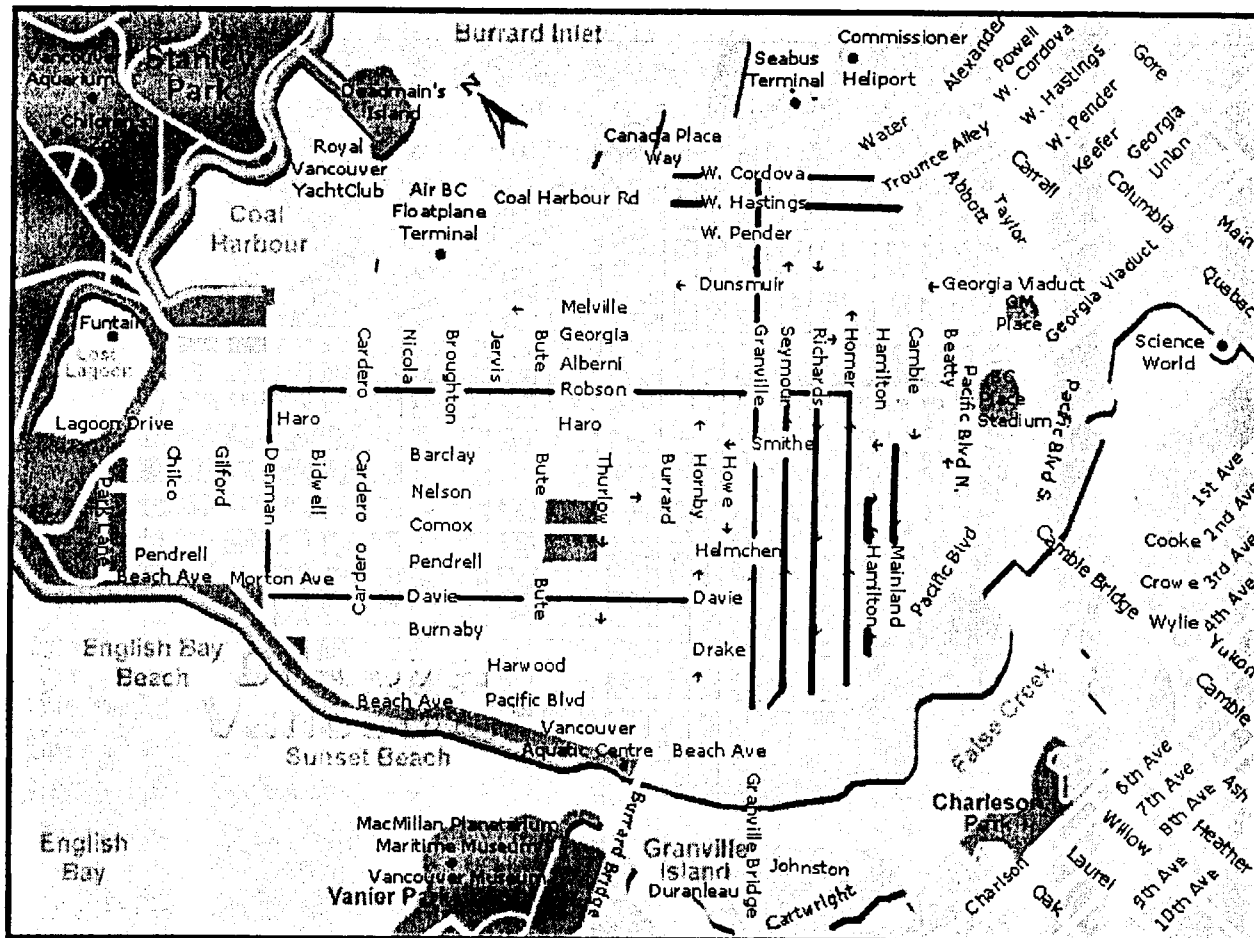
specific streets used in study area

Figure one: Map of Study Area- portion of Vancouver's downtown peninsula.
Source: www.city.vancouver.bc.ca

time frames and, in addition to this, how human behaviour and preferences are affected by the nature of Vancouver's highly residential downtown peninsula.

In observing Vancouver's downtown peninsula during three separate time frames, before 10 pm, 10 pm to 2 am and after 2 am, I was able to identify activity in the downtown peninsula. Documenting the hours of operation of establishments within the downtown peninsula displayed the availability, or lack there of, of attractions and amenities. Also, in an attempt to further reinforce the prevalence and popularity of late night activity in Vancouver's downtown peninsula this research includes pedestrian flows, nodes of activity, and gathering of groups of individuals. Observing late night activity in downtown Vancouver provides evidence that this phenomenon of twenty-four hour activity continues to ensue and evolve.

1.5.2 Literature Review

It is important to examine the origins of the twenty-four hour city concept and its early beginnings as a planning initiative to revitalize deteriorating inner cities. Through a literature review the concept of the twenty-four hour city can be elucidated and its revitalization roles explored. Vancouver's downtown peninsula currently embodies the potential to adopt twenty-four hour city initiatives to enhance and expand future late-night activity in this area. The literature review will document past efforts and successes while further reinforcing the inherent characteristics of this concept within Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

1.5.3 Primary Documents

Finally, the observation and discussion of local policy framework will provide an understanding of the current policy arena this phenomenon is transpiring within. By

recognizing the existing policy of an entire decade of district plans, success and shortfalls of current policy can be acknowledged, and direction for future policy creation can be identified. The twenty-four hour city concept is an innovative planning idea that can influence key policy directions and decisions guiding the future of Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

1.6 Description of Thesis Structure and Content

Vancouver's shift in economic structure must be accompanied by a reciprocal shift in policy emphasis. Policy emphasis increasingly will shift from 'hard issues' such as land use and urban structure to policy that is focussed on 'soft issues' such as social behaviours, preferences and social tensions. These soft issues are being increasingly acknowledged and there is substantial opportunity for policies to become focussed on the twenty-four hour city concept.

To gain a further understanding of the possibilities the concept of the twenty-four hour city represents for Vancouver, it is necessary to examine the existing literature on this topic. Cities such as London, Manchester, Leeds and Rome have all adopted a variety of twenty-four hour city initiatives in an attempt to revitalize their city centres. However, the issues that prompted the adoption of twenty-four hour city initiatives in British cities differ considerably from those in Vancouver. In chapter two, this thesis will explore the origins of the concept of the twenty-four city, including case studies of, and references to, cities that have adopted this model in one form or another, providing a context for the Vancouver case study.

Vancouver's recent economic and social transformation creates an opportunity for new and innovative planning approaches while exposing a realm of ideas that may have

been considered foreign at one time. The planning success of Vancouver's downtown peninsula now lends itself to the possible adoption and implementation of twenty-four hour city initiatives. However, there is a range of issues that needs to be recognized and addressed. A larger range of issues that this model encompasses will be acknowledged, but this thesis will examine a number of specific issues in depth.

Chapter Three examines the range of issues that the model of the twenty-four hour city concept raises within Vancouver's downtown peninsula. First and foremost, there is conflict with time frames and how the employees of the areas of economic growth both live and work. This group has different hours of living, working and socializing. Their time frames do not necessarily coincide with the standard 9-5 workday. Their working hours are irregular, creating a demand for amenities to remain open and accessible at all hours of the day, evening and night. Whether it be grocery stores, markets, restaurants, cabarets or nightclubs, there is an increased demand for late night amenity and services.

Second, Vancouver has also been experiencing a trend in the growth of a generational interest in all night dancing. The problem of accommodating this group's desire to dance all night does not necessarily lie in the issue of liquor licensing. Nevertheless, noise complaints resulting from loud music playing throughout the night has created conflict with nearby residents. This also has a direct effect on the local music scene and live local clubs within Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

To some extent these tensions are the consequences of the success of the Central Area Plan. It brought a diverse group of people into the downtown and focussed on the downtown as a place to live, work and play. As a result, Vancouver's downtown must

attempt to accommodate these interests while still providing livable residential neighbourhoods. In addition to the aforementioned issues, extended licensing of clubs, the legalization of after hours clubs, safety and transportation will all play a vital role in the success of the twenty-four hour city.

Finally, compatibility is the key to a successful, vibrant and exciting city at all hours. This raises the question of 'whose city is it?' Does everyone have a right to be there whether living in an expensive loft, panhandling on the street, or socializing in a late night cabaret? What about drug pushers, prostitutes and other criminals? However, the problem remains of how to accommodate this multitude of interests. Everyone wants to boast they live in an exciting and dynamic fact paced urban environment, yet the vibrant twenty-four hour city arrives and some people do not like it. With the City currently working towards streamlining the licensing system and involving the industry stakeholders, progress is slowly being made. Identifying concerns and conflicts and recognizing the potential success this concept embodies, is the first of many steps to endure.

In order to address these aforementioned issues, Chapter Four will visit the range of policies currently in place at the City of Vancouver, as well as examine the existing structure of regulations. Through examining a decade of district plans within the downtown peninsula, an understanding of initial goals and policy can be recognized. This will acknowledge the current situation and offer insight into where the City needs to facilitate the creation of new policy for the future. Only by observing the current situation, can we then begin to gain a respect for where planning must move toward in

the future in order to foster an environment that is conducive to accommodate the myriad of interests in the downtown peninsula.

In addition to visiting the current policies in place at the City of Vancouver, Chapter Five will critique the City's recent attempts or lack thereof to move toward the adoption of policies related to the twenty-four hour city concept and will assess if this is a plausible option for Vancouver. Regardless, of whether planning efforts are ever focussed toward the creation of a twenty-four hour city, this research will be a recent description of the present situation in downtown Vancouver.

The chapter to follow, Chapter Two, will now attempt to generate an understanding of the origins of the twenty-four hour city and how this model has historically been utilized as a planning initiative to rejuvenate derelict and unused city centres. In doing so this will provide the necessary framework for later discussion of issues the twenty-four hour city concept raises within Vancouver.

Chapter 2.0 Literature Review

Over the past thirty years, certain cities in Britain as well as North America have undergone structural change in their central areas with a shift away from manufacturing to consumption based activities and the production of services. This shift from manufacturing and related 'Fordist' production activities has not created a similar outcome in every city. Cities such as Vancouver have managed to capitalize on its transformation with an economic base currently focussed on high-technology production, creative industries such as film and postproduction, and other specialised service industries. However, in some British cities, this shift away from production within the inner city has meant a continuous decline of the city centre economy, and a decentralization of retail and leisure activity.

As a result, the concept of a twenty-four hour city is an approach that many cities in the UK are utilizing in an attempt to revitalize their city centres. Through an examination of the existing literature the origins of the twenty-four hour city in Europe will be explored as well as the initiatives British cities are attempting to implement to create a safer, more attractive vibrant urban environment.

However, there is a paradox that must be addressed. Planning efforts in Britain have focussed on revitalization initiatives to transform deteriorating and unused city centres into vibrant destinations where people live, work and play. Conversely, Vancouver's downtown peninsula already possesses these qualities. Future planning policy and initiatives in Vancouver must now focus on accommodating the needs and wants of its diverse urban population. Twenty-four hour initiatives in British cities offer innovative planning ideas and models that may be adopted for the future of Vancouver's

downtown peninsula. Examining the situation in select British cities will illustrate the options that may be considered in order to promote the twenty-four city concept, and thus inform strategies that may be applicable to creating a twenty-four hour environment in Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

2.1 Origins of the Twenty-Four Hour City: The European Experience

The modern origins of the 'night-time economy' and thus the twenty-four hour concept, can be traced back to the late 1970s with Renato Nicholini's contribution to the implementation of his innovative planning endeavour in Rome. Born out of the need to revitalize the evening economy and lure people back into Rome's city centre was the *Estate Romana,* Rome City Council's very successful summer programme of cultural events (1977-1985). This annual summer cultural programme

> focused on public monuments, historic streets and squares in the city centre, which were made safer, more attractive, and more accessible by coordinating cultural policy with appropriate policies on public transport, lighting, child care and environmental improvements (Bianchini 1990 in Heath 1997).

The 1979 *Estate* focussed on strengthening the city's night-time economy by providing activities for people to leave their homes to go out and socialize, meet others and most importantly spend their leisure time in a vibrant and exciting urban atmosphere as opposed to remaining in their primarily residential suburban neighbourhoods.

The 1979 *Estate* was created around four different foci of activity termed four 'cities within the city', each located on the edges of the city centre (Bianchini 1994). Each 'mini city' had an underlying theme of arts, culture and entertainment. There was a 'city of film' set in an obsolete slaughterhouse, a 'city of sports and dance' in an archaeological park on the Via Appia complete with sports and camping facilities, open-air ballrooms and restaurants. As well, in a municipally owned villa a 'city of television'

was created. The adaptive reuse of obsolescent buildings was a key element in providing

an environment that no longer felt abandoned and vacant, creating a more welcoming

landscape while instilling a sense of safety. As a result a street of old redundant

warehouses created the 'city of theatre' which showcased most of Rome's 'underground'

theatre groups. What originated in an attempt to entice people back to the city centre in

turn fostered the resurrection of Rome's cultural and creative community. Prior to the

existence of Rome's 'city of theatre', many of Rome's theatre groups were literally

underground, hidden away in the cellars of the Trastevere district (Bianchini 1994).

"The influence of the *Estate* pervaded the whole city centre" (Bianchini 1994).

The provision of cheap and frequent bus services running late into the night enabled these

'cities within the city' to function, while also making the activity accessible to the entire

population rather than merely those in the upper echelons of society. By providing an

inexpensive mode of public transportation and an evening programme of cultural events

the city centre and its streets came alive with people of all ages and all walks of life.

Consequently, this strengthened the city's night-time economy and altered individual's

perceptions of the night-time city belonging solely to young people and pub life.

The revitalization of city centres through cultural policy and programmes was not

exclusively an Italian phenomenon. In the 1970s and 1980s many local politicians in

other European countires began to recognize that the public possessed an ever-increasing

demand to go out and enjoy the "convivial city". Cities in Denmark, Sweden, the

Netherlands, Germany and France adopted policies that enhanced and fostered the night-

life in many of their city centres (Bianchini 1994). Often it is a shift in social behaviours

and preferences or a structural shift in a city's economic base that constitutes the need or desire for policy change and creation.

Certain political and social movements had an early influence on the resurgence of desire for a rejuvenated night-time economy as well as an outlet for evening leisure. First, there was a substantial expansion in higher education with the democratization of access to universities in the aftermath of the 1968 movements causing students to become an important new audience for night-time activities. Secondly, a whole host of urban social movements emerged with feminism, community action, and the gay and black movement, that saw no clear boundaries between 'cultural' and 'political' activity. It was the first time that local politicians were forced to take cultural politics and policy seriously (Bianchini 1994). The feminist movement voiced their concerns regarding the safety of women on urban streets in empty city centres and the "Reclaim the Night" movement demanded the state of women's safety in urban centres be addressed (Thomas and Bromley 2000). A leader in recreating the city centre of Rome, Nicholini felt that the initiative to create an exciting urban calendar of cultural events encouraged people to venture out of their homes in the evening, thus addressing the issues of women's safety.

Cultural policies of this nature have been a common feature of the night-time vitality of a number of European cities and Britain has began to follow suit with its more recent commitment to twenty-four hour strategies and initiatives in order to achieve city centre revitalization.

2.2 Twenty-Four Hour City Initiatives: The Revitalization of British City Centres

2.2.1 Background

The 1980s saw the re-emergence of a concern with British city centres symbolic of a specifically urban way of life seemingly eroded in the 1970s (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). The de-industrialization of city centres left large tracts of older city centres vacant and derelict. This shift away from industrial production, warehousing and wholesaling in inner cities severely affected the working and living patterns of the local population. City centres were no longer the powerful focal point for the region, they were merely areas void of daily activity and employment. "Ugly grim cities they may have been, but formerly they produced, they made for the world. Now they were just ugly and grim" (Lovatt and O' Connor 1995).

Following the de-industrialization of central areas was the office development boom of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This era focussed on the re-invention of the prestige of centrality in an effort to recoup the true value of the CBD (Heath and Stickland 1997). New city centre offices, as well as residential and leisure developments emphasized centrality through the promotion of the unique value of urbanity. With an emergence of city to city competitiveness in an ever-increasing global market place, city centres were experiencing the early beginnings of the reorganization of their economies around consumption rather than production (Heath and Stickland 1997, Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). However, much of the redevelopment still saw the progressive decentralization of retail, office and leisure functions despite attempts to re-emphasize the importance of the city centre. Retail decentralization, related to the nationwide growth in car ownership and the associated redistribution of the population to suburban and rural

locations also had a negative impact on the traditional city centre. Over the past thirty years the decline of the economy of the city centre has been a widespread feature of British cities (Thomas and Bromley 2000).

2.2.2 Temporal Fragmentation in British City Centres

Increasingly, British city centres have become temporal places where people work and shop between the hours of nine to five, and then commute to suburban communities, leaving an underutilised city core between the evening and the following morning. In recent years the Twenty-Four Hour City concept has been introduced as a means of tackling the problem of temporal fragmentation by revitalizing and creating safer city centres while bringing new dynamism to streets which are usually deserted after 5 pm. Temporal segregation has long been a significant element of the life of city centres in the UK (Bromley and Thomas 2000). City centre activity throughout the day is mainly focussed on retail as well as a concentration of business quarters and office related activity. While evening and night-time functions tend to attract smaller concentrations through entertainment and cultural facilities such as clubs, pubs, restaurants, cinemas, theatres and concert halls. It has been argued within the literature that city centre revitalization would be assisted by merging the work day into an expanded evening and night-time economy, a sort of marriage of the two rather than a divide between the two time frames.

2.2.3 Objectives of the Twenty-Four Hour City in British Cities

The twenty-four city hour concept is a strategy that many British cities such as Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield and Cardiff have adopted to extend the activity period and social mix of users of the city centre by offering a wider range of evening and night-time

functions. Thus, this would provide a safer city centre while also creating an image more likely to attract future investment. This could also assist in accommodating a large number of inter-related social and technological changes that have caused the 9 to 5 daily pattern to longer form the back bone of day-to day living. Many individuals no longer keep the standard work day for a variety of reasons. Examples of some of these changes include the growing flexibility of labour in most economic sectors with regards to part-time and self-employment, as well, many individuals now work out of their homes. In addition to this, given that people are living longer, there is a growing number and proportion of retired people, all resulting in an increase in leisure time and in some cases, disposable leisure spending (Montgomery 1994 and LGA, London 2002). A growing awareness of these changes had led to the idea of the 18 or 24 hour city in which a broad range of economic, social and cultural activities are encouraged to take place over a longer period of the day and night.

The UK origins of the twenty-four hour city can be traced to Comedia consultants' *Out of Hours* report in 1991 and to Manchester's 1993 Olympic bid in which they launched their *More Hours in the Day* initiative (Heath 1997). The *Out of Hours* report argues that "these shifts in people's lifestyles and needs must be recognized in town centre strategies" (Comedia 1991). Heath identifies a number of problems outlined in Comedia's report that contribute to the lack of night-time activity in Britain's city centres. Within these centres there is a lack of things to do at night. Pub-culture is popular but lacks any interaction with the street. Furthermore, activity in pubs takes place behind frosted windows and is perceived by the public to be dominated solely by a young male population. The *Out of Hours* report also identifies the monofunctionality of

city centres with a predominant focus on the office and retail sector to be a predominant issue. Individuals that journey into the city centre for work rarely stay or return after the dinner hours, there remains little interest in remaining in the city centre for leisure and entertainment purposes in the evening.

Pedestrian unfriendly environments coupled with poor public transport provision at night-time, restrictive licensing laws and single activity visits of city centre users also affect the appeal for night-time activity within the city centre (Heath 1997, Comedia 1991). Thus, as shops and offices close around 5pm there is a virtual abandonment of the city centre. This void is then only partially filled after 7pm by the early evening dinner, theatre and cinema goers, and subsequently by the later-night clientele of the pub and club scene (Thomas and Bromley 2000).

2.3 Elements of a Twenty-Four Hour City Strategy

In an attempt to revitalize their city centres local authorities began implementing a variety of initiatives in developing twenty-four hour schemes. "The overall move towards a '24 hour city' is usually seen within the broad strategic policy framework of a sustainable city which seeks to facilitate and encourage economic and social, as well as environmental, regeneration" (Jones, Hillier and Turner 1999). While each individual local authority embodies its own strategic policies and goals with regard to their approach to the twenty-four hour city, a number of general themes can be identified (see Table 1). Initiatives that address such issues as licensing, retail, restaurant promotion, safety and encouraging urban residential settlements have all been included in the twenty-four hour city strategy.

CITY	TIMESCALE	KEY INITIATIVES
Leeds	24 hours	Licensing, Retail, Cafes/Rest., Lighting, CCTV, Festivals, Theatre.
Manchester	24 hours	Licensing, Retail, Cafes/Rest., Lighting, CCTV, Festivals, Street Events.
Sheffield	20 hours	Licensing, Cafes/Rest., CCTV, Cultural Ind., Theatre.
Liverpool	20 hours	Licensing, Cafes/Rest., CCTV, Theatre, Street Events.
Cardiff	24 hours	Cafes/Rest., Lighting, CCTV, Festivals.
Glasgow	18 hours	Retail, Cafes/Rest., Lighting, CCTV.
Nottingham	20 hours	Retail, Cafes/Rest., Theatre, Street Events.
Newcastle	20 hours	Licensing, CCTV.

Table one: Twenty-Four Hour City Initiatives
Source: Heath, Tim and Robert Stickland. 1997, "Safer Cities: The Twenty-Four Hour
     City Concept", in T. Oc & S. Tiesdell (Eds), *Safer City Centres: Reversing the
     Decline* (London, Paul Chapman).

2.3.1 Licensing

The issue of licensing is an essential component of many twenty-four hour city schemes. There are many debates surrounding licensing and the procedures undertaken by authorities within this policy realm. Within Britain the licensing debate exists at two levels: first, national attempts to alter the present system of licensing restrictions and the issuing of licenses; and, secondly, attempts to change local restrictions on licensed premises (Heath 1997). Licensing issues are closely related to safety issues and are therefore vital to the successful creation and implementation of the twenty-four hour concept.

The *More Hours in the Day* initiative took place in Manchester in September 1993 undertaken by Andy Lovatt of the Manchester Institute of Popular Culture and remains one of the most concerted efforts to initiate the adoption of new licensing schemes. This initiative supported the extension of permitted opening hours for licensed premises with pubs and bars operating until midnight and clubs until 4am. Lovatt found that more individuals used the city centre as a result of this extension and those visiting the area during this period were more comfortable in their perceived improved surroundings. There was a reported increase in door takings at night-clubs and pubs, and crime and alcohol-related incidents actually decreased despite the larger number of people in the city centre. Greater Manchester Police carried out a survey of crime that indicated crime in general fell by 43% and alcohol related incidents fell by 16% (Heath and Stickland 1997). Furthermore taxi firms reported an increase in use of their service and less aggravation.

Prior to the extension of opening hours patrons would often double their orders at last call and then fight over late night facilities such as transportation. By allowing patrons to stay longer in establishments Sergeant Ellis of Manchester's central licensing division says "people go home when they choose to go home, not when they get thrown out of clubs" (Cuthbertson 1996). Introducing a 'winding down' time where non-alcoholic drinks may be served to enable patrons to use facilities and leave over a longer period of time can help to minimize the impact of closing time. By using a 'soft close' technique such as this, a sort of 'trickle out' effect of patrons can ease the stress submitted on the late night police force. Also, it avoids turning city centre streets into holding zones for intoxicated patrons. The evidence from Manchester would therefore suggest that the 'controlled' relaxation of licensing hours can have a positive impact upon city centre crime and thus revitalization (Heath 1997). In addition to licensing initiatives, Manchester has also employed retail initiatives in attempts to bridge the gap between daytime and evening use of the city centre.

2.3.2 Retail Initiatives

Licensing initiatives address the need to lure individuals into the city centre throughout the evening and into the late night. However, efforts to keep people downtown after work has also been a challenge facing British cities. With the exception of London most British cities and towns more or less appear to shut down between 5 and 6pm. There is a tendency for shoppers to evacuate the city centre after 4pm due to fears associated with lower levels of activity on the street, thus as shops and offices close at around 5pm there is a virtual abandonment of the city centre. A small number of shops may remain open a little longer, but not long enough to create a critical mass. Pubs, clubs and restaurants do

not usually draw clientele until later in the evening around 8 or 9pm, resulting in the common phenomenon of the 'dead period' between the times frames of work and play. Many British cities have experienced substantial difficulty in attracting and maintaining retail participation within the city centre (Heath 1997). As a result the implementation of extended retail hours has been coupled with a variety of early evening entertainment initiatives such as street entertainment, live music and restaurant promotions. In an attempt to remedy 5pm flight shops were permitted to remain open later, thus creating a potential demand for early evening activities within the city centre.

2.3.3 Restaurant and Café Promotion Initiatives

Restaurants and cafes are a critical element in a successful twenty-four hour city initiative. In order to combat 'single use syndrome' as well as '5pm flight' the stimulation of café and restaurant activity is a necessity. Most visits to the city centre are strictly for single use purposes, for example, one goes to shop for a few hours but does not stay to have dinner or see a movie. A combined initiative with retailers and/or entertainment attractions such as cinemas or theatres have created discount offers for patrons in order to promote city centre attraction. One may have dinner at a restaurant and then have the option to purchase tickets to a movie or play for half price, in order to keep individuals in the city centre as opposed to returning to their suburban neighbourhood.

Also important is the animation of city centre streets. Cafés and restaurants can apply for pavement licenses, which allow for tables and umbrellas and/or awnings to be placed alongside the premise where people can carry on as they would inside the establishment but enjoy being outside in an urban atmosphere. This idea promotes

interaction of patrons with individuals on the street, thus creating a sense of populated streets and a safer environment. As well, this concept of patio eating, drinking and socializing is directly opposite to that of exclusionary pub culture. Regardless, relaxing land use policies and taking a more relaxed view of activities such as pavement eating and drinking can best promote street life and café culture (Montgomery 1994).

Overall retail, café and restaurant initiatives all address issues of safety through the attempts to repopulate the street throughout the evening and into the late night. However, British twenty-four hour city schemes also include CCTV and lighting as a relatively cost-effective way of tackling the fear of crime that many individuals harbour with regards to the city centre at night. "Glasgow has developed an intiative with city centre retailers and the Scottish Electricity Board to reduce electricity tariffs at night allowing shop window displays to remain fully lit at night thereby bringing both a degree of street illumination and greater store security" (Heath 1997). However, the greatest sense of security comes from being surrounded by others, stressing the importance of a residential component in any twenty-four hour city concept.

2.3.4 Residential

Encouraging more people to live within city centres is a common theme in the development of the twenty-four hour city. Cities in the UK have been increasingly developing initiatives aiming to repopulate their city centres in an attempt to revitalize and create viable urban neighbourhoods. The majority of British city centres suffer from a lack of residents, for example in 1994 there were only 900 residents living in Leeds' city centre (Montgomery 1994). With the implementation and promotion of Leeds as a twenty-four hour city this has probably changed, as city centre residence was a significant

element in the marketing and creation of Leeds as a twenty-four hour city (www.theleedsweb.co.uk).

"A residential population helps to create a living city-providing natural surveillance-and adding to the demand for the products of the night-time economy" (Heath 1997). The adaptive re-use of obsolete buildings and redundant space over shops have been refurbished to create an environment that could foster the success of the twenty-four hour city. Loft apartments in old warehouse buildings may appeal to young professionals who desire an alternative to suburban living. As well, it provides urban housing for certain groups as in the case of Manchester's Gay Village, a living urban village and an important part of the City Council's strategy for recreating a twenty-four hour city (Heath 1997). The city centre can provide niche groups such as the gay community or other ethnic communities the opportunity to create a safe and close knit family environment that is sensitive to their lifestyle in an urban setting.

By encouraging individuals to live in the city centre there is "potential for enhancing both the immediate market and the likelihood of more informal pedestrian activity across a wider time-span than the 'business' day (Thomas and Bromley 2000). Having livable urban neighbourhoods and an availability of different housing options within the city centre is an essential component of a vibrant and living city. Without the implementation and creation of residence within the city centre it would be extremely difficult to create a successful twenty-four hour city where individuals not only work but also live and play in an environment they feel safe and secure and want to spend their time in.

2.4 Conclusion

Manchester and Leeds have set the pace in promoting their own twenty-four hour city approach with Leeds having achieved many of their initiatives and revitalization schemes. However, British cities are employing the twenty-four hour city approach in order to recreate and revitalize their city centres with goals of shaping a vibrant and populated urban environment. In contrast, Vancouver has already achieved great success in creating a vibrant, livable city centre with diverse urban neighbourhoods that remains a destination for work as well as leisure.

Despite its planning successes, downtown Vancouver now faces an array of new challenges. With a shift in Vancouver's economic base to high technology, film and television production, a new group of young professionals has emerged. Currently there is a need to begin accommodating the lifestyles of this creative constituency it has drawn here as well as foster an urban environment that can also address the needs and desires of a new youth culture interested in all night dancing. The adoption of a twenty-four hour city concept in Vancouver could support and foster an atmosphere that is more conducive to the lifestyles of new groups emerging in the urban environment. The chapter to follow will describe the Vancouver case study with regard to the twenty-four hour city by acknowledging the larger range of issues that this model encompasses but will elect to examine a number of specific issues in depth.

Chapter 3: Vancouver and the Twenty-Four Hour City Concept

3.0 Introduction

As previously illustrated the twenty-four hour city concept has historically been deployed by British cities as part of revitalization efforts for city streets and centres. In contrast, Vancouver's downtown peninsula is already a highly evolved urban centre, not only as a place of work, but also as a place of recreation and living. Vancouver is a vibrant, attractive city that cities throughout the world strive to emulate. However, in part through the planning success of the City of Vancouver's Central Area Plan (1991), and the transformation of Vancouver's economic base to high-technology industry and producer services, a new situation and set of policy issues has come to fruition.

Vancouver's recent shift to a 'new economy' increasingly focussed on the tourist, technology, creative services, film and television industries has created a situation wherein new lifestyles have emerged. Vancouver has successfully created and nurtured an environment that is conducive to fostering this high-technology, creative industry (for example in terms of land use policy, heritage programmes, and other initiatives), yet it has done relatively little to accommodate the recreational needs of employees in this sector.

Downtown Vancouver is highly residentialized with a population of 70 091, and Vancouverites continue to pour back into city centre neighbourhoods to live, shop and recreate. Population growth within the downtown peninsula between 1991 (when the *Central Area Plan* was approved) and 2001 was 48 percent (www.city.vancouver.bc.ca). Residents want the diversity and convenience of a downtown lifestyle but are not willing to tolerate the clamour and late night activity that comes with inner city urban living, thus

raising questions regarding livability and conflictual expectations. The 2021 population targets for the downtown peninsula are established largely on the basis of existing planning policies, land use zoning and anticipated future developments. The population target for 2021 is 100 000, representing a 37 percent increase over 2001 (City of Vancouver 2002). Consequently, the future of Vancouver's downtown as a livable environment relies on the ability of policy makers and planners to address issues of social conflict and tension in this area. Vancouver exemplifies the potential of adopting a twenty-four hour city model as an attempt to create new alternatives for the increasing diversity of groups. This chapter will acknowledge the broader range of issues this concept encompasses but will examine only a few specific issues in depth as well as discuss Vancouver's West End as a precursor to the twenty-four hour concept providing a context for the Vancouver case study.

3.1 Vancouver's West End

Vancouver's West End is inherently twenty-four hours in nature. A highly residential urban neighbourhood with a population that continues to increase, the West End encompasses a large portion of Vancouver's downtown peninsula wherein late night activity is prevalent. Its distinctive urban ambience includes restaurants, coffee shops, retail stores as well as pubs and nightclubs. With a variety of evening activities to offer, people are drawn onto the streets and into establishments reflecting a sense of an "alive downtown." The highly residential nature of this neighbourhood requires amenities be available throughout all hours of the day to accommodate many lifestyles.

Similar to Manchester's Gay Village (a living urban village and an important part of the City Council's strategy for recreating a twenty-four hour city), the West End's

Davie Village represents one of Canada's largest gay communities. The needs, desires and demands of the West End's diverse population have created a neighbourhood that possesses characteristics of a twenty-four hour city. Grocery and convenience stores as well as a few restaurants remain open twenty-four hours a day, but the opportunity to further expand late night options currently exists. Policy and initiatives that support an all night economy could be introduced within this area to further display the potential success this concept embodies within the downtown peninsula. The West End provides a useful reference as a precursor to the twenty-four hour city within Vancouver's downtown peninsula. Evidently this area could provide a useful 'policy laboratory' for future policy creation and implementation with regard to twenty-four hour initiatives.

3.2 Conflict: "New Economy" Employees

With the rise of the new economy in Vancouver comes employment growth in constituent industries. Individuals employed in the new economy tend to work irregular hours rather than a typical 9-5 work day, and it is not uncommon for these workers to undertake twelve hour shifts that do not end until after midnight, creating a conflict with 'mainstream' time frames. Their long hours and shift work create different patterns of living and socializing, relative to other groups. Random and inconsistent hours create a demand for amenities to remain open and accessible at all hours. Whether it be grocery stores, markets, restaurants, cabarets or nightclubs, there is an increased demand for late night amenity and services. In examining a portion of Vancouver's downtown peninsula and mapping activity from a time perspective, it became evident that there is a definite demand for late evening as well as late night amenity.

Within the study area (see Figure two) there is a dramatic shift in amenity and services that remain open after 10pm. There is a significant change in what is accessible throughout the specific timeframes examined. The initial timeframe, prior to 10pm, exhibited a prominent retail component, which dramatically changes after 10pm. After 10pm in the evening there are only a few late night shopping options, including twenty-four hour establishments such as SuperValu on Davie Street, and a number of 7 11s and coffee shops. Restaurant operating hours vary with a few late night establishments that remain open after 2am such as DV8 and The Sugar Refinery. In order to become a successful twenty-four hour city and accommodate the needs and desires of new economy employees there must be a representation of a variety of amenities including markets, coffee shops and restaurants. This should include pubs, nightclubs and dance halls, among other activities.

3.3 'After-Hours' Establishments: 'Temporal Dysfunction'

Conflict with time frames is most apparent with regard to the social life of new economy employees. Outside the time frame of mainstream club and cabaret activity, the employees of the new economy have little choice but to socialize in illegal after-hours clubs. By examining late night activity in a portion of Vancouver's downtown peninsula as well as attending the New Music West festival from 1999-2002, I have estimated that Downtown Vancouver comprises approximately twenty illegal after-hours clubs. (see Figure three). These clubs are promoted by people involved in the music and film industry as well as live DJ promoters.

Illegal after-hours clubs are often referred to as 'booze cans' and provide an alternative for individuals who may be unable to socialize during legally permitted night
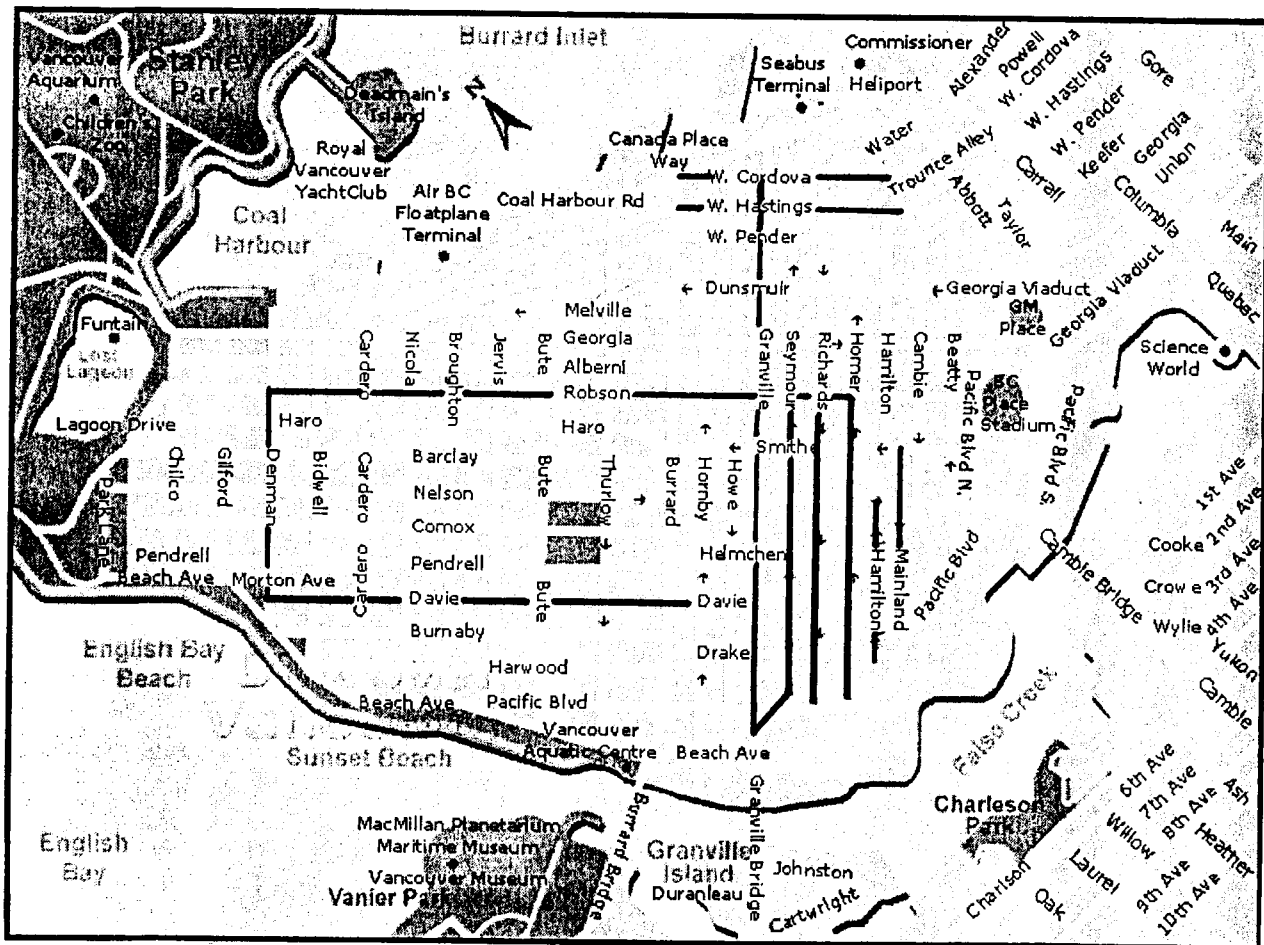
specific streets used in study area

Figure two: Map of Study Area- portion of Vancouver's downtown peninsula.
Source: www.city.vancouver.bc.ca
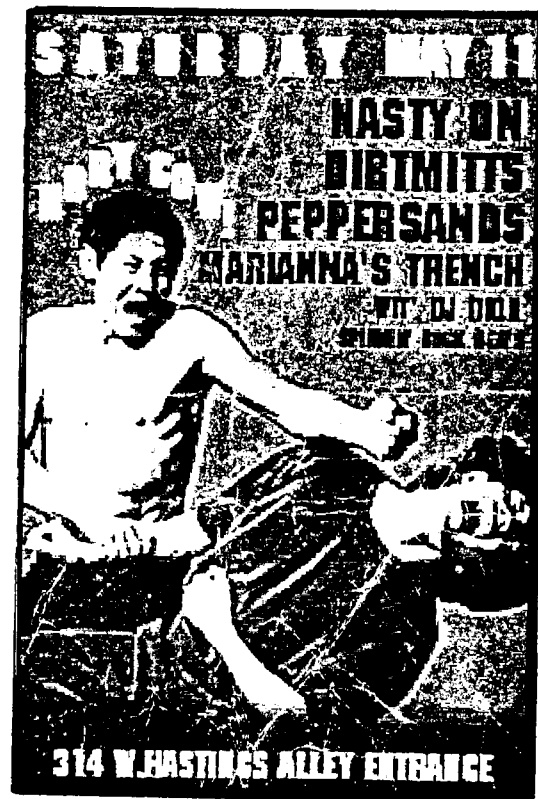
Figure three: New Music West after-hours flyer

club hours or to accommodate those who simply prefer to attend a more 'exclusive' gathering.[2] Although the appeal of many of these after-hours clubs remains their exclusivity and ability to accommodate an irregular schedule, there is a concern with the condition of these facilities. Illegal after-hours clubs are often situated in buildings that are unsafe, fire prone and lacking more than one emergency exit. More often than not the buildings are in need of immediate upgrading to meet safety and fire standards.

The twenty-four hour city concept, could support the late night economies of after-hours clubs. If regulated, the City could work with building or club owners in legalizing and upgrading safety standards of already existing illegal and unsafe clubs. Illegal after-hours clubs could retain their exclusivity and select clientele however, their structure would be brought up to building and safety codes through legalization. Individuals could relax and socialize when their schedule permits, rather than when mainstream club hours dictate. By maintaining a low mainstream profile and allowing for a select clientele through high security door monitoring, after-hours clubs such as *The Mango Room and 314 West Hastings*, known as *The Renegade* would retain their exclusive crowd and thus maintain their popularity.

There has been recent interest by a few local building owners to upgrade and maintain the standards of the buildings they own in exchange for a license to operate as a legal after-hours establishment. Currently *The World*, located at the corner of Granville and Robson Street is the only establishment licensed to operate legally well into the early morning. While the lifestyle of new economy employees suggests there is a definite

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[2] After-hours clubs are often selective in their clientele and only permit entrance to 'regulars' and individuals in the movie, music and/or hospitality industry ensuring an 'exclusive' crowd.

interest in spending leisure time in late night establishments and after-hours clubs there is also another group that demands a similar accommodation.

3.4 New Generational Interests- Youth Culture

In addition to new economy employees there is another group that desires the operation of late night establishments. Vancouver has been experiencing a growth of interest in all night dancing by young people. As one of the main drivers for twenty-four hour city activity, this new demographically-defined interest in all night dancing is fueled by young adults and the youth present in downtown Vancouver.

The recent growth in dance culture has become very popular with young people and arguably represents a cultural development as economically and socially significant as the rise of punk rock or the grunge era. The centrality of music to youth culture has been well recognized for many years. More recently, the combination of dance, music and drug cultures have received considerable attention both academically and in the popular media.

Commonly referred to as 'raves', these all night dance parties require an all night license to operate legally. However, the problem of accommodating this group's desire to dance all night does not necessarily lie in the issue of liquor licensing. Noise complaints resulting from loud music playing late into the night and throughout the early hours of the morning creates a conflict with nearby residents.

Noise is a very important externality in the implementation of the legalization of these after-hours clubs. To some extent this tension is an indirect result of a planning success. The land use changes embodied in the Central Area Plan brought a diverse group of people into the downtown to live. Consequently, people invested their lives and

money into downtown apartments, and high-end condos. However, the residential presence comprises only one element of this successful urban area, it does not represent the sole component of Vancouver's downtown peninsula. Hence the conflict.

3.5 Live Music Venues

When examining Vancouver's new economy and its creative constituent it is important to recognize Vancouver's local music scene and thus its local musicians. Vancouver's local independent music scene has been experiencing difficulties similar to that of the new economy employees in that there has been little done in the way of accommodating their needs and desires. Vancouver has a large music community and many acts that are recently garnering international recognition such as Nickelback, Default and Swollen Members. However, despite Vancouver's concentration of local talent and its ever-expanding music industry, policy continues to ignore the needs of this group.

Over the last few years many of Vancouver's live music venues have been shut down, converted into nightclubs or torn down. *The Townpump*, one of Vancouver's most well known live clubs, was converted into the popular Gastown nightclub *Sonar* that caters to live local as well as expensive imported DJ talent. As well, *The Starfish Room* on Homer Street was recently demolished and City Hall is currently reviewing an application for a 26-storey, 135-unit tower in its place (Mendes 2002). It will not be long until the *Palladium*, once known as the infamous *Graceland*, will also meet the same fate, soon occupying an upscale condominium high rise by developer James Schouw (Mendes 2002). Also, Luv-A-Fair, an institution since 1974, is slated to leave its current Seymour Street location and relocate to the Caprice on Granville Mall by year end.

Finally, Richard's on Richard's, one of Vancouver's few live venues still in operation is planning to make its last call within the next couple of years.

> At a local level the relationships between the cultural industries and urban regeneration interests around property development is clearly fraught with tensions. A hands-off approach can ultimately allow a property market to price out small scale cultural producers. This may not just impact on a particular area but on the ecosystem of the city as a whole (Brown et al 2000).

Vancouver is rapidly running out of places for the many original musicians and songwriters to play. Live music venues closing in Yaletown clearly exhibit the tensions between Yaletown past and future. As Shannon Mendes explains in her article Yaletown is

> the neighbourhood we've all been familiar with for years: a light industrial district with several legendary and very loud nightclubs stashed in its pockets. And then there's what Yaletown is on its way to becoming: a clean, quiet residential neighbourhood full of densely packed highrise towers (Mendes 2002).

This trend is creating problems for Vancouver's downtown to accommodate the diversity of groups present in the urban area. Although live venues are nearly obsolete in Yaletown the problem does not lie solely in the conflict between the different groups inhabiting the Yaletown neighbourhood.

Rather, live venues and local talent have continued to struggle in the face of archaic provincial liquor licensing and building capacity policy for some time now. In a recent article featured in *The Georgia Strait,* " Cross-border Clubbing", Mike Usinger examines the dilemma local talent, promoters and club owners face as well as cross border competition with our neighbours to the south. In a Seattle versus Vancouver scenario, Seattle has many advantages in maintaining a vibrant live music scene: alcohol

is cheap, starting a club is relatively easy and a relaxed attitude toward liquor licensing has ensured there is no shortage of music venues. Once past the prohibitive exchange rate, promoters and club owners on the Canadian side of the border are faced with exorbitant alcohol taxes, costly border fees for out-of-country touring acts and a restrictive liquor licensing process (Usinger 2001).

In the United States the average business applicant can obtain a liquor license in 45 to 60 days at a maximum expense of $2000 (Usinger 2001). Once a suitable space is located, the owner must pass a criminal history check. A letter is then sent to Seattle City Hall where they have 20 days to respond with any objections. If the location has not previously had a liquor license, churches and schools within 500 metres of the proposed establishment are notified. The only institution with an outright veto power is a tax supported elementary or secondary school. Also, business owners and area residents are permitted to register their concerns after which the liquor control board decides whether or not to issue a license (Usinger 2001). The process in Vancouver differs substantially.

In Vancouver there are many more hurdles to overcome in order to license a venue or adjust its operating capacity. The liquor control and licensing branch has a policy that does not allow cabarets over 350 seats so there has been nothing of this nature approved for a number of years. It is easier to obtain a license for a 30-seat neighbourhood pub in the downtown peninsula however the process is still more than a year and a half long. Despite the pitfalls that accompany the process of obtaining a new license, it is considerably more expensive to purchase an already existing license. The going rate to buy an existing license is $1000 a seat subsequently creating a start up cost of $300 000 for a 300-seat room strictly for licensing.

In addition to expensive, tedious and time consuming licensing policy and procedure, Vancouver's live clubs also suffer from capacity restrictions. Prior to its destruction the 6 000 square foot Starfish Room had a legal capacity of 275 people, in Seattle a club the same size is licensed for 499 patrons. Even worse, the Brickyard, which was roughly the same size as the Starfish Room, permits 250 people within the premises in accordance with its fire code. However, the room's Class A pub designation restricts its capacity to 110 people, completely abolishing its potential to accommodate live entertainment. If an establishment cannot legally fill its room with enough individuals to cover the cost of bringing in live shows then everyone loses; the club owner, the local talent and most of all the individuals who have a genuine admiration for live music. This issue of capacity stems from the complex liquor-license categories and 'seat' restrictions that have existed under provincial regulation. With recent changes approved for implementation in early December of 2002, local governments will have authority over classifying establishments as either one of two classifications rather than the previous nineteen.

Currently Vancouver has fewer than half a dozen clubs that concentrate on live original music with only two of them, the Commodore and Richard's on Richard's bringing tourisng artists in on a regular basis. Resultantly, bands who may have landed an opening spot for a high-profile out of town band lose out on an opportunity to reach an audience that might not have taken a chance on local independent music. Whether it is a result of strict licensing policy, capacity restrictions or government red tape, live music venues in Vancouver continue to close their doors.

What will it take for a positive change to occur? Music is central to the 'night-time economy' of the city, and attendance at live music venues provides valuable economic spin-offs to the leisure, hospitality, entertainment and tourism industries. The City of Vancouver must be open to new and innovative ideas with regards to the creation and promotion of live music venues. A young and visionary power base of club owners, promoters and most importantly citizens, must influence politicians to recognize live venues as an important and essential element in the complete plan for the future of a vibrant and diverse downtown peninsula.

3.6 The 'Night-time Economy' and the Music Sector in Brisbane: an instructive case

Similar to Vancouver, Brisbane, Australia is positioned to promote itself as a city that is capable of fostering its reputation as a creative global city. With a growing world-wide interest since the 1980s for cities as nodes of creativity and consumption, employees in the new economy have placed a focus as to why they choose to locate and subsequently remain in a particular city. 'It is increasingly apparent that, in such decisions, culture has become the cake, and not the icing, as culture, or more broadly quality of life, came to be recognized as the key element in comparative advantage that a city might have" (Pratt 2000). With new economy employees consciously choosing to live in Vancouver it is important that we maintain their interests and put forth the necessary efforts in keeping them here. Therefore, "central to the cultural 'comparative advantage' is the significance, diversity and vibrancy of activities in the night-time economy" (Brown et al 2000).

Although little research has been conducted into Vancouver's music industry and its direct significance as an integral element in the successful promotion of Vancouver as

a twenty-four hour city, the research in Brisbane suggests it is of primary importance. In a draft vision document, *Living in Brisbane in 2010*, the Brisbane City Council identified music and multi-media and high technology as an industry that is essential in luring and maintaining its young professional population, thus linking the music industry to the city's future as a prosperous and creative city. It is necessary for local and provincial governments to stop inhibiting this sector's development through inappropriate planning, zoning and liquor licensing laws that continue to undermine the future of live venues, which are in many respects the key incubators of creativity in the music sector. There needs to be a shift in thinking about music activity in terms of enforcement of laws relating to noise and unruly behaviour to recognizing it as a vital component in the economic and cultural development of a creative and diverse twenty-four hour city.

3.7 Licensing, Safety and Policing

Vancouver's liquor licensing laws currently inhibit the promotion and adoption of a twenty-four hour city concept considerably. The archaic closing laws of 12:00 midnight for pubs and 2:00 am for nightclubs and cabarets have been, and in most cases still are, adhered to by all establishments in Vancouver. Nightclubs and cabarets operate under the premise that they continue to serve alcoholic beverages until 1:30 am, when last call is then made. At this time there are no purchasing limits on alcoholic beverages and often individuals purchase a substantial amount of alcohol. Individuals are then given half an hour to consume their beverages and then exit the establishment immediately at the scheduled 2:00 am closing time.

Without a 'winding down' time in effect, individuals are forced to quickly consume their alcoholic beverages and leave the club, thus turning large crowds of

intoxicated individuals onto the streets. With the concentration of nightclubs on Granville Street's 900-block entertainment strip the street soon becomes a 'holding zone' for large groups of people who are often noisy. In most instances individuals are just trying to find transportation to their next destination, visiting with friends, or simply smoking or eating at a late night fast food restaurant rather than causing altercations. Nevertheless, very large numbers of people are present within the same vicinity.

In addition to this, following 3:00 am the Vancouver police force is reduced and therefore, does not have the capacity to operate at full force. As a result, the current liquor licensing and closing laws inflict a substantial strain on the police force that is actually present in Vancouver's downtown peninsula during these particular hours. There are substantially fewer police to deal with the flood of people into the street that occurs after 2:00 am.

In response to outdated liquor licensing policy, an effort to move toward more applicable policy that could potentially accommodate and support innovative planning in the future was needed. Recognizing this need for change, City of Vancouver's Central Area Senior Planner Michael Gordon met with club owners, promoters, as well as representatives from Tourism BC and the City of Vancouver liquor licensing board to review the current liquor licensing and generate a forum for concerns, feedback and recommendations (attended meeting April 4th, 2001 Chateau Granville). The purpose was to move closer toward recommendations for a liquor license policy and implementation strategy for the Central Business District that active entertainment and leisure industry leaders felt were both realistic and feasible.

Since the commencement of the local process of review there has been sweeping reforms to British Columbia's liquor laws and as result Vancouver is on the brink of what may be new and innovative change to the policy currently in place. To date the provincial government has indicated that it would like to eliminate the nine categories used to classify licensed establishments and replace them with "liquor primary" and "food primary" licenses and allow owners to extend their liquor-serving hours from 2:00 am to 4:00 am (Guy Gusdal in Howell 2002). "Liquor primary" includes bars, pubs, clubs and other venues where the main business is selling liquor while "food primary" will include restaurants, dining rooms and cafes, where food is the main business and liquor can only be served with food. These changes to existing policy require city hall to amend the bylaws currently in place. The provincial government introduced this legislation in March and the new laws will be subject to approval by the local government and the consent of the liquor control and licensing branch.

By allowing clubs to remain open until 4:00 am it has been demonstrated in other cities that there is less street-crowding and police incidents when a nightclub practices a 'soft close'. A soft close recommends that a voluntary 'winding-down' time of one hour is introduced in late-night venues, during which time non-alcoholic beverages may be served. This would enable patrons to use the facilities and leave over a longer time period, minimizing the impact of closing on local residents. This method is practiced in Manchester, a twenty-four hour city, and has been very successful. Local police say this method eases policing problems because people go home when they choose to go home, not when they get thrown out of the club (Cutherbertson 1996, Hayes 2001).

Later closing times could have many positive impacts on Vancouver's current late night scene. It could reduce the mass of people present on many of the streets in Vancouver's downtown peninsula at 2:00 am therefore minimizing the impact on the police force present during these early morning hours and creating a safer environment for those in the area. As demonstrated through Manchester's pilot project, *More Hours in the Day Campaign*, police had to deal with fewer public order and street crimes related to alcohol consumption (Heath 1997). The evidence from Manchester would therefore suggest that the controlled relaxation of licensing hours, as proposed by British Columbia's Provincial government, can have a positive impact on city centre crime. However, in order to accommodate individuals who choose to remain downtown past 1:00 am, some changes must occur with regards to transportation.

3.8 Late Night Transportation

Currently in Vancouver there are very limited means of late night public transportation. This evidently places a great strain on the limited number of taxis in the area. In Vancouver, at the current 2:00 am closing time very few transportation options exist to make your way home or to your next destination. A limousine, cab, or private vehicle are the only modes of transportation available after 1:30 am and often cab drivers choose not to accept a fare if the patron is heavily intoxicated. Also, the cost of taxis can often be expensive. This creates a dilemma in a city that offers few other alternatives.

If you do not own a private vehicle or are too intoxicated to be driving it, there are no options that exist, especially without the provision of any late night public transit or skytrain service. Recent cuts to Translink's service saw the end of all Night Owl (late night) bus service in Vancouver. Translink cut late night service on the basis that the

service only recoups between 20% and 25% of its operating costs. However, anyone who has ever caught a late night bus out of downtown Vancouver on a Friday or Saturday night knows they are usually at maximum capacity with little or no standing room even available.

There has been some discussion at Translink staff level centres around possibly restoring six or seven routes out of the downtown core until 5:00 am on Fridays and Saturdays only. This service, if restored, would be provided as a 'premium' service and would therefore demand a 'premium' fare, requiring a higher fare of three or four dollars per trip (Salmi 2002). Translink's lack of provision of late night service does not lend itself to the adoption of the twenty-four hour city concept. Rather, its lack of service provision inhibits the potential success of new liquor licensing policy and extended hours of leisure individuals are willing to spend in Vancouver's downtown both now and in the future.

With the extension of liquor licensing laws and opening hours of night clubs, Translink could potentially be positioned to break-even. Nevertheless they have not taken any initiatives to reinstate late night service. When given the option individuals would probably choose to use public transportation to and from the downtown in order to avoid the costs associated with taxis and the operation of a private vehicle. (Not to mention the possible loss of life associated with drunk driving.) Translink could use this opportunity to capitalize on this innovative planning endeavour to extend the operating hours of night clubs. They should not do this solely for profit, but rather as an attempt to restore and regain public support lost as a result of the 2001 bus strike.

The need for public transportation is also reinforced by the presence of a number of groups in Vancouver's downtown peninsula that are dependent on the provision of this and many other public services.

3.9 Compatibility

As this discussion of groups present in Vancouver's downtown peninsula progresses it becomes evident that there are a plethora of needs, interests and desires present in this area. It is one exercise to recognize that this multitude of interests are present yet it is entirely another to address and include the interests of each of these groups into a planning scheme for a twenty-four hour downtown.

The question of 'whose city is it' arises once again and it has not become any easier to answer. Does everyone have a right to be in Vancouver's downtown regardless of the role each individual has assumed? Do street involved youth, drug dealers, panhandlers and criminals have the same right to be included as those patronizing night clubs or living in expensive condos? Individuals involved in criminal activity do not have a right to be on the streets while practicing criminal activity. However, street involved youth, panhandlers and the homeless all deserve to be included in any plan rather than being left unaccounted for. If these individuals are not addressed it does not change the fact that they remain present on the streets attempting to cope with their issues day in and day out. Planners cannot simply plan around these individuals.

3.10 Relevant Social Issues

This raises concerns regarding the social issues associated with the liquor licensing review process. In the past, City Council has been concerned with the lack of availability of appropriate city-wide resources with respect to addiction issues, including alcohol

addiction (Straka A. and Guy Gusdal, Policy Report August 28th, 2001). Currently the liquor licensing review is attempting to permit the consumption of alcohol until 2:00 am in night clubs and cabarets on Friday and Saturday nights.

The consumption of alcohol brings with it significant social and health costs for society as a whole. These costs are well defined and include excess health care costs, reduced labour productivity, law enforcement expenditures, social welfare costs, fire losses and traffic accidents. Recognizing these issues arising out of alcohol addiction the Vancouver/Richmond Health Board created and circulated a discussion paper titled "Adult Alcohol and Drug Services for Vancouver: A Health Reform Framework". In an effort to address the problems associated with alcohol addiction this document compiled a list of services that need to be provided. The provision of services include: early intervention, home detox, "day" treatment, counciling, supported housing, sobering and detox.

This is not to say that the extension of operating hours in night clubs will create an immediate epidemic of alcohol addicted patrons. However, it is important to recognize the possible short and long-term effects of alcohol consumption as well as the addictive behavioural patterns that could emerge for certain individuals. In defense of the liquor licensing review process, recognizing that the Central Business District liquor license policy purposes a relatively modest increase in the number of additional seats. Moreover, in doing so their staff remains fully aware of the problems associated with addiction (Straka A. and Guy Gusdal, Policy Report August 28th, 2001).

3.11 Vancouver: a special case

Vancouver is a very special case when examining the promotion and adoption of a twenty-four hour city model. As a result of previous planning successes, downtown Vancouver is already a popular locale for many different groups of people for a variety of activities and attractions. Downtown Vancouver embodies a representation of the many walks of life and diverse groups of individuals present in the lower mainland.

Significantly different from many other Canadian cities for Vancouver does not suffer from a lack of people wanting to reside as well as recreate in its downtown. Moreover, it does not represent the typical city that adopts a twenty-four hour city concept, for it does not suffer from decay or a need for revitalization initiatives to lure people into it. Rather, individuals are willing and want to spend their time in Vancouver's downtown. They live there, work there and play there in most instances because they want to. However, one of Vancouver's shortcomings lies in the lack of ability to accommodate the existing late night leisure interests.

The twenty-four hour city model is manifested in Vancouver through the use of its high streets at all hours of the day and night, as well as the various attractions currently available well into the evening. Nevertheless, the evolution of night time activity has transformed into a desire for all night accommodation. Shifts in time frames and new interests in all night entertainment have created new opportunity for a global city that has also evolved into a major tourist destination as a result of its natural urban beauty. Vancouver is poised for new and innovative planning models such as the twenty-four hour city for many of its characteristics already embody this concept.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter further reinforces the prevalence of new groups within Vancouver's downtown peninsula and the issues surrounding them such as leisure, safety, licensing and transportation. Vancouver is a city that has achieved the ultimate goal of creating and maintaining a vibrant and exciting city centre. Consequently this success has meant opportunity and intrigue, ultimately luring new constituents into Vancouver's downtown peninsula. The influx of creative constituents, high technology industry and film and television production, have been essential to the success of downtown Vancouver. However, the future relies on the ability to accommodate the multitude of interests now present.

The adoption of the twenty-four hour city concept relies on the ability of policy makers to recognize the immediate need for change in order to maintain and accommodate the successes already achieved. Chapter four will discuss existing policy and goals through an examination of a decade of district plans that shaped the downtown peninsula that exists today, while providing an opportunity to consider the creation and direction of future policy.

Chapter 4: Visions, Goals and Policy for the Future of Vancouver's Downtown Peninsula

4.0 Introduction

While recognizing that Vancouver possesses great potential with regard to the twenty-four hour city model, it is not a concept that can simply be adopted and implemented without the consideration of existing policies. There are many inter-related variables that this concept has a direct bearing on. Policy and procedure directly affects the lives of individuals, families, developers and business owners, and other constituencies, and must be considered in any significant policy innovation.

Despite the twenty-four hour city concepts' innovative approach and potential to generate positive outcomes, current policy continues to influence the direction of this area and the planning avenues that can be pursued. In acknowledging the current policy directions pertaining to Vancouver's downtown peninsula, insight into the need to facilitate the creation of new policy may be realized.

This chapter intends to describe the policy that currently exists, as well as attempt to identify what it is trying to do within the downtown peninsula. Within the downtown peninsula there are a number of important plans and policies. The Central Area Plan (1991) was a strategic plan created for the whole metropolitan core that provided policy framework for the entire central area. The Central Area Plan provided an expression of planning goals and values to be incorporated in the construction of policy choices while guiding the more specific district plans within the downtown peninsula. Downtown South, Yaletown, Victory Square and the Downtown Transportation Plan (2002) comprise a generation of district plans under the broader policy framework of the Central

Area Plan that have been essential in creating the Vancouver downtown peninsula that we are familiar with today.

Vancouver has recently been identified as a 'living first' city.[3] However, downtown Vancouver has emerged as a place for living, working and playing. Overall policy direction focussed on the celebration of diversity and pluralism, ensuring a place 'for all people', while an essential feature of the new vision included a consolidated Central Business District freeing up significant land resources for new residential development, public spaces and other activities. Policy accounted for growth in new clusters of service industries and design, however did not intend for the rapid expansion of the high technology based 'new economy' that has since emerged. These emergent systems of specialized economic activity "reinforce the idea of creativity and innovation as the chief competitive advantages of the urban core in the broader metropolitan context" (Hutton 2002).

Nevertheless, policy that was created does not only represent success. Conflicts have begun to emerge as an indirect result of successful policy. The larger macro framework focussed on the 'hard' policy models (zoning, land use and regulation) with little allocated to 'soft' policy approaches intended to mediate inter-constituency conflict and human behavioural issues that have since become pressing problems for planning policy in this area.

With the creation of the Central Area Plan policy makers identified the City as an agency in forming the central core in conjunction with market forces. Goals and land use policy recognized big policy goals such as housing, but did not recognize circumstances

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[3] A 'Living first' city can be defined as a city centre that is recognized for its density of population and livability in a downtown context.

of growth in new industries and their potential successes. With an influx of young professionals and their 'new lifestyle' in Vancouver's downtown peninsula, a new way of living has emerged and must be accommodated through new policy in order to sustain ourselves.

4.1 Central Area Plan (1991): Creating a Place to Live, Work and Play

By the mid 1980s "a new set of transformational forces and processes were reshaping the central area's economy, structure, form and social morphology" (Hutton 2002). The emergence of a new economy within the inner city reconstructed industrial landscapes of Yaletown, Gastown and Victory Square (Brail 1994). This new economy incorporated design, creative and postproduction service industries (Hutton 2002). The presence of "these new creative and cultural industries brought new restaurants, coffee houses and avant-garde retail stores, comprising a distinctive, aetheticised milieu in the inner city" (Hutton 2002).

Another important influence on Vancouver's core was the 1980s recession, which led to an irreversible decline in production capacity and labour within Vancouver's resource sector firms and corporations (Hutton 1997 in Hutton 2002). The provincial resource industry eventually fell victim to the increasing globalization of staple production and control. Relationships that once existed at the local level between the metropolis and the provincial hinterland were compromised by a series of mergers and acquisitions (Hutton 2002).

At this time, Vancouver was also emerging as a key immigration and investment destination for Asian-Pacific interests, creating new growth opportunity and pressures in the urban core. As Hutton explains in his article,

Under Harcourt the City's development programme included a series of co-operative ventures with senior government agencies and local actors to support a burgeoning set of business, trade, social and cultural connections between Vancouver and Asia-Pacific cities such as Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Singapore, Yokohama, and Los Angeles and can thus be seen as a form of induced municipal internationalisation (Hutton 2002).

With new cohorts of Asian investment, and the recognition that there was in fact no existing Central Area Plan (but instead a myriad of plans and proposals for specific isolated parts of the central area), the need for a plan that embodied the entire Central Area was conceived. This new plan would expand beyond a relatively small area defined previously by the business district, the West End and the character areas of Robson Street, Gastown and Chinatown. It would now incorporate a much broader area comprised of the entire downtown peninsula, its waterfronts, the False Creek basin and Central Broadway (see Figure four).

Unlike its predecessor the Coreplan, the Central Area Plan began with a public process in order to generate ideas and issues pertaining to the urban core. Summarized in a plan presented to Council in October 1988, the next phase to generate policy approaches based on the ideas stemming from public consultation and commentary was approved (City of Vancouver 1991). A series of discussions with Council were held in the fall of 1989, in reference to the first draft of this plan. Additional research was then completed, and polices were further refined through area-specific studies to analyze the relevance and suitability of the policy creation. In December 1991 Council amended and approved the goals, policies and actions that together embodied a new vision for the future growth and development of the Central Area.

Map A: CENTRAL AREA SUB-AREAS

Burrard Inlet

English Bay

False Creek

DOWNTOWN PENINSULA
1. Bayshore
2. Established Central Business District
3. Central Business District: Fringe
4. Chinatown
5. Coal Harbour East
6. Coal Harbour West
7. Downtown South
8. Downtown South: Burrard-Granville
9. Downtown South: Granville Street
10. Downtown South: Northeast Quadrant
11. False Creek North: Apex
12. False Creek North: Cambie Bridge
13. False Creek North: Granville-Cambie
14. False Creek North: International Village
15. False Creek North: Stadium
16. Gastown
17. Granville Slopes

18. Port Lands
19. Triangle West
20. Victory Square
21. West End
22. Yaletown

OUTSIDE DOWNTOWN PENINSULA
23. Broadway: Centre
24. Broadway: Cambie Bridge South
25. Broadway: East
26. Broadway: West
27. Burrard Slopes: Broadway-Burrard-Granville(C-3A)
28. Burrard Slopes: South of Granville Island
29. Fairview Slopes
30. False Creek East
31. False Creek South
32. False Creek Southeast
33. Granville Island
34. Mt. Pleasant Industrial

Note: These areas are generalized. There may be individual sites or portions of areas which vary
from the generalization. This will become evident in detailed planning.
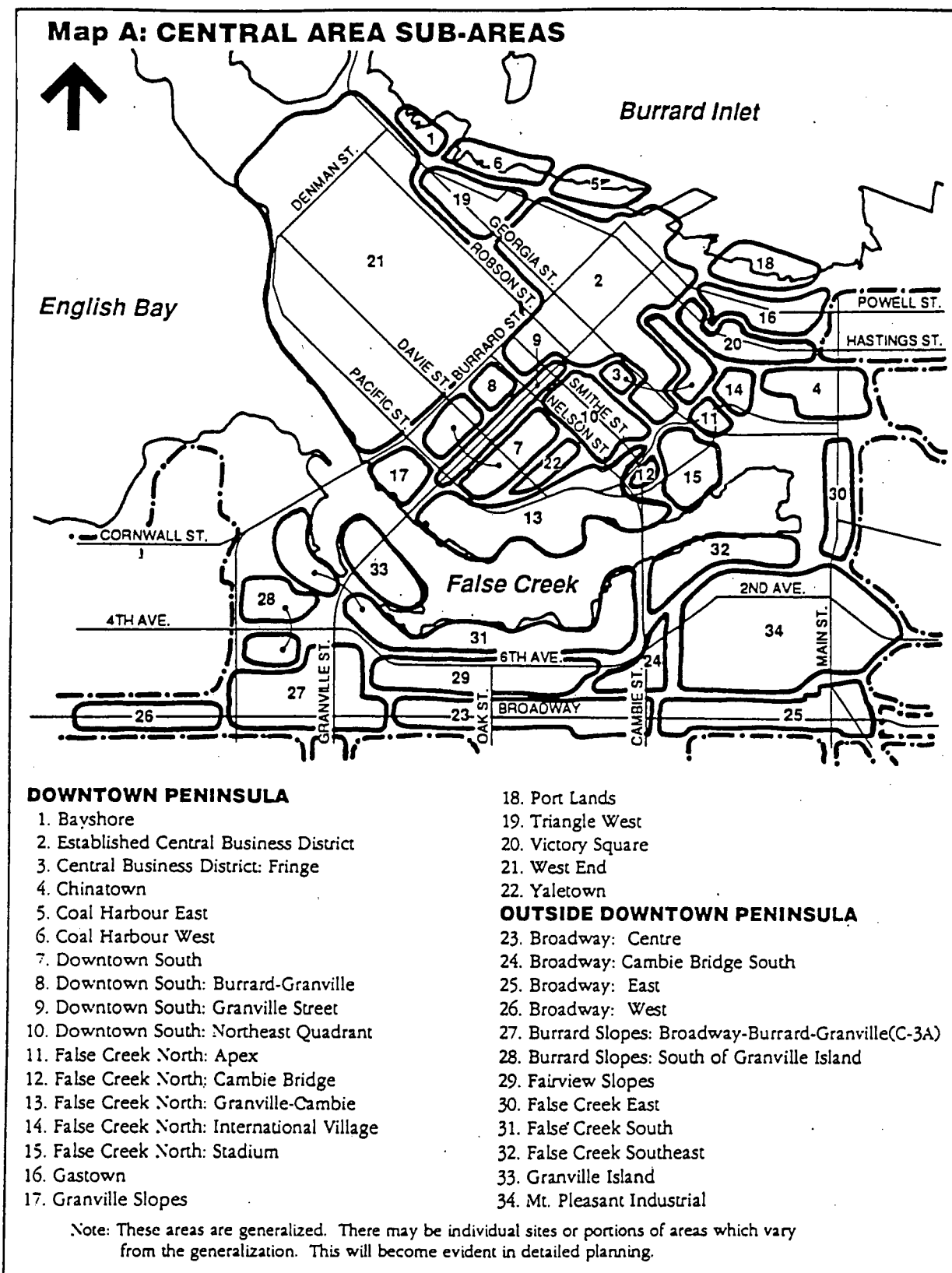
Figure four: Map A: Central Area Sub-areas
Source: City of Vancouver 1991, *Central Area Plan :Goals and Land Use Policy.* City
of Vancouver Planning Department (Central Area Division).

With its innovative postmodern ideas the Central Area Plan explored an untapped planning realm that promised a celebration of diversity, by encompassing the hopes, concerns, ideas and culture of all walks of life[4]. The creation of policy encouraged interaction amongst all Central Area social groups consequently building a social fabric that bred a perception of inclusive, as opposed to exclusive, policies that are often associated with new development and revitalization.

4.1.1 Central Area Goals

The Central Area Plan was created to provide guidance, maintain a responsiveness to changing circumstances, while also attempting to avoid foreclosing any future opportunities (City of Vancouver, 1991, p. 5). What are recognized today as the many successes of the Central Area Plan began as seven very distinct but complimentary goals that would assist and inform developing existing Central Area Plan policies.

In order to continue its expanding global reputation it was important for downtown Vancouver to sustain its pre-eminent role in British Columbia as well as a vital role within the Pacific Rim. By concentrating Vancouver's head offices and related producer services into a compact high amenity Central Business District, the downtown could remain the "international face" of the region while also retaining its reputation as the region's economic cornerstone (*The Economic Generator*) (City of Vancouver, 1991, p.5). Also, by consolidating the Central Business District into an office and specialized service district, land formerly zoned for this activity could now be rezoned to accommodate a centrally located urban living environment (see Figure five and six).

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[4] For the purposes of this thesis postmodern planning is defined as an acknowledgment of the need for inclusivity in an increasingly diverse and plural urban social morphology and planning environment (Hutton 2002).

Map B: PAST CENTRAL AREA LAND USE PLAN

Burrard Inlet

English Bay

DENMAN ST.
GEORGIA ST.
ROBSON ST.
DAVIE ST.
BURRARD ST.
PACIFIC ST.
SMITHE ST.
NELSON ST.

POWELL ST.
HASTINGS ST.

CORNWALL ST.

False Creek

2ND AVE.

4TH AVE.

6TH AVE.

GRANVILLE ST.
OAK ST.
BROADWAY
CAMBIE ST.
MAIN ST.

Major Office District

Other Office District

Heritage Area

Residential Neighbourhood

Industrial

Skytrain line and station

Notes: These areas are generalized. Retail, parks, and institutions are not included on this map.
Office districts may contain housing in mixed use buildings or sites.
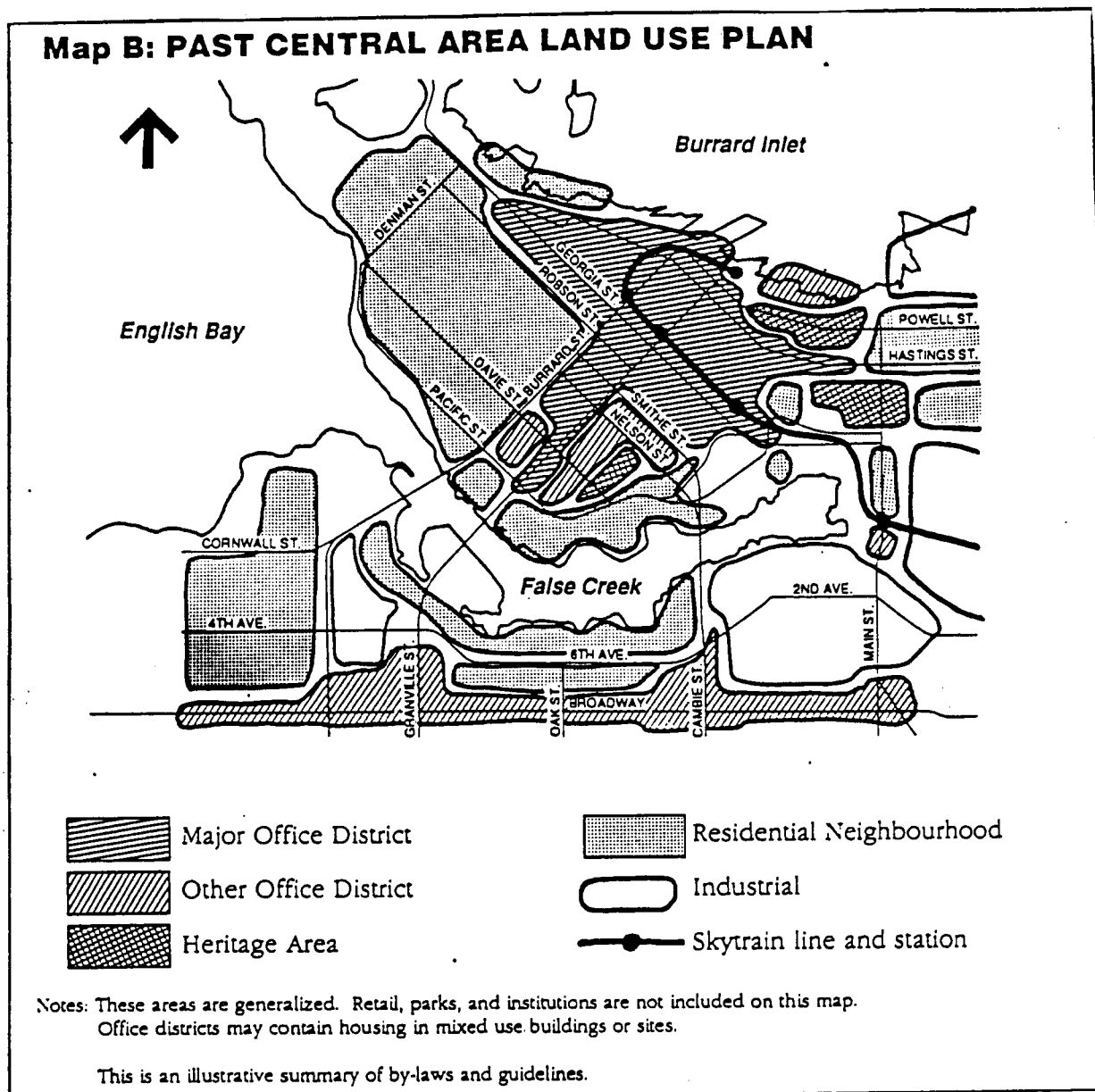
This is an illustrative summary of by-laws and guidelines.

Figure five: Map B: Past Central Area Land Use Plan
Source: City of Vancouver 1991, *Central Area Plan:Goals and Land Use Policy.* City
of Vancouver Planning Department (Central Area Division).

Map C: NEW CENTRAL AREA LAND USE PLAN

Burrard Inlet

English Bay

POWELL ST.

HASTINGS ST.

CORNWALL ST.

False Creek

2ND AVE.

4TH AVE.

6TH AVE.

GRANVILLE ST.

OAK S.

BROADWAY

CAMBIE ST.

MAIN ST.

DENMAN ST.

ROBSON ST.

GEORGIA ST.

DAVIE ST.

PACIFIC ST.

BURRARD ST.

NELSON ST.

HOWE ST.

Central Business District

Uptown Office District

Heritage Area

Heritage Character Area

"Choice of Use"/"Mixed Use"

Residential Neighbourhood

Light Industry

Skytrain line and station

Notes: These areas are generalized. There may be individual sites or portions of areas which vary from the generalization. This will become evident in detailed planning. Retail, parks, and institutions are not included on this map.

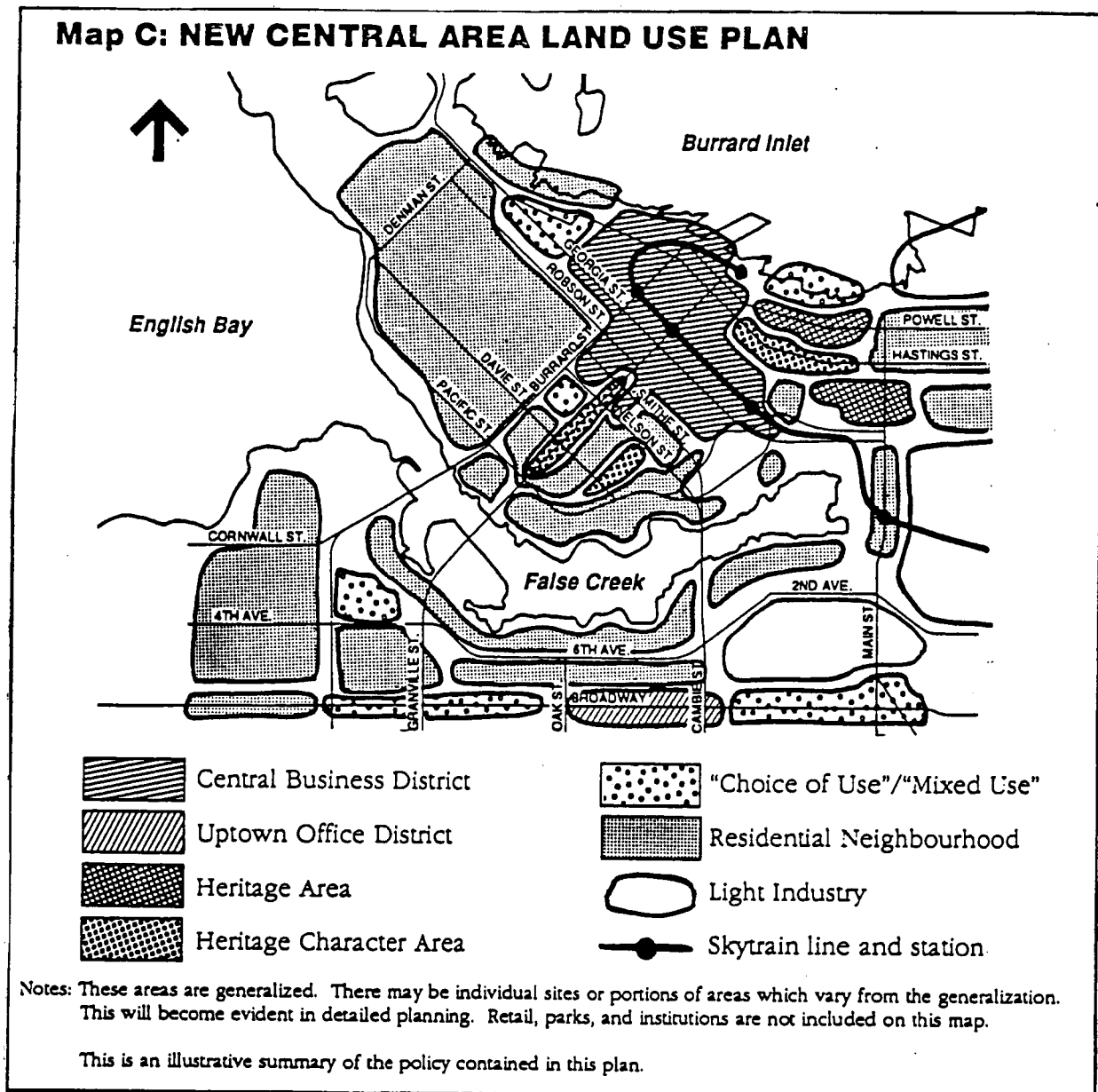This is an illustrative summary of the policy contained in this plan.

Figure six: Map C: New Central Area Land Use Plan
Source: City of Vancouver 1991, *Central Area Plan :Goals and Land Use Policy.* City of Vancouver Planning Department (Central Area Division).

By focussing on creating a 'mix of activities' within the downtown peninsula the goal of *'An Alive Downtown'* was born (City of Vancouver 1991). The vision of quiet residential neighbourhoods with complimentary amenities, services, restaurants and tourist attractions and accommodations would create urban living environments where individuals could reside in more active neighbourhoods where people not only live but also work, shop and socialize. Currently many streets in Vancouver's downtown peninsula are popular, vibrant destinations within themselves where the highly animated streets are the primary scenes of public life.

Central Area goals reinforced progressive policies exhibiting characteristics of a place that ensured room for everyone. Goals for a Central Area that encompassed opportunity and accommodation *'For All People'*, "ensured a place to live and visit for all people representing all income, and ethnic groups that was accessible to the disabled and people of all ages from children to seniors" (City of Vancouver, 1991, p. 3). Moreover, an important emphasis on creating housing for families with children and for a range of income levels was an essential element in creating a place for everyone.

Further, goals and policies focussed on Vancouver's inherent natural beauty as an integral element in reinforcing and preserving its unique qualities. Vancouver is world renowned for its distinctive natural setting of an urban core nestled within a backdrop of mountains and ocean views. Policy to preserve and enhance downtown Vancouver's active public places such as English Bay and Stanley Park have succeeded in maintaining their original mandate of preservation, which has become a significant accomplishment in an ever expanding and growing city. *'A Central Area in Nature'* was identified as a

specific goal highlighting the necessary efforts and policies needed to ensure the city's connection to nature's beautiful setting is maintained (City of Vancouver 1991).

A desire to strengthen the unique qualities and symbolism of the central area as a special place through skylines, heritage resources, character areas, livable neighbourhoods and public spaces creating a *'Spirit of Place'*, surfaced alongside issues regarding Vancouver's livability (City of Vancouver 1991, p.3). Prior to the introduction of the Central Area Plan, Vancouver's livability had been attributed to its traditionally low key, low density nature and protected neighbourhoods (City of Vancouver 1991, p.23). However, the policy created through this plan would support "higher densities to create new opportunities to achieve more housing and thus create more diverse lifestyle choices and diverse neighbourhood character" (City of Vancouver 1991, p. 23).

The aforementioned policy intended to achieve mixed use, higher density neighbourhoods, nevertheless livability is not solely affected by residential policy. Rather, there are a variety of contributing factors that have been identified such as "the availability of parks and open space, the volumes of traffic, safety and security and the preservation of the character of areas to consider within this realm" (City of Vancouver 1991, p. 23). In developing policies to ensure livability as the central area grows there are a few factors that needed to be taken into account.

While it was important for policy to acknowledge the potential for future growth in the central area, a person's perception of the livability of their surroundings is important. Lifestyles, family types, expectations, past experience and community standards all have a direct effect on how an individual perceives the livability of their immediate surroundings. Consequently, it would be difficult to predict a universal

standard of livability in accordance with the characteristics present in every situation. Nevertheless, policy took a variety of factors such as privacy, noise, odours, shadowing and private views directly affected by the adjacencies of buildings and different users into consideration with regards to livability. Related to livability is the means by which people both living and visiting move around within the central area.

'A Walkable Central Area' where public pedestrian routes are safe, accessible and interesting enables people to move around easily and comfortably on all public streets contributing to the animation and liveliness of the public realm. Policy intent to ensure walking, supplemented by transit and bicycles, are encouraged to provide the main modes of transportation within the central area. By providing free and affordable transportation as alternatives to private vehicles our environment can also benefit. By enhancing the ability to move in and out of the central area through policies that support planned public transportation and accessible routes lessens the stress inflicted on central area streets, neighbourhoods and the environment. Increasing the residential component of the central area also contributes to a reduction in pollution often caused by long daily commutes. By providing the opportunity to live, work and shop all in the same neighbourhood there can be less dependence on the private automobile.

The City of Vancouver's report *'Clouds of Change'* (1990), suggests that a change in atmospheric pollution can be reduced if opportunities for alternative non-auto transportation are promoted. By permitting a variety of uses within close proximity of one another it will potentially reduce the need for vehicular transportation. The land use policies proposed for the Central Area in this report promote land use patterns that are easily linked by walking and public transit (City of Vancouver 1991 p. 8).

The Central Area Plan policy intended to create diverse neighbourhoods that would appeal to many different groups of people. With more housing in the area vibrant and bustling busy streets would provide patrons for shops and services in the area while bringing a sense of life to public streets. Consistently adding to its population year after year, the downtown peninsula population was expected to add over 12 000 people to its population by 2006, hence planning to accommodate for this increase was an essential component of policy creation. "At the broadest conceptual level the Central Area Plan proposed a reordering of space favouring residential and public uses, to be achieved by effectively consolidating the CBD within a smaller more tightly-bounded territory, freeing up significant land resources for housing" (Hutton 2002). The plan was successful in achieving this goal and thus began the proliferation of new spaces and reconstructed landscapes that would initiate the move to accommodate the post-Fordist service industries and young professional cohorts.

Within the Central Area's definition of the downtown peninsula there are a number of sub-areas with each exhibiting quite distinct characteristics. In the broader context of the Central Area as well as the city as a whole, the initiative to rezone Downtown South for high density residential neighbourhoods works in conjunction with the implementation of the goals outlined in the Central Area Plan.

4.2 Downtown South

Downtown South is an important sub-area within the downtown peninsula that has unique qualities of both diversity and dichotomy (see Figure seven). The idea to transform Downtown South into a residential neighbourhood was first discussed in the early 1980s in an attempt to begin looking at options to revitalize Granville Street. The
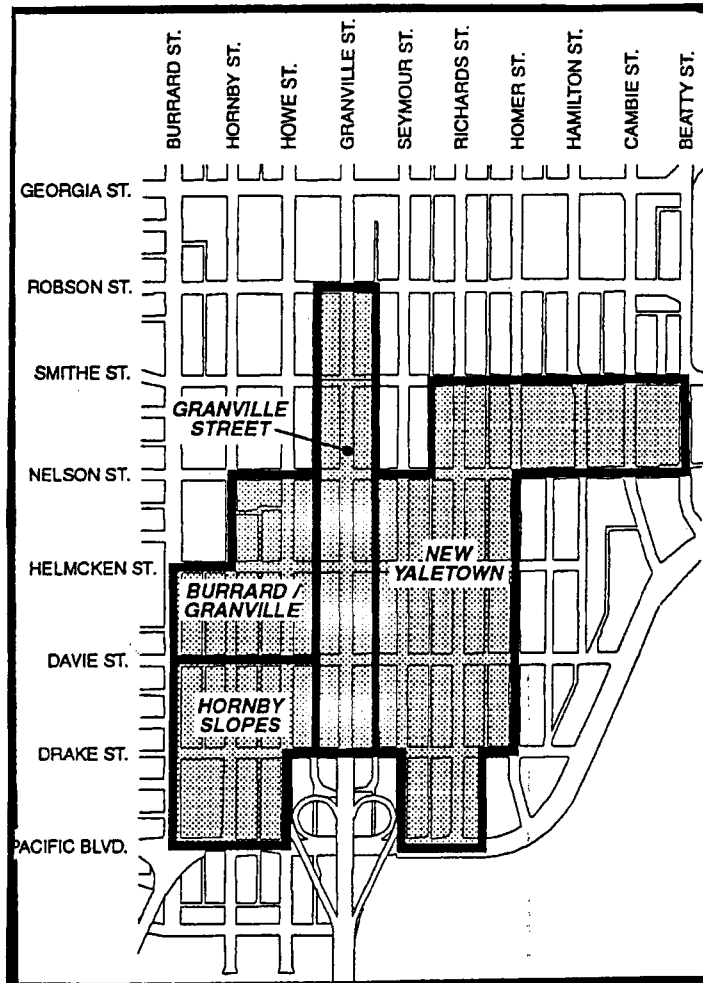
Figure seven: Downtown South
Source: City of Vancouver 1997, *Downtown South Guidelines (excluding Granville Street)*. City of Vancouver Planning Department (Community Services).

policy that arose out of the process was the *Downtown South Community Plan*, focussed on creating a new community in this area. The creation of new policy included land use, densities, built form as well as who would live in the community. Strategies addressing parks, social concerns and core need housing were also given priority. "The resulting community plan outlined the creation of a predominantly residential high density neighbourhood with a component of mixed use" (Faibish 1997).

4.2.1 Downtown South: Policy Context

Policy within the area defined as Downtown South is derived from several Central Area goals. An emphasis on housing through the creation of new neighbourhoods was an important factor in the success of Central Area policy. Careful consideration was given to creating criteria for housing based on the proximity to water and other neighbourhoods, and the lack of disruption of existing neighbourhoods in order to fulfill their goal of creating livable environments.

This section on policy in Downtown South will attempt to show, due to the nature of this neighbourhood, that there was careful consideration given to the needs of this population when planning for revitalization and future development. As a result Downtown South intended to reinforce the mandate of creating distinctive higher density urban neighbourhoods that would be available for moderate-priced and rental accommodation. Early policy intent concentrated on an attempt to accommodate a range of households as well as lifestyles that could accommodate those currently residing there as well as those who were forecasted to eventually move in.

4.2.2 Visions of the Future of Downtown South: Policy for Diversity and Acceptance

While developing policy that intended to provide new housing capacity within

Downtown South it was evident that this new policy intent must be coupled with the

assurance that appropriate supportive amenities would be provided (City of Vancouver,

February 1991, p. 5). This new area was intended to accomodate individuals who

desired an urban lifestyle, while still encouraging a neighbourhood with social diversity.

The revitalization of Granville Street was an essential component in the renewal

plans for this area. By providing retail and mixed-use office and housing developments,

streets would remain busy with heavy volumes of traffic. Likewise, streets and sidewalks

would also be vibrant and lively occupied by people both walking and enjoying cafes and

shops. Streets would not be viewed solely as transportation routes but rather as a very

important constituent in the socialization aspect of the neighbourhood. Sidewalks would

be a location for meeting, lingering, browsing and therefore a significant element of

public space. However, in addition to policy pertaining directly to the land use in

Downtown South there were intentions to acknowledge and plan for social and

behavioural factors.

4.2.3 Downtown South's Social Environment

Socially it was the intent of policy to create a new community that was diverse and

encompassed a wide range of people and activities. The nature of Downtown South,

comprising many shops, restaurants, clubs and theatres (*Theatre Row* on Granville), is

conducive to a constant flow of activity throughout the day and night similar to the

downtowns of many other metropolitan cities (City of Vancouver, February 1991, p.6).

With some people choosing to be involved in more *'unconventional lifestyles'* there will

be an array of activities taking place. Transients and individuals who choose to participate in these *'unconventional lifestyles'* contribute to the very complex social fabric and environment of this area. This includes panhandlers, drug dealers, street youth and the homeless to mention a few. In some cases these people are involved in criminal activities and prostitution to help support drug and alcohol habits. It is groups such as seniors, street kids, those with mental problems and on income assistance that are constantly at risk in a changing neighbourhood such as Downtown South. For these groups (often referred to as the *'hard to house'*) to continue inhabiting this area, policy must recognize their needs and thus facilitate effective strategies.

The social make-up of Downtown South creates an interesting situation for this area. For the Downtown South Community Plan was also attempting, through new policy, to appeal to young professionals and families with children. In providing housing for people with moderate and middle incomes it was intended to complement other newly emerging neighbourhoods in the downtown peninsula such as False Creek North and Coal Harbour (City of Vancouver February 1991, p. 6). These higher income waterfront accommodations create a broad range of incomes within close proximity of one another.

With the complex and diverse social fabric that exists in this area, Downtown South's distinct identity is also influenced by the entertainment district and businesses encompassed within the area. Home to many entertainment venues such as *The Commodore Ballroom, The Vogue and Orpheum Theatre* and numerous nightclubs it is a vital tourist attraction and a destination for those both living and visiting Vancouver. Policy reflects the importance of this by creating a strong retail pedestrian core for the

community and a vibrant entertainment district for the region, building on the street's existing heritage character (City of Vancouver, 1997, p. 2).

4.2.4 Impacts of Change: Policy Intentions

It is evident that the implementation of new policy can have a dramatic effect on the diversity and/or vitality of a neighbourhood such as Downtown South. The diverse social make-up of this population creates policy options that intend to regulate social problems and conflict where possible.

In an attempt to manage alcohol and drug related incidents and addictions Council adopted policies to restrict and reduce the number of drinking establishments on Granville Mall. Council also amended the Zoning and Development By-law and adopted the Cabaret and Restaurant guidelines for this area in attempts to prevent entertainment uses in or adjacent to residential neighbourhoods. Policy to mitigate conflicts between entertainment and residential uses by providing alternative locations for existing night time entertainment businesses such as bars and cabarets were also created. To manage potentially incompatible uses, sensitive building design guidelines were also adopted. Building orientation, sound proofing and other design-related measures were intended to provide buffers between possible conflicting uses.

Policy intended to manage the effects of change that was predicted to accompany new development and revitalization efforts. The social concerns of Downtown South required a governmental commitment to guide long-term community development through intentions to provide a full range of services that will be needed in the community as the population increases. Despite plans to revitalize and develop the neighbourhood, policy intended to protect the needs of those already present in the area

through the retention and upgrading of existing SRO stock. These policies represented an important step in addressing requirements of core-need residents in the emerging neighbourhood.

Overall the existing policy for Downtown South represents a vision that coexists and compliments the goals and policies of the Central Area Plan to create a safe and esthetically pleasing environment that intends to incorporate and accommodate the vast array of needs, wants and desires of those present in the area. However, the only needs, wants and desires that are being addressed are the ones that were present and accounted for (merely through forecasting change) at the time of policy creation.

4.3 Victory Square: Arts, Culture and Diversity

Victory Square is another area with unique characteristics faced with the pressures of revitalization. The Victory Square area was part of Vancouver's main downtown commercial area for the first half of this century (see Figure eight). Historically, this area encompassed the city's major department and retail stores, banks, commercial services and restaurants (City of Vancouver 1998). Originally, Victory Square was populated by resource industry workers who resided in residential hotels and rooming houses in the off season. However, as Vancouver expanded, the focus of both its retail and commercial activity shifted, beginning the decline that would be culminated in the closure of several landmark stores, notably Woodwards. The closure of Woodwards meant only further business loss and storefront vacancies leading to an eventual deterioration of buildings and a striking sense of decay that began to plague the area. In the face of decline, new revitalization strategies that would lure investment back into the area were required. Policy intent would focus on the rejuvenation of the area, while minimising the threat of
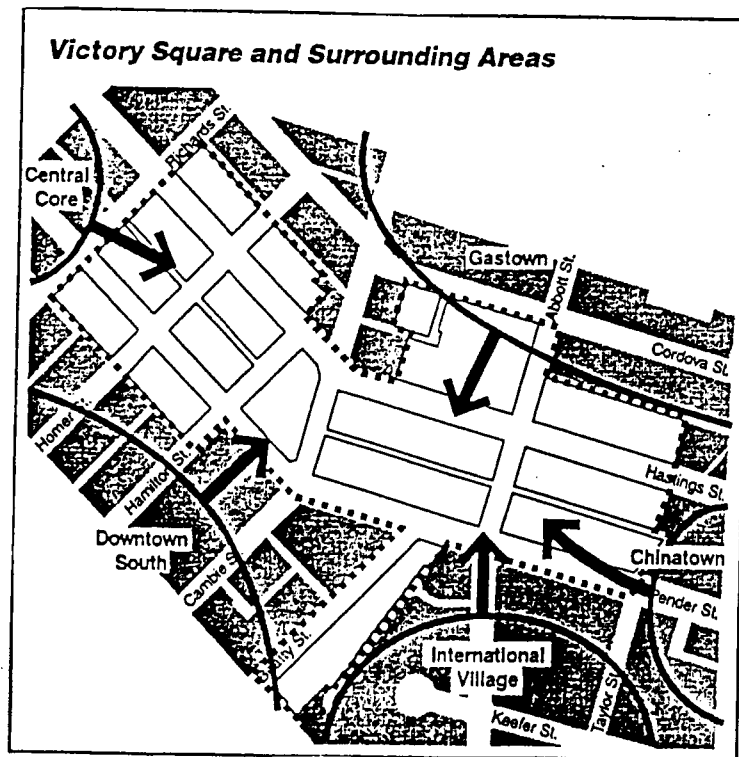
Victory Square and Surrounding Areas

Figure eight: Victory Square and Surrounding Areas
Source: City of Vancouver 1998, *Victory Square Area Concept Plan.* City of Vancouver
Planning Department.

displacing low-income housing, and ensuring the heritage value of the area would not be compromised.

Early discussion regarding policy acknowledged that Victory Square would not compete with Downtown South, Coal Harbour or False Creek for the high-rise condominium market (City of Vancouver 1998). Rather it would be most successful if policy focussed on building on its own distinct characteristics to develop its 'niche'. According to the *Victory Square Concept Plan* its unique characteristics include the predominately low to mid-rise buildings, the large number of heritage and character buildings, diversity of land uses, low-income community and its emerging arts, culture and educational activities (City of Vancouver 1998).

4.3.1 Fostering Uniqueness: Policy for Diversity

Through the creation of new policy, attempts would be made to breathe new life back into this community by capitalizing on its unique characteristics and creating its own 'niche' within the downtown peninsula. In doing so it was important to realize that the intent of policy was solely to bring about positive change. In spite of that, there are always extraneous factors that often represent trade-offs between initial intent and actuality. Trade-offs may be present between "revitalization, heritage retention, provision of low-income housing and the provision of public amenities including facilities for arts, culture and improvements to the public realm" (City of Vancouver 1998 p. 2). Through careful policy creation these competing interests can be balanced in efforts to accommodate all constituents.

However, there are tensions that exist within Victory Square between the different constituencies present. S.R.O residents, land owners, building managers, heritage

advocates (to mention only a few), are all affected by land use transitions and policy change. This creates a complex situation for planners for often their role is to initiate and facilitate change. To some extent planning initiatives can be used to manage change in diverse and unstable neighbourhoods through the use of (for example) restrictive zoning and incentives for preservation or redevelopment. However, urban change is typically initiated by market and social forces. Change within Victory Square is affected by urban land values and trends, economic, social and political shifts as well as future activity forecasted for this area. Therefore the planner's role is an important but challenging one. As Shauna Brail explained in her thesis,

> A proactive political and planning stance which facilitates transitions, accommodates expected difficulties, and leads the City towards its desired goals is the most acceptable in the long term, although in the short term may cause friction between competing interests and especially within groups which perceive a loss as a result of change (Brail 1994).

Planning policies implemented over the next two decades in the Victory Square community intend to bring many positive changes. Policy to build a community with a wide range of land uses through mixed-use developments of commercial and residential uses within upper storeys of buildings with almost half consisting of low-income units. Capitalizing on the close proximity of existing downtown educational facilities such as Vancouver Film School, British Columbia Institute of Technology and Simon Fraser University downtown campuses, Victory Square could aid in the expansion of Vancouver's downtown cultural, institutional and educational learning district.

In preserving heritage buildings, policy tends to facilitate revitalization through zoning, heritage bonusing, and equivalencies in building code regulations.[5]

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[5] An equivalency in building code regulations occurs when a structure is brought up to a standard that is considered 'equivalent' to the actual written building code, but does not actually meet that standard.

Further, appropriate design guidelines will ensure new development remains sympathetic to the area's heritage. In maintaining consistency with heritage guidelines, policy will reinforce the importance of a revitalized commercial and retail business area. This area can successfully accommodate individuals who require live/work accommodation as well as provide ample space and a culturally rich setting for creative industries as film distribution, editing, publishing and graphic arts.

In providing for a diverse range of creative and cultural industries, this community is also characterised by a good supply and wide range of housing types. Implementation of policies plan to double the existing housing units over the next 20 years. Focussing on revitalization, the upgrading and/or one to one replacement of single room occupancy housing with quality low-income housing is another key element in the recreation of this neighbourhood. Policy not only pertains to low-income stock in this area but also is attempting to lure a broad range of incomes into the area creating a demand for a variety of housing types. A mixture of loft style and conventional residential units as well as an increase in the number of market units including rental and condominium ownership are planned.

Community building, participation, health and safety are all crucial to the future success of Victory Square. Cooperation between different groups in the area such as a community based policing system where residents work together on issues of crime prevention and safety are essential in this neighbourhood's development. Policy also is designed to provide other local services within the neighbourhood along with public education and daycare. Through public and private funding of services, children, parents

and the community alike will reap the benefits of a healthy, safe and educated environment.

Over time this policy will facilitate activity on the street creating an increased sense of security and safety that will create positive repercussions for the area. With individuals perceiving their surroundings as increasingly safe they will be more likely to both live and shop there, leading to more confidence in the business and housing markets. "Victory Square will be revitalized based on the area's strategic location, its unique character and the urban housing opportunities for a range of economic groups" (City of Vancouver 1998 p. 3).

Downtown South and Victory Square are similar in the fact that policy intent was focussed around promoting the potential these neighbourhoods possess with respect to their capability of evolving into vibrant urban areas that can accommodate living, working and socializing while still retaining their unique and diverse qualities. These are both areas that have a historical background with individuals claiming a stake in the community and the future path policy has chosen for it to evolve along. Differing substantially from Downtown South and Victory Square, planning policy in Yaletown is centered around development of higher income, trendy living accommodation, restaurants, upper-end retail and services as well as accommodating new economy businesses.

4.4 Yaletown: 'Iconic' District in the Inner City

Yaletown's early days were shaped by the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1887. Originally a site for housing, sawmills and shinglemills along the North side of False Creek, Vancouver soon became the wholesaling centre for Western Canada.

However, what once existed as Vancouver's warehouse district in the late 1800s and early 1900s has now evolved into one of Vancouver's most trendy upscale neighbourhoods.

Through many revitalization efforts, this neighbourhood has been transformed and as a result Yaletown continues to experience, substantial growth and accelerating phases of transition and change. In the late 1920s, Vancouver created its first city plan and Yaletown was zoned for commercial and light industrial use. In an effort to maintain this role the City zoned the area with the intention that additional warehouses would be built and this activity would continue. However, with the growth of trucking many industries were prompted to relocate closer to major highways and major truck routes. By the 1950s, homeowners in Yaletown had sold to factories and shops, eventually forcing the Central School at Dunsmuir and Cambie to close. Lack of investment and diminishing demand for its industrial land, this area became little more than parking space. However by the late 1970s and 1980s the situation for Yaletown began to turn around.

At this time, young urban professionals discovered that Yaletown's old warehouses were convenient and attractive and centrally located in the heart of Vancouver's ever-expanding downtown landscape. Policy intent focussed on design guidelines and the preservation of inherent heritage value and beauty. For example, City Council recognizes the heritage significance of Yaletown's old truck loading docks and their characteristic overhanging canopies as unique architectural features identifying the area and thus has taken the appropriate policy measures to preserve this (and other)

distinctive characteristics of the area. Today, former industrial buildings and warehouses have been transformed to accommodate offices, restaurants and trendy nightspots.

Yaletown and adjacent areas have experienced growth of new high-rise residential development correlating with the demand to provide living accommodation for the ever-increasing population that continues to desire this new urban lifestyle. As well, many buildings have been converted to also accommodate loft-style residences for young and trendy professionals. Unique upscale services, designers and non-chain clothing and furnishing stores can be found on the store front streets of Yaletown. Likewise, design guidelines intended to maintain the Yaletown character, while a conscious focus on contained street level entrance retail has successfully added to the animation of the streets.

An active and vibrant neighbourhood, Yaletown has day, evening and late night activity in its establishments and on the street. Pedestrian traffic, outside seating and a variety of patios comprise an array of active uses that policy has supported. Nevertheless, with Yaletown's more recent popularization as an evening destination for socializing, residential and entertainment functions are becoming increasingly conflictual.

4.4.1 Success Breeds Conflict?: 'Temporal Dysfunctionality'

Through policy intentions to create a livable neighbourhood while preserving its heritage characteristics Yaletown has become a destination for those seeking urban refuge in a unique environment. Policy has previously focussed on heritage and design guidelines for the neighbourhood. Yet little attention was given to the potential future of this area with regard to conflict that could arise.

Marketed as an upper-middle and high-income residential environment for original urban living, Yaletown soon became a destination for 'new economy' employees and their lifestyles. Although also young professionals, 'new economy' employees keep irregular work hours and thus correspondingly irregular socializing hours. This has led to what Michael Gordon refers to as 'temporal dysfunctionality' and Yaletown has become a considerable source of this.

There has been little effort to create policy or initiatives that address these social and behavioural issues. Residents have opposed what they personally consider 'non-conforming' uses such as night-clubs and live venues. Nevertheless, although many night-clubs have left there are still many that continue to be successful. But in order to address some more social and behavioural concerns that continue to arise with the appearance of new groups in the downtown peninsula, policy must be reformulated to guide these distinct and vibrant neighbourhoods into the future.

While this discussion has attempted to focus on a decade of district plans that pertain directly to a specific neighbourhood or area within the downtown peninsula, there is another very important policy sphere to be explored. The recent transportation plan is an essential element in the future of Vancouver's entire downtown peninsula.

4.5 Transportation: Maintaining Livability

According to the *2002 Downtown Transportation Plan* recently released by the City of Vancouver 'the vision for Vancouver is to be the most livable city in the world' (City of Vancouver 2002, p. 1). Once facing the threat of concrete freeways and cloverleafs that would have compromised the communities of Gastown, Chinatown and Strathcona not to

mention access to the waterfront, Vancouver has managed to hold off an automobile takeover unlike many other North American cities. Instead, Vancouver exists as it does today where private automobile traffic is prevalent but people walk, cycle and ride public transit on a daily basis. This phenomenon has helped Vancouver earn itself the title of one of the most livable cities in the world by an annual British survey (Boei 2002).

The new transportation plan extends the vision for Vancouver twenty years into the future in order to provide environmentally friendly alternatives for an important aspect of any livable city is its transportation system. The following section will discuss a few of the challenges Vancouver faces in its downtown peninsula relating to the implementation of twenty-four hour city initiatives in the future.

4.5.1 Vancouver's Transportation Challenges

The challenge for downtown Vancouver remains in accommodating an increasing number of people travelling into and around downtown without creating additional lanes of traffic on roads and bridges. With economic health and livability directly linked to the downtown transportation system any changes must be monitored for potentially positive and negative outcomes.

The transportation system affects many constituencies within the downtown peninsula. Downtown businesses rely on the transportation system to ensure their employees as well as customers can travel safely and easily to their place of business. In addition to this, businesses also depend on the road network for the shipment of their goods and services (City of Vancouver 2002).

In a highly residential downtown such as Vancouver the concerns of congestion are not limited solely to the needs and desires of the business community. Congested roads and traffic gridlock directly affect the quality of life for those choosing to reside in the numerous residential neighbourhoods in downtown Vancouver. Policy in the new *Downtown Transportation Plan 2002* aims at 'reducing traffic congestion and the resulting air and noise pollution, creating more pedestrian friendly streets, providing more sustainable choices like transit and bicycling' (City of Vancouver 2002). By this action downtown can continue to accommodate both businesses and residents alike.

Due to the multi-functional nature of Vancouver's downtown peninsula it becomes a destination for work, play and living thus mobility and accessibility are affected by a number of factors. In addition to work related traffic congestion, one must recognize Vancouver's downtown as a major tourist destination. Therefore it is pertinent that the downtown transportation system addresses downtown Vancouver's 'role as an entertainment and recreational destination' (City of Vancouver 2002). In accommodating the region's largest sports venues, major convention centre facilities, a thriving cruise ship industry and the majority of the entire region's hotel accommodation, Vancouver's downtown peninsula must be capable of meeting the transportation demands that accompanies these facilities.

While recognizing the many challenges the downtown peninsula faces, policy has been formed with the intentions of maintaining a livable and economically successful city. With its fundamental principle 'to create a sustainable transportation system that will meet the needs of the present without compromising the future', the *Downtown Transportation Plan 2002* builds on the successes of previous city and regional plans.

The following section will discuss policy intentions of this plan while acknowledging the success previous plans have garnered in an attempt to accommodate the current and future uses and inhabitants of this area.

4.5.2 Transportation Policy Intentions

Benefiting from the earlier success of the Central Area Plan (1991) that encouraged the development of downtown residential land uses, the past ten years have seen the number of residents living in the downtown peninsula increase by about 54% (City of Vancouver 2002). This increase in population within the downtown peninsula has significantly reduced the burden being placed on the city's transportation network. While allowing individuals to reside within close proximity of their place of employment many people have chosen alternative modes of transportation such as walking or cycling.

New policy intentions are placed under seven components that have interactions among them and include a road network, transit, pedestrian, bicycle, goods movement plan as well as parking and intelligent transportation systems.

It has been the intention of the City's transportation policy to reduce traffic congestion for some time now. In an attempt to minimize the negative impacts of traffic on the environment, the operation of transit and commercial vehicles as well as pedestrians and cyclists efforts to provide a balanced transportation system are being recognized. With regard to transit, future forecasting shows that transit use by commuters will increase to 45% by 2021 prompting immediate action. A review of fares for short trips made in the metropolitan core, rapid transit links to Richmond and the North Shore, a downtown streetcar route as well as links between new residential

downtown neighbourhoods through the use of quiet electric trolleybuses are also being considered.

In addition to mechanized transportation options walking and cycling are beginning to gain popularity among many. These modes are efficient, healthy and offer an inexpensive alternative option for those living in or within close proximity of the downtown core. Policy intent within this realm focuses on increasing the comfort, interest, accessibility and convenience of the pedestrian and cyclist environment (City of Vancouver 2002). The creation of pedestrian routes with guidelines for weather protection canopies and awnings can promote this as a viable alternative despite the climate. As well, creating 'bicycle-friendly' streets in the West End and new waterfront neighbourhoods are vital in advancing the popularization of cycling. The ability to move goods in and out of downtown efficiently is mandatory in maintaining the economic health of the central business district (City of Vancouver 2002). By promoting alternatives like walking and cycling congestion on city streets can be limited and the efficiency of truck transportation of goods and services can also be increased.

Finally through ITS, Intelligent Transportation Systems all movement can be monitored in real time. This advanced technology appears promising in many areas including safety and efficiency. Through ITS technologies the possibility of detecting pedestrian, cyclists or transit at intersections can be granted priority as well as real-time bus scheduling available at all bus stops to mention only a few.

Overall, the *Downtown Transportation Plan 2002*, intends to maintain the popularity, vibrancy and livability that Vancouver's downtown peninsula has come to

represent. By reducing traffic congestion and increasing transit ridership, from an environmental perspective, the plan will have a positive impact on the promotion and success of twenty-four hour city initiatives. With new development and an increase in population over the next twenty years Vancouver's downtown peninsula continues to face constraints, but with policy focussed on compatibility and livability the transportation future for this area remains positive. The aforementioned components identified in the plan all play key roles in the overall health and economy of the city's central business district and thus will contribute to Vancouver's status as one of the most livable cities in the world.

Convenient, safe and affordable transportation options remain an essential component in the creation of a twenty-four hour urban environment. However, in order to promote the twenty-four hour city concept in Vancouver, there must be affordable and accessible late, or all night public transportation available. Transportation planning needs to consider supporting new and innovative planning schemes even if only on a trial basis.

4.6 Livability, Compatibility and Expectations: A Decade of Planning Policy in Vancouver's Downtown Peninsula

By discussing the plans pertaining to specific areas within the downtown peninsula it becomes evident that despite the differences that exist amongst neighbourhoods, common goals are shared. In each neighbourhood, Yaletown, Victory Square and Downtown South, there are underlying themes of livability and continuing effort to improve the viability and quality of life within each area. Public and green space, parks, safety, affordable and quality housing and amenities are a few of the recurring themes throughout the policy for each area.

Further, this discussion has documented a decade of urban planning within Vancouver's downtown peninsula under the guidance of the Central Area Plan (1991). Throughout this decade there has been an evolution in planning approaches. Planning has evolved with a shift in emphasis from 'hard' physical planning issues such as zoning, land use and regulation to 'soft' policy approaches that need to address social conflict, tensions, human behaviour and preference.

This narrative concludes that Vancouver's downtown peninsula has emerged as an extremely lively and vibrant area to live in, where all walks of life are present and in most circumstances accepted. However, this diversity demands consistent effort and awareness by planners in order to maintain what has already been achieved.

The following chapter will discuss what may be added to current policy as well as what is next when preparing to move toward creating and adopting policy that can promote characteristics of the twenty-four hour city concept. Identifying the elements that are necessary to facilitate progress will also assist in disclosing future research possibilities in this area.

Chapter 5.0 Vancouver's Innovative Planning Frontier

This chapter will provide a brief summary of this thesis, revisit the initial problem statement and research questions, and address the planning implications of the twenty-four hour city model. The potential for further research in this area will also be discussed.

5.1 Summary

As the literature review suggests the concept of the twenty-four hour city has existed since the late 1970s in Europe with Renato Nicholini's efforts in Rome (Bianchini 1991). Initially embraced as a successful revitalization initiative to restore vibrancy and life to deteriorating city centres the twenty-four hour city concept has evolved to encompass new opportunity in already thriving city centres such as Vancouver. These opportunities include the implementation of all night public transportation, and creation of new closing laws for cabarets and nightclubs, as well as an increase in availability of twenty-four hour amenities such as markets, grocery and convenience stores.

Vancouver currently embodies the potential to forge new directions on innovative planning fronts that include the twenty-four hour city concept. In a context of continuing change, Vancouver must undertake the necessary efforts to accommodate new groups in the downtown peninsula in order to sustain itself now and in the future. With the presence of 'new economy' employees as well as a generational interest in all night dancing and similar activities, twenty-four hour characteristics are already inherently present within Vancouver.

Despite a lack of policy support or amendments to current by-laws, the proliferation of 'after hours' clubs and the popularity of late or all night restaurants and

retail establishments have persisted. Further, the future success of Vancouver's downtown peninsula lies in the ability to accommodate new interests. By facilitating changes that are conducive to 'different hours of living' Vancouver may continue to foster an environment wherein the 'new economy' and its employees can thrive while protecting the rights of other groups in the urban core.

5.2 Problem Statement Revisited

It is useful to review the thesis problem statement and research questions. The problem statement asked 'currently, Vancouver embodies the potential to adopt a twenty-four hour city model, but what does this represent for the City of Vancouver and most importantly for its residents?'

This concept also raised some critical research questions that this thesis attempts to address pertaining to the Vancouver case. To convey the importance of implementing an initiative like the twenty-four hour city it is necessary to acknowledge the range of issues it raises.

With growth in creative industries within Vancouver's new economy, time frames of living, working and socializing have created a demand for amenities in the downtown peninsula to remain accessible at all hours. Outside of mainstream club and cabaret activity new economy employees lack establishments to socialize, hence the proliferation of illegal 'after-hours' clubs. Defined by their demographic cohort a new generational interest in all–night dancing is fueling the desires for all-night dance halls.

Also a component of Vancouver's creative constituent, live music venues for local and out of town talent have been experiencing difficulties similar to new economy employees, with little being accomplished in accommodating their needs. Issues

including the licensing of establishments, safety, policing and late-night transportation are also discussed.

The range of issues in Vancouver related to the twenty-four hour city that are explored in this thesis were those previously identified as the most commonly affected by closing bylaws and a lack of legislative support, but represent the most important elements in advancing this concept. However, despite little progress made with regard to policies for the twenty-four hour city concept, late and all night activity continues to ensue. Hence the importance in addressing the research questions of how is the model inherently present in Vancouver and what makes the Vancouver case special? Both questions attempt to explore the argument for the relevance of twenty-four hour city initiatives within Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

With creative, film and tourist industries, the lifestyles, needs and desires of these individuals have not disappeared despite a lack of support and accommodation. The prevalence of illegal after-hours clubs and a minimal representation of all night establishments have always supported this phenomenon on a very modest level thus allowing these activities to continue to ensue. In actuality the use of downtown Vancouver's high streets at all hours of the day and night, as well as the various attractions currently available well into the evening lend itself to the characteristics necessary in fostering the creation of a twenty-four hour city.

Vancouver's downtown peninsula is a special case for it does not suffer from the same ailments that so many other North American cities suffer from. Moreover, it does not represent the typical city that adopts a twenty-four hour city concept for it is not a victim of decay nor does it need revitalization initiatives. Rather, Vancouver is a unique

city with its natural beauty and diverse population where individuals choose to live, recreate and work in the downtown peninsula. Nevertheless, despite the popularization of late night leisure interests there have not been any attempts until recently to amend current policy.

This thesis explored the Central Area Plan (1991) as the strategic precursor of a generation of district plans that included the, Downtown South, Victory Square, Yaletown, and the Downtown Transportation Plan (2002). Through this overview, it became evident that despite anticipated population growth in the downtown peninsula little was accomplished through policy to accommodate the future needs and desires of these new groups. Policy focus on livability, diversity, spirit of place and a range of good quality affordable housing was achieved for the downtown peninsula. Despite the planning successes over the last decade the time has arrived for new directions in policy to be initiated. If the City of Vancouver does not enter into the process of creating policies that will enhance the possibility of eventually moving toward adopting twenty-four hour city characteristics it may be detrimental to maintaining its creative constituency. Therefore, it is important to begin rethinking the Central Area Plan (1991).

5.3 Rethinking the Central Area Plan

The Central Area Plan has been guiding the growth and evolution of Vancouver's downtown peninsula over the last decade. It has played an essential role in creating vibrant and livable downtown neighbourhoods and public spaces. However, it is time to begin thinking about the Central Area that exists today while exploring new and innovative policy for the future.

> The proliferation of new core area spaces enabled by the Central Area Plan
> have accommodated a markedly greater diversity and complexity of land use,

but not all interests have been encompassed, and indeed the increasingly
intimate juxtaposition of established and new groups has clearly exacerbated
social tensions (Hutton 2002).

With an influx of new groups into the urban core, conflicts with already established

groups have begun to surface. While this creates difficulties it also poses an opportunity

for policy creation to explore new directions in reconciling inter-constituency conflicts.

A Central Area plan for the future should introduce policy that will foster the

growth of new economy industries and reflect the needs and desires of this group.

However, new policy must be created in a way that the interests of established groups

within the urban core are acknowledged. Efforts to accommodate new groups may imply

threats of encroachment and displacement, so it is important that the planning process is

inclusive. Through the success of the Central Area Plan (1991) a new era of urban social

issues and conflicts have been revealed at a localized level. This provides a fresh

opportunity for planning experimentation and innovation for the planning process.

The Vancouver story provides an example of how a local government authority,

in this case the City of Vancouver, has played a major role as an agency of change in the

metropolitan core. The City has endeavoured to facilitate change in the core through the

comprehensive transformational experiences enabled by the Central Area Plan (Hutton

2002). The success of this plan provides goals and policy directions that can inform

central area planning for other cities.

Creating healthy, livable mixed-use neighbourhoods is essential in maintaining an

urban core that is safe and desirable. Today, many cities suffer from deteriorating and

unused urban cores where vacancies are prevalent and little demand for evening activity

in the core exists. Vancouver offers an example of a Canadian city that has avoided this

syndrome through bold and imaginative planning. In promoting the twenty-four hour city model Vancouver can offer a policy laboratory for this concept, and in experience can potentially inform future planning practice in other cities.

5.4 Planning Implications

5.4.1 Opportunity for New Policy

Through the implementation of imaginative goals and land use policy downtown Vancouver has evolved to incorporate a variety of livable neighbourhoods catering to many different income levels and lifestyles. More recently it has become an attractive destination for new economy employees and as a result Downtown Vancouver has experienced a substantial influx of lifestyles that require 'new hours of living'. Coupled with tourism, a recent generational interest in all night dancing and a concentration of local musicians there is substantial opportunity for new policy. Previously planning policy has focussed around the 'hard' physical land use issues but now there must be a shift in policy emphasis to include the 'soft' behavioural issues that have recently become much more prevalent.

In efforts to accommodate these new behavioural patterns the City of Vancouver would need to consider the adoption of a twenty-four hour city concept for Vancouver's downtown peninsula. This would create opportunity for the creation of new closing bylaws and changes to current liquor licensing policy, while also exploring the opportunity to review potential policy creation to assist in the implementation of twenty-four hour dance halls. Also, the creation of design guidelines for sound proofing buildings could be considered in an attempt to accommodate and promote live music venues within the downtown peninsula. Regardless, policy must not solely focus on the

entertainment aspect of the twenty-four hour city even though it may constitute the most obvious component in this model.

Opportunity for public markets, coffee shops, convenience stores and late-night restaurants (similar to DV8, Hamburger Mary's and The Sugar Refinery) must be encouraged to participate in extending their hours to expand their accessibility to a broader scope of clientele. With amenities such as these available throughout all hours of the day there would be less focus on the exclusive promotion of alcohol consumption and entertainment. To promote the extension of operating hours by these establishments it may be necessary to implement a trial period where individuals who want to experience the possible outcomes could do so on a temporary non-committed basis. Nevertheless in order for the twenty-four hour city concept to be successful it must include a variety of amenities, services and venues that are available throughout the day and evening. Regardless, due to the nature and more importantly the perception of a twenty-four hour city concept there must be public involvement in the planning process from the onset.

5.2.2 Public Consultation

Innovative planning frontiers offer the opportunity for the public to become involved directly in the planning process from the first stages. A concept such as the twenty-four hour city can generate both positive and negative perceptions within the public realm reinforcing the importance of public involvement. By involving the public directly in the planning process through a broader public consultation, questions and concerns can be addressed and new ideas can be generated.

The promotion of an inclusive rather than an exclusive process that is open to individuals from all walks life is especially important within the downtown peninsula for

it encompasses a diverse population. Encouraging participation from all constituencies will be key in gathering feedback and ideas around the twenty-four hour city concept. This public process could generate a forum where individuals can express their personal concerns and involvement in the creation of twenty-four hour city planning initiatives.

Representation and access is vital in a successful public consultation process. If a representative public is not gathered it defeats the defining purpose of the process. Equal representation and access can assist in creating policy that reflects fairness and balance. Although it is difficult to ensure representation is truly equal, it is an ideal to strive for. By employing a broad public consultation model it is possible for the planning process to move beyond traditional planning methods. Individuals can have a hands-on approach in open brainstorming exercises as well as design charettes to vividly portray their feelings and thoughts pertaining to planning future policy initiatives.

However, despite efforts to create a representative public process, it is necessary to acknowledge that barriers exist in many forms within a diverse population such as that in the downtown peninsula. Language and income are only a few of the barriers that must be recognized as potential constraints upon a public consultation process. As a result efforts to accommodate these individuals must be prioritised. Nevertheless, the implications of an innovative planning scheme such as the twenty-four hour city offers considerable opportunity in promoting and maintaining the participation of all those who wish to be involved and possibly attracting others.

5.2.3   *Who is the Downtown For?*

A particularly contentious issue is that of inter-group compatibility and the question of 'whose city is it?' Throughout this thesis I have reinforced the idea of the importance of

accommodating new groups and their interests, but where do planners align themselves among so many interests? Everyone has the right to be there whether you are living in an expensive loft, on the street or merely visiting the area to patron a restaurant or nightclub. But what about the likes of drug pushers and other criminals, do they warrant a right to be there? To ignore this criminal activity exists is to only perpetuate the problem.

My observations lead me to believe that policy creation and the planning process must strive to be inclusive in order to address inter-constituent conflict. My personal bias advocates the exclusion of drug pushers and other criminals while participating in this activity. However, there must be a focus on harm reduction, treatment and prevention to promote a healthy downtown. Perhaps the twenty-four hour city offers some potential insight into providing an atmosphere where more of the needs, wants and desires of the population can be met. Planners could adopt the role of mediators while providing a source of information.

It is time for planning to initiate the question of expectations, and the twenty-four hour city is a concept that leads back to this idea time and again. The opportunity to explore the expectations of those living in the downtown peninsula has arrived. Individuals should be responsible for reflecting on their personal expectations and intentions behind their choice for living in the downtown peninsula. Only by accomplishing this can progress be made, first on a personal scale and then a broader planning scale.

5.2.4 Networks and Partnerships

For twenty-four hour city characteristics to be adopted and implemented within Vancouver there must be a variety of stakeholders involved. For a twenty-four hour city

scheme to evolve into a successful planning endeavour on the ground, support and involvement from many different communities must be ensured. This concept must be promoted to encourage the business community, transit association, nightclubs, cabarets and other social welfare groups to become active in the process. By creating an open forum where partnerships can be formed with the City of Vancouver, local interests can comment and advise providing information with regard to this concept from many different perspectives.

Currently a cooperative group exists within the downtown peninsula that monitors the operations of pubs, nightclubs and cabarets under the name 'Bar Watch'. It is through partnerships with police and business owners as well as organization such as the Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association (DVBIA) that individuals adopt a mandate to improve and enhance Vancouver's downtown. Their proactive thinking and practical strategies could be a significant asset in furthering new innovative planning ideas.

5.2.5 Recent Efforts: New Liquor Licensing Policy

Although little progress has been made in moving toward a twenty-four hour city recent provincial legislation provided an opportunity for new liquor licensing policy that will become effective December 2, 2002. Each municipality must decide within itself to adopt the new policy or simply remain operating as they have in the past. However, the City of Vancouver is in the position to adopt these new closing laws for nightclubs and cabarets to remain open until 4 am. This will evidently give local governments control over the establishments within their respective municipality.

The current amendments offer an opportunity for Vancouver to capitalize on this and possibly take further initiative to undertake organized promotion of other twenty-four hour city characteristics. Regardless this concept is one, which involves numerous stakeholders with vested interest in the future of Vancouver's downtown peninsula, and thus any decisions will have a bearing on countless lives.

5.3 Further Research

Exploration of the twenty-four hour city concept within Vancouver would benefit from a number of follow-up studies to provide insight into the 'new economy' and its employees. Social behavioural research of this new cohort present in Vancouver would provide substantive and credible information pertaining to this group. Research currently forecasts population growth within the downtown peninsula but does not recognize it occurring within a specific cohort identified as the 'new economy'. If research could account for this specific occupational growth it may become increasingly relevant to acknowledge and address their needs, wants and desires that remain substantially different from many other cohorts. This group needs to be acknowledged for, for it is apparent that they are living, working and socializing in this city. This creative constituency can no longer be ignored and we must begin to accommodate in order to sustain ourselves now and in the future.

Similar to the new economy, the music industry embodies a great deal of potential relating to the twenty-four hour city concept. It could possibly be an essential element in the advancement of this idea within Vancouver. Little research has been conducted into Vancouver's music industry and its direct significance as an essential component in the successful promotion of Vancouver as a twenty-four hour city. However, the recent

document *Living in Brisbane in 2010* suggests the music industry is indeed a key element in any twenty-four hour city scheme. Consequently alongside multi-media and high technology, music is identified as a quintessential industry in luring and maintaining its young professional population. Pursuing further research into Vancouver's music industry may illustrate the importance of this industry in nurturing and maintaining a creative city. With the adoption of this concept or related late-night economy initiatives, new areas for research will arise.

5.4 Concluding Comments

It is important to recognize that the twenty-four hour city focuses on more than the promotion of entertainment such as live music, all-night dancing and alcohol related functions. A successful twenty-four hour city must include other types of twenty-four hour businesses similar to those currently located on Davie Street.

Also, in order to implement characteristics of a twenty-four hour city, future policy must acknowledge existing as well as potential conflict. Yaletown is currently experiencing conflict in the form of temporal dysfunctionality. However, this neighbourhood is being marketed as a quiet upscale residential enclave wherein fact it is seemingly the centre of the new twenty-four hour city. This is a situation that is becoming increasingly conflictual, as a result the City of Vancouver as well as developers must recognize this phenomenon that is occurring. This conflict will not make existing and future developments in these areas less valuable, however they will need to be marketed and promoted differently and the City may need to rethink some of the uses and design requirements in these areas.

With the ever-changing face of Vancouver's downtown peninsula the final question could be whether these aforementioned factors mean that the increasing move toward a night time economy focussed on the twenty-four hour city are inevitable or resistible. While neither social nor cultural phenomena are immutable, the evidence seems to suggest that the desires for an all night economy are not going to fade away any time soon. In particular, it is unlikely to disappear upon the request of local government. The demand for the twenty-four hour city is symptomatic of a permanent change in a major sector of the local economy and the demand for a twenty-four hour city is a long-term matter that needs to be addressed. Therefore, the responsibility of local government is to understand this phenomenon and plan responsibly for it with the help and guidance of all other stakeholders alike.

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