

PUBLIC POLICY AND CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT HOUSING

by

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Abstract

This study explores the formulation, application and transformation of CBD planning policy in Vancouver, British Columbia; and its effects on the physical urban landscape. The "homogeneous-use district" principle in city planning, predicated on the view that an efficient urban structure is one with zones delineated on the basis of identifiable single use districts, was adopted by the City in 1929. The quest to reserve Vancouver's downtown for commercial uses only dominated CBD planning policy until 1967. Through certain years of aggressive development activity however, the heterogeneity of the district remained, though its uses tended to cluster in identifiable sub-districts.

A major obstacle to the homogeneous commercial development of the entire district was the persistence of its residential sector. This was not due, however, to the vitality or strength of that use itself; but rather to the weakness of the market for commercial development in the areas that housing occupied.

Contemporary policy perspectives challenge the goal of homogeneous commercial use in the CBD. This rejection of conventional planning principles was born out of changing social trends and perceptions of growth embraced by the public. The process of change, though, is carried out by both planners and members of the development community. It is they who must harness that desire for change and bring it about on the physical urban landscape.

The planner's expression of change is in the form of public policy which controls building trends. In the case of downtown Vancouver, these controls encourage the development of housing in mixed-use projects. The developer, on the other hand, expresses his desire for change through the creation and modification of the built environment. In the present study, the developer's actions are understood through both an analysis of housing development in the downtown, and through a questionnaire aimed at determining views regarding its viability.

The interaction between public policy and private development has created a number of sub-districts in the downtown where heterogeneity does exist. However, housing in some areas provides a means of increasing commercial space; and in other areas is developed as a lucrative use itself with only marginal integration of commercial space. The survey questionnaire of developers reveals that there are marketing, institutional and financial problems which put into question the viability of future mixed-use residential projects in the core.

Finally, the principles which govern homogeneous-use growth remain active in the contemporary development market. While policymakers aim to increase the heterogeneity of the entire Downtown District, their policy is used by developers and housing consumers to strengthen the market for particular uses in specialized sub-districts.

Public Policy and Central Business District Housing

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"Planners tend to be moralists,
which is perhaps inevitable,
since only those with a large
measure of irrational idealism
would attempt the improbable
mission of putting the messy
human world in order."

Greenbie, 1974

Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout the history of North American central business districts (CBD) many socio-economic forces have shaped their physical structure. Though land uses in these districts exhibit a pattern revealing the importance of the market economy, private sector activities have not determined their geographical form alone. Government intervention, in the form of public policies either facilitating or controlling development, has had a profound impact on their development as well.

This study explores the formulation, application and effects upon the physical urban landscape of CBD planning policy in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Emphasis is on an examination in both the past, as well as contemporary contexts of the "homogeneous-use district" principle in city planning. Vancouver was one of the foremost cities in North America to experience rapid growth in the years after

the promulgation of "city efficient" planning. This planning approach, predicated upon the principle that an efficient urban structure was one with zones delineated on the basis of identifiable single-use districts, has thus had a profound impact on its spatial growth. This thesis studies firstly, the quest to reserve Vancouver's downtown area for commercial activities only, securing it against non-conforming residential uses; and secondly, in the contemporary context, policy perspectives which challenge that view, and actively encourage mixed land use development.

Particular reference is made to the impacts this planning approach has had upon the CBD residential sector, a non-commercial use traditionally unacceptable in the core. Analysis of contemporary CBD development is directed toward an understanding of the factors instrumental in the development of mixed land uses integrating commercial and residential activities. Evidence to support the arguments include identification and examination of the relevant policies through study of various planning documents and records;¹ and a survey questionnaire administered by the researcher.

Overview

In Part I, pre- and post-war planning policy as

¹ See bibliography.

applied in Vancouver's CBD is analyzed. The determination of civic officials to use public policy to direct the course of downtown growth along a pre-determined course of homogeneous-use growth is examined. The formation and application of planning policy in the 1920's is explored in Chapter 2. Particular attention is paid to the consequences of the pre-occupation amongst planners with the need to set legal parameters to spatially organize the urban structure.

The problems policymakers experienced in realizing the development goals set out by the zoning by-law of 1929 are described in Chapter 3. The response to these problems included the development of stricter regulations in the 1950's designed to weed out the downtown of non-commercial uses. An assessment is made as to why they did not induce the more preferable commercial development envisioned.²

The aggressive intervention of the public sector

² There may exist an indirect relationship between this type of restrictive zoning and the actual development which occurs within a zone. A zoning regulation that preserves a particular area for a certain type of development may act to attract and retain that type of development by supplying the necessary infrastructure, as well as other benefits of spatially clustered agglomeration economies. In addition, the "certainty attribute" identified by Jud(1980) may act to re-assure an investor that a particular area will remain in a certain use for a time.

Relationships between zoning and particular market variables can be quantified and measured. This level of analysis, however, remains outside the scope of this study. Any discussion which alludes to this type of causal relationship is purely speculative, for direct examination of the principal variables has not been carried out.

itself into CBD development in the 1960's is addressed in Chapter 4. Frustrated by restrictive zoning's inability to directly generate preferred uses, policymakers attempted direct intervention to create commercial development that the market would not. This approach stressed the importance of a strong commercial downtown, supporting again the principle of homogeneous land use.

The policy re-direction in 1975 which rejected the long-standing principle of CBD homogeneous-use development is the focus of Chapter 5. Consequently, non-commercial uses, most notably residences, were granted legal access to the core. Policymakers were now endorsing decentralization policies favouring commercial growth in regional town centres.

Part II of this thesis addresses the contemporary interest in mixed-use development in Vancouver's Downtown District. Mixed-use developments which combine commercial with residential use are examined as an example of the contemporary integration of non-commercial uses into a commercial district.

Housing development in the Downtown District since 1975 is recorded and examined in Chapter 6. Analysis of its spatial distribution, as well as its internal composition of uses within designated sub-districts is undertaken. The findings that are revealed lend to an

understanding of the degree of acceptance of the homogeneous-use district principle in contemporary downtown development.

Anticipated and actual experiences developers have had with mixed-use developments are addressed in Chapter 7. This analysis delves into some of the motivational forces which contributed to the spatial pattern of core housing development examined in Chapter 6. What emerges from this analysis is the finding that while in some respects the principle of homogeneous-use development is rejected in contemporary planning policy, there are a number of important factors in the development process which steer actual development along those more conventional lines. The discussion in this chapter draws attention to, and elaborates upon those factors.

Academic Intent

There are two contributions which this thesis makes to the field of public policy analysis. Firstly, it identifies the ways in which public intervention into urban development influence the geographical form of a particular land use in the urban system. In doing so, four types of public intervention are identified and studied: unrestrictive zoning, restrictive zoning, public urban renewal and incentive zoning.

Secondly, this thesis draws attention to the dramatic impact which the school of thought advocating

homogeneous-use district development had upon city planning, and subsequently the development of the city. In depth historical research into published works in academic and professional journals is undoubtedly necessary for a more comprehensive understanding of the social intentions and impacts of this planning ideology. The present study does, however, contribute to an understanding of this planning ideology in practice.

PART I
Policy Perspectives

Introduction

This part of the thesis explores the displacement of residences in Vancouver's developing CBD. Emphasis is on CBD land use development policy perspectives between 1929 and 1975; and of their impact upon downtown housing.

In Chapter 1, the decision to impose and maintain restrictions upon downtown residential development between 1929 and 1956 is examined. Fundamental to this planning perspective was the rejection by policymakers of inner-city living.

The reactions to concerns raised in the 1950's that the expected commercial growth of the General Business District was not occurring are addressd in Chapter 3. Policy was advanced to stave off the growing forces of decentralization. Restrictive zoning was applied in 1957, no longer simply regulating the type of housing in the district, but now prohibiting it in most areas.

The entry of the public sector into the urban re-development industry in the 1960's is explored in Chapter 4. Frustration over restrictive zoning's inability to commercialize the entire district prompted the public sector into an active partnership with private developers to do core renewal development.

By the late 1960's downtown development became not only a business concern, but a political issue as well. The forces behind the re-evaluation of urban growth principles in the Vancouver region; as well as the acceptance of an inner-city lifestyle are the focus of Chapter 5. In addition, it was realized that much vital core land that lay dormant could be used for mixed-use development. The 1975 amendment to the zoning by-law legally sanctioned the development of a heterogeneous downtown peninsula, encouraging residential development.

Chapter 2: Preparing for Vancouver's Future Growth

This chapter explores the initial formation of land use policy in Vancouver. The assumed need for a homogeneous living environment removed from an equally homogeneous commercial centre resulted in the formulation of legal restrictions upon development in each zone. The impacts of these restrictions upon the residential component of the developing core are examined.

2.1 City-Efficient Planning

On February 1, 1926 the Vancouver City Council passed a town planning by-law establishing the first Vancouver Town Planning Commission. As Bottomley describes:

This Commission was authorized to assist the City Council in an advisory capacity regarding the development and subsequent modification of a city plan and zoning ordinance paying regard to the promotion of public health, safety, and convenience and welfare, to the prevention

of residential over crowding, to the appropriate land use of a district and to the conservation and enhancement of property values.¹

Consistent with the North American trend in the 1920's, one of the first tasks of the Commission was to contract out to a 'professional city planner' the job of preparing a comprehensive city plan. The early work of city planning in the United States, Canada and Europe was carried out, for the most part, by professionals trained in the fields of civil engineering, architecture, law and social work. In addition, 'visionaries' outside of the practical professions formulated utopian plans which were impractical and impossible to implement. Thus, there developed a number of early themes in city planning from which the Commission was to choose. These themes ranged from the radical re-organization of the spatial and socio-economic structure of society,² to the simple provision of the necessary infrastructure to accomodate efficient urban economic expansion.³

The Commission appointed American civil

¹ John Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning and the Landscape: The Business Community, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning in Vancouver, British Columbia, 1900 - 1940," Unpublished Ph.d dissertation (Vancouver, British Columbia: Department of Geography University of British Columbia, 1979)

² Henry George, Progress and Poverty, (London: K. Paul, Trench, 1889).
Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities For Tomorrow, (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1898, 1946).

³ E.P. Goodrich, George B. Ford, Harland Bartholomew, Morris Knowles

engineer-turned-city planner Harland Bartholomew to prepare the city's comprehensive plan. Bartholomew, a student and advocate of the 'city-efficient' method of planning, gained his early practical experience from engineer E.P. Goodrich and architect George B. Ford.⁴ The fundamental principles involved in the practice of city planning, as advocated and applied by Bartholomew, can be directly traced back to the views expressed by Ford in the formative years of city-efficient planning. These views have been discussed by Bottomley as follows:

He conceived of the City as being composed of groups of buildings performing distinct functions. These functions he classifies as business, dwellings, recreation and education, and transit and transportation. The planners task was to arrange these groups into a schematic pattern designed for maximum civic efficiency.⁵

The schematic pattern of maximum civic efficiency was believed to be the spatial creation of homogeneous use districts; or as Haig suggested, "the kind of pattern which makes use of territorial specialization."⁶ In economic terms, two issues prompted acceptance of this planning principle. Firstly, as explored extensively by Haig in 1926,⁷ the spatial growth of the city increased

⁴ Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969)p.122.

⁵ Bottomley, op. cit., p.48.

⁶ Robert Murrery Haig, "Toward an Understanding of the Metropolis:II. The Assignment of Activities to Areas in Urban Regions," The Quarterly Journal of Economics (February 1926) p.433.

⁷ Ibid., pps.402-434.

the importance of reducing the transportation friction between the origin and destination of an economic good. Hence, the need to determine just where particular activities should be located to enable the development of an efficient infrastructure became imminent. This internal order was to be determined "through an analysis of the business, and weighting of the functions according to their position on a scale of precedence."⁸ This analysis, termed the "formula for the future,"⁹ was viewed as the "scientific basis for zoning."¹⁰

Secondly, there was the potent concern for investment security. Under a political system where the right to the ownership of private property stands as a symbol of liberty, the need to protect those rights became as important as the need to control the use of land itself. Early reformers and activists¹¹ stressed the importance of protecting the home owner and landlord from any negative externalities which could reduce the value of his site. In addition, it was emphasized that assuring for the future the type of development in an area gave existing real estate investments greater security, and created a basis for future investment. This certainly would also

⁸ Ibid., p.419.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Eg. Robert Murraray Haig, Professor, Columbia University, New York; Lawson Purdy, Civic Administrator, City of New York; J.W. Cree, Realtor, Philadelphia; George S. Edie, Banker, Philadelphia. (See bibliography)

allow the home owner to re-direct capital from the home into the commercial sector of the economy by using the value of the home as collateral for investment loans.¹²

The necessity of an ordered urban structure also addressed concern for maintaining social order and restraining social deviance. In 1925, Whipple discussed the need to protect the "three basic phases of life."¹³ More specifically, he declared that

To a large extent the three basic phases of life are controlled by the sun--the day is for work, the night for sleep, and the morning and evening for recreation; but to an increasing extent, life in cities ignores the clock. Factories run continuously, night work never ceases. Those who work at night must sleep by day. What was once a 'time' separation is fast becoming a 'place' separation. To obtain normal, healthful conditions in cities, home life must be separated in place from work life, and in order that permanency be given to this separation, a certain amount of government control of private property is essential. This is the basic principle which underlies building restriction by district.¹⁴

In addition to Whipple's concern, the creation of living and working environments containing people of like social position and conscience was believed to strengthen

¹² George S. Edie "What the Banker Thinks of Zoning," Housing Problems in America: A Symposium Proceeding of the Ninth National Conference on Housing, Philadelphia, December 5-7, 1923, p.232.

¹³ George C. Whipple "Zoning and Health" Factors in the Zoning of Cities, A Symposium Proceeding of the American Society of Civil Engineers Vol.48, No.2 (Februaury 1922) p.199.

¹⁴ Ibid.

the contractual social relationships reported by Durkheim.¹⁵ This strengthening would, in turn, discourage social deviation from the accepted norm, and hence, help to maintain social stability within a given community unit.

Bartholomew's acceptance of these principles were manifest in the publication of his 1922 paper "The Principles of City Planning."¹⁶ In this paper, Bartholomew described precisely those elements of the city structure which had to be in sound condition if urban expansion was to proceed efficiently. This notion of civic efficiency was based upon the premise that such elements as the street system, transit system, transportation system, public recreation, zoning and civic art could not develop individually to their maximum capacity without a comprehensive city plan to co-ordinate the development process of the city as a whole. The comprehensive city plan was referred to as a guide for developing each of these elements of the city structure in conjunction with one other, making possible "the creation of an attractive and orderly working organism out of the

¹⁵ Emile Durkheim On Morality and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) This relationship is only a speculation on the part of the author. In depth research into both the social intent of zoning and Durkheim's writings on organic and contractual solidarity is necessary to verify if, in fact, this relationship existed.

¹⁶ Harlan Bartholomew "The Principles of City Planning," The American City Vol. XXIV, No. 5 (May 1922) pps. 457-461.

heterogeneous mass we call the City."¹⁷

The actual procedures involved in this practice of city planning reflected, as well, Bartholomew's strong concern for practicality and standard technique. By gathering a vast array of data on each of the six elements, and applying predetermined statistical techniques to this data base, the planner arrived at figures indicating the necessary building heights, street widths, lot sizes and overall square footage per use within each district. With similar types of statistical procedures applied to the data base collected for each element of the city structure, the planner was certain to arrive at a comprehensive portrayal of the development of the city over time.

The decision to hire Bartholomew and Associates in 1926 to prepare the blueprint for Vancouver's future growth reflects the business oriented priorities and interests of the Planning Commission and City Council.¹⁸ A closer examination of this planning perspective in action in Vancouver further reveals the ideas and visions held by planners and civic leaders about what was in store for Vancouver in the future.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.457.

¹⁸ Bottomley discusses this in depth in his 1979 dissertation, op. cit.

2.2 Vancouver-Style City Efficient

The standardized technical procedure advocated and developed by city efficient planners was strongly emphasized in the Vancouver Plan itself. The plan was subdivided into six sections, each dealing exclusively with one of the six principles of city planning stipulated by Bartholomew in his 1922 paper. The Major Street Report set out improvements to existing routes and widening of major thoroughfares. Additional 'distributors' to accomodate future growth of vehicular traffic were also designed for when traffic capacity reached certain target levels. The Transit Report concentrated on the upgrading and extension of the streetcar system, encouraging conversion to motor and trolley buses. Separate from the foregoing reports, the Transportation Report addressed the issue of providing the adequate facilities for shipping and rail necessary for an expanding industrial economy. Public Recreation and Civic Art were directed toward the development of open space and civic pride, as expressed in the development of both the natural and built environments. Zoning involved the application of land use principles which favoured the designation of single use districts. The final section of the plan directed attention toward the difficult, and sometimes impossible task of implementation. It was well understood in this new-born field of city planning that a plan would not be legally adopted if it could not be realistically implemented. It was perhaps this concern, coupled with

the standardized nature of the method itself, which permitted Bartholomew to achieve the high level of plan implementation that he did.¹⁹

Despite this advantage however, only the zoning section of the Vancouver Plan was adopted by city council in 1929. The type of land use regulation agreed as the vehicle for guiding the future development of the city structure was that applied throughout North America in the 1920's. Structural regulation was applied to building height and area, while whole districts were, for the most part, designated for uniform land use. Not unlike contemporary city planning practice, the zoning scheme was set out visually on a citywide map delineating the districts of the three principle uses: residential, commercial and industrial, with minor variations upon each (fig.2.1). Included as well, and still a widespread practice, was a description of the out-right and conditional uses, and structural by-laws stipulated within each district.

The structure of the zoning scheme enabled uses declared as 'higher order' (i.e. residential) to be located in districts designated for uses of 'lower order' (i.e. commercial and industrial). The reverse was generally not the case. However, in addition to this

¹⁹ John Nolen, "Twenty years of Planning Progress in the United States," in Planning Problems of Town, City and Region, Papers and Discussions of the Nineteenth National Conference on City Planning (Philadelphia 1923) pps.1-45.

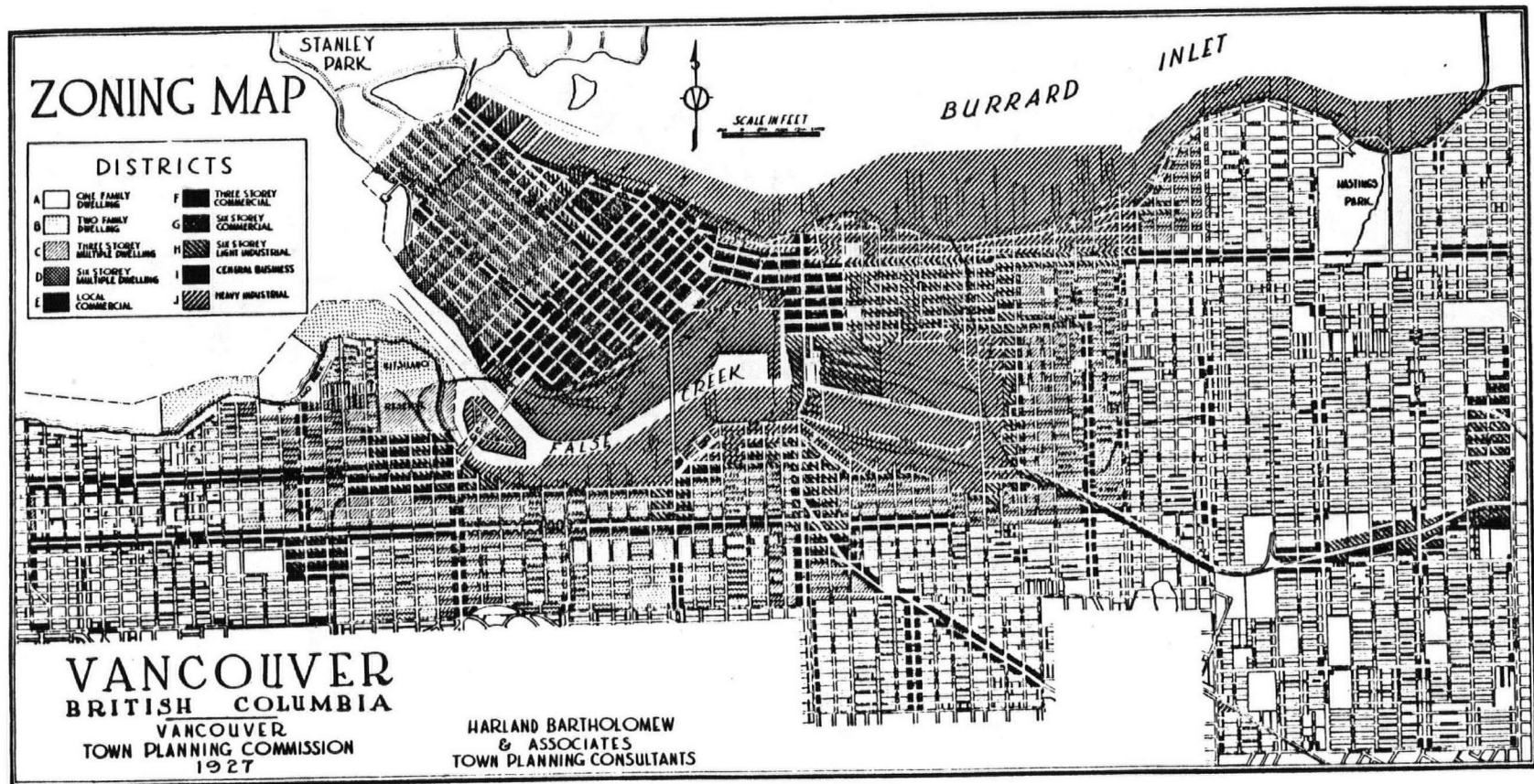


FIGURE 2.1

hierarchical zoning mechanism, it was set out that certain areas of particular homogenous use would be protected from infiltration of other uses regarded as incompatible, be they higher or lower.

More specifically, residential districts were protected out-right by the zoning scheme; while some lower order uses not automatically protected were guarded by additional regulation from uses which might interrupt production operations or store front continuity. Residential use in lower order districts was declared incompatible, and hence, it was clearly stated in the zoning plan that "dwellings carried important restrictions with them if erected in less restrictive areas."²⁰ In heavy industrial districts specific regulation was applied so that no dwellings were permitted at all without the special consent of city council.²¹ It can hence be concluded in this case that policymakers believed that industrial areas could possibly be infringed upon by non-industrial uses; and therefore these areas needed to be legally protected.

Interestingly enough, however, the General Business District (fig.2.1) was classified as 'unrestricted' where little regulation was to protect, nor hinder its future development. This classification reveals the certainty

²⁰ Harland Bartholomew and Associates Plan for the City of Vancouver Prepared for the Vancouver Town Planning Commission (1929) p.234.

²¹ Ibid.

felt by both Bartholmew's planning staff and Vancouver's business oriented city council and planning commission that this downtown zone would naturally continue to develop as the city's central business district, displacing non-commercial uses to zones specifically designated for their restricted development. All that was needed was to spatially accomodate this expected growth, and the market economy would maintain, and even strengthen the dominance of this centre. Consistent with the city efficient mode of planning, the parameters of this district were thus determined by the most technical of planning procedures:

...There are 12.5 feet of general business frontage per 100 persons of contributing population. With this figure as a basis, there would be required 125,000 feet of business frontage in this district when the population of the City reaches 1,000,000...In the General Business District there are 14 1/2 miles of frontage on proposed major streets, and 10 1/2 miles of frontage on other streets, making a total of 25 miles of frontage, or some 130,000 feet.²²

The provision of this frontage for commercial space in the core cannot be directly proved to have attracted commercial activities to this area. Given the historical development of this area as the central place of the city, however, it can be asserted that this policy acted to generate certainty that this district would remain the centre for the city's highest order commerical activites,

22 Bartholomew (1929) op. cit., p.224.

reinforcing the centralizing forces of the economy and land market.

Within this newly-designated General Business District residential use posed the greatest obstacle to the spatial economic growth envisioned. The durability of the built environment, and the attractiveness of peripheral locations for industry in South Vancouver and the Fraser Valley were factors which contributed to the endurance of the residential component. Most important however, was that the zoning legislation applied to this central district did not directly induce the development of commercial activities to readily displace less economic central land uses. An examination of the nature of this residential component, and the commercial development which slowly succeeded it, provides a closer view of the the process of structural land use change in the CBD.

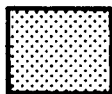
2.3 The CBD Residential Community

Included in this area designated for future commercial growth were a number of substantial residential communities (fig. 2.2). The structures, as illustrated in figure 2.3, consisted, for the most part, of modest single-family dwellings on 25 foot lots. They were occupied, as Gibson and MacDonald cite,²³ by working class

²³ Edward Gibson, "Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change: A Geographical Study of Vancouver," Unpublished Ph.d dissertation, (Vancouver, British Columbia: Department of Geography, University of British Columbia,

Downtown Vancouver 1929

Residential
Communities



Source: Vancouver City
Directory, 1929

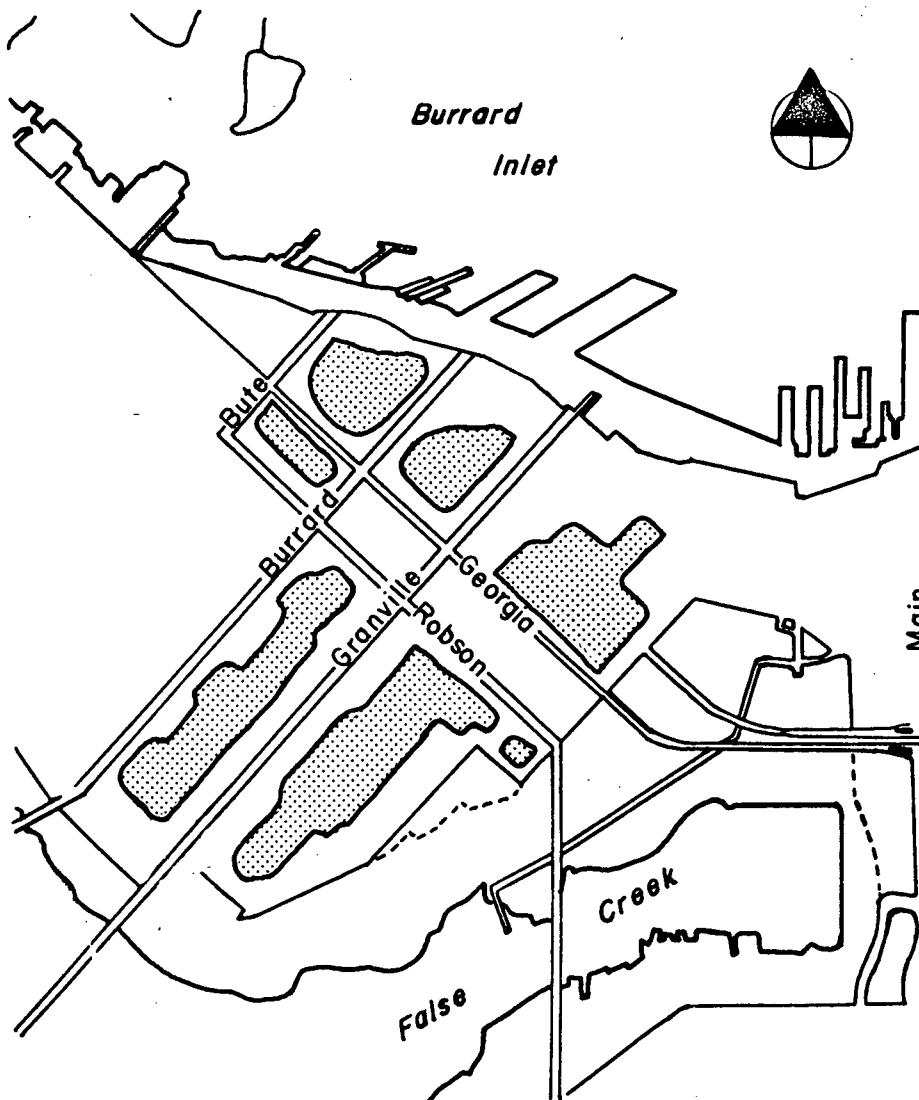


FIGURE 2.2



FIGURE 2.3 Downtown Vancouver, 1935

families employed in the adjacent industrial railway district.

The 1929 zoning plan placed these residential districts under the legal jurisdiction of this General Business District, making the development of additional residential structures in the district subject to 'important restrictions'. It therefore became relatively uneconomical to take on the burden of these restrictions given that Bartholomew's zoning plan set aside vast stretches of undeveloped land throughout the city for restricted single- and multi-family residential development (fig. 2.1). In addition, the West End district, located adjacent to the General Business District, was also declared, for the most part, strictly for residential use.

It is suggested therefore that it was not only the zoning by-law in effect within the General Business District which acted to dispel residential additions to the core during the years of unrestrictive zoning. The generous provision of undeveloped land for restricted residential zones throughout the city attracted both the builder and home owner to these outer districts where structures could be built without the burden of 'important

1971) p.67 and Map 3.

Norbert MacDonald, "A Critical Growth Cycle For Vancouver," in Gilbert A. Steltzer and Alan F.J. Artibise (eds.) The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History," (Institute of Canadian Studies, Carlton University, Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977) pps.150-151.

restrictions'.

While this may explain a decline in residential additions to the core between 1929 and 1957, the structures which already existed prior to the 1929 zoning by-law did not disappear as quickly as perhaps city planners would have liked. Figure 2.4 illustrates the significant portion of land in the General Business District as late as 1945 which was still in residential use. The slow down in development activity during the Depression undoubtedly contributed to the endurance of the residential sector, as well as the subdivision of existing single-family structures into rooming and boarding houses.

Most important however, was that the parameters set for the spatial expansion of the future central business district were based upon the needs of a city population of 1,000,000. Given this standard planning technique, the over-estimation of population growth rates led, in this case, directly to the over-estimation of the necessary future site area for the CBD. Thus, less demand for commercial space than anticipated resulted in a slower rate of turnover of core land from residential to commercial use, especially in marginal areas of the zone.

Hence, the initial attempt to create a homogeneous commercial district in Vancouver's core was not directed at inducing commercial growth, but rather at promoting residential decline. The introduction of restrictions on construction and upkeep of residences in the General

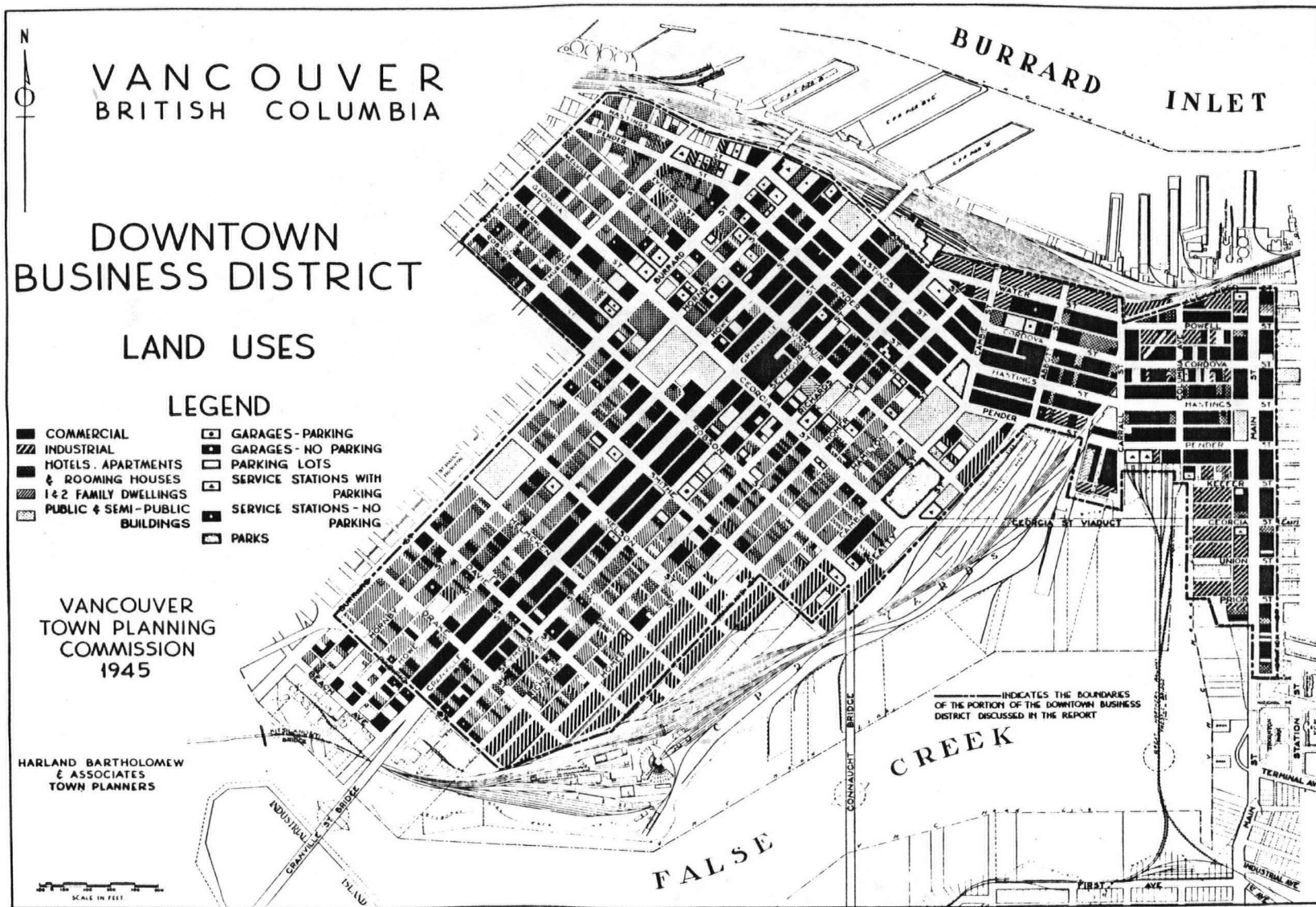


FIGURE 2.4

Business District, as well as the provision of homogeneous residential zones throughout the city, aimed at displacing residential land use to accomodate expected future commercial growth. However, the endurance of that residential component, prompted by a weak commercial market in marginal areas of the zone, obstructed that course toward commercial homogeneity envisioned by city planners.

2.4 Summary and Conclusions

In summary, there are a number of pre-eminent conclusions which emerge. Firstly, the impetus for the conscious organization of Vancouver's urban structure was to spatially accomodate expected economic expansion. The implications of this for the residential component of the newly-designated General Business District was its demise.

Secondly, the pre-occupation amongst planners and policymakers that the schematic pattern for economic expansion was in the form of homogeneous districts has been explored. It was believed that the displacement of residential use from this district would bring greater commercial homogeneity.

Thirdly, the appointment of an American city efficient planner to prepare Vancouver's comprehensive plan explains some of the difficulties encountered in realizing its goals. The systematic and 'scientific' nature of the efficiency-planning employed from city to

city accross North America took into account few of the unique characteristics of particular urban centres. Hence, the application of standardized planning procedures to Vancouver's CBD resulted in an over-estimation of the necessary spatial allotment for future commercial growth.

Immediate post-war planning did not apply a more impelling inducement for core commercial growth. It did however, include more stringent restrictions on non-commerical uses, especially residences. Discussion of this more concerned approach to CBD commercial development policy reveals the nature of increasingly complex and restrictive land use controls and their effects. It, in addition, provides insight into the priorities and perceptions held by civic leaders and professionals charged with guiding post-war civic development.

Chapter 3: Post-war CBD Planning

This chapter addresses the post-war response by policymakers to the slow pace of CBD land use succession. Though it was recognized that unrestricted development was an inefficient means of commercializing the core, no steps were taken to directly promote through inducements commercial development. Instead, restrictions were placed upon the development of those uses which were believed to be stifling CBD commercial expansion (i.e. residential, industrial, warehousing). Civic policy distinctly expressed continued rejection of core living by directly applying restrictive regulation, endorsing a clear-cut course towards homogeneous commercial development.

3.1 The Defense Against Decentralization: Part One

Confidence in CBD dominance, as expressed in both policy statements and published documents, began to erode

by the late 1940's. City officials became aware of the repercussions felt in the central core by metropolitan decentralization elsewhere in the continent. In an attempt to combat some of those forces which were re-directing activities to dispersed local commercial centres, it was deemed necessary to redefine and substantiate the importance of core dominance in a growing metropolitan area. Bartholomew and Associates were again contracted by the Vancouver Town Planning Commission in 1946 to prepare a more detailed survey of present and future General Business District land uses, of the transit network, the street plan, access routes and harbour facilities.

Bartholomew's report laid great emphasis on the role the CBD had in civic development through its tax contributions. The ability of the CBD to generate vast tax revenues for the benefit of the city as a whole was discussed as follows:

...it has been demonstrated in recent years that the downtown business district contributes in taxes hundreds of thousands of dollars, even millions of dollars, of municipal taxes one and above the cost of the services furnished. This extra revenue helps to lighten the tax load upon home owners who pay most of the remaining property taxes.¹

Identifying decentralization as "an expensive process in which costs may exceed total gains," ² dramatized the

¹ Harland Bartholomew and Associates, The Downtown Business District Prepared for the Vancouver Town Planning Commission (February 1946) p.6.

² Ibid., p.8.

need for a strong commercial core which would make significant contributions to the increasingly important city coffers. A downtown core occupied by a substantial portion of less lucrative non-commercial uses was inferred to be one which would not carry the burden of the "uneconomical process of decentralization."³ The underlying message of the report was that if the downtown remained occupied by non-commercial uses, home owners throughout the city would have to accomodate inevitable sprawl through increased property taxes.

The slow process of land use succession in the core during the 1930's, 40's, and 50's proceeded without regulations dictating the precise location of each use. An uncertain pace of scattered downtown growth was the result. The blanket regulation in effect was not rigid enough to direct the development of strong specialized commercial districts within the core. What was needed was a regulation which would order and screen uses in a way which would generate the revenues referred to in the 1946 report.

Faced with increased competition from outside centres (e.g. Fraser Avenue, Kerrisdale, North Vancouver) the key, within the realm of public policy, to retaining economic dominance of the CBD was the securing of reliable and stable use districts within this larger General

³ Ibid.

Business District. These designated districts were to be for the exclusive development of specialty retailing, high density office and public and cultural centres. Hence, planners began to step deeper inside the core to analyze the nature of particular districts within its own boundaries. The ultimate objective was to revise the existing by-law to include more specific regulations within the particular districts identified.

3.2 A step inside the core

The first of a number of planning reports published by the Technical Planning Board which dealt with a more acute perception of the internal structure of the core was published in 1956.⁴ Its objective was to arrest deteriorating trends which some believed were brought on by metropolitanization. In an attempt to arrest these trends, the proposed future direction of CBD development was explicitly charted out. This clear-cut development path would create certainty that this district was indeed the present and future economic focal point of the region. It was, in some respects, a forceful and emotional attempt to save the downtown. It was emphasized that given the economic importance and vitality of the core, "on no account...should this heart of the city be allowed to deteriorate."⁵

⁴ Vancouver Technical Planning Board Downtown Vancouver 1955-1976 (August 1956)

Among the most vital of CBD activities, retailing was declining at the most rapid rate, with only a .01% increase in shopping traffic at a time when the metropolitan population had increased 26%.⁶ To arrest this trend, it was recommended that a high density retail district be officially designated within the General Business District to create an identifiable shopping enclave to attract both retailers and shoppers back to the core (fig. 3.1).

The survey of the area and proposed method used to determine the necessary site area needed for this district were strongly reminiscent of those used by Bartholomew in 1929. The report concluded that for a 1976 metropolitan population of 900,000, seven square feet of retail floor area per person was needed in the core. Thus, a total of 6,300,000 square feet of floor area was required.⁷ It is interesting to note that planners, for the first time, included the entire metropolitan population in forecasting. Previous growth targets were based on municipal population totals only. It was argued that the growth of the city into a metropolitan area lead to the decline of the core. The market area which the CBD needed to capture was now not simply the city itself, but the expanding metropolitan area as well.

⁵ Ibid., p.2.

⁶ Ibid., p.4.

⁷ Ibid. p.6.

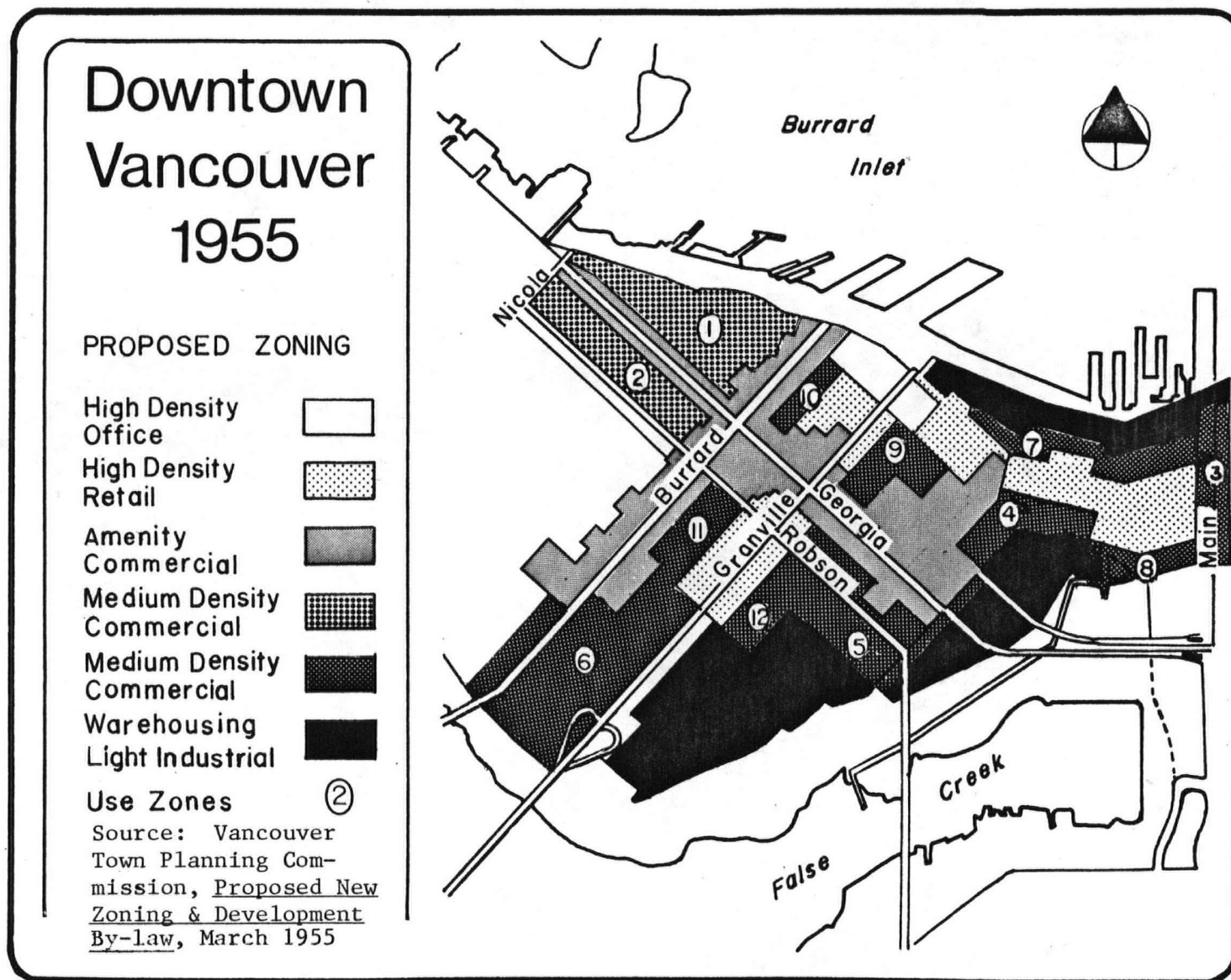


FIGURE 3.1

Given that assumed population, the site area available in the recommended district was then recorded, and the additional area for expansion was designated. Since this special retail area could not accomodate the entire portion of needed retail floor space, it was necessary to spread out of the district into areas of predominantly other uses, thereby designating those areas 'expansion districts' for future retail development.

This same procedure was performed for all the major uses deemed vital to a commercialized core. Offices, retailing, public buildings and a cultural centre were endorsed as proper CBD uses, while residential, warehousing, and industrial activities were to be displaced to accomodate the spatial growth of acceptable CBD uses.

Underlying the proposed land use requirements for CBD activities was the assumption that older buildings had become undesirable, and hence uneconomical, and should therefore be replaced. The future available site area in each district was calculated to include the recovery of land upon which the following structures rested:

Example: High Density Retail District

- (1) Sites with pre-1950 buildings with assessed value of improvements per square foot of site below \$3.00.
- (2) Sites with pre-1925 frame buildings with assessed value of improvements per square foot of site below \$3.00.⁸

The upper limit placed on the assessed value of improvements varied from one use area to another: in the High Density Office District that figure was set at \$6.00 to quicken the pace of replacement; and for the Medium Density Commercial District it was set at \$2.00. It was through the application of this principle that policymakers declared large sections of the downtown area prime redevelopment sites.

For each new use district, the square footage, or number of units per use, to be displaced by the reconstruction that was believed would follow the implementation of the new regulations was clearly stated. Again there rested the assumption that through public policy alone particular districts within the core would invariably become desirable for specialized redevelopment.

The square footage of displaced offices, stores, public halls, hotels, dwellings, and rooming houses was determined by the application of the above limit placed on the assessed value of site improvements. Since such uses as offices, stores, hotels and public buildings were to be reincorporated into the redeveloped downtown within their own specialized districts, their displacement was viewed as a reorganization, to be followed by expansion. The residential component, slated for displacement as well, was not included in the reconstruction plans. In all, there were approximately 251 dwelling units, 370

⁸ Ibid., Appendix, p.80

housekeeping units, and 569 boarding house units which were identified as prime sites for expansion of the accepted CBD uses.⁹

Of all the sub-areas discussed there were only two in which planners proposed continued small scale residential use, predominantly above stores. These districts (fig. 3.1, districts 1,2) were located adjacent to the West End uses, and were identified as transition areas between the commercial CBD and residential West End district. Although residences were not proposed to be prohibited outright in these areas, it was regarded that those involved in future commercial development would find little incentive to include this use in their developments:

Although residential uses would be permitted...it is not likely that they would be included in the development of sites considered potentially available, since dwellings cannot be combined with hotels, and are not really suitable for inclusion with offices.¹⁰

In most other areas residences were not proposed to be strictly prohibited, per se, though there was no site area for them in the comprehensive core redevelopment scheme. It was recommended however, that residential use be prohibited outright in the C-4 Medium Density Commerical District (fig. 3.1, districts 3-12) because of the following conditions:

⁹ Ibid., Appendix. The actual totals are considerably more, as they were only alluded to in some cases in the report.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.95.

The policy of excluding residences is a sound one. Business districts do not provide a suitable environment for residences, except in special circumstances for single people or childless couples. The danger and noise of traffic in these areas make them undesirable for residential use, and facilities generally associated with residential development such as schools, play grounds and community facilities are land uses unsuitable to business areas and generally are not available.¹¹

The by-laws were clearly drafted upon the the perceptions and legal framework presented by the Technical Planning Board. Some of those recommendations put to council by the Board, however, were not considered to be strong enough to push commercial development along. Hence, an even more stringent approach to controlled redevelopment was actually adopted.

3.3 Recommendations turned by-laws

In conjunction with a number of surveys analyzing redevelopment sites throughout the city,¹² council amended the existing zoning by-law for the city on June 18, 1956 and December 3, 1957 (figs. 3.2, 3.3). There were three significant changes that were made which were to have a great impact on the future development of the core:

- (1) the division of the General Business District into two distinct commercial zones;

¹¹ Ibid., p.96.

¹² Housing Research Committee Vancouver Redevelopment Study (December 1957)

Downtown Vancouver 1956

ZONING AND
DEVELOPMENT
BY-LAW

CM-1



Source: City of
Vancouver, Zoning
and Development
By-law, 1956

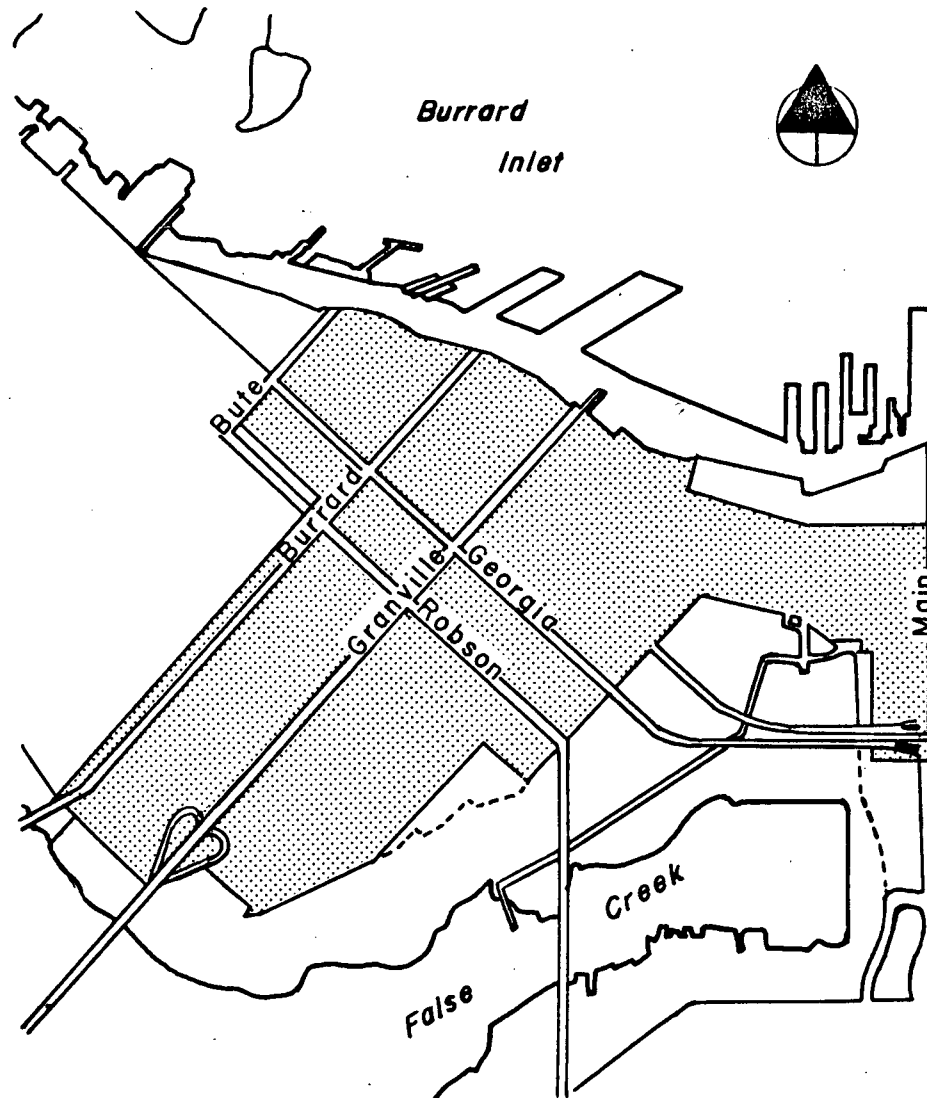


FIGURE 3.2

Downtown Vancouver 1957

ZONING AND
DEVELOPMENT

BY-LAW

General
Business -
Commercial
CM - 1



High
Density -
Commercial
CM - 2



Source: City of
Vancouver, Zoning
and Development
By-law, 1957

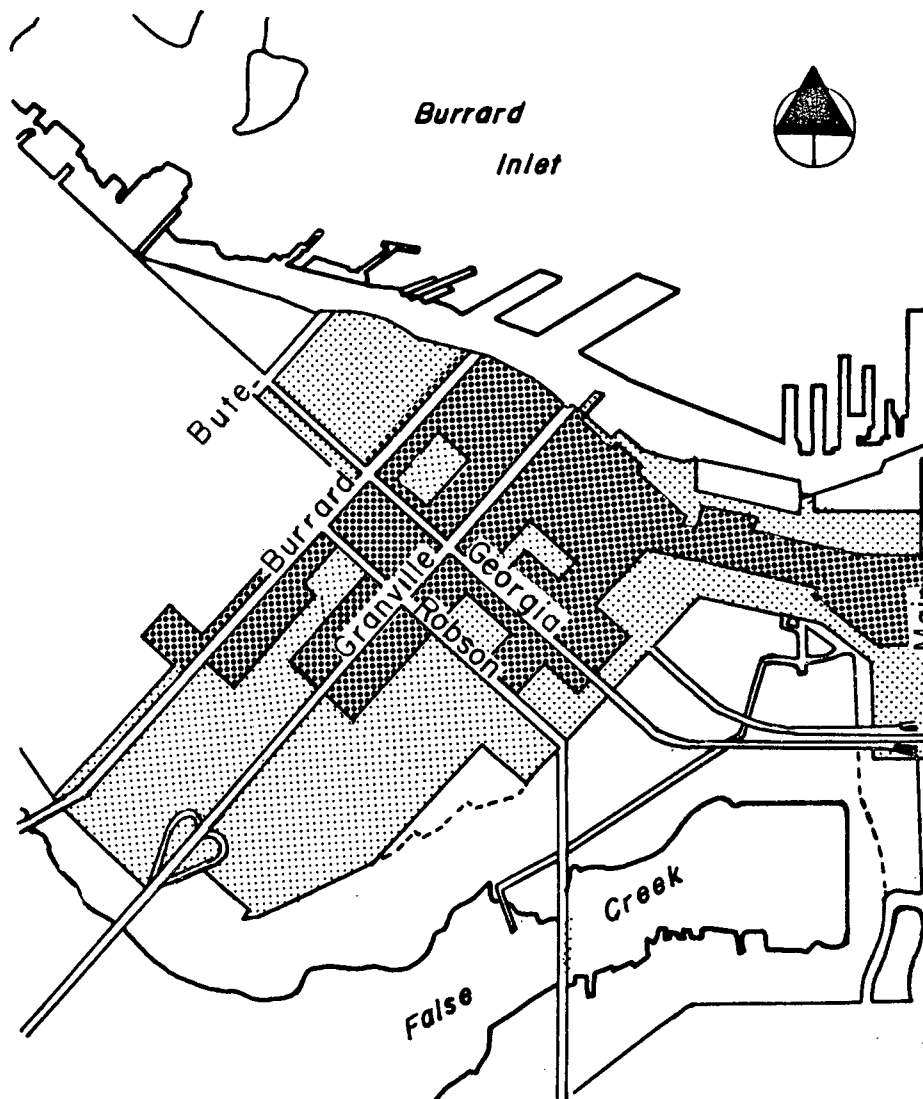


FIGURE 3.3

- (2) the direct prohibition of residential use in these zones;
- (3) the creation of the Comprehensive Development Zone.

Firstly, though council did not entirely endorse the exact recommendations made by the Technical Planning Board in 1955, it did accept in principle the basic proposal of increased downtown regulation and redevelopment. The first amendment to the General Business District by-law in 1956 renamed the district CM-1 Commercial District (fig. 3.2). Though this classification differed little from the previous one of 26 years, it did re-classify industrial uses as conditional, requiring the approval of the Technical Planning Board. This new by-law was accepted as an interim measure until more extensive analysis of core activities was performed.

After consideration of the Technical Planning Board proposals, council approved on December 3, 1957 the application of stricter regulation of downtown development, eliminating the blanket coverage which had applied for two and one half decades. The general principle of concentrating particular commercial activities in restricted use districts was accepted, and hence, a CM-2 Commercial District (High Density) zone was created within the already existing CM-1 Commercial District (General) (fig. 3.3). This initial application of a more intense monitoring system of downtown

development was to set a trend in Vancouver's core toward more complex restrictions guiding the growth of the CBD.

The second major change included in this 1957 amendment to the General Business District by-law was that residential use was legally regarded as incompatible with commercial development throughout the entire downtown area. Hence, council declared that residential uses were even more incompatible than suggested in the recommendations made by the Technical Planning Board. No residential uses were permitted outright. In the less restrictive CM-1 district the following residential uses were declared 'conditional' where consent by the Technical Planning Board was required:

a) A dwelling unit for a caretaker or workman or other persons similarly employed, if such dwelling unit is considered to be essential to the operation of the business or undertaking;

b) A building which has been altered or used for a dwelling unit, housekeeping unit, boarding or lodging house, prior to June 18, 1956, with or without one or more of the required City permits.¹³

In the more restricted CM-2 district, which was what had become of the Technical Planning Board's proposed High Density Office, Retail and Amenity Commercial Districts combined, only a dwelling unit for a caretaker

¹³ City of Vancouver, Zoning and Development By-law, 3575, amended December 3, 1957, p.132.

was permitted, though it too became conditional. There was no outright or conditional approval given to buildings used as a dwelling prior to 1956. As discussed and illustrated in Chapter 2, it was these structures which housed a considerable portion of the CBD's residential population (figs. 2.2, 2.3).

Hence, the transition toward more conscious control of the internal structure of the CBD legally set out the incompatibility and undesirability of residential land use. The dwellings located within the CM-2 zone did not legally conform to the new by-law, and structural additions and upkeep were therefore prohibited.

The third change in the citywide by-law included in the 1957 amendment did not directly affect the CBD until 18 years later. While undertaking a study of citywide redevelopment, city planners learned that this simplistic administrative method of land use regulation was perhaps stifling the development of large-scale independent projects. What followed was a proposal for the creation of a "Comprehensive Development" zoning classification based upon the following principles:

In line with modern trends, it is proposed to establish a new zoning district within which comprehensive developments composed of either residential, commercial, industrial or other types of uses, or any combination thereof, could be permitted even though they do not conform with all the ordinary types of zoning regulations. Areas would be rezoned to a CD-1 District

by the City Council subject to the development conforming within a general project plan, the details of which would then have to be approved by the Technical Planning Board at a time such a development was about to be undertaken. The Park Royal Shopping Centre in West Vancouver would be an example of such a development. Such developments would ordinarily be confined to fairly large tracts of land usually under one ownership.¹⁴

Though this new zoning classification was incorporated into the conventional land use by-law, it did step out of the norm in two significant ways. It had allowed, firstly, for a mixture of uses which planners had traditionally sought to eliminate. Secondly, it required for the first time that planners use their discretion on a project-by-project basis since accepted uses and regulations were not predetermined in the by-law and needed to be decided upon independently.

In its early application, this zoning classification was used for large scale commercial developments (eg. Oakridge); cultural and recreational centres (eg. Pacific National Exhibition Grounds); and institutional site (eg. schools and public buildings). It was agreed that this approach to land use regulation was necessary for the full development of marginal or unconventional sites which might remain underdeveloped or undeveloped if held within the constraints of the standard zoning by-law.

¹⁴ Vancouver Town Planning Commission, Proposed New Zoning and Development By-law, (March 1955) p.viii.

This original flexible zoning regulation was later to branch out into two other forms which were applied to much larger sites within the city. The unique nature of such sites as False Creek and the Waterfront, two essentially undeveloped sites at the time of the 1975 rezonings, prompted planners to opt for this CD-1 zoning classification to allow for greater development flexibility and discretion for their modern redevelopment.

The CD-1 zoning classification applied to the West End and Downtown District in 1975¹⁵ was of a slightly different vain in that these areas were built up at the time of the rezoning. It was understood that the implementation of the Official Development Plans for these two districts was to be more difficult than those undeveloped areas mentioned above. Much of the character and internal organization of uses and structures in these two built-up areas was established through many years of active economic activity and public policy, and remained somewhat viable. In addition, unlike those undeveloped areas where this zoning classification was applied, land in the West End and downtown was held by many different owners, making land assembly for redevelopment a virtually insurmountable task.

¹⁵ This rezoning is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

3.4 Summary and Conclusions

By the mid-1950's policymakers expressed discontent with the controlling power of 'enabling regulation'. Consequently, more acute control of development within the General Business District was sought. Though the Technical Planning Board proposed a more regulatory approach to development control than had been in effect in the core before, it is significant that city council wanted even more prescriptive regulations.

Council's adoption of restrictive by-laws for the core revealed its concern that liberal 'enabling' policy could not be depended upon to oversee the process of land use succession effectively. The underlying premise of the restructured policy was that direct prohibition of undersirable heterogeneous uses would accomodate, or complement, the growth of desireable homogeneous uses within that district.

This premise, however, as discussed in the following chapter, was not respected for very long. It was only four years after these stricter regulations were implemented that the public sector entered directly into the CBD development arena.

In contrast to stricter regulatory controls in the CBD, council approved a more flexible regulatory tool in less distinctive areas in the city. This reveals that the application of highly restrictive regulatory controls on downtown development was not merely a reflection of an

overall trend in land use policy, but a deliberate decision to increase public control of development activity in the core.

Chapter 4: Toward a Redeveloped Core: 1960's

This chapter examines the public sector's participation in the CBD redevelopment process. Reflecting similar development strategies taken in the 1960's throughout urban America, the city council approached downtown development from a positive, rather than restrictive, perspective. Renewal plans were drawn up, some of which included residences; but these were in peripheral areas and did not suggest that policymakers abandoned their rejection of core living, nor their affinity for a strong commercial core. Residences were considered as a means of gaining consumer support for the commercial sector of the renewal plan.

4.1 Defense against decentralization: Part Two

After reviewing development trends in the core between 1945 and 1960, city council agreed that neither 'enabling'

nor 'restrictive' approaches to downtown development policy were ineffective. The need for positive action the way to stimulate redevelopment and the realization of full potential of the CBD.

The first official action came in October 1961, when the Vancouver Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board was established by city council. Its role was to discuss alternative approaches to downtown redevelopment. The objective was to bring site improvement values up to par with land values in particular sub-districts in the core which were not responding to development guidelines set out in the zoning by-law.

A series of reports were published between 1961 and 1965 discussing and describing the precise form downtown redevelopment would take. Again it is difficult to overlook the sense of urgency relayed by policymakers with respect to the critical need for an active centralized core:

The City Planning Department is currently engaged in the preparation of a generalized plan for the Downtown Area. This study is predicated upon the fundamental concept that the City and its metropolitan area needs a central core or focal point which should contain its main business and financial institutions, its department stores, its hotels, transportation, cultural and entertainment facilities. Some of the existing uses in the Downtown area, such as warehousing and light industry may be better accommodated elsewhere and some of the retailing and offices may also leave, but the main centre of metropolitan activity and employment should and must remain in a compact central

core of the City if we are to promote and retain an efficient urban organization...There should be a civic pride in developing and in jealously maintaining the very best appearance of our Downtown area.¹

Beyond this esoteric notion of an "efficient urban organization" was the expressed concern that

...if we do not assume that the Vancouver CBD is essential to the prosperity of the Metropolitan Area [then]...Broadway, Oakridge, New Westminster and other centres will expand at the expense of Downtown.²

An additional report prepared for the Vancouver Planning Commission in 1963 by urban development consultant Larry B. Smith had gone so far as to recommend that office construction outside of the core be prohibited to encourage new development within the core.³

More important to the redevelopment of the core however, was the need to arrest the continued decline in the retail sector. After expeditions to and examination of urban renewal programs in San Francisco and Portland, it was agreed that the approach needed to bring about desired development entailed the active participation of the City itself in the development process.

Before examining the role of the City in the downtown redevelopment, there are two issues which need

¹ Vancouver City Planning Department Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No.2 (June 7, 1962) pps.17-18.

² Ibid. p.29.

³ Larry B. Smith and Company, An Economic Analysis for CBD Redevelopment, Prepared for the Vancouver City Planning Commission (July 17, 1963) p.81.

to be discussed. Firstly, given that this rejection came only four years after the application of restrictive regulation to the core, it is questionable if these regulations were given sufficient time to demonstrate their effectiveness. The impelling force of the public intervention which began in the mid-1960's masked the possible effects and implications of these regulations.

Secondly, the rejection of the controls was not based solely upon the development trends of the four years since their implementation. Included in the analysis were development trends of eleven years previous when only 'enabling' regulation was in effect. Hence, the finding that the portion of vacant net buildable land rose between 1945 and 1960 from 10% to 23%,⁴ was a dramatic indicator of development trends, though it did not reveal the explicit trends which had occurred purely under restrictive control.

Fundamental to this rejection was the absolute growth in surface parking lots, and the persistence of smaller structures on valuable core land "which [did] not represent anything like a full realization of the development potential."⁵ As illustrated in Chapters 2 and 3, many of these smaller structures included those single-family and converted dwellings which housed much of

⁴ Vancouver City Planning Department Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No.3 (September 7, 1962) p.6.
⁵ Ibid.

the downtown residential population. Hence, it was agreed that the most efficient way to overcome these development obstacles was to undertake redevelopment which would generate positive externalities throughout the core. The upgrading of a central site in the core by the public sector it was hoped would have spill-over effects inducing the private demolition of existing structures, and their redevelopment for more lucrative uses and structures.

4.2 The City Becomes Developer

The first step toward the formation of an informal partnership between the City and the development community was the creation of a \$2 million Downtown Redevelopment Fund "for acquiring, clearing and servicing real property in the Downtown Area for subsequent disposal for comprehensive developments."⁶ By creating this fund, what the City was attempting to do was eliminate the sometimes impossible task of land assembly in the most built-up district of the city. It was emphasized that "for every \$1.00 spent on redevelopment by governmental agencies in the United States, \$5.00 are spent by private interests."⁷ The \$2 million to be spent on this stage of the land development process was therefore, understood to be a reasonable expenditure, given the investment and revenues

⁶ Vancouver City Planning Department (June 7, 1962) op. cit., p.18.

⁷ Vancouver City Planning Department (September 7, 1962) op. cit., p.24.

which would accrue from the private sector.

Analysis throughout the core of both the value of land and site improvements was undertaken in search of the optimum redevelopment area where land of considerable value was occupied by low valued improvements. Although policymakers recognized the problems which arose from differing rates of depreciation, it was this analytical principle which led them to the "melting pot of downtown."⁸ This area was identified as the six block area bounded by Seymour, West Hastings, Hamilton and Dunsmuir Streets. It was agreed that this area would benefit the greatest from the removal of older structures which were believed to be the direct cause of blight and depression.

In order to identify the type of commercial activities to be included in this redevelopment scheme, an indepth analysis of the suitability of the area was taken on in 1963 by Larry B. Smith and Company.⁹ Smith proposed that to strengthen the core what was needed was "a strong retail area to replace the diffused retail areas with their inherent weak links."¹⁰ The spatial design of the proposed retail district is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Four basic problems with this potential design and site were later uncovered.¹¹ These problems, it was

⁸ Ibid., p.7.

⁹ Larry B. Smith and Company (1963) op. cit.

¹⁰ Vancouver City Planning Department Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No.4 (March 6, 1964) p.2.

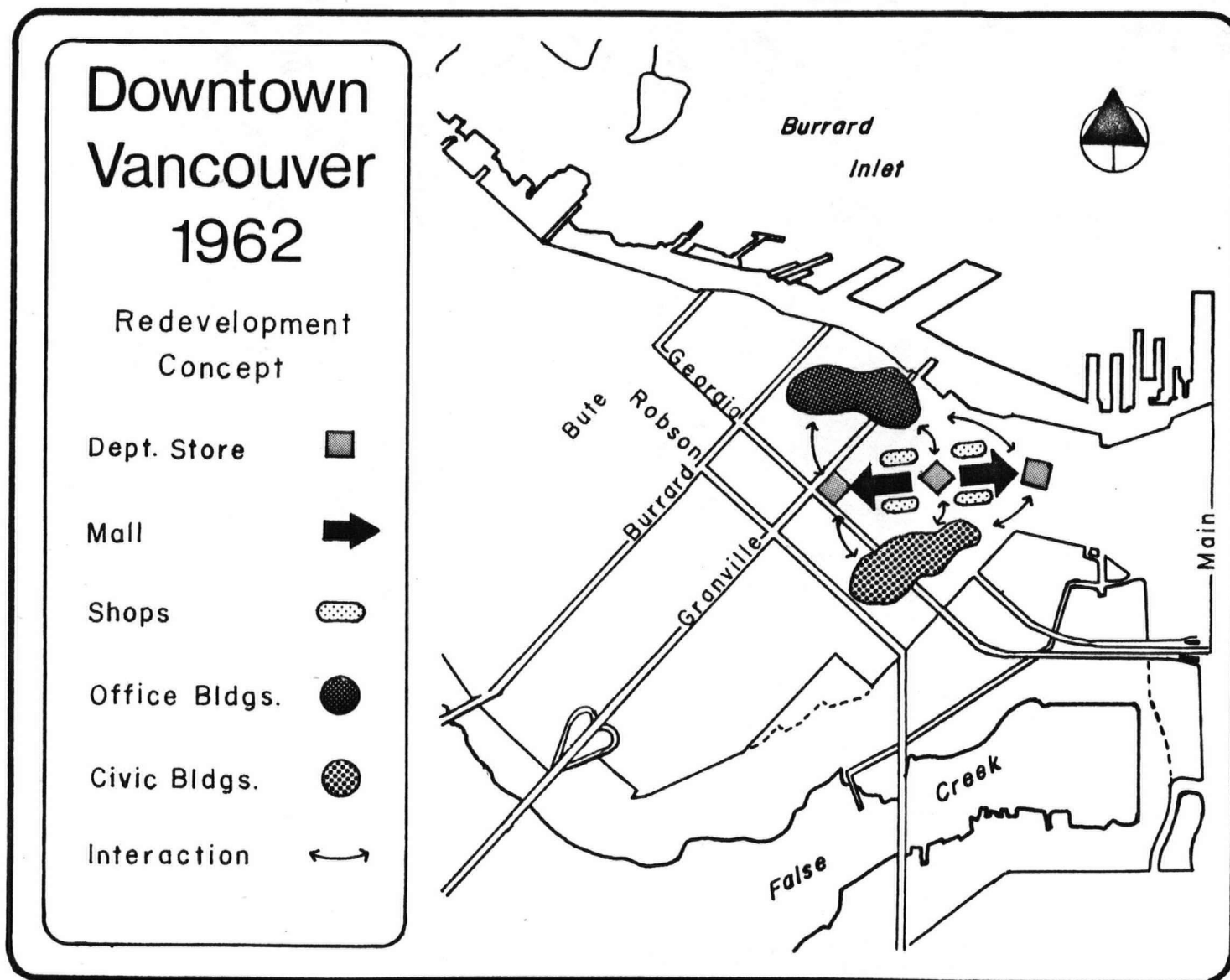


FIGURE 4.1

Source: Vancouver City Planning Department, Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No.3, September 7, 1962

noted, were for the most part attributable to the internal retail arrangements which were "not in a form which would attract a developer, [for] without a developer there [would be] no project."¹²

Consequently, evaluation of an alternative site commenced. The provincial government had expressed development interest for a courthouse annex in the Granville-Georgia Street area; and T. Eaton Company had acquired land in the same district upon which it was hoped a new department store would be constructed. It seemed, beyond any reasonable doubt, therefore, that it would be most logical for the City to attempt to "co-ordinate these developments into a large-scale project."¹³

Work designing the form of this redevelopment scheme began in 1964. The major scheme was to encompass extensive structural re-alignments of building and street levels to accomodate both above and below grade development.¹⁴ The objective was to integrate multi-story office and retail units into an open space environment. The provincial courthouse redevelopment and extension, as well as the long sought after Civic Square-Downtown Coliseum, were incorporated into the design plan to form a comprehensive downtown redevelopment proposal. It was

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p.7.

¹³ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁴ See architects renderings, Vancouver City Planning Department Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No.5 (January 1965) pps.11,15,16,22.

suggested, in fact, that this single area within the CM-2 zone be rezoned CD-1 Comprehensive Development to allow the zoning flexibility permitted under this classification. As an interim measure, however, a number of less radical rezonings were recommended (fig. 4.2), though never enacted.

Despite the complex details and arrangements, the City purchased portions of developable land on the site. Since much of the land was in parking lot use, purchase and redevelopment would not entail extensive displacement and demolition. The land was eventually re-sold to Cemp and Company for the construction of the Pacific Centre. The proposed redevelopment scheme never did fully materialize however. Although Eatons and the courthouse project did go ahead as planned, the Civic Square-Coliseum site was sold to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for the development of its regional headquarters. The subsequent mall development below Granville Street revealed the degree of certainty and comfort developers and planners felt with this standard type of modernized retail development. Since it was this type of retail arrangement which had attracted shoppers and retailers to suburban centres, the provision of such services in the core, coupled with the centrality and diversity of this district, was hoped to draw back strayed retailers and consumers.

Though planners and developers stayed within

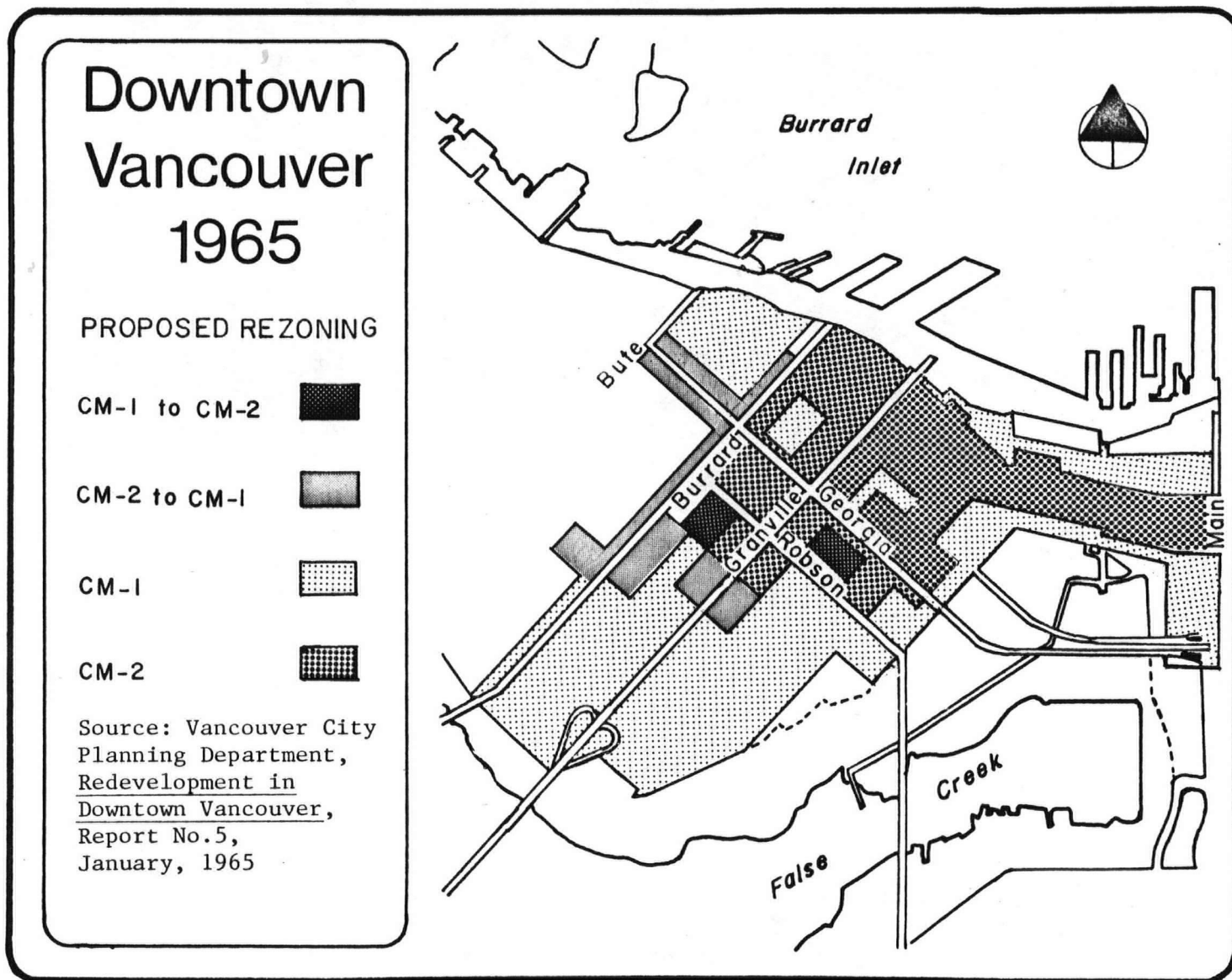


FIGURE 4.2

conventional limits when it came to the actual redevelopment of this area, they did step out of a forty year tradition by initiating discussion of the potential for the development of a non-commercial use in this redeveloped downtown. This discussion was directed toward the possible development of high density residential units in the core. The nature and extent of this proposal, examined in the following section, provide additional evidence to contribute to an understanding of what the development objectives of policymakers in this area in the 1960's were.

4.3 Residential space in a redeveloped core?

Included in the overall analysis of this site for redevelopment, Smith and Company was asked by the Vancouver Planning Commission to consider the implications of a proposed by-law which would

...modify the existing policy of excluding apartment construction in the downtown area by permitting apartment development subject to certain restrictions in virtually all of the downtown area except the hard core.¹⁵

This amendment to the existing by-law was considered in conjunction with a proposal to lower the future West End residential density level. This alteration, it was predicted, would reduce the potential West End population by 20,000 persons.¹⁶ Since the downtown retail sector

¹⁵ Larry B. Smith and Company (1963) op. cit., p.68.

relies largely on this local market, it was suggested that "other apartment developments close in to the downtown area be encouraged"¹⁷ to compensate for the market loss which would accrue from that density reduction.

Hence, housing in the core at this time was considered to be an integral part of the commercial redevelopment scheme. Given that the reduction in West End densities did not occur until September 1, 1967, consideration of including a residential component in the downtown was scraped.

4.4 Summary and Conclusion

By the early 1960's the effectiveness of restrictive zoning in the core was questioned. Consequently, development policy was approached for the first time from a 'positive action' perspective. The public sector, reflecting urban renewal schemes in the U.S., took on the process of land assembly in this built-up area with hopes of making private core redevelopment more practical. In addition, private redevelopment plans were expected to conform to design blue prints approved ahead of time by the planning staff.

The encouragement of a residential component in the redeveloped core was exceptional given the long tradition which regarded it to be incompatible with homogeneous

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.69.

commercial development. The problems traditionally associated with residential use in the core (i.e. low density, land extensive, interruption of storefront continuity) are not problems normally related to apartment development. Hence, the integration of a residential component into this redeveloped core was expected to be fully incorporated into the design for a strong and vital centralized commercial core. The decision to abandon this proposal was not based upon the potential problems of a residential component in the core. That this decision was bound up in the accompanying consideration of density reduction in the adjacent residential district reveals that it was directed at fueling the commercial sector with critically needed purchasing power. Diversifying the land use structure of the core, and housing a segment of the population were simply to be by-products of the ultimate goal.

Chapter 5: A Livable Downtown

By the late 1960's, Vancouver's downtown development became no longer the exclusive concern of city council, business groups and merchant associations. Citizens groups, as cohesive and identifiable units, began to exercise interest in how and why decisions steering civic growth were made. The social and political forces which interact to generate new demands on the existing policymaking framework had changed. Hence, the policymaking framework took on a new form. The direction which this framework led downtown development policy and goals deviated from those of the past. It included a decision to encourage the development of residences in the downtown.

5.1 A changed political arena

The composition of Vancouver's labour force has been

over the years transformed from one with a major share of its workers employed in commodity production and distribution, to one with a greater share employed in the service sector. This change has come about as the emphasis in the North American economy has been redirected from mercantile activities and commodity production, to the provision of services necessary to sustain a post-industrial economy.¹

The educational requirements and urbanity of the professional involved in the research, development and management of this service based economy has brought together in the central city a group of socially aware and publicly spirited urban dwellers. ? An actively politicized interest group emerged in Vancouver by 1968 made up, for the most part, of professionals and academics who had little to do with the city's business community. They represented a new and unconventional addition to this political arena. The civic administration had always been dominated by leaders within the business community. Ley comments on the vision of urban development held by this new group in Vancouver:

A new ideology of urban development was in the making. Urban strategy seemed to be passing from an emphasis on growth to a

¹ E. Ginzberg, "The Professionalization of the U.S. Labor Force," Scientific America 240 (March 1979) pps.48-53.

² See Daniel Bell, The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society, New York: Basic Books, 1976)
Alvin W. Gouldner, The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class (New York: Seabury Press, 1979)

concern for the quality of life; the new liberation was to be recognized less by its production schedules than by its consumption styles...The cultural hegemony of the liberal community was reflected not only in the marketplace, but also in public policy.³

A concern for the quality of life, rather than the continued accumulation of material goods, had its manifestation in both the federal and regional levels of political activity as well. Such concepts as 'limits to growth'⁴ and 'spaceship earth'⁵ instilled in the minds of policymakers the need to consciously monitor the future course of development in order to guard against extreme social and economic hardship. The "Trudeauism" of the late 1960's endorsed urban policies developed by Lithwick which emphasized the following:

Faced with an urban world, common sense and recognition of social costs and benefits lead to the conclusion that the present remedial role of government, working in the interstices of economic initiative, will have to be replaced by a creative concept which anticipates and guides the forces of urban growth.⁶

Hence, it was recognized that policy which did not initiate or induce equitable development among cities,

³ David Ley, "Liberal Ideology and the Post-Industrial City," Annals of the Association of American Geographers Vol.70, No.2 (June 1980) p.239.

⁴ Donnella H. Meadows, et al, Limits To Growth (Washington, D.C.:A Potomac Associates Book, New American Library, 1974)

⁵ Barbara Ward, Spaceship Earth (New York:Columbia University Press, 1966)

⁶ N.H. Lithwick, Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects, Report prepared for The Honorable R.K. Andras, Minister Responsible for Housing (Ottawa:Government of Canada, 1970) p.175.

and amongst the inhabitants within cities, would prove to be as ineffective as previous restrictive regulation.

These concerns were paralleled at the regional level. The establishment in 1967 of a metropolitan planning authority, the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) gave a forum for its discussion. Though the GVRD was designed to co-ordinate such regional utilities as water and sewage, its mandate included the management and regulation of macro land use plans for the region. Discussions dealing with issues related to 'sharing the wealth,' promoting a greater regional balance between the employment, commercial and residential sectors, and the development of town centres were formulated in the GVRD Livable Region Plan. Fundamental to the plan was a principle of balanced growth, and determination to decentralize some of those activities and jobs "that would ordinarily locate in Vancouver."⁷

At the municipal level, the founding of The Electors Action Movement (TEAM), one of the two of reform parties established and lead by Vancouver professionals, academics, community workers, ratepayers and lower income neighborhood groups, provided a focus for new policies.⁸ These parties were dedicated to restructuring the existing

⁷ Greater Vancouver Regional District, Livable Region Plan: 1975- 1985 (1975)

⁸ For a comprehensive discussion of the emergence of Vancouver's reform parties see Paul Tennant, "Vancouver Civic Politics, 1929-1980," B.C. Studies, No.46 (Summer 1980) pps.3-27.

civic administration. The 'Great Freeway Debate' over the proposed imposition of a dual highway upon the most vital section of the Chinatown community has been identified as the turning point which alerted many Vancouverites to the need for reform. As Tennant comments, "it marked a sudden and substantial outpouring of demands for citizen participation in civic policy making."⁹

Beyond criticism of the day-to-day management of civic affairs, these urban reformers directed considerable attention to the fundamental shortcomings of the land use regulation system administered since Vancouver's inception. In urban development policy, there was little incorporation of public opinion or participation in policymaking. There was consideration given to the views held by merchant associations and special interest groups such as the Retail Merchants Association, the Building Owners and Managers Association and the Community Arts Council,¹⁰ but these views were consistent with what Ley describes as the "commitment to growth, boosterism, and the city efficient held by former civic administrations."¹¹ The structure of this 40 year civic tradition has been described by two founders of the city's reform movement as

⁹ Ibid., p.14.

¹⁰ The Vancouver Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board expanded in 1962 to include representation from these three groups. It also considered representation from the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority Transportation Company, The British Columbia Automobile Association and The Vancouver Tourist and Convention Bureau.

¹¹ Ley (1980) op. cit., p.239.

follows:

A full corporate model of government was adopted during this period. The senior administrators, by necessity in part, adopted a dual role of administrator and policy initiator and advisor. City Council in turn acted as if they were the owner, the directors of a company, or trustees of the public wealth. The senior administrators drew their information and values about the urban scene from the bureaucracy, and when necessary, from experts outside the system, usually experts from the engineering or financial sector. Given the preoccupation of the population at large with the material upgrading of the city and a common will that growth was "good" the system worked remarkably well. The major opposition came from those few at odds ideologically with government priorities.¹²

Throughout the present study we have seen an application of the above model. Much of the planning documentation dealing with CBD development was prepared by civic administrators directed by Gerald Sutton Brown.¹³ Information was drawn from within the administration, as well as from experts outside the system like Bartholomew and Smith. Advisory groups were predominantly composed of representatives from the business community,¹⁴ and no avenue existed at the time

¹² Walter G. Hardwick and David F. Hardwick, "Civic Government: Corporate, Consultative or Participatory?" in David Ley (ed.) Community Participation and the Spatial Order of the City, B.C. Geographical Series, No.19, (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1973) p.91.

¹³ Sutton Brown held three important positions in Vancouver's civic administration: Chairman of the Technical Planning Board, Director of City Planning, and City Commissioner. His power was regarded as threatening enough to induce TEAM-Mayor Art Phillips to ask for his resignation in 1972.

for the incorporation of public opinion into the policymaking process.

Out of the growing conflict between changing attitudes concerning urban growth and the inflexible bureauratic civic administration, an awareness of the need for a more participatory or representative arrangement of civic organization emerged. Hence, the method of governing proposed by the reformers was in sharp contrast to that which dominated four decades of Vancouver's growth. The model endorsed, and presently functioning, is based upon the representative principle wherby:

Policymaking...rest[s] with a representative council, prepared to draw advice from both the professional and the public, and then transforms it into plans and policies.¹⁵

Subsequently, as TEAM gained a majority on city council and the civic administration by 1972, the whole process of development planning was opened for public discussion. Local areas became recognized identifiable units throughout the city; and secondary branches of the planning department, as well as independent community organizations from both business and residential sectors, were founded. Tennant summarizes the work done during 1973 and 1974 by TEAM to implement much of the parties

¹⁴ The qualification for the Executive Director of the Vancouver Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board included a degree in business administration. (Vancouver Department of City Planning (June 7, 1962) op. cit. p.4)

¹⁵ Hardwick and Hardwick (1973) op. cit., p.93.

platform as follows:

The few lingering possibilities of resurgence of the freeway proposal were finally choked off. Neighbourhood participation in local area planning was prodded along. Transformation of the former industrial area of False Creek into a diversified residential area was effected under direct development by the city itself. The downtown Granville Transit Mall was planned and completed expeditiously. A by-law was passed to phase large advertising billboards out of existence. The development of downtown was bought under much greater council control through various zoning and precedural changes. The former secrecy of the development process was abolished through new requirements for early public notice and through creation of the Development Permit Board, all of whose decisions were made in public meeting. City council itself began to hold evening meetings to facilitate the appearance and attendance of citizens. An information booth and other innovations, including the recording of all council votes, to facilitate information dissemination, were introduced at city hall.¹⁶

This re-structuring of civic administration had major significance, as Tennant notes, for the future development of the downtown area. The type of development policy which emerged resembled none ever known. These issues are explored in the following section.

5.2 A fresh approach to policymaking

Consistent with earlier downtown redevelopment campaigns, the planning branch of the civic

¹⁶ Tennant (1980) op. cit., pps.19-20.

administration published between 1968 and 1974 a series of policy documents which addressed the present and future state of CBD development. There were however, two major distinctions which set this later series of reports apart from those which appeared in the immediate post-war years up until 1965.

Firstly, there was no longer a sense of urgency expressed about the future of the core. These reports contained a new element in urban policymaking. Questions were asked about what the model of future development in the core should be, rather than statements directed toward achieving the objectives of a pre-determined arrangement. Policymakers, thus, began to question the model of urban organization which stipulated that the downtown could remain vital only if it developed into a homogeneous commercial district.

The first policy report to address this question of future growth was the 1968 Vancouver Planning Department publication Downtown Vancouver, Part 1, The Issues. The dilemma which would plague the course of future downtown development was summarized in the following questions:

What role should downtown play in the metropolitan region? Should it continue to be the metropolitan centre, or will other Lower Mainland centres eventually equal downtown in some functions, such as retail trade?¹⁷

¹⁷ Vancouver City Planning Department Downtown Vancouver, Part 1, The Issues (August 1968) p.9.

For the first time, the central role of the downtown was openly questioned. Definitive images and expectations of this district as the nucleus which supports the metropolitan organism began to fade. Old methods of regulating its development now appeared obsolete.

The second feature of these policy reports was that they were circulated to numerous community groups in addition to the more customary business organizations. Some reports were distributed through the mail to individual citizens, inviting them to express their views about downtown issues.

By 1973 the Planning Department had formulated a number of comprehensive policy matters from this early participation. These were drawn together in the publication Downtown Vancouver, Part 1, Proposed Goals. In this document a number of issues were raised concerning housing and the physical and social environment of the downtown; issues which, up to that time, had never received official consideration in the downtown policymaking process. This document was, in turn, circulated to both a random sample of the public at large, as well as special interest groups. Responses, placed on public record in December 1973,¹⁸ were incorporated into policy discussions through 1974 and

¹⁸ Vancouver City Planning Department, Report on Submissions to Downtown Vancouver Proposed Goals (December 1973)

1975.

In addition, the planning commission in 1974 appointed two specialized committees to study the future of downtown development. The Downtown Conference Study Team, whose duties were similar to the Technical Planning Board, was made up of civic employees and consultants. This Study Team was given the responsibility of devising the technical plans and apparatus through which future downtown improvements would develop.

Working in conjunction with the Study Team was the Downtown Conference Guidance Panel which comprised private citizens, academics, planners and business persons. The objective of this panel was to coordinate public and professional opinion on the proposed goals. These two groups later submitted separate, though related, reports to city council as recommendations for the future scenario of downtown development.¹⁹

In essence, the civic administration, recognizing the need for open discussion of policy, was attempting to formulate new downtown policy directives incorporating a more generous consideration of a wide range of public and private views than earlier CBD planning attempts. Never before in Vancouver had there been a vehicle through which

¹⁹ Vancouver City Planning Commission,
(1) Downtown Study Team, Downtown Vancouver: Planning concepts for future development and process for control of development. Report for discussion (September 1974)
(2) Downtown Guidance Panel, Downtown Guidance Report to City Council (December 1974)

issues could be identified and explored in the public context. New questions were now being raised, and concerned citizens were guided through accessible channels to learn about, respond to, and influence the direction of downtown public policy.

5.3 A new direction for downtown development

The policy directive which emerged out of this process was the endorsement of planned regional decentralization. This was in accordance with the limited growth principles endorsed by the regional planning board; and in direct contrast to that development objective which oversaw CBD growth policy for four decades.

There were a number of valid reasons for this policy turnaround. Firstly, the stress being placed on the physical and social environments by high density growth was in evidence, and looked upon with disdain. Secondly, the monetary expense of growth was now regarded as excessive. As early as 1968 questions were raised whether the City could afford to aggressively encourage high density development which would require an "increase in capital spending...and placing a higher priority on downtown spending."²⁰ In 1946 Bartholomew had endorsed the CBD as that district which generated revenues beyond its expenditures, and could hence support sprawling areas

²⁰ Vancouver City Planning Department (August 1968) op. cit., p.29.

growing toward the periphery. In contrast, by 1968 questiones were raised as to whether the CBD could support its own growth, let alone that in outer areas of the city.

The model of downtown development which emerged was one based on the integration of heterogeneous uses. The acceptance of regional decentralization meant limited commercial development in the core. Other regional town centres were to attract a share of those uses for their own development. Consequently, this loss in potential commercial space had to be compensated for by re-incorporating other uses (excluding industrial) which had been discouraged, and even prohibited in the past. Given the uncertainty on the part of policymakers that these uses would be at all inclined to locate in the core, that conventional type of zoning regulation which enabled, but did not induce, desired development was regarded to be an insufficient tool to meet the new objectives of core development. Addressing the Downtown Conference Guidance Panel in 1974 Philip Tattersfield, a landscape architect, commented on the ineffectiveness of conventional regulation methods:

It is quite apparent that one area of unanimity which has already emerged is the utter rejection of zoning as presently constituted as an effective method of development control in this City...I suggest that all the symptoms of deterioration inherent in [the City] are due to our attempts to grapple with 20th century problems of urban development using

19th century concepts...Zoning as it is now administered is a direct outgrowth of a "flat earth mentality" typified at present by two dimensional horizontal planning methods superimposed on four dimensional problems carrying the additional elements of space as a volume, and time.²¹

Hence, upon the recommendation of the joint Downtown Conference committees, city council approved in November 1975 the rezoning of the entire downtown area from the conventional commercial districts to the more flexible Comprehensive Development classification.²² The disjointed independent commercial zones were merged together into one broad "Downtown District - DD". Its future development was now put under the jurisdiction of an Official Downtown District Development Plan which included planning principles and design guidelines specific to the district itself (fig. 5.3).

This type of zoning in an area as built-up as the downtown core was argued to be the only way a zoning mechanism could be used to guide development. The objective was to transform this fragmented core into a functionally integrated and self-contained area. The flexibility of these regulations allowed policymakers to create the necessary legal tool for inducing desired development, rather than simply permitting it.

Fundamental to this transformation of the core was

²¹ Guidance Panel Minutes, April 30, 1974

²² The downtown had been rezoned in both 1973 and 1974 as interim measures to control development more closely during this policymaking period (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2).

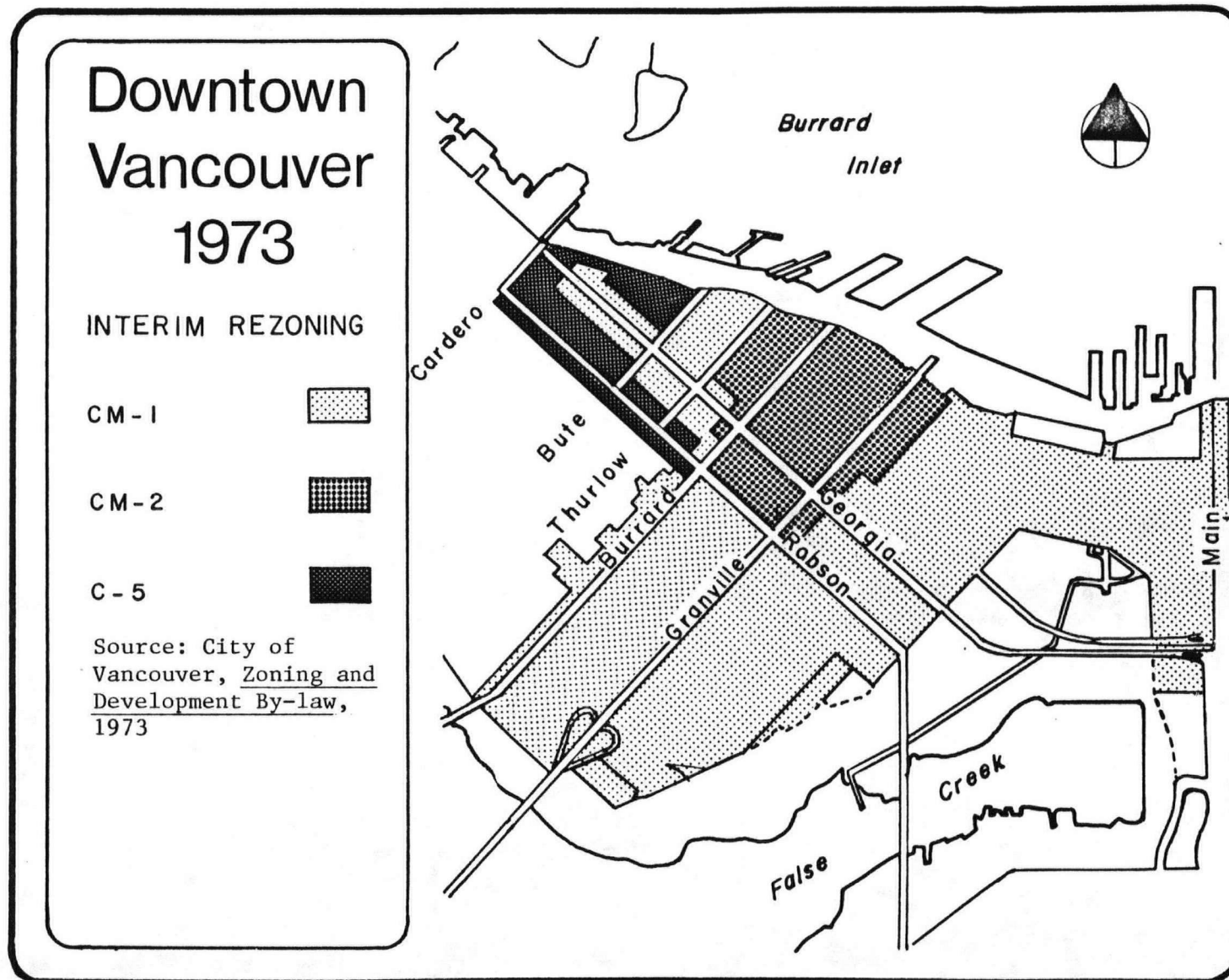







FIGURE 5.1

Downtown Vancouver 1974

INTERIM REZONING

Commercial:

CM-1	
CM-1A	
CM-2	
CM-2A	
C-5	

Historical:

HA-1	
HA-2	

Source: City of
Vancouver, Zoning and
Development By-law,
1974

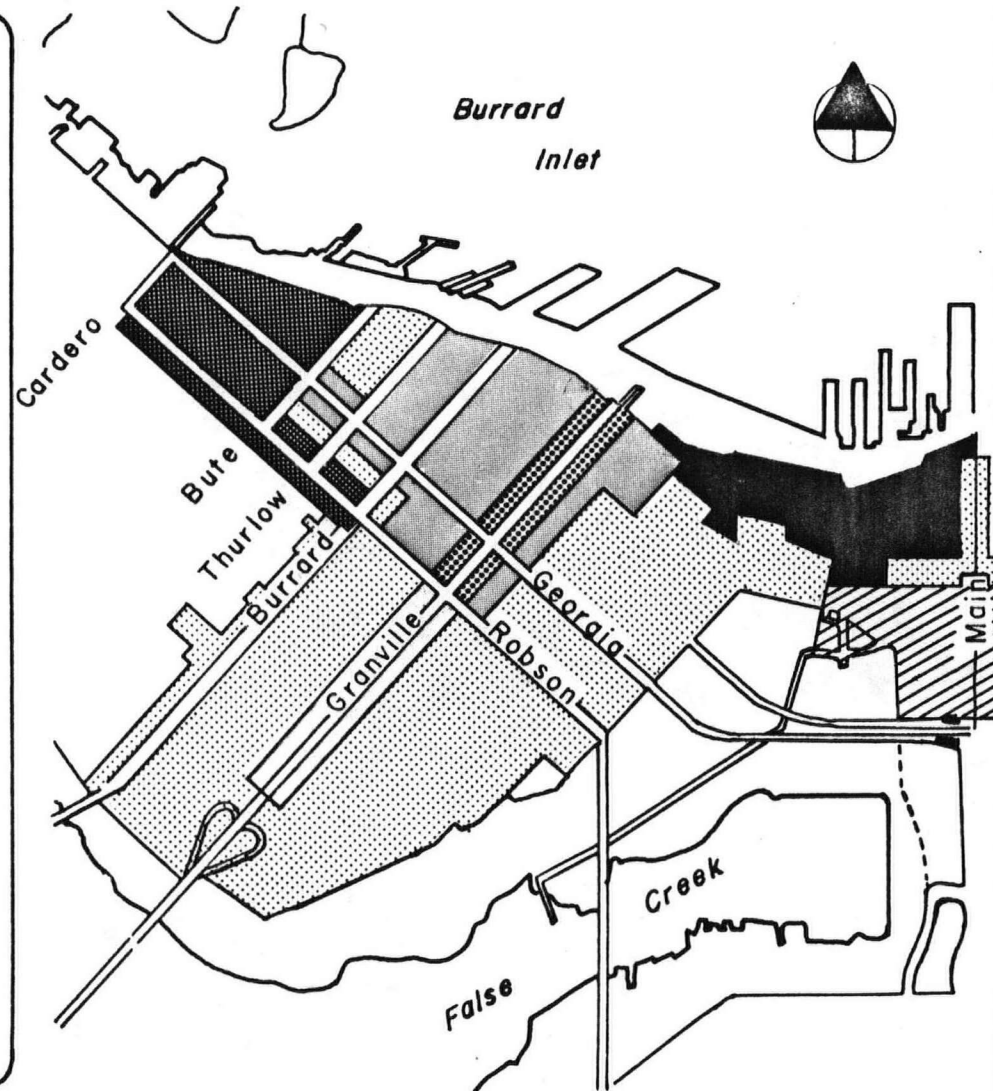


FIGURE 5.2

Downtown Vancouver 1975

ZONING AND
DEVELOPMENT
BY-LAW

Downtown
District - DD



Source: City of
Vancouver, Zoning and
Development By-law,
1975

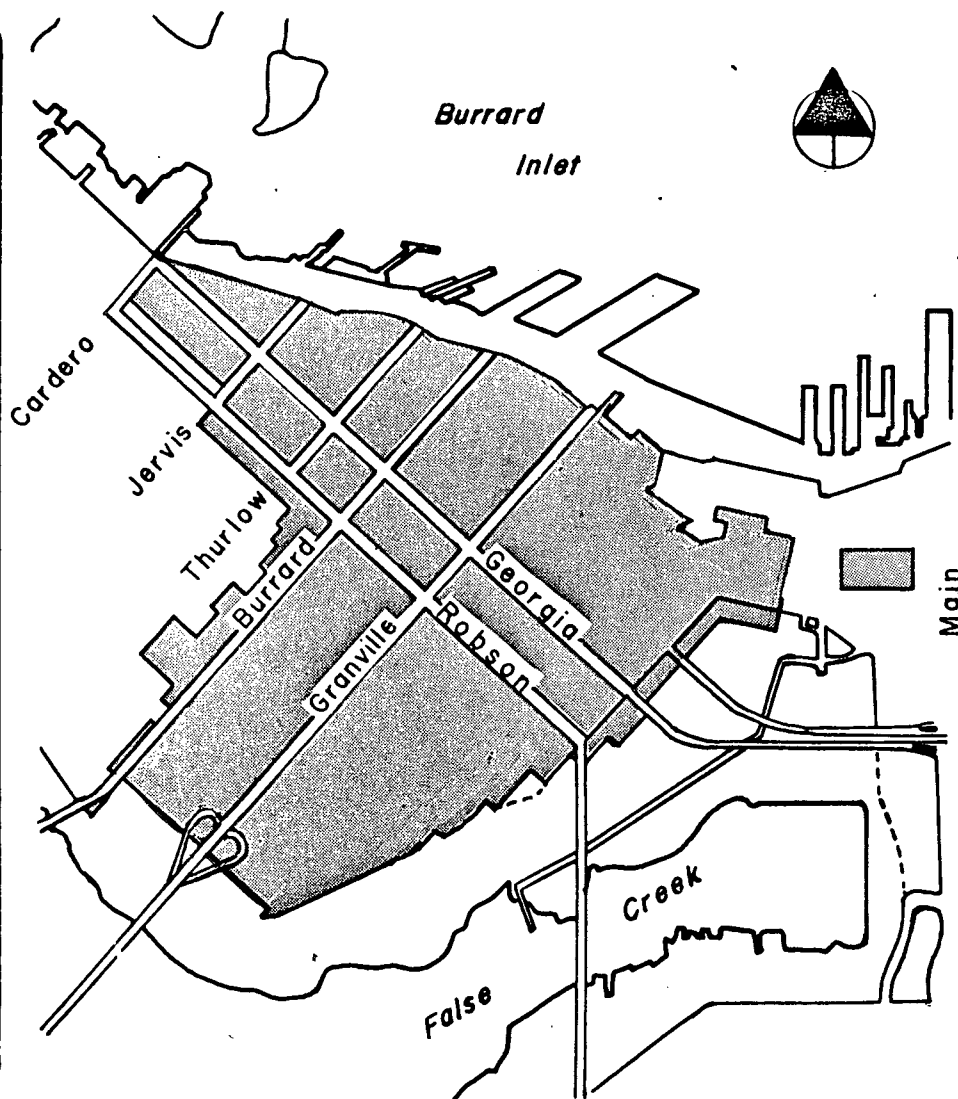


FIGURE 5.3

the re-incorporation of a residential component as a 24 hour activity. Noting the importance and continuing demand for commercial space in the core, policymakers recognized that given the overall objective of limited commercial development, a developer taking on a commercial development in the core would welcome the opportunity to increase the density, and thus the profitability, of that project. Hence, a channel through which policymakers could induce residential development into the core was identified. Density regulations providing bonuses for overall or commercial floor area for the developer who incorporates residential units into a core commercial development have, thus, become an integral part of the revised 1975 by-law.

The development of new residential units in the core is directly linked to the development of commercial space. Much of the development of core housing which has occurred since the 1975 rezoning has, in fact, been included in mixed-use structures or developments. These development trends are closely examined in Part II of this thesis.

Summary and Conclusions

By the late 1960's, issues regarding urban growth and development became the concern of not only Vancouver business groups, but citizen associations as well. Policy guiding the direction, and determining the scale of downtown development was now formulated through a more

participatory form of decisionmaking.

The fundamental difference in downtown policy which emerged from this new form of decisionmaking was the acceptance in principle of a heterogeneous downtown. This was in direct contrast to the guiding principle of a homogeneous commercial core which directed 40 years of CBD growth policy.

In 1975, it was agreed that zoning was to remain as the method for CBD land use regulation. The amended form, however, provides bonuses for mixed-use developments. This policy links together, through positive inducements, the development of two conventionally incompatible uses in the core: commercial and residential. Developers, in theory, viewed this zoning arrangement favourably, given its inducements for development in this costly Downtown District.

There are a number of questions which arise from the above discussion. Firstly, if this residential development is linked to the expansion of the commercial sector, then how valid is this acceptance of the regional decentralization principle? If, on the other hand, this decentralization is actually redirecting a significant portion of commercial floor space to outer centres in the region, then is it taking away with it the potential for residential development in the core? In other words, is this combination of decentralization policy and residential development policy linked to commercial

development, in effect, self-defeating? Though this question remains outside the scope of the present analysis, it must be considered.

Of more immediate concern, however, are questions directed at the practical development response to this compound downtown zoning policy. Given the inextricable link between the development of commercial and residential space, has this inducement policy, in practice, reduced the significance of the 'homogeneous-use district' approach to urban growth and development? One must question the feasibility, from both a marketing and architectural perspective, of the development of unconventional mixed-use structures in the core which include housing.

An exploration into recent development trends in the Downtown District is necessary to provide insight into the above questions. Part II of this thesis examines this development, as well as some of the primary issues raised by the development community itself about the problems and future of housing in the core.

PART II
Contemporary Practice

Introduction

This part of the thesis explores the relationship between land use policy and the development of residences in Vancouver's contemporary Downtown District. The nature and extent of this development is recorded and examined; followed by an assessment of the development community's response to the 1975 downtown rezoning.

In Chapter 6, the nature and extent of the residential development in the Downtown District since the 1975 rezoning is recorded. Developers instrumental in bringing about those land use changes are examined in Chapter 7. Analysis of responses to a mail questionnaire reveals the way urban builders deal with this unconventional type of CBD development. Finally, it is examined if, in fact, this policy has increased the heterogeneity of the district by inducing core housing development.

Chapter 6: The Downtown Residential Sector

This chapter focuses upon the nature and extent of the development of housing in the Downtown District since the 1975 rezoning. In order to comprehend the distinctive arrangements and ways this housing has been incorporated into the core, the explicit regulations which direct development in different sub-areas of the Downtown District are examined.

6.1 Density Sub-districts in the Downtown

Though city council in 1975 abandoned the CBD plan which segregated the district into distinctive commercial zones, they did not ignore the advantages this level of regulation had in monitoring the range of development in particular sub-districts of the zone. Hence, while enabling regulation pertaining to acceptable uses (i.e. office, retail, residential and recreational) are

applicable throughout the district, the arrangements of those uses in relation to one another are regulated at a level specific to identified sub-districts within the zone. Included in the Downtown District Official Development Plan By-law are area-specific regulations pertaining to retail continuity, density, height of buildings and parking and loading. In addition, a distinction is made in the by-law between these regulations, and "interpretative requirements"¹ which permit variations on height limitations and the arrangement of social and recreational amenities and facilities.

The set of sub-regulations which has the greatest relevance to the present study controls the density of mixed-use developments which include housing. More specifically, as illustrated in figure 6.1, the Downtown District is divided into twelve sub-districts where development is regulated by eight different density provisions for non-residential and residential floor space. These sub-districts can be grouped together on the basis of three criteria: 1) areas where the substitution of commercial floor space by residential space is permissible up to three times the size of the lot (FSR 3.00), but where the overall density of a development cannot be increased beyond that set out in the by-law (sub-districts A, B, C); 2) areas where an increase in the overall density of a

¹ City of Vancouver, Zoning and Development By-Law 3575, p.496.

Downtown Vancouver 1975

ZONING AND DEVELOPMENT BY-LAW

Downtown District Density Subdistricts

Source: City of
Vancouver, Zoning and
Development By-law,
1975

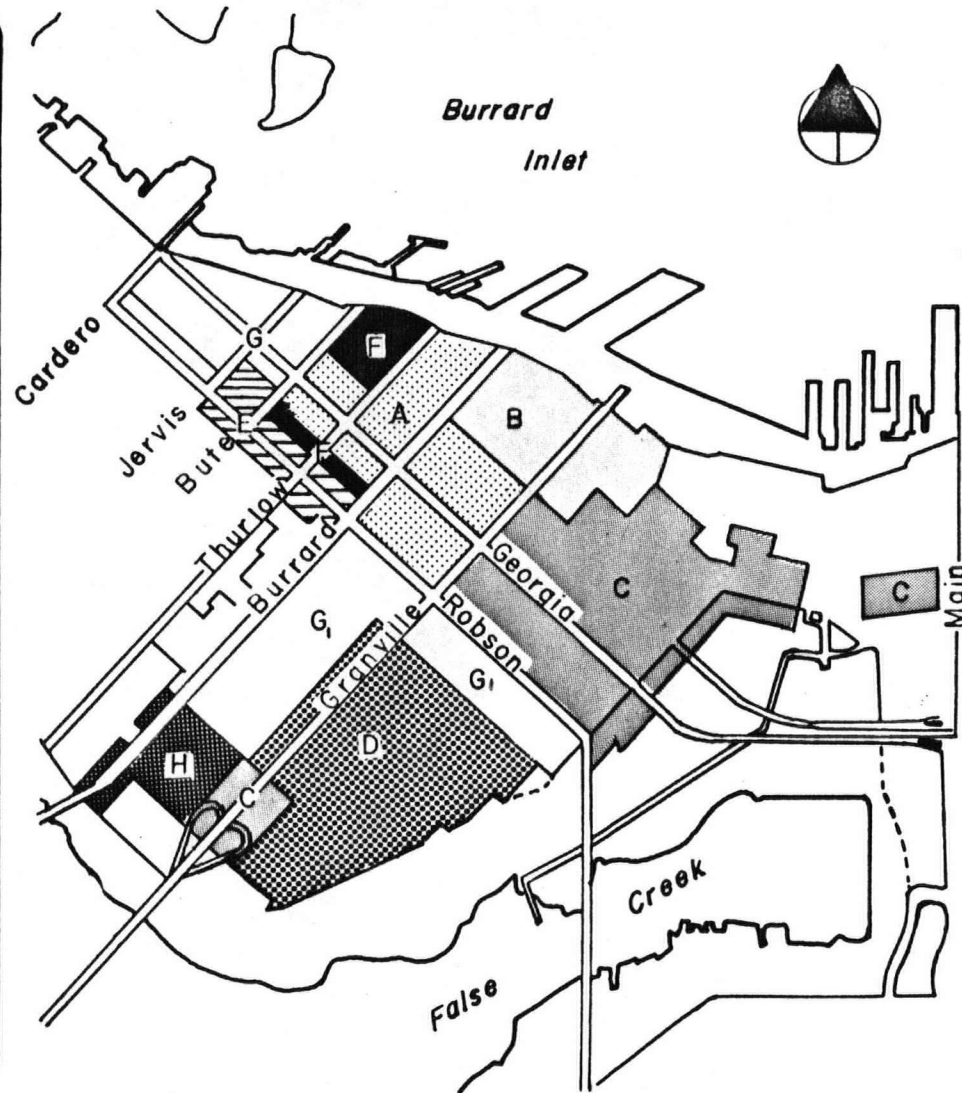


FIGURE 6.1

development is permissible only by the addition of residential space (sub-districts D, E); and 3) areas where an increase in the overall density of a development is permissible by the addition of residential space which through a bonus mechanism permits an increase of equal magnitude of commercial space (sub-districts F, G, H). The following discussion explores the extent and type of residential development which has occurred in each of these sub-districts.






6.2 Post-1975 Core Housing Development

Given that the highest commercial land values in the City are found in sub-districts A, B and C, it is assumed that little, if any, commercial floor space in these areas would be substituted by residential floor space. Conventional inner-city housing has traditionally generated less income for a landowner than commercial space. Hence, the inclusion of residential space in buildings in these areas would constitute the substitution of a more lucrative use by a less lucrative one, rather than an increase in the overall density of the development as a whole.

As expected, there is only one development which includes residential space in this group of sub-district (fig. 6.2). This is an office-residential project converted from industrial and storage use, containing 31 units, or 52,600 square feet of residential space, with 23,900 commercial square feet. The unique nature of the

Downtown Vancouver 1982

Post-1975 Residential
Development
(sq. ft.)

0 - 50,000	
50,001 - 100,000	
100,001 - 200,000	
200,001 - 500,000	
500,001 - 750,000	

Source: City of
Vancouver Development
Permit Applications

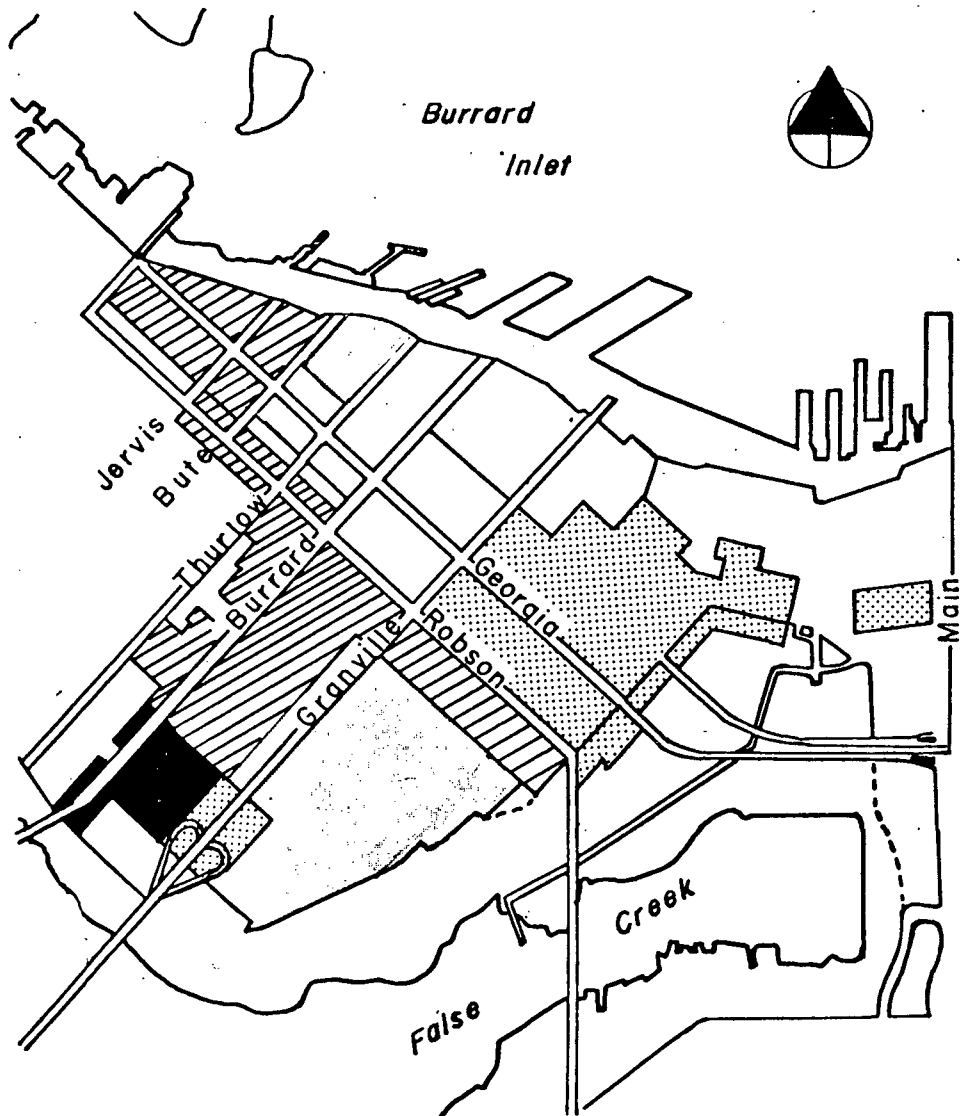


FIGURE 6.2

structure (heavy timber and masonry construction, unstructured space) and the site (one of the oldest settled areas in the city) helps to explain the developers decision to take on a development in this sub-district, rather than in one which provides increased overall densities for the inclusion of residential use. In addition, this development is situated in a peripheral location adjacent to the B.C. Place mixed-use development.

This uniqueness of location and character permits the developer to set higher prices for these units than those typically set for more conventional inner-city housing types. In this particular development selling prices have been advertised between \$184,000.00 and \$490,000.00.² Hence, in a development such as this, which offers a unique and unconventional housing service, the substitution of potential commercial floor space by residential floor space cannot be regarded as a less lucrative arrangement. This housing service has become within itself a high-priced commodity which cannot be readily compared with conventional inner-city housing.

The second group of sub-districts are those where an increase in the overall density of a development is premissable only by the addition of residential floor space. It is expected that housing would be more readily

² Vancouver Calander Magazine (April 1982) p.119; also see Appendix B.

incorporated into a development in these areas. The two sub-districts which make-up this group constitute two distinctively different core environs. Area D, located adjacent to the site of the future large-scale high density mixed-use development B.C. Place, consists of 18.5 city blocks. It contains predominantly turn-of-the-century heavy industrial-storage structures, as well as post-war light manufacturing and wholesale buildings and surface car parks which displaced much of the working class residential community discussed in Chapter 2. Area E borders the West End high density residential zone. Unlike area D, this smaller sub-district, composed of only four city blocks, contains predominantly low density retail establishments straddling both sides of the Robson Street corridor.

As illustrated in figure 6.2, there has been considerable residential development in both of these sub-districts. There are however, differences between the relative extent and type of development found in each. More specifically, while area D is 4.6 times larger than area E, the extent of residential development in this area is significantly less than that in the latter. In addition, the type of housing in area D differs considerably from the more conventional housing in area E. This refers to the nature of the structure, as well as the surrounding environment. These distinctions, it is assumed, are a function of both the dominant character and permissible densities in each area.

Area D has a permissible commercial density of three times the size of the lot (FSR 3.00) and a maximum residential provision of two times the size of the lot (FSR 2.00; or 3.00 if the commercial component is reduced to 2.00; for, the overall density cannot exceed 5.00). The seven mixed-use developments in this sub-district, as illustrated in figure 6.2, include a total of 108 units, comprising 130,136 square feet of residential space, in conjunction with 169,360 square feet of commercial floor space. This residential component constitutes 44% of the total contemporary mixed-use space in this sub-district (fig. 6.3). Hence, not only is this residential space located in a predominantly commercial environment, but it itself is incorporated into seven structures which each have a considerable commercial component as well.

Area E has a permissible commercial density three times less than that in area D, and if a development is located on Robson Street this commercial component must be retail use.³ Though the residential provision is equal to that in area D (FSR 2.00), among developments which comply with the density provisions, the residential component constitutes 81% of the total mixed-use floor space. Hence, the housing in this sub-district, totaling 378 units, or 294,887 square feet associated with 291,072 square feet of commercial space, is incorporated into a predominantly

³ City of Vancouver, Zoning and Development By-Law 3575, pps.497-498.

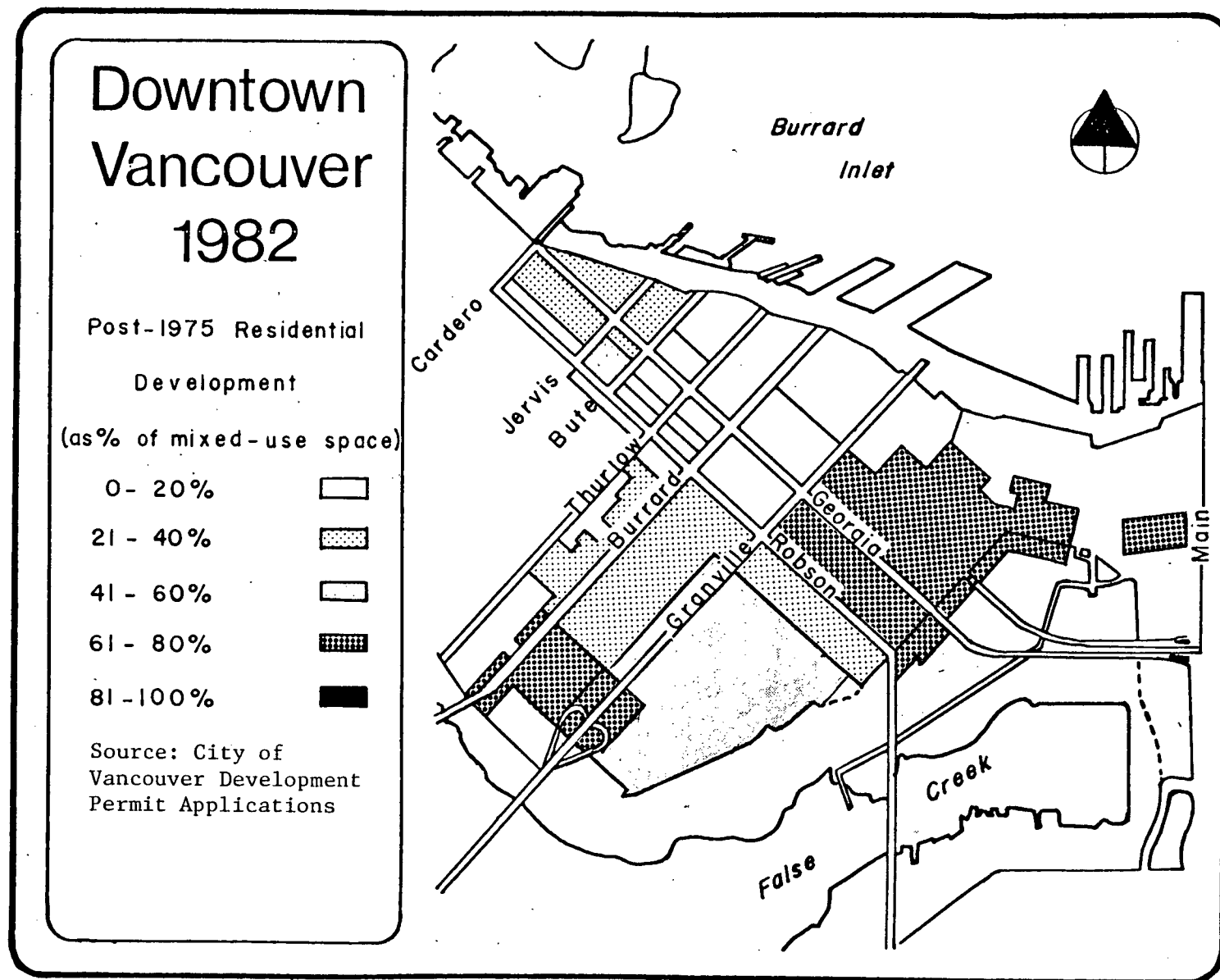


FIGURE 6.3

residential environment.

It can be concluded therefore, that while in both areas the policy which induces residential development through an increase in overall densities has been effective, it has met with more success in area E. This suggests two things. Firstly, developers are more comfortable developing residential space in, or adjacent to, a more traditional residential environment. Secondly, there exists uncertainty in area D with respect to future development given the unknown implications of the adjacent B.C. Place development.

The third group encompasses five sub-districts. Combined, these areas have experienced the greatest housing development activity in the Downtown District. It is within these areas that a development can exceed the stipulated densities for commercial use if a residential component is included. Given the high land and development costs in the Downtown District as a whole, and the relatively low commercial densities set in these particular core areas (F, 5.00; G, 4.00; H, 2.00), it is within these five areas where residential inducements are most important to developers.⁴

⁴ The five areas identified are regulated by three distinct density provisions for areas F, G and H. Since areas F and G are split into two sub-districts each, the set of sub-districts have been relabelled F, F1, G, G1 and H (fig. 6.1).

Considerable residential development has taken place in all of these areas. Area F has 123 units developed or officially approved in four developments, constituting 156,989 square feet of residential space and 761,202 square feet of commercial space. This residential component is 17% of the total developed mixed-use space in this sub-district.

Given the small size of sub-district F1 (one city block), it is not unexpected that it has only one development which includes residential space. Eighteen residential units, constituting 25,700 square feet are included with 149,000 square feet of commercial space. The residential component of the total developed mixed-use space is 15%.

Sub-district G1 contains the greatest number of mixed-use developments in the Downtown District which include housing, though interestingly, not the greatest number of units, nor square footage of residential space. There are 429 residential units included in 10 developments. These units total 447,214 square feet of developed residential space, with 1,334,058 square feet of commercial floor space. The residential component in this sub-district amounts to 25% of the total mixed-use space developed. This proportion is reduced to 20% if two buildings are excluded: one peripheral development, and a mixed-use development which incorporate densities transferred from sites owned outside the sub-district.

Hence, the relative proportions of commercial and residential space in sub-districts F, F1 and G1 are similar. In all cases, the development of a residential component is dominated by the high level commercial environment in which it is situated.

In contrast, sub-districts G and H, located on the periphery of the Downtown District, contain developed or officially approved residential space which constitutes an average of 50% of the total mixed-use floor space in the combined areas. More specifically, sub-district G contains five developments which together have 126 units totalling 280,528 residential square feet (39%) with 449,156 square feet of commercial space. Sub-district H has three developments of this type, with 755 units developed or approved, constituting 560,805 square feet of residential space with 355,056 square feet of commercial floor space. Hence, this residential component constitutes 61% of the total mixed-use space, the highest proportion throughout the Downtown District.

An identifiable spatial pattern of residential development is discerned in the Downtown District. Substantial residential space is least likely to be included in a mixed-use development when the sub-district borders directly upon sub-district A (F, F1 and G1). These areas contain a minimal amount of residential space to increase the density of the more lucrative commercial use. In peripheral sub-districts (G, H) located adjacent to

residential zones, the inclusion of residential floor space is more readily incorporated as a lucrative use itself, constituting 50% or more of six of eight mixed-use developments located there.

6.3 Summary and Conclusions

Two major conclusions are drawn from the above analysis. Firstly, it is suggested that the development of core housing is negatively correlated with the relative location of the highest density sub-district in the Downtown District. Secondly, it is positively correlated with the relative location of the West End residential zone.

It has been observed that the areas which have experienced the least amount of core housing development are those which permit commercial development to the highest densities. In these areas no increase in densities of any kind is permissible, even with the inclusion of residential space. These areas are, for the most part, the most centralized and commercially built-up in the Downtown District.

In contrast, those areas which have experienced the greatest degree of core housing development include two distinct sub-areas in the Downtown District. The area which includes the greatest number of developments that include housing are those which border upon the highest density commercial sub-districts. These areas however,

contain the least proportionate residential component of all the sub-districts. Conversely, the areas which contain the greatest proportionate residential component, though not the greatest number of developments that incorporate a housing component, are those located on the periphery of the Downtown District, adjacent to the high density residential West End zone.

These findings suggest firstly, that prime inner-core land is still most readily perceived and developed as high density commercial space. Any provisions which enable overall density increases will be included not as an end in itself, but as a means to the end of increasing the commercial component. Secondly, that developers are most comfortable developing core housing as an end in itself in areas adjacent to an established and recognizable residential community. These conclusions support the notion that the conventional model of urban growth and development which promotes a homogeneous commercial core is still accepted in downtown development practice. However, in order to grasp a greater understanding of the forces behind the creation of this CBD residential component, questions addressing the developers perceptions of, and experiences with, core housing development need to be explored. This is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Core Housing:

Experiences and Expectations

Analysis of developer's anticipated and actual experiences with core housing development contributes to an understanding of the forces behind the creation of a contemporary CBD residential community. It reveals the degree to which urban builders in principle, as well as in practice, accept the incorporation of residential space into commercial projects. More importantly, however, it explores the degree of support expressed for the increased heterogeneity of this zone which has conventionally been reserved for homogeneous commercial development.

7.1 Vancouver's Urban Builders

A group of 151 metropolitan Vancouver land developers has been identified in the present analysis.¹ This list

has been compiled from telephone listings,² attendance at conferences dealing with downtown development issues,³ discussions with city planners and developers,⁴ and local member listings of the Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada,⁵ Within this population only a small portion are actually working in the Downtown District. Furthermore, within that sub-group itself, only a select number undertake the development of core mixed-use projects which include housing.

The sub-group active in core housing development is estimated at 45 (Table I). This group constitutes 30% of the total identified metropolitan developer population. This has been determined by analysis of the response rate to a mail questionnaire circulated in October 1981 to the 151 developers (Tables I,II), and from data gathered from development permit application records.⁶ Of the 74

¹ This group does not include absentee or foreign developers active in the region, nor Vancouver real estate brokerage firms.

² British Columbia Telephone, Vancouver Telephone Directories

³ "New Life From Old Neighborhoods: The Planning, Design and Re-use of Buildings, Streets and Services at the Urban Core," March 9, 1981, Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia;

"Housing in Mixed-Use Developments," Canadian Housing Design Council, October 1, 1981, Plaza 500 Hotel, Vancouver, B.C.

⁴ Dr. Ann McAfee, housing planner, City of Vancouver; Mr. Eric Crickmore, central area planner, City of Vancouver; Mr. Doug Purdy, social planner, City of Vancouver; Mr. Jon Hall, The Imperial Group; Mr. Michael Geller, Narod Developments, Mr. Greg Nelson, Qualico Developments; and Ms. C. Lesley Williams, Cumberland Realsearch Division.

⁵ Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada, Membership and Service Directory, 1980. New Westminster, British Columbia.

Table I. Active Vancouver Core Housing Developers

	Active	Potential
Responded	16 (53%)	8 (53%)
Did not respond	14 (47%)	7 (47%)
Total	30	15
TOTAL Core Housing Developer Population: 45		

Table II. Questionnaire Response Rate

TOTAL POPULATION	151
Returned	74 (49%)
Unanswered	37 (50%)
Answered	37 (50%)
Core Housing Developers	16
Future Core Housing Developers	8
Non-Core Housing Developers	13

respondents, 37 (50%) answered the questionnaire. The remaining 37 (50%) were either unanswered, or included an explanation that the respondent was either not active in mixed-use development, or in the core area of the city. Of that group of 37 respondents who answered, 16 had developed mixed-use projects which include housing, while eight were formulating plans for this type of development. The remaining 13 had never, nor had any plans, to undertake this type of development.

If there is to be any inference that the respondent's answers express the general attitudes and experiences of their population as a whole, it must be determined if this sample constitutes a significant share of the total population of metropolitan developers. Although only 24 (15.9%) of the total population identified as active or potentially active core housing developers responded to the questionnaire, this group does in fact represent a significant portion of that sub-population of core housing developers as a whole. The approximate size of this group of developers was determined using the format illustrated in Table I. Firstly, the share of residential developers known to be active in the core who responded fully to the questionnaire was identified: 16 of 30 (53%); and the group of potential core housing developers who responded

⁶ Vancouver City Planning Department, Quarterly Review Vol.8, No.5 (October 1981) and Vol.9, No.1 (January 1982); and Development Permit Board meeting minutes.

likewise: eight. Secondly, in order to determine what the share is of developers who have not engaged in this type of development, but have future plans to do so, and did not respond to the questionnaire, it was necessary to assume that core housing developers behave similarly. By doing so, it is presumed that if 53% of active core housing developers responded, than 53% of potential core housing developers did so as well.

Given this sub-population of 45 developers, the sample of 24 respondents constitutes 53% of the total estimated population of core housing developers. Hence, this sample does have credibility; and the attitudes and experiences they reported can be inferred to be those of the group of core housing developers as a whole.

There is, in addition, that group of 13 respondents who cannot be referred to as core developers, nor core housing developers. Given their responses however, they have expressed an interest in the development of residential space in the core. Respondents were not obliged to identify themselves on the questionnaire, and fewer did so in this group than the former. Therefore, it is impossible to determine to what group of non-core housing developers these respondents belong: core commercial developers, suburban housing or commercial developers, etc.

This group of non-core housing developers however, can be more specifically identified. It was determined above

that of the total population of Vancouver metropolitan developers, 45 (30%) can be regarded as active or potentially active core housing developers. Hence, the remainder, 103 (70%), can be regarded as developers who are presently and potentially inactive in core housing development. More specifically, of that group of 103 developers, the 37 who returned the questionnaire unanswered, together with the 53 who did not return the questionnaire at all, are classified as uninterested, as well as inactive, in the development of core housing. Those 13 who did return the questionnaire fully answered, but had never undertaken, nor had any intentions to undertake, the development of core housing, are identified as those developers who are interested, though inactive, in this type of development activity. Despite the fact that this group is only a small minority of the metropolitan developer population, it does constitute a body of developers in the city who have given this type of development conscious consideration, and their responses are therefore meaningful.

Before proceeding with discussion of the questionnaire results, the credibility of the group of respondents must be expressed in terms of the development of this type of housing they have done. The total number of units developed, or officially approved, by this group is 834,⁷

⁷ This does not include one structure with 250 units which was developed not in response to the inducement policy,

constituting a total of 889,034 square feet of core residential floor space. These units represent 41% of the total units built in the core, and the area equals 44% of the residential space developed in this district since 1975.

Since most of the development variables to be discussed address issues dealing with mixed-use structures and developments, it is necessary to report the degree of activity in this type of core housing development which this sample is responsible for. None of the 834 units are independent of a commercial component, with 170 in three single-use structures which are part of a mixed-use development, and 664 included in 17 mixed-use structures. Of these 664 units, 64 are included with office use only; 32 are with office use and another use, either a parking or a recreational facility; 294 are with office and retail use; 24 are included with office, retail and another use; and 250 are with retail use only.

In addition, there are a number of variables in the following discussion which draw attention to the different experiences of developers of units in new structures, and developers of units in converted structures. Of the total 834 units which this sample has developed, 720 are included in 16 new structures, while 114 are conversions in four existing structures.

but as the proto-type for mixed-use development in the core prior to the 1975 rezoning.

There is no comparative analysis in the following discussion based upon the use of the bonus system in the Downtown District.⁸ This is a result of all the respondents employing the bonus provisions available in either all or some of their developments; thus making such an analysis not only unnecessary, but impossible. There is also no spatial analysis included exploring the responses of developers who have developed core housing in different sub-districts within the Downtown District. This is a result of a highly disproportionate representation of developers active in the bonus sub-districts adjacent to the high density inner-core. This should be kept in mind when examining the responses to the questionnaire.

7.2 Questionnaire Results

The first objective of the mail questionnaire (Appendix A) was to identify the population of developers in the Vancouver metropolitan area who develop housing in the Downtown District. The second objective was to identify the degree of ease or difficulty which developers have had, or anticipate, with respect to a wide range of core housing development issues; and in addition, to help

⁸ The reader is urged to make reference to the following study for an explicit analysis of the function and effects of the present bonus system operating in the Downtown District: Robert M. Miller, "Bonusing Downtown Housing: An Evaluation of Goals and Means," Unpublished Master of Arts thesis (Vancouver, British Columbia: School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, September 1982)

explain some of differences in behavior between a number of distinctive sub-groups of developers. The responses to the questionnaire express actual and anticipated experiences not only with an unconventional type of structural development (mixed-use), but also with the development of a land use in the CBD which had been for decades one which policymakers sought to displace. The responses to the questionnaire reveal both the degree of acceptance of this type of structural and use development in the CBD, but provides insight into the way the public sector has managed this development as well.

The analysis of the responses is both descriptive and comparative. Firstly, 13 development variables are described along with the response of the group as a whole, revealing the degree of difficulty reported on a scale of zero to four.⁹ These variables are issues generally considered by a developer when formulating plans for almost any type of urban real estate project.

Livability

Service and amenities

Financing

Availabilty of financing

Cost of financing

⁹ 0: Not applicable
1: No difficulty
2: Some difficulty, easily overcome
3: Some difficulty, overcome with good deal of effort
4: Great difficulty

Construction

- Land assembly
- Public utilities
- Residential security
- Physical separation of uses
- Different construction methods

Institutional

- Building codes
- Civic administration

Marketing

- Tenure determination
- Price determination
- Sub-market identification

This descriptive analysis is followed by a comparative analysis of the responses of seven distinctive sub-groups of respondents (Table III). To gain an understanding of the differences in behavior between specific developers, analysis will concentrate on the first, third and fourth sub-groups. This concentration aids in isolating those factors which play the greatest role in encouraging or discouraging developers from entering into core housing development.

Services and Amenities for a CBD Residential Community: The most important condition for the development of core housing is the belief that a predominantly commercial district does, in fact, contain the necessary services and

Table III. Sub-Groups of Questionnaire Respondents

- 1) Active core housing developers (present and future).
- 2) Presently inactive core housing developers, but potentially active.
- 3) Active in past core housing development, but inactive in present and future.
- 4) Non-core housing developers (past and future).
- 5) Core housing developers of new structures.
- 6) Core housing developers of conversions.
- *7) Core housing developers of particular numbers of units.

*Only for Land Assembly variable.

amenities for a residential community. The traditional view discussed in Chapter 3 stated that the General Business District did not provide the necessary services and amenities for a residential population, and was thus regarded as an unsuitable living environment. In addition, it was agreed that residential space "was not really suitable for inclusion with offices."¹⁰ Large tracts of semi-suburban land were specifically designated for the development of homogeneous residential communities where the necessary services and amenities were to be abundant.

This policy perspective has receded in recent years, testified to by the unprecedented aim to increase the livability of particular districts within the downtown. This policy goal has little chance of being realized, however, if it is not accepted by those who are responsible for its physical manifestation into the built form.

A substantial majority of the group of respondents (32 or 86.5%, Table IVa) agree that this district has no significant deficiency in the necessary services and amenities generally associated with the residential community. This high degree of consensus was unforeseen given the moral nature of the issue.

More interesting is the finding that the respondents who are not active in the development of core housing support more strongly the livability of this area than

¹⁰ Vancouver Technical Planning Board Downtown Vancouver, 1955-1975 (August 1956) p.95

those active in creating the residential community. All those developers who have never undertaken this type of development and have no plans to do so in the future, agree that the provision of the necessary services and amenities poses little or no problem in the development of core housing.

Of the respondents who have developed core housing but have chosen not to do so in the future (Table IVd), 22% express the view that the necessary services and amenities for a residential community do not exist in the core. Though the percentage is small, this may have been one of a combination of factors which encouraged these developers to opt out of this type of development activity.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that core housing developers, as well as those who are interested, though inactive, support the view that this district does contain adequate services and amenities for a residential community. That this view is so widely accepted allows the inference that this issue plays a minor role, if any role at all, in dissuading developers from undertaking their initial core housing development. That it is not as widely accepted by some experienced core housing developers cannot be overlooked.

It cannot be assumed however, that this acceptance can be unconditionally extended to the provision of services and amenities generally associated with the family living environment (i.e. schools, recreation centres, outdoor

play areas, etc.)). The targeted market for this type of inner-city housing is childless households¹¹ which supposedly generate less demand for community services than family households.

There is however, some inner-city residential development which does provide accomodation for family living. A distinction must be made at this point between such large scale inner-city residential developments, such as False Creek South and B.C Place, and the type of scattered, unrelated housing development induced by the present Downtown District policy. Extensive services needed in the former community are usually included in the overall development plan for the project; while those services needed in adult communities, such as the latter, are generally less extensive, and are included on a project-by-project basis exclusive to particular developments.¹² In fact, it is possible for a developer to increase the overall density of a project if a recreational or social amenity component is included in a downtown development.(i.e. tennis court, health club, open courtyard, etc.).¹³ The added concern and absolute

¹¹ This issue will be more closely examined in a later discussion.

¹² Developments such as 550 Beatty Street, which provides a tennis court for its residents on top of the parking garage, and 1285 West Pender Street, which includes a health centre, are examples of this type of exclusive provision of services.

¹³ City of Vancouver, Zoning and Development By-Law 3575, p.505.

construction costs of including these additions to a development to enhance its market value, matched with design guidelines and building codes which may not be readily adaptive to these less common CBD developments, may have been some of the combination of factors which contributed to a number of active core housing developers opting out of core housing development.

In spite of this group who do not accept as readily the livability of the downtown, it cannot be concluded that developers who are not active in core housing development do not undertake this type of development because they believe that this area is unsuitable for residential habitation. On the contrary, it has been discovered that there is strong agreement that the services and amenities needed in a residential community are, in fact, either present in the downtown, or can be easily provided.

There is, in addition, another group of actors in the development process who can reduce the effectiveness of both policy and developer acceptance of a livable downtown. If the financial institutions remain unconvinced of the feasibility of either a downtown residential community, or the type of structure to be developed, civic goals remain frustrated. Discussion of two principal factors from a financing perspective regarding mixed-use or converted structures follows.

The Availability of Financing: More important than the financier's acceptance of the downtown as a suitable living environment is his acceptance of the feasibility of the particular development for which financing is sought. Hence, the nature of the development itself, as well as the status of the firm proposing the development, are primary factors which the availability of financing rest upon.

In a report prepared in 1975 examining the then-proposed downtown rezoning, it was stressed that after meeting with a group of Vancouver developers, architects and lenders, there was skepticism toward any development which "mixed uses in the same structure"¹⁴ because it was believed that this type of development would "result in a second class building, [and] lenders [were] not prepared to commit funds."¹⁵ This factor is currently important in the core given that virtually all the units developed or proposed since the 1975 rezoning are included in a mixed-use structure or development, or even more unconventionally, as conversions of existing non-residential structures.

As illustrated in Table Va, there is an even distribution of responses to the availability of financing variable. Hence, this aggregate analysis lends little to

¹⁴ David Baxter, David Dale-Johnson and Michael Goldberg, Economic Study: Proposed Downtown Zoning Regulation, Prepared for the Vancouver City Planning Commission (March 26, 1975) p.26.

¹⁵ Ibid.

an understanding of the nature of this factor. Viewing the responses of the specific groups of developers, those who have plans to undertake this type of development in the future (Table Vb,c) report that this issue is more difficult to manage than those who have no such plans (Table Vd,e).

The most apparent disparity which can be identified from the responses is that between those whose developments are of new structures, in most cases mixed-use, and those whose developments involve the conversion of existing structures to contemporary residential use. The vast majority of the former (88.6%, Table Vf) report that this issue is of little concern, while a significant share (60%, Table Vg) of the latter agree that it poses complications which are difficult to overcome. This leads to the conclusion that mixed-use development has become more readily accepted by the financial community than anticipated in 1975. The acceptance of conversion developments however, is not as evident. This is not unexpected given the unfamiliarity with recycled structures in a city which, as discussed in Chapter 3, promoted for decades the demolition of buildings in the core based upon simply an age criteria.

The findings related to the costs of financing are discussed below. These findings must be considered in conjunction with the availability variable since to some the availability of financing is contingent upon its costs.

The Cost of Financing: This variable generated the greatest degree of response concentration than any other. A total of 73% of the aggregate group (Table VIa) agree that this factor poses a considerable problem, with 64.9% reporting that it is among the greatest difficulties encountered. Whether the costs of financing core projects of mixed-use differ from those of more conventional single-use developments is unknown. What is known however, is that a systematic relationship exists between this factor and the decision of whether or not to development core housing.

As illustrated in Table VIb,c,d,e, this range of difficulty is maintained at the more specific level in all but one case. The only group which does not find this issue to be as difficult are those developers who have developed core housing, but have no plans to do so in the future (Table VI d). Their answers may differ from currently or potentially active core housing developers because at the time when they financed their developements the costs were perhaps not as high as the current rate.

Hence, a strong negative relationship is inferred between the development of core housing and the cost of financing. That is, as financing cost increase, decisions to develop core housing decrease. As a consequence, it is concluded that this factor plays a major decisive role in the initial decision to develop core housing; though it does not unconditionally explain why developers who have been active core housing developers have decided to opt out

of this type of development. This factor posed considerable difficulty for these developers, but in a relative sense, it was less difficult for them than the other developers identified.

The next group of issues to be discussed deal with more tangible factors related to the physical construction of this type of development. They reveal some important experiences and expectations developers have reported in this context which should not be overlooked.

Land Assembly in the CBD: One of the greatest deterrants to extensive downtown redevelopment is believed to be the lack of large, singly-owned tracts of developable land. As discussed in Chapter 4, the City in the 1960's took on the task of land assembly in an attempt to rectify this problem. As illustrated in Table VIIa, the vast majority of respondents (70.2%) report that this issue is not a major deterrant to downtown core housing development. However, between the group of developers who have developed core housing and plan to do so in the future (Table VIIb), and those who have developed core housing but do not have plans to do so the future (Table VIId), there is a disparity, with 19% fewer in the latter group agreeing that this factor is easily managed. What is beginning to emerge is a picture of the combination of factors which dissuaded active core housing developers from continuing this

activity in the future.

Additional findings which contribute to the conclusion that developers on the whole do not find this factor to pose significant difficulty, are specific to the size and type of development itself. Given the findings illustrated in Tables VII f, g, h, i, j it cannot be concluded that a negative relationship exists between the size of a core housing development and the difficulties encountered in the land assembly process. Of the five categories of developers classified on the basis of the number of units developed, three report that this factor poses little difficulty.¹⁶ Interestingly, some developers who have developed the smallest and largest number of units report as well that land assembly is a problem which can be overcome.

The other finding related to the physical nature of the development itself is illustrated in Tables VII k and m. It is surprising that while a strong majority of conversion developers agree that this is either no factor at all, or poses no difficulty (80.0%), 20.0% report that some difficulty is encountered. This is unexpected given that if one is converting a structure which already exists, the task of land assembly is overtaken. What this finding

¹⁶ Given that few developers have developed more than one, and in some cases two, developments which include core housing units, it is safe to reject the notion that classification based upon the total number of units developed indicates little with respect to the number of units per development.

suggests is that some conversions include the development of additions to, or in conjunction with, the existing structure. The provision of a parking or recreational facility, as discussed in an earlier section, may explain this unexpected finding.

Provision of Public Utilities: Given that the downtown area is the most built-up and contains amongst the oldest and most worn plumbing, drainage, sewage and electrical utilities in the city, the provision of new services in current developments could pose some difficulty in the development process. The co-ordination of new with existing utilities, though a factor in almost all developments, may pose an additional problem when the development includes a residential component in an area which has served the less demanding utility needs of a commercial district.

The aggregate developer response to this issue indicates that this matter is not one of considerable concern in Vancouver's core, with the vast majority (70.3%, Table VIIIa) either not concerning themselves with it at all, or finding no difficulty in providing the necessary utilities. This is perhaps particularly the case in Vancouver's downtown core, as well as other progressive centres where there has been an active pace of development over the last decade. Developers in cities with more depressed centres may find this to be a significant problem

for both commercial and residential redevelopment.

As illustrated in Tables VIIIf,c,d,e the aggregate response that this issue is quite manageable is maintained by the specific sub-groups of developers. More interesting are the findings illustrated in Tables VIIIf and g, which reveal that developers of new structures have greater difficulty than conversion developers in providing the necessary public utilities. This disparity is unexpected given that the converted structures contain old utilities and hook-ups, and were, for the most part, formally in non-residential use. Though minor disparities do exist, it can be concluded that this factor in the development of core housing does not play a decisive role in the direction of a developer's development decision.

Residential Security: Related to suitability of the core as a living environment, and the physical construction factors of residential units in this district, is the provision of security for these units, especially when included as a component of a mixed-use development. The inability to monitor the heavy concentration of unacquainted individuals in the CBD, unlike the informal community-watch systems sometimes found in neighborhoods where residents are familiar with those who both live and work in the area, might pose security problems for the protection of residential units located in predominantly commercial districts.¹⁷

The findings illustrated in Table IXa however, reveal that this factor is of little concern to Vancouver developers. It should be noted however, that while the group as a whole reject any significant difficulty, 45.9% did report that some difficulty does in fact exist, though it is easily overcome. This general breakdown exists as well for the specific sub-groups of developers.

Given that this difficulty is one which is easily overcome, it is assumed to be an architectural problem (i.e. secure entrances, lobbies and stairwells, and the physical separation of uses within one structure), rather than an institutional problem (i.e. police security). It is questionable whether the problems of core residential security which might necessitate institutional rectification are the responsibility of the developer. Those factors which can be dealt with by the developer are those which involve the physical security of the building, rather than the security of the area in which the building is located.

In conclusion, the difficulties encountered and anticipated providing security for residences in the core are insignificant. Hence, this variable plays a minor

¹⁷ It has been cited that "combing commercial and residential activities in the same neighborhood may breed criminal activity [whereby] criminals [are] more prone to victimize residents of neighborhoods if they were drawn to business establishments in those areas." ("Study Sees More Crime in Mixed Neighborhoods," The New York Times (July 11, 1982) p.15.

role, if any role at all, in the decision to undertake or avoid housing development in Vancouver's Downtown District. This factor however, may pose greater difficulty in a city with a declining core.

Physical Separation of Uses and Differing Construction Methods : An issue which generated considerable discussion at a conference held in the City on housing in mixed use developments¹⁸ was the physical separation of the residential and the commercial components in a mixed-use development. This issue is linked firstly to the need for residential security; and secondly, to the different construction methods employed for these two uses. The co-ordination of residential cement or flat slab construction with conventional commercial steel frame construction is a potential architectural problem in the construction of housing in a mixed-use development. So, while the physical separation of uses in a mixed-use development which includes housing is necessary for security and marketing purposes, it too is compulsory from an architectural perspective if conventional construction methods are employed.

Addressing first the issue of separating uses, the aggregate responses do not reveal a significant level of difficulty (Table Xa). The specific sub-groups however,

¹⁸ "Housing in Mixed-Use Developments," op. cit.

reveal unexpected findings. The developers who report greater difficulty are those who have been active, but have no plans to remain so in the future (Table Xd), and their opposites, developers who have not been active, but have plans to be so in the future (Table Xc). The other developers (Table Xb and c) report few actual or anticipated difficulties related to this architectural factor.

This variable is more readily understood in conjunction with the responses to the construction methods variable addressed. As illustrated in Tables XIa-g, the responses to this issue are almost identical to those given for the separation of uses. Hence, the less costly construction method employed in residential development has been, and is anticipated to be, successfully co-ordinated in mixed-use structures with the more costly steel frame method employed for commercial use. This co-ordination, however, has, and is anticipated to pose, for a small number of developers, considerable difficulty which is not easily overcome. Nonetheless, while it was put forth in 1975 that this factor may create considerable development problems for mixed-use structures which include housing, it is not revealed that it plays a major role in the decision of whether or not to include residential space in a mixed-use project.

Related to these architectural concerns are two

institutional issues which play an important role in the development of any structure. These institutional issues play a more important role in the development of unconventional mixed-use structures which include housing.

Institutional Issues: Though building codes and design guidelines are regulations which the developer of any development must comply with, these constraints can be more acute for developments which include more than one distinct use, especially residential. The co-ordination of more extensive residential building, fire and urban living design regulations with those required for commercial structures can generate considerable difficulty. In addition, the anxiety felt toward civic administrators charged with the responsibility of enforcing these regulations can pose significant development problems.

Given that some of the difficulties encountered with one of these variable can be transferred to the other, they cannot be discussed independently. For instance, if a developer is having difficulty complying with national building, fire and health codes, and thus cannot obtain a required permit, the anxiety felt toward the regulation itself can be transferred to the civic official responsible for its enforcement. The reverse could also be the case if a troublesome public servant creates extraneous problems for a developer who is not able to comply with a particular "interpretation requirements".

Viewing Table XIIa, it is apparent that 64.8% of the group as a whole agree that compliance with building codes is easily overcome. This proportion however, does not remain constant among the specific groups of developers. The most apparent disparity exists between those who have future plans to develop core housing and those who do not (Table XIIb,c and d,e) regardless of the nature their past experience. It can be concluded therefore, that compliance with building codes and design guidelines plays a significant role in the decision to formulate future plans to develop core housing. In addition, developers who are potentially active in this type of development (Table XIIc) do not find there to be problems as significant as reported by other developers. This suggests that perhaps codes are in the process of being amended, becoming easier to comply with.

This variable plays an important role in attempting to determine why some developers do not enter into this type of development at all, and why other developers become inactive after involvement. A disparity exists between active core housing developers who have plans to remain active in the future, and the developers identified above, with fewer active developers encountering difficulty. Hence, it can be concluded that this factor plays an important role in, firstly, determining which developers develop core housing, and secondly, which developers decide to continue this development of core housing, and which

choose to abandon it.

An additional disparity exist between developers of new structures (Table XIIIf), and those who undertake the conversion of existing structures (Table XIIIg). A larger porportion of conversion developers (40%) claim that considerable difficulties are encountered with this variable. This disparity is expected given the difficulties inherent in converting older commercial structures to residential use.

Compliance with building codes cannot be considered without discussion of actual and anticipated experience with the civic officials. The responses to this issue are even more severe than those for codes and regulations. The majority of developers as a whole (59.5%, Table XIIIa) report that compatibility with the civic administration poses considerable difficulty. As suggested earlier, it is difficult to determine whether or not this difficulty is a function of the officials themselves, or the regulations they are responsible for enforcing. There does exists however, a greater proportion who believe this poses great difficulty than those responding to building codes and regulations.

Among the group of developers who have developed core housing there is a significant disparity between those who have chosen to remain active (Table XIIIb) and those who have not (Table XIIId), with the latter reporting greater

difficulty. Even more decisive is the response from those who are currently and potentially inactive in core housing development. The proportion of developers in each sub-group who report that this issue poses great difficulty proceeds as follows: 28.6% for currently and potentially active; 50% for currently inactive, but potentially active; 66.7% for currently active, but potentially inactive; and 77% for currently and potentially inactive core housing developers. The consecutive order of these responses reveals that there exists a systematic relationship between this variable and the decision both to take on an initial core housing development, and to continue to be active in development.

A disparity exists between those who develop new structures (Table XIIIf) and those who are active in conversions (Table XIIIg). The converters claim to have less difficulty with civic officials than developers of new structures. This is interesting given that in the case of compliance with codes and regulations the findings are opposite. This suggests that those active in conversion developments have been successful in separating their experiences with the codes from their experiences with the civic officials responsible for their enforcement. This is not unexpected since it is readily accepted that these conversion structures are in need of upgrading to current standards.

It is now necessary to turn to analysis of the factors involved in the marketing of these units. There are three factors which require consideration in this context: tenure determination, price determination and identification of a feasible submarket for the consumption of these units.

Tenure Determination: Whether a development is located in the core or not, there are a number of tenure factors which the developer of housing in a mixed-use structure must consider. The most important consideration is whether or not the developer is interested in a long- or short-term investment. If it is the former, management of rental accommodations is considered; if it is the latter, the developer is inclined to sell the units.

Given the instability of the present economy, there is little motivation for a developer to tie up capital in a long-term investment. Escalating inflation and shifting interest rates prompt one to seek a return on an investment before it becomes subject to diminishing market influences. This is one factor which discourages investment into the development of rental units.

Another concern is the control of rents and tax shelters by the provincial and federal governments. In the report prepared in 1975 it was stressed that while measures to control the rent levels in the province are only applicable five years after construction, and on units which rent at low to moderate levels,

...uncertainty with respect to current landlord-tenant legislation (rent legislation) and possible future legislation was argued to be a major impediment to the construction of any form of residential rental accomodation.¹⁹

Though these controls are now being abandoned, that uncertainty is assumed to persist today given recent actions taken toward nationwide tax shelter programmes. These public policy concerns, in addition to direct economic factors, enter into consideration of tenure type, and dessuade developers from taking on long-range rental development.

The alternate mode of tenure employed is condominium or stata-title ownership. The sale of units generates a quicker return on investment than management of rental accomodations. It, in addition, avoids the uncertainty of possible future legislation which might hinder the rate of return on a long-term investment. This does not preclude conversion from condominium to rental by the buyer after the sale. This however, has no effect on the developer's rate of return since he has already received payment for the unit.

There is, nonetheless, a problem when this type of tenure is applied to a mixed-use structure or development. Again as discussed in the 1975 report, it was believed that the co-ordination of non-residential and residential strata lots would generate a great deal

¹⁹ Baxter, Dale-Johnson and Goldberg (1975) op. cit., p25.

of legal inconvenience and debate.²⁰ In addition, the "co-existence of two strata corporations in the same building under an umbrella corporation"²¹ was interpreted to be outside the the enabling jurisdiction of the Strata-Titles Act. Thus, these problems would reduce the amount of flexibility a developer might have in facilitating "the ongoing operation of a mixed-use strata plan."²² Hence, when the practicality of mixed-use developments was explored prior to the 1975 rezoning, neither rental nor strata-titled units were seen to provide the necessary certainty, free from economic and institutional constraints, to make the inclusion of housing feasible.

The marked degree of consensus among almost all the developers reveals that there is little difficulty encountered or anticipated with this factor. This suggests that tenure determination does not pose difficulties as complex as assumed in the 1975 study. Of the group as a whole, 83.8%(Table XIVa) agree that this issue is either not applicable, generates no difficulty at all, or poses problems which are easily overcome. The large group of those who report that this issue is not applicable (35.1%) suggests that there exists for these developers little choice of tenure type, opting almost

²⁰ Ibid., p.15.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

intuitively for, in most cases, strata-title.

In a comparative context, almost no disparity exists between the sub-groups of developers. If a factor is sought to explain why some developers are active, and others inactive, in the development of core housing, there is no indication that this factor plays a role in that distinction. In fact, those who have not developed core housing and have no future plans to do so reveal the greatest degree of consensus (92.3%, Table XIVE) that this issue poses problems which are easily overcome.

Price Range: The marketability of all real estate development is contingent upon a feasible economic rent or sale price. Given the high construction costs and escalated land values in the Downtown District, it is expected that those costs are passed on to the renter or purchaser of a commercial or housing unit. Price determination problems can be considerable for core housing given that residential space, with its lower densities, generates considerably less profit for a landowner than commercial uses. This factor, as discussed in earlier chapters, played a decisive role in changing the form of the past CBD land use structure.

A developer must then set the price for core housing units at a level which is comparable with commercial rates. This price, however, must not only be feasible from a profit perspective, but from a marketing

perspective as well. Making such units marketable to as many consumers as possible is a task expected to pose considerable difficulty when the price set must be set automatically higher than elsewhere in the city.

The findings illustrated in Table XV, reveal some inconsistent trends. The developers as a whole (Table XVa) refute the expected difficulties with 81% agreeing that if any difficulty exists, it is easily overcome. This task however, is even more difficult than perceived by inactive core developers. There is overwhelming agreement among inexperienced core housing developers (100%, Table XVe) that any difficulties which might emerge when determining a feasible price range can be easily overcome. In contrast, there is less agreement among experienced core housing developers that there are problems stemming from this factor which are manageable.

A disparity exists between the developers of new structures and the developers of converted structures, with 28.9% of the latter reporting greater difficulty. This can perhaps be attributed to the lengthy conversion period and higher cost sometimes accrued when converting an existing structure from one use to another. It was, in fact, estimated by a conversion developer in the City that the costs of development had "increased 40% as a result of meeting the Building Code."²³ In addition, given the

²³ Bruno Freschi, Human Settlement Issues, New Life From Old Neighborhoods: The Planning, Design and Re-use of

unique and unconventional nature of the housing services which these units provide, the prices set for their rent or sale can be exceedingly high.

Identification of Submarket: Included in the marketing process is the identification of a submarket of consumers for the consumption of core housing units. Related to the suitability of the core as a living environment, it is expressed by policymakers and developers alike that this housing is not geared toward the family oriented market. This exclusion, however does not readily determine the household type likely to opt for this living environment. There is a wide range of household types outside the realm of family oriented households which too are not expected to opt for the urban lifestyle provided by these units. Whether it is a matter of preference however, has little significance when, for the most part, it is the cost of this housing which excludes not only some who have no preference for it, but some who do as well.

Comments in the returned questionnaires included such assertions as "there are no resident buyers" for such housing, and that "there is no strong perceived market, except for 'executive suites.'" As explained by a Vancouver architect in a recent newspaper interview, such

Buildings, Streets and Services at the Urban Core, Occasional Papers, No.18, (Vancouver, British Columbia: The Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia, 1981

apartments are "intended to be quite luxurious units for high-class executives;"²⁴ with a lawyer and active core housing developer adding that "the kind of tenants we have are companies and executives...It won't be attracting the typical residential market."²⁵

As illustrated in Table XVIa, the developer community as a whole is much less in agreement over the difficulties encountered with this task than more tangible issues, such as architectural or institutional problems, though the majority (63.8%) refute any severe difficulty. The most important disparity revealed indicates that a greater share of formerly active but potentially inactive core housing developers (Table XVIId) experienced greater difficulty with this issue than any other group. Important as well, is the finding that a significant majority of developers who are currently and potentially uninvolved in core housing development anticipate that this issue poses minor problems which are easily managed (76.9%, Table XVIe).

Two conclusions can be formulated from these findings. Firstly, the ability to identify a submarket of housing consumers to make the development of core housing a profitable endeavor plays a role in a developers decision to continue or abandon core housing development.

²⁴ Kristin Jackson, "A new face on downtown Vancouver," The Province , The Magazine (August 2, 1981) p.2.

²⁵ Ibid.

Secondly, this factor has little significance in the initial decision to be or not to be active in core housing development.

Summary and Conclusions

There are a number of conclusions which can be drawn about actual and anticipated difficulties in the development of core housing. The first set of conclusions are drawn from the aggregate response to the variables discussed. The second set addresses the factors which explain differences in the behaviour between the specific developer groups identified.

Financing is the most significant factor in mixed-use development. Although the availability of financing is a problem, it is not as severe as the cost factor. Those factors stemming from interaction with the public sector at the municipal level are amongst the most troublesome encountered. This has great consequence, for it suggests that while city policymakers are attempting to induce the development of core housing, the actual development process has been, and perhaps more importantly, is anticipated to be complicated and prolonged by those who draft and enforce the codes and guidelines. The least troublesome deals with the identification of a demand submarket for core housing. Though it was assumed in 1975 that the architectural factors would pose considerable

difficulties, the findings suggest that if such problems arise, they are easily managed.

Conclusions drawn from the analysis of specific developers address those factors which explain the behavioural differences between active, and inactive core housing developers. They also explain behavioral differences between currently and formally active core housing developers. The factors instrumental in firstly, the decision to take on, or avoid, an initial core housing development; and secondly, the decision to continue, or opt out of, this type of development after an initial development has been undertaken are focused upon .

Behavioral differences between active core housing developers and those not involved in this tyoe of development include only institutional constraints. Both groups report, for the most part, similar actual and anticipated difficulty with the other variables addressed. In fact, the provision of services and amenities, the availability of financing, and determination of a feasible price range are three factors for which the anticipated difficulty is not as severe as the experienced difficulty.

Compliance with building codes and compatability with civic administration are the factors for which a strong disparity exists between these developers. In both cases, the anticipated difficulty is more severe than the experienced difficulty. Given this discordance, it is

concluded that institutional constraints play an important role in the decision of whether to take on, or avoid, an initial core housing development.

The factors explaining why some core housing developers continue this type of development, and others abandon it, are more inclusive. Only the factors addressing the physical nature of the structure, and tenure and price determination exhibit any concordance. Of those for which a discrepancy exists, two factors reveal less difficulty and four factors reveal greater difficulty for the former developers. The two factors which are not as difficult for the latter group to manage are, surprisingly, financing concerns. Hence, it cannot be concluded that these are causal factors which play a roll in distinguishing between those who continue, and those who abandon core housing development.

The variables which pose greater difficulty for developers who have abandoned this type of development include the services and amenities necessary for a core residential community, building codes, land assembly, submarket identification and compatibility with the civic administration. For the first factor there is only a minor disparity of 7.5% and, in a relative sense, is not as significant a difference as that for the remaining factors. Both the building codes and land assembly factors generated comparable disparities of 17.9% and 19% respectively, and is concluded to play a role in the

distinction between the two groups. More important however, are the disparities of 27% and 37.9% which exist for the submarket and civic administration factors. Hence, it can be concluded that these two latter factors play the most decisive role in determining which developers choose to continue core housing development, and those who do not. The implications of these findings as well, are explored in the following section.

Table IV.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 IV SERVICES AND AMENITIES BY GROUP
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT		GROUP													
	COL	PCT	I	TOTAL	I	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	I	CON-	
			I		I	I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	NOT	FUT	NOT	FUT	I	VERSION
			I	a	I	I	b	I	c	I	d	I	e	I	f	g
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I		
NOT APPLICABLE	0		I	6	I	I	1	I	1	I	1	I	3	I	I	1
			I	16.2	I	I	14.3	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	23.1	I	I	20.0
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I	
NO DIFFICULTY	1		I	19	I	I	3	I	3	I	5	I	8	I	I	3
			I	51.4	I	I	42.9	I	37.5	I	55.6	I	61.5	I	I	60.0
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I	
SOME DIFF,EASY	2		I	7	I	I	2	I	2	I	1	I	2	I	I	1
			I	18.9	I	I	28.6	I	25.0	I	11.1	I	15.4	I	I	20.0
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I	
SOME DIFF,HARD	3		I	2	I	I	0	I	1	I	1	I	0	I	I	0
			I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	0.0	I	I	0.0
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I	
GREAT DIFF	4		I	3	I	I	1	I	1	I	1	I	0	I	I	0
			I	8.1	I	I	14.3	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	0.0	I	I	0.0
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I	
COLUMN TOTAL				37			7		8		9		13		9	5
				100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1		64.3	35.7

Table V.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 V A V A I L A B I L I T Y O F F I N A N C E B Y G R O U P

 PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT COL PCT	GROUP																
		I	I	I				I				I						
		TOTAL	TOTAL	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	INEW	CON-					
		I	I	I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	NOT	FUT	NOT	FUT	I	STRUCT	VERSION			
		I	a	I	I	b	I	c	I	d	I	e	I	I	f	I	g	I
	0	I	5	I	I	1	I	1	I	2	I	1	I	I	2	I	1	I
NOT APPLICABLE		I	13.5	I	I	14.3	I	12.5	I	22.2	I	7.7	I	I	22.2	I	20.0	I
		-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I
	1	I	8	I	I	1	I	2	I	2	I	3	I	I	2	I	1	I
NO DIFFICULTY		I	21.6	I	I	14.3	I	25.0	I	22.2	I	23.1	I	I	22.2	I	20.0	I
		-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I
	2	I	8	I	I	1	I	1	I	3	I	3	I	I	4	I	0	I
SOME DIFF,EASY		I	21.6	I	I	14.3	I	12.5	I	33.3	I	23.1	I	I	44.4	I	0.0	I
		-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I
	3	I	9	I	I	1	I	3	I	1	I	4	I	I	0	I	1	I
SOME DIFF,HARD		I	24.3	I	I	14.3	I	37.5	I	11.1	I	30.8	I	I	0.0	I	20.0	I
		-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I
	4	I	7	I	I	3	I	1	I	1	I	2	I	I	1	I	2	I
GREAT DIFF		I	18.9	I	I	42.9	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	15.4	I	I	11.1	I	40.0	I
		-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I	-I
COLUMN			37			7		8		9		13			9		5	
TOTAL *			100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1			64.3		35.7	

Table VI.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 VI C O S T O F F I N A N C E B Y G R O U P
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT		GROUP										I			
	COL	PCT	I	TOTAL	I	I	DEV	FUT	I	NOT	FUT	I	I	NEW	I	CON-
				a			b			c		d		e	f	g
NOT APPLICABLE	0		I	6	I	I	2	I	0	I	3	I	1	I	4	1
			I	16.2	I	I	28.6	I	0.0	I	33.3	I	7.7	I	44.4	20.0
NO DIFFICULTY	1		I	2	I	I	0	I	1	I	0	I	1	I		
			I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	12.5	I	0.0	I	7.7	I		
SOME DIFF,EASY	2		I	2	I	I	0	I	1	I	1	I	0	I	0	1
			I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	0.0	I	0.0	20.0
SOME DIFF,HARD	3		I	3	I	I	1	I	0	I	2	I	0	I	2	0
			I	8.1	I	I	14.3	I	0.0	I	22.2	I	0.0	I	22.2	0.0
GREAT DIFF	4		I	24	I	I	4	I	6	I	3	I	11	I	3	3
			I	64.9	I	I	57.1	I	75.0	I	33.3	I	84.6	I	33.3	60.0
COLUMN TOTAL				37			7		8		9		13		9	5
				100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1		64.3	35.7

Table VII.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** CROSSTABULATION OF *****
 VII LAND ASSEMBLY BY GROUP
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT COL	PCT	GROUP										I NEW STRUCT	CON- VERSION
			I TOTAL	I DEV	I PAST	I NOT	I PAST	I DEV	I PAST	I NOT	I PAST	I IO-6		
			a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
NOT APPLICABLE	0		9	5	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	4	3
			24.3	71.4	12.5	22.2	7.7	66.7	33.3	50.0	100.0	40.0	44.4	60.0
NO DIFFICULTY	1		9	1	4	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
			24.3	14.3	50.0	11.1	23.1	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	20.0	11.1	20.0
SOME DIFF,EASY	2		8	0	0	3	5	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
			21.6	0.0	0.0	33.3	38.5	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.2	0.0
SOME DIFF,HARD	3		10	1	2	3	4	1	0	0	0	2	2	1
			27.0	14.3	25.0	33.3	30.8	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	22.2	20.0
GREAT DIFF	4		1	0	1	0	0	0						
			2.7	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0							
COLUMN TOTAL			37	7	8	9	13	3	3	2	1	5	9	5
			100.0	18.9	21.6	24.3	35.1	21.4	21.4	14.3	7.1	35.7	64.3	35.7

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** CROSSTABULATION OF *****
 VIII PUBLIC UTILITIES BY GROUP
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

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Table IX.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 * IX R E S I D E N T I A L S E C U R I T Y I N C O R E B Y G R O U P *
 * ***** PAGE 1 OF 1 *****

	GROUP													
	COUNT	I		I	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	I	
	COL	PCT	ITOTAL	I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	INEW	CON-
				I	b	I	c	I	d	I	e	I	f	g
			a	I										
NOT APPLICABLE	0	I	4	I	I	0	I	2	I	0	I	2	I	
		I	10.8	I	I	0.0	I	25.0	I	0.0	I	15.4	I	
				I										
NO DIFFICULTY	1	I	11	I	I	3	I	1	I	3	I	4	I	3
		I	29.7	I	I	42.9	I	12.5	I	33.3	I	30.8	I	33.3
				I										
SOME DIFF,EASY	2	I	17	I	I	4	I	3	I	4	I	6	I	6
		I	45.9	I	I	57.1	I	37.5	I	44.4	I	46.2	I	66.7
				I										
SOME DIFF,HARD	3	I	3	I	I	0	I	2	I	0	I	1	I	
		I	8.1	I	I	0.0	I	25.0	I	0.0	I	7.7	I	
				I										
GREAT DIFF	4	I	2	I	I	0	I	0	I	2	I	0	I	0
		I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	0.0	I	22.2	I	0.0	I	0.0
				I										
COLUMN			37			7		8		9		13		9
TOTAL			100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1		64.3
														35.7

Table X.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 X P H Y S I C A L S E P A R A T I O N O F U S E S B Y G R O U P
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT		GROUP										I						
	COL	PCT	I	TOTAL	I	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	I	NEW	CON-			
			I		I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	NOT	FUT	NOT	FUT	I	STRUCT	VERSION			
			I	a	I	I	b	I	c	I	d	I	e	I	I	f	I	g	I
NOT APPLICABLE	0		I	3	I	I	0	I	0	I	0	I	3	I					
			I	8.1	I	I	0.0	I	0.0	I	0.0	I	23.1	I					
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I					
NO DIFFICULTY	1		I	13	I	I	2	I	3	I	2	I	6	I	I	2	I	2	I
			I	35.1	I	I	28.6	I	37.5	I	22.2	I	46.2	I	I	22.2	I	40.0	I
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I				
SOME DIFF,EASY	2		I	14	I	I	5	I	1	I	4	I	4	I	I	6	I	3	I
			I	37.8	I	I	71.4	I	12.5	I	44.4	I	30.8	I	I	66.7	I	60.0	I
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I				
SOME DIFF,HARD	3		I	5	I	I	0	I	3	I	2	I	0	I	I	1	I	0	I
			I	13.5	I	I	0.0	I	37.5	I	22.2	I	0.0	I	I	11.1	I	0.0	I
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I				
GREAT DIFF	4		I	2	I	I	0	I	1	I	1	I	0	I					
			I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	12.5	I	11.1	I	0.0	I					
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I					
COLUMN				37			7		8		9		13		9	5			
TOTAL				100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1		64.3	35.7			

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09/02/82

PAGE 1 OF 1

* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * *
 XI DIFFERENT CONSTRUCTION METHODS BY GROUP
 * * * * * PAGE 1 OF

[illegible]

Table XII.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
 XII COMPLIANCE WITH BUILDING CODES BY GROUP
 ***** PAGE 1 OF 1

	COUNT		GROUP		I		I		I		I		I		I		I	
	COL	PCT	I	TOTAL	I	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	I	NEW	CON-	VERSION	
			I		I	I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	NOT	FUT	NOT	FUT	I	STRUCT	I	
			I	a	I	I	b	I	c	I	d	I	e	I	I	f	I	
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I		I	
NOT APPLICABLE	0		I	2	I	I	0	I	1	I	0	I	1	I				
			I	5.4	I	I	0.0	I	12.5	I	0.0	I	7.7	I				
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I			I	
NO DIFFICULTY	1		I	8	I	I	1	I	2	I	2	I	3	I	I	2	I	
			I	21.6	I	I	14.3	I	25.0	I	22.2	I	23.1	I	I	22.2	I	
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I		I	
SOME DIFF,EASY	2		I	14	I	I	4	I	4	I	3	I	3	I	I	5	I	
			I	37.8	I	I	57.1	I	50.0	I	33.3	I	23.1	I	I	55.6	I	
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I		I	
SOME DIFF,HARD	3		I	7	I	I	1	I	0	I	1	I	5	I	I	1	I	
			I	18.9	I	I	14.3	I	0.0	I	11.1	I	38.5	I	I	11.1	I	
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I		I	
GREAT DIFF	4		I	6	I	I	1	I	1	I	3	I	1	I	I	1	I	
			I	16.2	I	I	14.3	I	12.5	I	33.3	I	7.7	I	I	11.1	I	
			I		I	I		I		I		I		I	I		I	
COLUMN TOTAL				37			7		8		9		13			9	5	
				100.0			18.9		21.6		24.3		35.1			64.3	35.7	

-146-

-147-

09/02/82

PAGE 1 OF 1

* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F * * * * *

XIII COMPATIBILITY WITH CIVIC ADMIN BY GROUP

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Table XIV.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

09/02/82

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

***** C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F *****
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QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

FILE (CREATION DATE = 09/02/82)

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* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * *
XV      PRICE DETERMINATION                BY GROUP
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09/02/82

PAGE 1 OF 1

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* * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   * * * * *
XVI      SUBMKT ID                                BY GROUP
* * * * *
                                           PAGE 1 OF

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		GROUP												
COUNT	I	TOTAL		IDEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	DEV	PAST	NOT	PAST	I	CON-	
COL	PCT	I		I	DEV	FUT	DEV	FUT	NOT	FUT	NOT	FUT	INEW	VERSION
		I		I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
		a			b	c	d	e				f	g	
0		7		3	1	2	1	4	1			4	1	
NOT APPLICABLE		18.9		42.9	12.5	22.2	7.7	44.4	20.0			44.4	20.0	
1		6		1	0	2	3	2	1			2	1	
NO DIFFICULTY		16.2		14.3	0.0	22.2	23.1	22.2	20.0			22.2	20.0	
2		11		1	4	0	6	0	1			0	1	
SOME DIFF,EASY		29.7		14.3	50.0	0.0	46.2	0.0	20.0			0.0	20.0	
3		6		1	0	3	2	2	1			2	1	
SOME DIFF,HARD		16.2		14.3	0.0	33.3	15.4	22.2	20.0			22.2	20.0	
4		7		1	3	2	1	1	1			1	1	
GREAT DIFF		18.9		14.3	37.5	22.2	7.7	11.1	20.0			11.1	20.0	
COLUMN		37		7	8	9	13	9	5			9	5	
TOTAL		100.0		18.9	21.6	24.3	35.1	64.3	35.7			64.3	35.7	

PART III

Chapter 8: Contemporary and Future Implications

The objective of this study has been to explore the development of and challenge to the "homogeneous-use district" principle in city planning; in particular as it has been manifest in the development of CBD planning policy in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. The policy was applied through zoning legislation, and later by civic-sponsored urban renewal.

The initial policy of endorsing only commercial uses in the CBD had serious negative impacts on inner-city neighborhoods. In contrast, contemporary policy endorses housing development as the vehicle through which the principle of the homogeneous-use central business district is to be modified.

Perhaps no other decision has had greater significance for the development of Vancouver's urban landscape than the

1926 appointment of Harland Bartholomew to prepare the city's comprehensive plan. Downtown development policy from that time to the mid-1960's stressed the need for single-use zones to facilitate future economic expansion. An official zoning by-law gave it legal sanction. This approach to urban development control was implemented during the 1920's and 1930's in city after city across North America, influenced by consultants like Bartholomew.

Bartholomew's standardized planning tools were used to determine the required area for particular use-zones. This resulted in the common demarcation of a General Business District whose area and density was based upon future population estimates. The zone, designated in 1929, comprised the eastern half of this diverse downtown peninsula, incorporating not only the city core, but surrounding residential enclaves, and industrial, storage and local market areas as well.

Full realization of the exclusive commercial use of the entire General Business District was not met due to an initial over-estimation of the future city population, economic conditions and the unexpected forces of metropolitan decentralization. The commercial land market did not extend direct influence over some of the marginal districts; for, demand did not warrant high investment. The zoning was restrictive and did not provide for direct incentives for commercial development. Hence, those existing enclaves of other uses did, in fact endure. The

perserverance off the residential use, in particular, lay not in its own attributes or strengths; but rather in the weakness of the market for the commercial development which was to displace it. This consequently stifled any chance for realizing the homogeneous-use district principle in Bartholomew's General Business District.

This inherent market weakness prompted post-war policymakers to apply positive, rather than restrictive measures of development control. They advocated the implementation of a joint public-private core renewal plan. It was hoped that the spill-over effects of this large-scale commercial redevelopment would strengthen the overall land market in the district. More specifically, those peripheral, or marginal areas within the zone which had not responded to restrictive controls were expected to experience developement pressures disseminating from the renewal project.

Though this approach did not resemble past methods of encouraging commercial land use expansion in the core, it did advance the principle of a homogeneous commercial CBD. Although residential development was considered as a component of the renewal plan, it was only adopted as a means of supporting the commercial sector. When the support was no longer necessary, this component was phased out.

By the late 1960's citizen awareness and perceptions of growth and development had changed. Downtown

development policy was altered to reflect new views which no longer advocated exclusive large-scale commercial development. As a consequence, rigid bureaucratic development controls were replaced by flexible discretionary balanced-growth guidelines which incorporated formally unacceptable CBD land uses.

Upon closer analysis, the 1975 re-evaluation of the internal sub-districts of the core was merely a recognition of the persistence of those internal market areas initially rejected by Bartholomew. Had Bartholomew designated a smaller General Business District, corresponding more closely to the existing market, then perhaps the homogeneous-use principle would have been realized. A number of smaller districts with other uses would have had to be designated as well. The spatial pattern of land uses in the post-war core reveal that in fact, this principle of homogeneous-use development was maintained even though private market forces were insufficiently strong to fully use the commercial zones. The internal diversity within the larger designated General Business District remained throughout years of aggressive inner-core development, though additions to that diversity were marginal.

Contemporary policy perspectives support the view of CBD heterogeneous uses. Planners and developers have jointly harnessed that desire for diversity and applied it on the physical urban landscape. Planners have done so by

encouraging mixed-use developments which include housing. The developers' response has increased the heterogeneity in the downtown peninsula through the building of core housing; though the designation of distinct zoning sub-districts has proliferated a trend toward homogeneous development of particular uses in each sub-district. More specifically, within the central sub-districts, marginal heterogeneity occurs to increase commercial development. Conversely, in the peripheral sub-districts, increased heterogeneity occurs with extensive residential, rather than commercial development. Hence, actual development patterns reveal maintenance of the homogeneous-use district principle in Vancouver's downtown development, but applied to sub-districts rather than the whole General Business District of 1929.

Though most developers support in principle the livability of this district; and most express positive views about such tangible factors as the architectural and construction stages of mixed-use housing development, there are problems which question its viability. Difficulty encountered in the financial and marketing stages, and with development controls have negative impacts on developers who are active in core housing development.

Though the present analysis did not investigate the nature of development problems based on a location variable, it is inferred that since more extensive residential development has occurred in the peripheral

sub-districts, the marketing problems and development controls for downtown housing are less of a factor in areas further from high density commercial sub-districts A and B. Hence, civic officials perhaps still support in practice the principle of homogeneous growth by easing control guidelines in peripheral locations. In addition, the findings reveal that the housing consumer is more apt to seek housing in or adjacent to an identifiable residential district. This suggests that the principle of the homogeneous-use district is perhaps a perceptual issue, whereby consumer's prefer to reside in areas which they perceive to have a residential character.

The present inducement policy has, however, been effective in increasing the downtown housing supply; though it has not prompted large scale integration of residential space into the inner-core. So long as the development of core housing there is inextricably linked to commercial space, its production will remain supplementary.

Peripheral sub-districts are developing greater relative heterogeneity. The tendency to include large-scale residential components there, however, reflect the beginning of a trend toward increased homogeneity of residential uses in some sub-areas. Nevertheless, it is concluded that the development of residential space in these areas is contingent upon proximity or identification with other established, or distinguishable residential districts.

Finally, the study questioned whether this continued acceptance of homogeneous spatial development has positive implications for the re-development of cities. It is clear that the initial attempts to facilitate orderly growth of the urban landscape over-emphasized the need for large homogeneous commercial zones. Failure to fill these zones with the preferred use proved to be an increasingly frustrating task.

In the present context, rejection of this principle by policymakers has actually lead to a re-definition of the location of those initial zoning boundaries set in 1929. Though they are re-drawn, the principle which governs development within them remains the same. Thus, the need to identify a district by its dominant use persists. The nature of the market economy and the personal perceptions held by urban dwellers see that this remains so.

Though the practice of homogeneous-use development is sometimes thought to be obsolete, in the case of Vancouver it has ultimately generated identifiable character areas in the inner-core which remained non-distinct through years of active downtown development. The compromise of maintaining this principle in contemporary urban development, and the nature of the development it allows to occur remain favourable.

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Proposed New Zoning and

Appendices

Appendix A.1

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1) Has your firm undertaken the development of residential units in Vancouver's downtown core since 1975? ☐ yes ☐ no

IF NO, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION #2.

IF YES, PLEASE CONTINUE.

	Development Past	Current
A) Total number of residential units	_____	_____
i) Of Total(A), number of rental units	_____	_____
ii) Of Total(A), number of strata-title units	_____	_____
iii) Of Total(A), number of co-operative units	_____	_____
<hr/>		
B) Of Total(A), number of residential units in a building built after 1975	_____	_____
<hr/>		
C) Of Total(A), number of residential units in a building built before 1976 (most likely to be conversions)	_____	_____
i) Of Total(C), number of those residential units converted from commercial use, manufacturing, etc.	_____	_____
<hr/>		
D) Of Total(A), number of residential units in mixed-use structure	_____	_____
i) Please check all those other uses in structure		
office	_____	_____
retail	_____	_____
manufacturing/storage	_____	_____
ii) Have any mixed-use developments taken advantage of the City's "bonus zoning" which allows for higher densities in commercial structures which include residential units? (CHECK)	_____ yes	_____
	_____ no	_____
<hr/>		

- E) Address(es) and date(s) of past, current and/or proposed residential development in Vancouver's downtown core:

Appendix A.2

- 2) Please indicate the degree of difficulty you have encountered in the development of residential or mixed-use structures in Vancouver's downtown core.

If your firm has never ventured into this type of development please indicate the perceived degree of difficulty with those steps in the development process which may have acted to discourage your involvement.

NA- not applicable

1- no difficulty

2- some difficulty, easily overcome

3- some difficulty, overcome with good deal of effort

4- great difficulty

PLEASE CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX
FOR EACH STATEMENT

NA 1 2 3 4

a) Land Assembly

b) Identification of demand submarket

c) Availability of financing

d) Cost of financing

e) Determination of tenure type

f) Determination of economic price range

g) Compliance with building codes,
design guidelines, etc.

h) Compatibility with civic administration (planning dept., development permit board, etc.)

i) Security in downtown location,
mixed-use structure/development, etc.

j) Differing construction methods for
residential and commercial uses in
mixed-use structure

k) Physical separation of uses in mixed-
use structure

l) Provision of public utilities

m) Lack of services and amenities in
downtown for residential population

Appendix A.3

- 3) Is your firm currently considering any proposals for future residential development in the downtown core which have yet to be formulated into official development proposals to the City of Vancouver? ____yes ____no

If yes;

Please discuss briefly the general nature of these considerations. I understand the confidentiality of this information, and therefore ask for only a simple description.

-) If you have any additional feelings you wish to express concerning the future projects for residential development in the downtown core, please feel free to do so below.

5) OPTIONAL Name of firm _____

Contact person _____

Business telephone number _____

THANK YOU!!



Area C

B.1 550 Beatty Street
 Conversion of industrial structure
 Bottom floor - commercial (office)
 Other floors - residential



Area D

B.2 1107 Homer Street
 Conversion of industrial structure; bottom floor-
 commercial (retail);
 second floor - commercial (office); other
 floors - residential.



Area E

B.3 1290 Robson Street
 First floor- retail
 Second floor- office
 Other floors- residential



Area G

B.4 Alberni Place
 Mixed-use development; tall structure- residential; Commercial sector to occupy adjacent parking lot.



Area G1

B.5 1177 Hornby Street
Eight floors - commercial (office)
Three floors - residential



Area H

- B.6 Anchor Point - Burrard and Pacific Streets
Mixed-use development with major portion
in residential use. Commercial sector
under construction.



Area H

- B.7 Burrard and Pacific Streets - looking west
Right side - proposed mixed-use development
with major portion in residential use;
Left side - neighboring residential uses in
West End zone.